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Series B: Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations, 1962-1996.

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Israel, 1976-1977.

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with an Israel without Israelis. Some Arabs would accept (after another sneak war without an eternal vigilance by the Israelis), to use whatever Israelis remaining, to once again make bricks out of straw for them. It would seem then that neither the defeatists or the Arabs have learned two facts of life, namely, it cannot and will not happen.

Samuel H. Schwalb

## Hamizrachi Women

Dear Editor:

In answer to the letter of Rochelle Charles in the May issue of **The Jewish Week**, I am delighted to inform you that there is a Religious Women's Organization, the Hapoel Hamizrachi Women, which is involved in the total life of Israel on every level and which cares about all of the children everywhere through its unique system of nurseries, kindergartens, day care centers, vocational training schools throughout the length and breadth of Israel.

This organization is affiliated with the National Religious Women's Organization in Israel. It is also part of a world movement known as Emuna with similar ideals and ideologies composed of tens of thousands of Religious Zionist women in many countries throughout the world.

We have influenced thousands of children who have played a vital part in the religious Zionist character of the States.

We invite Rochelle Charles and all who feel the same as she does to join our organization. Call (212) 564-9045, and information will be sent to you.

Sara Ain Flascher

Chevrona Chapter

Hapoel Hamizrachi Women's Org.

## Resents Carter dicta

Dear Editor:

Your statement in the current issue of **The Jewish Week** was well put when you said that "the Jews of America must remember . . . that their support belongs to all the people of Israel, not to any one party or combination of parties." Why, oh why, are the American Jewish leaders so silent when Carter makes false statements at a press conference to the effect that Israel must permit a Palestinian State in the West Bank; compensate the Arabs for properties in Israel-held territory, etc. Only Ambassador Simcha Dinitz after his conference with Vance denied that Carter's statements are resolutions of the U.N. Security Council. Why didn't the Conference of Major Organizations speak up? Why didn't we hear from the articulate presidents of the American Jewish Congress, the Board of Rabbis, the Zionist organizations who speak so "beautifully" at conferences? Does this once again show the ineffective quality of our Jewish leadership. Even one of our favorite columnists in **The Jewish Week** declared this week on Page 17 that Carter "will undoubtedly put the 'squeeze' on the Jews with regard to the Palestinians, the West Bank and the Golan Heights. (sic!)" But, please Mr. Carter save Jerusalem for the Jews! This is reminiscent of Rabbi Jochanan ben Zacai's plea to the Roman emperor in the First Century. "You may take all of the state — but leave the city of Yavneh!"

It appears that only Menachem Beigin shows "Ahavat Yisrael" and "Ahavat Eretz Israel!" To be sure his position will soften in due time —

brethren in Israel.

American Jewry take

positions clear to

more and

bulwark against Arab designs for the destruction of Israel, be they outright wars or "Palestinian"-guised subversion, it is Israel's national will to assert sovereignty over that territory in the Middle East which is legally and historically the Jewish homeland of Eretz Yisrael. That is the basic reality which is the first step toward achieving the peace of Jerusalem.

Let not American Jewry fear an unpromising Israel. Israel has shown us that they desire strong and firm leadership to guide them at this time. The drift of the past ten years will soon be countered and a misinformed public will be set right. Jerusalem's Peace depends on our own combined inner resolve. We dare not weaken that truth which is our might.

Yisrael Winkelman Medad

## Outraged by pressure

Dear Editor:

The silence of the organized American Jewish community continues, in the face of explicit pressure on Israel by the American government.

But now President Carter wants even more. Using the election in Israel as a pretext, he expects "Jewish Americans" to join him in putting pressure on the Israelis when Menachem Beigin visits here. (Carter Press Conference, May 26.)

Where are the cries of outrage from the American Jewish leaders? Where is the large-scale mobilization of the American Jewish community which is now required? Where is the call for public demonstrations by Jews against the immoral policies of appeasement by our own government?

Are we so intimidated by our own government, or so convinced of our own political impotence, that we can do nothing more than sit in silence, and regard that as an act of courage or of prudence?

Our enemies still want to destroy us, and their chances of succeeding are stronger now than at any time since the Holocaust.

Isn't now the time for the American Jewish community to act?

It still may not be too late.

Rabbi Hillel A. Cohen

## Subservience to Saudis

Dear Editor:

The Saudi Arabian Foreign Minister appeared on ABC television yesterday (Sunday). As usual, the interviewers treated him as if they were subjects of that absolute monarchy, rather than free American citizens and representatives of a craft which is supposed to ascertain and promulgate the truth at all costs. They were very concerned about an oil embargo — perhaps they thought one would be declared on the spot if they displeased His Excellency.

If one doesn't believe that truth is an absolute value, there are practical reasons for objecting to this kind of conduct. I list a few:

— It destroys the networks' pretensions to the First Amendment protections.

— It helps mislead the American public about the true nature of the Saudi government, the problem of peace in the Middle East, and the economic and ethical problems created by acts of the oil cartel.

— It aggravates the Saudis' already oppressive self-righteousness.

Arthur H. Kahn



*Please return to Carl Helmy, Thanks*



# DAILY NEWS DIGEST

COMPILED DAILY — MAILED WEEKLY

By

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WEEK ENDING: 5/18/77

Editor: W.A. "John" Johnson

Vol. 3, No. 30

## U.S. FORCES IN TROUBLE

The Soviet Union could cross the Iron Curtain today and conquer Western Europe in 2 weeks, barreling over an underequipped, undermanned, and ill-trained United States force, said Gen. (Ret.) Lewis W. Walt, the man who led the first U.S. Marines into combat in Viet Nam.

In an interview on the state of the United States' military forces, Walt, known as "the marines' marine," said the country's military leaders are not telling Congress and the people the truth about the poor conditions of America's armed forces.

Walt, who says he has been on the front lines as much as any living marine, retired in 1971 with a reputation among his troops as the general who walked, talked, and fought with them on the front lines of three wars.

He is now a consultant to the Army and Navy, is briefed regularly by the Pentagon, and is privy to classified documents. But Walt says he came to his conclusion about U.S. military capabilities by "talking to the troops, seeing what their job is, and their capabilities to do it."

Following is an edited transcript of The Chicago Tribune's interview with Walt:

Q. Do you think the all-volunteer concept and the so-called total force concept of the U.S. armed forces is working?

A. No. And the thing that hurts us the most in the long run is the National Guard and the reserves. They are literally -- I hate to use the word shambles -- a total disaster because of a lack of training, a lack of materiel, and, most of all, a lack of people. We're just not getting enough people. The reserves are so important and they're so cheap, at one-fifth the cost of regular forces.

Q. The reserve and National Guard are supposed to be the backup part of the total force, but do you think the active Volunteer Force concept is working?

A. No. Definitely not. I think it is so wrong for our services to try to fool the public. Doggone it. Some of the higher-ups don't care for me for this reason, but why don't they come out and tell the truth? How can they expect to get their backing? How can they expect to get Congress' backing?

Q. What is the truth, as you see it?

A. First of all we're not getting the kind of people in the armed forces we need. At the time when we got to the all-volunteer forces, weapons sophistication increased and sophistication of personnel went down.

Q. But the services say their GIs are smarter and better trained than ever.

A. That's not true. I have been to those bases and have been measuring the troops and talking to them, seeing what their jobs are, for 4 years. They don't have the capabilities. We're putting 60¢ on a dollar into recruiting, bonuses, nice barracks, and conveniences. And discipline is going down. They're not training them the way they used to. I'm telling you what the generals are telling me. The people who know.

Q. Do you think the American troops are ready to defend an attack, for instance, in Western Europe?

A. In my best opinion -- and I've made a study of the Western Europe situation -- the Soviet Union has the military capability to take Western Europe in 14 days. I don't think they will now, because of China. But with the lack of vehicles and the lack of tanks we have there, our capabilities to defend are extremely limited. We are terribly outnumbered and, in fact, we don't have enough trucks over there to carry the ammunition up to the guns. Furthermore, I saw all the Russian vehicles captured by the Israelis and I was amazed. All of their battle vehicles were prepared to fight on an atomic battlefield or a chemical battlefield. (The general said Soviet tanks, amphibious vehicles, and armored personnel carriers, have a ventilation and life support system to protect troops in the event of such battles.) We have nothing like that. We are not prepared to fight on an atomic or a chemical battlefield.

Q. Do you think the combat-ready divisions in the states could get to Europe in time to help?

A. Of course not. I've been very close to Reforger (Operation Reforger, an annual NATO maneuver in which an American division is airlifted to Germany) and in my estimation it has never proven to me it could stop a Soviet attack.

Q. Why do you think people are ignoring your warnings?

A. People think that when the time comes we'll be alerted and be able to build up in Europe. Well, we won't have time to get built up. The world is too small now. The advantage the Soviets have is that they maneuver on the western border all the time with 135 divisions. They could mass on one front and break right through. Furthermore, they control the seas. We couldn't resupply or reinforce.

Q. Is a draft the solution? And how could the draft be brought back in the present political climate?

A. In the first place, if you had a draft, what would it amount to? With the President's amnesty they would say "if they got away with it, why can't I?" The country has to talk up the military to our young people instead of talking it down. This is what killed the all-volunteer concept, the attitude of the American people since Viet Nam. The only way it will work is to turn the people around.

Q. Do you think people would join the reserves out of a sense of patriotism?

A. I think so. I've got a lot of faith in the young people of today, if they are given proper leadership.

Q. What are your thoughts about unions and the military?

A. I don't think it would be a good thing for the military. But I can understand the people who are looking toward it as a possible solution to some of the problems they are having in the military.....

Q. How is morale in the armed forces?

A. Not good. And Mr. Carter's declaration of amnesty will undoubtedly lower the morale, fighting spirit, and dependability of men in our fighting forces. Why should they risk their lives when others have found a way out? I believe that what he has done to placate a few thousand disloyal, unpatriotic, infidel law breakers, as a result of bad advice and pressure from pressure groups, has done a great irreparable damage

to our country now and in the future. (Chicago Tribune, 5/9/77, sec 1, p. 4)

DIGEST OPINION: It's been some time since we allowed our lead article to exceed 2 pages. But the comments of General Walt are astounding. He flatly says "We can't defend Europe." He says the Soviets control the seas so we can't resupply or reinforce. The air-lift-to-Europe-idea is no good, he says. The Digest has pointed out in previous articles that it would take a minimum of 24 hours for our NATO forces to get permission to shoot back at the Soviets if they did start something. And in at least one instance, it would take some 14 hours to get to the ammunition bunker to get the ammo needed once permission was received to "fire at will!" Was Gen. Walt contacted by the major TV networks to offer his analysis of our situation? Did the New York Times or Washington Post interview the man? And General Walt did not mention the survey taken at Lackland Air Force Base in San Antonio, Texas. Recruits were asked a number of questions and their answers were published in a report titled "Basic Airmen's Values and Perceptions of Society -- 1976." Asked whether, given a choice, they would evacuate a base under attack or stay and fight, only 49% of the recruits said they would fight. The other 51% either said they would run or they weren't sure what they would do. And 37% said they wouldn't have joined the service at all if the country were at war! Now, add all of the above to the present fouled up energy situation and what have you got? One heck of a mess! And it gets worse daily thanks to ineptness in Washington at the highest levels. Or maybe it's not ineptness. Maybe this is the way they want it. In order to merge our government into a One World Government, we would have to be backed into such a corner that this solution would be the only way out! Is this possible? And the final kicker is the rampant political instability in France, Italy, Spain, Portugal. When push comes to shove, the Italian Reds have already said they would back the USSR. If France slides into a communist coalition government following the spring elections, where does that leave the West? These are questions deserving of answers from the highest Washington officials. But silence is what we're treated to. The TV networks are too busy with other projects to concern themselves with our very survival. Businessmen are scrambling to sell the Communists anything they want. Labor is concerned only with higher wages and more benefits. Politicians want only to be re-elected. That small group of informed and concerned Americans that know what's happening are ignored by nearly everyone except others like themselves. Based on the current speed with which things are moving, we would give the West no more than 5 years before it's in trouble "eyeball deep." The U.S. included.

JIMMY CARTER, CONSERVATIVE?: The Digest has noted a low-keyed campaign taking off to label President Carter a "fiscal conservative." The press is slipping this "accusation" into news stories; "conservative" spokesmen like Barry Goldwater are "talking it up." And the whole thing is being bought by the public. Even "liberal" Congressmen and labor leaders are charging Carter with being a "fiscal conservative," much to their dismay. He gets big press on moving his entourage from an expensive hotel to one a little cheaper (15%) and you'd think he'd saved the country millions. It's all phony. We believe it's "programmed" to fit the mood of the country, which is largely conservative. It's style, not substance. Anyone who wants some perspective on Carter should read "Jimmy Carter, Jimmy Carter," by friend Gary Allen ('76 Press, PO Box 2686, Seal Beach, CA 90740 \$1.00). You'll not be among those fooled by this campaign.



GUN CONTROL THOTS: "Firearms stand next in importance to the Constitution itself. They are the American people's liberty teeth and keystone under independence...From the hour the Pilgrims landed, to the present day, events, occurrences and tendencies prove that to ensure peace, security and happiness, the rifle and the pistol are equally indispensable...The very atmosphere of firearms anywhere and everywhere restrains evil interference -- they deserve a place of honor with all that's good..." (Statement attributed to George Washington, quoted in quarterly magazine, The Vigilante, Spring Issue, 1977, \$2.00, p.6, PO Box 31085, Phoenix, AZ 85046)

DIGEST NOTE: Those of you interested in personal security would do well to send for a copy of this magazine. All manner of self protection, from cane fighting to Posse Comitatus, are discussed in this issue. It's a unique publication of which there is nothing else like. There's an especially good evaluation of "tear gas" devices starting on page 18. The writers test everything they write about. A most unusual and useful magazine.

TRILATERALIST TO CHINA: According to President Carter, he hasn't any timetable for establishing full relations with China but expects eventually to name United Auto Workers President Leonard Woodcock as the first U.S. ambassador. Woodcock would become the 18th Trilateral Commission Member appointed to high office by the President, himself a founding member. This Commission, designed to improve relations and cooperation between Japan, the U.S. and Europe, is a spin-off from the Council on Foreign Relations. David Rockefeller plays an all-important role in both and personally selected Jimmy Carter to be a member of the TC. Can you imagine the hue and cry that would have been raised if a president had appointed 18 members of the John Birch Society to positions of such high trust as Vice-President, Secretary of State, Secretary of Defense, Secretary of Treasury, Disarmament Negotiator, National Security Advisor, and so on? To whom does Jimmy Carter owe his loyalty? The American people or David Rockefeller? By the way, to keep Red China "on the line," we still have exchanged Ambassadors with Free China and have refused to accept the credentials of their Ambassador to the U.S. Cute?

LEROI JONES PROMOTES REVOLUTION: LeRoi Jones, the black playwright and agitator who now goes by the name of Imamu Amiri Baraka, was recently in San Francisco to address a group of artists. Baraka declared: "All art is political...All art is propaganda...It is time for the artists and writers and intellectuals in the U.S. to choose sides openly and fiercely and begin to struggle with no holds barred, to carry the revolution to the end..." Jones (Baraka) wrote the scatological plays "The Toilet" and "The Dutchman." (The Review Of The News, 5/11/77, p.41)

BUDGET TARGETS SET FOR GOV.: A compromise budget of \$461 billion was passed by the Senate 5/13 and awaits House approval. The non-binding target budget for fiscal year 1978 (beginning Oct. 1) carries a federal deficit of \$64.7 billion, the second highest in history, topped only by 1976, and nearly \$7 billion more than Carter's latest estimate. (Phx Gaz, 5/13/77, fnt pg)

ECONOMIC STIMULATION BILLS SIGNED: President Carter signed a bill 5/13 authorizing \$20 billion for general economic stimulation and a \$4 billion public works bill, calling the legislation "a major move in the right direction." (Phx Gaz, 5/13/77, fnt pg)

DIGEST OPINION: The above two items should remove any doubt that inflation is to be our lot by next year. Serious inflation.



**BUSINESS INVENTORIES, MARCH:** Business inventories increased 0.9% in March. The Commerce Department said total business inventories -- stocks on shelves and in warehouses ready for sale -- increased \$2.8 billion during March compared with a revised \$2 billion gain in February. The March statistics, broken down, showed that inventories increased \$715 million at the manufacturing level, \$557 million at wholesale and \$1.519 billion at the retail level. The retail increase was the second largest on record, topped only by the \$1.564 billion climb in Oct. 1975 (Phx Gaz 5/16/77, p. D-6)

**DIGEST OPINION:** This was reported by much of the press as "good news." However, we at the Digest look at it from another viewpoint. It is commonly accepted the consumer spending spree is about to run out of steam. Even U.S. News & World Report concurs with this view (5/23/77 issue). What we believe has happened is that retail stocks built up due to earlier ordering by the stores while at the same time sales have slacked off. This leaves the retailer with an inventory overhang. If the consumer suddenly tightens up now, some retail stores will be in a world of hurt. Additionally, the Federal Reserve Bank is openly wondering why people are holding so much cash, estimated at \$50 BILLION! As stated by U.S. News: "Nobody is sure why the hoarders want to stash funds where they draw no interest." Could it be lack of faith in the banking system? We have openly asked in previous issues if consumers have been on a buying stampede to beat what they deeply feel will be higher prices in the months ahead. If this is the case and if the businessman has misjudged (or been mislead), he's going to get hung with excess inventory and you'll see sales to beat all sales popping up everywhere. With the savings rate at an 8 year low and retail sales lagging and businesses not expanding and prices rising, it looks like the inflationary/depression is going to be with us for many months. Statistics may show things looking pretty good, but bedrock strength is simply lacking. For these and other reasons we are not too pleased with this latest increase in business inventories.

**BERLIN, NEW HOT SPOT?:** Last week, at the bottom of p. 6, the Digest ran this brief item: "If the Soviets bother West Berlin, 'detente would be seriously threatened,' according to President Carter, Prime Minister Callaghan and Premier Giscard d'Estaing. In other words, we won't like it but we'll live with it. A disastrous statement, in the Digest's opinion." Well, it's starting. While the world press directs our attention at southern Africa, the Communist Party newspaper Pravda on 5/15 rejected the western position that Berlin must remain a four-sector city administered by the U.S., France, Britain and the U.S.S.R. The Pravda article, commenting on a communique issued by the western powers last week, said there were no longer 4 sectors of Berlin, as was the case under post-WW II agreements among the 4 Allied countries. Pravda says East Berlin is the capital "of the sovereign state of the German Democratic Republic (East Germany)," and "Such is the reality and to try to ignore it is a vain waste of time." The story appeared in Arizona Republic, 5/16/77, p. A-4. Nowhere else did we read it. Like a slight-of-hand artist, the press has all eyes turned on southern Africa (which deserves our close attention) but potentially serious events are quietly taking place in Europe. About the time things start getting too hot in southern Africa, the "Berlin button" will be pushed, we'll start watching that "crisis" and things will move quietly ahead in southern Africa. And when the Berlin "crisis" simmers down, the Mid East will flare up or Panama will erupt or, because of our ineptness, the oil producing nations will cut us off. Diversionary tactics. The Soviets are very good at it.

ROMANIAN CHANGES: In a striking change of policy, Romania has decided to give workers higher take-home pay but at the cost of slowing down the growth of social services. Production of consumer goods will be boosted to meet the resulting growth in purchasing power. The new policy was first mentioned briefly in a speech by President Nicolae Ceausescu. He said that it was "abnormal" for spending on social services to rise faster than wages, so priorities were to be reversed. He declared: "We must let the people themselves run their affairs and we should not believe that we are better able to manage things for them." (London Financial Times, 4/20/77)

DIGEST OPINION: Ludwig von Mises' ghost must be whispering in Ceausescu's ear. When he's through there, perhaps he could visit Washington.

AIRPLANE DISASTER TERRORIST CAUSED: Antonio Cubillo, leader of the Movement for Self-determination and Independence of the Canaries (MPAIC), has a headquarters in Algiers, and it was one of his Algerian-trained teams that bombed the Las Palmas airport on March 27th. This in turn diverted a KLM 747 and Pan Am 747 to Tenerife, where the two planes collided, killing nearly 600 people. Cubillo's motive for selecting the Las Palmas airport as a target was to strike at the tourist industry on the island and keep hitting until Spain grants independence. (The Review Of The News, 5/11/77, p.44-45)

DIGEST OPINION: H. du B. wrote this for the quoted source and had previously spoken of it in his own H. du B. Reports. We thought surely some national publication would pick it up, but such was not the case. A story this big and it goes unreported by TV and the print giants. Why? The death toll has now reached 583!

SOUTH AFRICA TO GET WARNING: Vice President Walter F. Mondale flew to Europe 5/14 with a stark warning for Prime Minister John Vorster: South Africa must modify its system of racial apartheid or face U.S. hostility. White House officials say Mondale will bang no tables and make no demands, but merely will convey the U.S. assessment of the situation that confronts the West in Africa now. In essence, the message is that white supremacy has had its day and there will be a parting of the ways between the U.S. and the South African republic unless there are early and visible signs of fundamental changes in its racial system. (Phx Gaz, 5/14/77, fnt pg)

DIGEST OPINION: Will we tell the USSR to modify its system? Or Cuba? Or Vietnam? Or do we limit our interference into other countries affairs to our allies only? All the evidence points to the latter. Strange.

BRAZIL/URUGUAY TROUBLES BREWING?: A recent official map issued by the Brazilian Government failed to depict Uruguay as a separate country; instead it had been merged into Brazilian territory. (Defense & Foreign Affairs Weekly Report on Strategic Latin American Affairs, 5/13/77, Suite 602, 2030 M St. NW, Washington, DC 20036 \$150)

DIGEST OPINION: This kind of "mistake" can cause monumental diplomatic troubles in that part of the world. Uruguay doubtlessly has some strong feelings about being "absorbed" by Brazil. Where will it all end?

BOLIVIA WANTS WHITES FROM RHODESIA & SOUTH AFRICA: Bolivia has submitted a request to the Intergovernmental Committee for European Migration that they be included in the plans for massive migration of white settlers from Rhodesia and South Africa. (D&FAWRSLAA, op cit)

# CONFERENCE OF PRESIDENTS OF MAJOR AMERICAN JEWISH ORGANIZATIONS

515 PARK AVENUE NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10022

PLaza 2-1616

Cable Address: COJOGRA

A united American Jewish community will remain committed to support the policies of the democratically-elected government of Israel, the head of the Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations said Friday, (June 3).

Reporting on a meeting held earlier today attended by representatives of all 32 of the Conference's constituent member-organizations, Rabbi Alexander M. Schindler declared:

"The sense of unity and identification that binds American Jews to the people of Israel was expressed at our meeting by speaker after speaker, representing the broadest spectrum of American Jewish life.

"There was broad recognition that the indissoluble links between our two communities are independent of the political party or the political leader that forms the Government of Israel.

"American Jews support Israel's cause -- and we will continue to do so -- because we are part of the Jewish people, because we share Israel's goal of peace for all the countries of the Middle East, and because a strong and secure Israel is essential to the security of our own country."

Rabbi Schindler said he was "deeply encouraged" by his meetings in Israel earlier this week with Menachem Begin, leader of the Likud Party in Israel who has been asked to form a government by President Ephraim Katzir, and by the response by Presidents Conference member-organizations to his report of those conversations.

"The Prime Minister-designate," Rabbi Schindler said, "is a man of peace, a man of integrity, a man of profound devotion to the Jewish people and to their security. To call him an 'extremist' and P.L.O. terrorist chief Arafat and Syrian President Assad 'moderates' -- as American news media have done within the past two weeks -- is a slander of an honorable and distinguished personality, a profound disservice to the truth and a grave danger to the cause of peace."

Rabbi Schindler said he was disturbed by speculation in the press that American Jews were "divided" over whether to support the new government and that efforts might be made to drive a wedge between American Jews and Israel as part of an effort to pressure the government of Israel into accepting an American-imposed peace plan.

"I do not know whether any such effort is being planned or is under way," Rabbi Schindler said, "but it will without question be rejected by American Jews and the organizations that represent them."

"This great Jewish community," he said, "is bound to the people Israel by age-old ties of faith, of history, of destiny, ties that cannot and will not be sundered by any political pressure."

1741



Rabbi Schindler said it was his view that the present period of "interregnum" -- between the formal resignation of the Rabin government and the formation of a new government by Mr. Begin -- was "a time when it was particularly important to make clear to American friends of Israel in the Administration, in Congress, in the labor movement, among black and Christian leaders, academicians and other groups -- the enduring policy of all Israeli governments: a policy that seeks peace with justice for all the peoples of the Middle East.

"This policy remains constant no matter who heads the government of Israel," Rabbi Schindler said. "It will be the goal of Mr. Begin as it has been the goal of all of his predecessors.

"It is not Israel's policy but the refusal of the Arab world to reconcile itself to the legitimacy of the Jewish State and the right of its citizens to live in dignity that has prevented a settlement of the Arab-Israel conflict.

"Mr. Begin made clear to me that he is a man of peace and that he will continue to follow a policy that seeks peace with Israel's neighbors. And he is supremely confident that he will be able to persuade President Carter of the fundamental principles on which a peace must be based."

Rabbi Schindler said he felt "some concern" over what appeared to be a "shift" in American policy from one that began with a call for honest negotiations between the parties leading toward a full-fledged peace and that seems recently to have developed into a specific set of guidelines that include specific concessions by Israel.

"No mediator can help the parties to a dispute reach agreement if he comes to the negotiations with a plan in hand that both sides are expected to accept," Rabbi Schindler said.

X X X

3 June 1977



June 8, 1977

Mr. Bert E. Rosenstock  
Berint Trading, Ltd.  
12 Westchester Avenue  
White Plains, N.Y. 10601

Dear Mr. Rosenstock:

Thank you for your recent letter. I appreciate your taking the time to share your concerns with me.

In regard to the recent Elections in Israel, I enclose herewith a copy of a Statement issued by the Presidents' Conference.

With kindest greetings, I am

Sincerely,

Alexander M. Schindler  
Chairman

Encl.

# Berint Trading Ltd.

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May 30, 1977

Rabbi Alexander Schindler,  
President,  
CON. OF PRESIDENTS OF MAJOR AMERICAN JEWISH ORGANIZATIONS  
515 Park Avenue  
New York, NY

Dear Rabbi Schindler:

The New York Times reported on your meeting with Andrew Young. It was most interesting and revealing of Mr. Young's attitude, to compare his suggestion to you to treat the UNESCO with 'love', with the suggestion he made to African leaders on his recent trip, to use economic force to achieve their goals.

It seems quite obvious to me, and presumably also to Jewish leaders, that the method suggested to African leaders was more in accord with Mr. Young's true feelings, while the suggestion to the Jewish leaders was no doubt more an attempt to keep Jewish leaders 'in line' than to help the Jewish cause. It is in fact rather insulting, I would say, to suggest 'love' as a political force in the world.

I think one should also keep in mind that Mr. Lowenstein, who no doubt agrees with Mr. Young, has extensive experience in domestic politics of one sort or another, but has done very little (to my knowledge) that indicates his awareness of and accord with the needs of the Jewish community in the United States.

One further point, Rabbi Schindler, relating to the recent Israeli elections. I do not know what the views of Jewish leaders are on this subject, but I hope that they will refrain from criticizing the new government, before and as it takes office, while the new leaders begin to formulate policy. The New York Times may be 'shocked' or entertain similar sentiments, but the Jewish leaders will, I hope, find some uplift of soul and greater potential for future peace, through a new and strong voice in the Israeli leadership.

Sincerely,



Bert E. Rosenstock

BER/lm

cc: [unclear]

# CONFERENCE OF PRESIDENTS OF MAJOR AMERICAN JEWISH ORGANIZATIONS

515 PARK AVENUE

NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10022

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Cable Address: COJOGRA

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June 3, 1977

## MEMORANDUM

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

FROM: Rabbi Alexander M. Schindler, Chairman

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Enclosed please find a statement of consensus which was issued following  
the meeting of the Presidents Conference which took place today, Friday,  
June 3, 1977.

# CONFERENCE OF PRESIDENTS OF MAJOR AMERICAN JEWISH ORGANIZATIONS

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

## AFFILIATED ORGANIZATIONS:

American Israel Public  
Affairs Committee  
American Jewish Congress  
American Mizrahi Women  
American Zionist Federation  
Anti-Defamation League  
B'nai B'rith  
B'nai B'rith Women  
Bnai Zion  
Central Conference of  
American Rabbis  
Council of Jewish Federations  
and Welfare Funds (observer)  
Hadassah  
Jewish Labor Committee  
Jewish Reconstructionist  
Foundation  
Jewish War Veterans  
of the U.S.A.  
Labor Zionist Alliance  
Mizrachi-Hapoel Hamizrachi  
National Committee for  
Labor Israel, Inc.  
National Council of  
Jewish Women  
National Council of  
Young Israel  
National Federation of  
Temple Sisterhoods  
National Jewish Community  
Relations Advisory Council  
National Jewish Welfare Board  
North American Jewish  
Youth Council  
Pioneer Women  
The Rabbinical Assembly  
Rabbinical Council of America  
Union of American Hebrew  
Congregations  
Union of Orthodox Jewish  
Congregations of America  
United Synagogue of America  
Women's American ORT  
Women's League for  
Conservative Judaism  
World Zionist Organization  
American Section, Inc.  
Zionist Organization of America

Statement by  
RABBI ALEXANDER M. SCHINDLER, CHAIRMAN  
Conference of Presidents  
of Major American Jewish Organizations  
ON THE ELECTIONS IN ISRAEL

The people of Israel have chosen a new Parliament in a democratic expression of the nation's will. We congratulate the country's leaders and pledge to them the support and commitment that the American Jewish community has given since the day the Jewish State was born.

American Jews have never sought to speak for the government of Israel, but rather for the welfare of its people and its security as a nation. As new leaders take the helm we renew the sense of unity and identification that form the indissoluble ties that bind American Jewry with the people of Israel.

X X X

5/18/77





DEVELOPMENT CORPORATION FOR ISRAEL

STATE OF ISRAEL BONDS

215 PARK AVENUE SOUTH

NEW YORK, N. Y. 10003

From the Office of  
SAMUEL ROTHBERG  
GENERAL CHAIRMAN

May 25, 1977

Rabbi Alexander M. Schindler, Chairman  
Conference of Presidents of Major American  
Jewish Organizations  
515 Park Avenue  
New York, N. Y. 10022

Dear Alex:

I thought that your statement said everything that could  
and should be said about the results of the election in  
Israel.

Accordingly, we sent copies together with the enclosed  
letter to our community chairmen and top national officers  
around the country.

With warmest personal regards to you and to Rhea.

Sincerely,

Sam Rothberg

SR/mf1

DEVELOPMENT CORPORATION FOR ISRAEL

STATE OF ISRAEL BONDS

215 PARK AVENUE SOUTH

NEW YORK, N.Y. 10003



From the Office of  
SAMUEL ROTHBERG  
GENERAL CHAIRMAN

May 20, 1977

In the past several days we have received a number of inquiries and comments from various parts of the country about the results of last Tuesday's elections in Israel.

I can think of no better way of answering those queries than by sending you the enclosed copy of a statement by Rabbi Alexander M. Schindler, Chairman of the Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations.

In terms of our program, nothing has changed except the need to do more and to work harder to strengthen the economy of Israel in this transition period.

With kindest personal regards, I am

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read 'Sam Rothberg', written over a horizontal line.

Sam Rothberg

SR/mf1  
enc.

June 6, 1977

Rabbi David Polish  
Beth Emet The Free Synagogue  
1200 Lee Street  
Evanston, Illinois 60202

Dear David:

I agree with you on the "two-fold process" which you recommend in your letter of May 31st. This is precisely why I went to Israel a few days after the election.

My meeting with the Presidents' Conference immediately upon my return and all subsequent actions, such as tomorrow's trip to the State Department and White House and a possible larger meeting with Carter, are designed to serve your first purpose (note the enclosed press release in behalf of the Presidents' Conference).

On your second point, I made this request of Begin and returned from him rather optimistic concerning his willingness to listen to the Jewish people as a whole. There is a much greater sense of peoplehood which emanates from him than ever did from Rabin. This is, of course, for your eyes only but I will be glad to discuss it with you at greater length when we meet.

Looking forward to seeing you soon and with warmest regards from house to house, I am

Sincerely,

Alexander M. Schindler

Encl.

RABBI DAVID POLISH  
BETH EMET THE FREE SYNAGOGUE

1200 LEE STREET  
EVANSTON, ILLINOIS  
60202

May 31, 1977  
14 Sivan 5737

Rabbi Alexander Schindler  
Union of American Hebrew Congregations  
838 Fifth Avenue  
New York, New York 10021

Shalom, Alex,

I am sure that it is no "chiddush" to you that not only Israel but American Jewry will be subjected to increasing political pressure by the present Administration. Carter's reference to American Jews in a recent statement is disturbing. While many of us are distressed by the results of the election in Israel, the essential policy of the American Administration toward Israel has not changed, but has only gained an added opportunity for pressing Israel and American Jewry without offering anything substantive in return.

I would urge that a two-fold process be undertaken. The first would involve a demonstration by American Jewry that it intends to stand by Israel's right to hold fast as long as there are no clear indications of Arab readiness to accept Israel as a sovereign State. The need for such a demonstration is based on two factors: first, the real danger of polarizing American Jewry, and second, the possibility, as hinted in a statement by Carter, that the Administration may take a hand in that polarization.

Second, there should be an equally strong indication to Israeli leadership that more intensive consultation and collaboration between them and us in the political area is required. The implementation of this process clearly requires careful study but I am persuaded that literally day by day conditions are moving us toward that necessity.

Thanks for your suggestion about including part of the Reform Commentary on the Jerusalem Platform in my report to the CCAR. I will attempt to do so either by condensing it or citing a portion of it.

Best wishes.

Shalom,



RABBI DAVID POLISH



1800 Pacific Avenue  
San Francisco CA 94109

June 1, 1977

Rabbi Alexander M. Schindler  
Union of American Hebrew Congregations  
838 Fifth Avenue  
New York NY 10021

Dear Rabbi Schindler:

I was talking with your niece Miriam this afternoon, since we work together at the same mental health clinic. We happened to discuss Israel and she suggested I write you, otherwise I would not presume to do so.

Although I am a very secularized Jew, I do hope for Israel's well-being and would be prepared to write to Washington in that regard, should American policy change or show signs to that effect.

However, I feel the new Israeli Government should be told that the American Jewish community-----or at least large segments of it-----will not support Israel regardless of whatever policy she chooses to pursue. I believe that at least the appearance of a willingness to compromise is essential (and perhaps the reality may be, also). The picture given by the new Government is exactly opposite to that picture, at least as it appears in the US (including the Prime Minister's television appearance).

Miriam said to tell you she sends her love.

With best wishes for your valuable work for peace, I remain,

Sincerely yours,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read "Martin Hoffman". The signature is fluid and cursive, with a long horizontal stroke extending to the right.

Martin Hoffman, M.D.

June 7, 1977

Dr. Martin Hoffman  
1800 Pacific Avenue  
San Francisco, CA. 94109

Dear Dr. Hoffman:

First of all, my love to Miriam and my best to you.

I have just returned from a journey to Israel where I had a chance to meet Mr. Begin and where, of course, I gave him a frank assessment of the American Jewish community in all of its multi-faceted splendor.

I must tell you quite frankly that I returned from several meetings with Mr. Begin and his associates much assured. He does have some strong views, to be sure, but he is not the kind of reckless extremist which the media has portrayed him to be (these are the same media people, mind you, who call Assad and even Arafat "Arab moderates"). I cannot guarantee the future, of course, but I do have the conviction that Mr. Begin can make an effective transition from the leader of the party to be the leader of a nation and a people, with all that this transformation implies.

In any event, so it seems to me, we American Jews have a two-fold duty now; (A) to give Mr. Begin an opportunity to form his government, to evolve his policies and to present them to the American Jewish community, to his own people and indeed to the world. (B) it is our obligation to make certain that in the period of interregnum there will be no erosion of support for Israel on the American scene

With every good wish and warmest greetings, I am

Sincerely,

Alexander M. Schindler

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ALEXANDER SCHINDLER

838 5TH AVENUE

NEWYORKNY 10021

CONFIRMATION COPY

THANK YOU MISTER PRESIDENT DEAR FRIEND ALEXANDER FOR A  
HEARWARMING CABLE DEEPLY MOVED BY ITS CONTENTS SAME  
PRAYER YOU BESTOWED UPON ME I HAVE IN MY HEART  
YOURS IN FRIENDSHIP AND RESPECT

MENACHEM BEGIN

COL 838 6TH 10021



Rabbi David Polish

# minority report

## *Moment of Jerusalem's reunification a memory that cannot be taken away*

A meditation on the 10th anniversary of the unification of Jerusalem.

We will never forget how 10 years ago the people of Israel and Jews from all over the world came streaming up Judea's hills, in buses, trucks, on foot, toward Jerusalem. Toward a Jerusalem which had been torn in half, the old mother sector ravaged, the young daughter sector isolated. We converged at the Kotel and walked jubilant wherever our feet would take us in a liberated and united Jerusalem. That moment is ours forever, in the same category with other miraculous moments in our history. The memory of that moment will not be torn from us, nor will that city in its fullness ever be torn from us again.

On this 10th anniversary we confront those who would have us negotiate, not borders or territory, but the existence of the State of Israel. At every sign of a conciliatory attitude toward Israel, we should be receptive; but for every indication of destructive hidden agenda, we should be on guard. The world is being conditioned to see Israel as an obstacle to a peace which reasonable Arab nations are being denied. Except primarily in this country, only the duties of Israel are being urgently put forward, while no mention of equivalent Arab duties are suggested. For our refusal to relinquish land without peace we are branded as intransigent. Among many, Arab refusal to abandon destructive designs against Israel, is met with understanding, compassion and empty rhetoric. We are the intransigents. They are the moderates, because they do not press for Israel's dismemberment for five years.

If it is intransigent to refuse to budge unless there is a clear signal of acceptance of our rights to national sovereignty and security, then we are intransigent. This intransigent people will not bargain away its right to live. Those moderates have yet to say an unambiguous word, not whispered in the ears of senators but in the hearing of the world, that they want to live at peace with a sovereign State of Israel.

The justice of our position may at last have impressed the leadership of this nation. Nevertheless, in the times ahead, the pressures upon us could increase. Every effort could be made to lure us into a vulnerable position. Every effort could be made to divide us from Israel and to

divide us from one another in this country. This is a danger greater than the division of Jerusalem in 1948. Now is a time for internal conflict to subside. Let there be no war of the Jews for the rejoicing of our adversaries.

Now is a time for American Jewry to declare its solidarity with our fellow Jews in Israel. Now is the time to let it be known that this people, which passionately wants peace, will not be seduced out of its defenses by entrapment, by coercion, by counsels for imposing a peace which can only be a prescription for disaster both for the Middle-East and the world. Now is the time for a demonstration of our solidarity and for the creation of a national structure which will make that solidarity work — morally and politically, involving the greatest, not the least number of American Jews.

Yes, there are divided counsels among us, as there are in Israel, and what free people does not live amid divided counsels. But from one end of the spectrum to the other, we are united on this proposition — no real peace, no concessions. Without peace, not an inch.

We are united on yet another score — our conviction that Israel and the Jewish people will emerge through these treacherous and morally distressing times into an era of unchallenged freedom and sovereignty, that however difficult the pangs, peace will be born in the Middle East, that a resurrected and morally strengthened Jewish people will enter upon a new age in its own land, and none shall make them afraid.

This is our faith and this is our declaration to a world which must come some day to recognize that its own security is bound up with the security of Israel, that its own peace is joined to the peace of Israel. This is our urgent message, and this is our commitment, that "for the sake of Zion we will not be still and for the sake of Jerusalem we will not be silent, until her triumph go forth as brightness and her salvation as a burning torch."

### **Yadin sues for libel**

JERUSALEM (JCNS) — Uri Avneri, the editor of the weekly magazine *Haolam Haze*, and a former Knesset member, and Yigal Laviv, a reporter, are being sued for libel by Prof. Yigael Yadin, the archaeologist, who heads the new political party, the Democratic Movement for Change. Prof. Yadin's action is over an article in the magazine.

April 28, 1977

SENTINEL



DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Washington, D.C. 20520

May 7, 1977

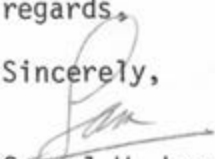
Dear Alex:

I want to say belatedly how enormously I appreciated your arranging the highly useful session with the Conference of Presidents in New York, and your gracious hospitality at dinner thereafter. I found the session helpful in the extreme, and I particularly enjoyed the separate talks with you. I do hope that we can stay in close touch in the months ahead.

I am off on Tuesday. Wish me luck!

With warmest personal regards,

Sincerely,



Samuel W. Lewis

Rabbi Alexander M. Schindler  
President  
Union of American Hebrew Congregations  
838 Fifth Avenue  
New York, N.Y. 10021

ראש הממשלה  
THE PRIME MINISTER

Jerusalem, April 26, 1977

Rabbi Alexander M. Schindler,  
President,  
Union of American Hebrew Congregations,  
838 Fifth Avenue,  
New York, N.Y. 10021.

Dear Rabbi Schindler,

It was most kind of you to write to me and I wish you to know that I greatly appreciate your expressions of encouragement and support.

I consider the national challenges ahead to be too great to permit abdication from public life and, therefore, I feel duty-bound to continue my public involvement albeit inevitably at a lower key.

Again, my gratitude for your generous remarks and may I add that I have greatly valued our association.

With every good wish,

Sincerely,

*Y. Rabin*  
Yitzhak Rabin



April 14, 1977

His Excellency Yitzhak Rabin  
Prime Minister of Israel  
Jerusalem, Israel

Dear Mr. Rabin:

There is little one can say at a time like this. Words bring scant comfort.

I do want you to know, though, that I am deeply saddened by the events of the past days. My heart goes out to you.

You have every reason to be proud of what you have accomplished. Your services to Israel, the nation and the people, were manifold and largely of inestimable worth. The judgment of history will bear this out.

I am satisfied that you are enabled and have the strength to remain in the political arena. Your knowledge and your understanding should not be lost to our cause.

My very best wishes.

Sincerely,

Alexander M. Schindler



April 22, 1977

His Excellency the American Ambassador  
to Israel, Samuel Lewis  
U.S. Department of State  
Washington, D.C.

Dear Ambassador Lewis:

There have been so many changes in arrangements for your meeting with the Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations, I want to be sure you have the necessary and correct information.

This session will be held on Wednesday, April 27 at 4:30 p.m. at 515 Park Avenue, New York, N.Y.

The Presidents' Conference has a few agenda items to be discussed and we will do so following your presentation. I am looking forward to having dinner with you later that evening, I hope that it will be convenient to meet at 7:00 p.m. Please let me know what hotel you will be staying at so I can make dinner reservations at a restaurant convenient to the hotel.

Looking forward to seeing you on Wednesday and with kindest regards,  
I am

Sincerely,

Alexander M. Schindler

December 1, 1976

Mrs. Frank G. Opton  
150 East 69th Street, #8-F  
New York, New York 10021

Dear Mrs. Opton:

Thank you for your letter of November 23th and for sharing your thoughts with me.

I must frankly admit that I share some of your concerns. The New York Times advertisement for the Presidents' Conference was prepared and placed during my absence from the country. Thus, as you can appreciate, I could not make my views known to the group which was delegated this responsibility. I would have deleted some of the wording which caused you distress.

This does not at all mean that I do not share the main argumentation. I am absolutely convinced that the U.N. is frightfully stacked against Israel. Regretfully, it is not a court in which this land will ever have a fair hearing. Abba Eban once said that if the Arab nations moved a resolution stating that the world is flat it would be carried by a majority vote in the United Nations. But this would not mean that the world is indeed flat. In the same vein, the passage of recent U.N. resolutions against Israel do not mean that Israel is solely responsible for the various situations extant.

While I feel strongly regarding Israel and the United Nations, I still feel strongly that we must everr continue to hope that the U.N. will become the organization the world had hoped it to be and we must continue to work towards that end.

Kindest greetings.

Sincerely,

Alexander M. Schindler

MRS. FRANK G. OPTON  
150 EAST 69TH STREET, APT. 8-F  
NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10021

Nov. 28, 1976

Rabbi Alexander M. Schindler  
515 Park Ave.  
New York, N.Y. 10022

Dear Rabbi Schindler :

I am outraged about the advertisement in today's New York Times. The attack against the United Nations appeals to the lowest hate instincts of the readers and forces me to regard it as political pornography. The ad also plays on ignorance and uncritical acceptance of innuendos and therefore, must be regarded as demagogic. I suggest that no clergyman should associate himself with such publicity.

I am a NGO (non-governmental organization) volunteer representative at the UN, representing the Unitarian Universalist Women of the United States and Canada.

All students of the UN know that the organization suffers from the inadequacies, prejudices and predilections of its members. We also know, that if a membership organization is operated democratically, the majority controls. If that is a farce, our own governmental system is a farce. I am aware that the theory of democracy is under attack, and that a substantial number of people prefer an authoritarian form of government. I, too, deplore the Arab-Soviet Axis but I do not believe it can be disrupted by scurrilous advertisements in the N.Y. Times. The question is, do you and your organization prefer an undemocratic form of organization for the UN and do you think that Israel would fare better under a non-democratic system.

Or else, would you want to abolish the worldwide organization of the UN or restrict membership to those who agree with the view which you (and I) favor? So far, nobody has even proposed another system of international organization. I also note that Israel (1) has not proposed to resign from the UN (2) has not objected to the UN peacekeeping activities on the Golan Heights and on the Sinai Peninsula. Israel has participated in and benefited from numerous UN activities and these were not a "farce". I recall the praises from Mr. Abba Eban. It is shameful that the many positive accomplishments of the UN are ignored by zealots who should know better.

MRS. FRANK G. OPTON  
150 EAST 69TH STREET, APT. 8-F  
NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10021

2

I will now turn to some of the specifics which are used as justification for the advertisement.

Item Racism : I am married to a man of Jewish ancestry. We have four children. I need not protest that anti-Semitism is anathema to me. However, I know, that it would be most difficult for me to marry my husband in Israel, and that neither I nor my children would be regarded as equal to the Jews, if we were living in Israel. The distinction is purely racial. I therefore find it defensible to speak of Israel racism, even though the word is odious in light of events elsewhere. It may be a debatable term, but the hysterical reaction to the word is wholly unjustified. Besides, the fact that a temporary majority of the UN membership has complained of racism in Israel in no way excuses the attack on the UN organization as such.

Item UNESCO : The trouble started when Israel declined to comply with the request to discontinue archaeological activities in the conquered territory. It is wholly immaterial whether, as the ad implies, the excavations were "educational". Dictators of all ages have said and sometimes even proved that their imposed activities were beneficent. I can find no fault with those who object to this kind of mentality.

Item the American Taxpayer : Your pocket book appeal is, of course, a favorite political weapon. It is also an unethical below the belt hucksterism, especially as it is obviously designed to foster the notion that the UN lives off the American taxpayers who support the UN. On a per capita basis, the American taxpayer is Nr. 14, far behind the Scandinavian countries, the Lowlands, not to speak of four Arab countries. The fact is also, that the UN is good business for the USA and especially New York, where much of the money of the UN and its staff is spent.

The UN organization is managed by a staff of devoted international civil servants who have not displayed any bias and are striving to bring about international peace ~~in the face~~ in the face of the intractability of stiff-necked partisans, including your organization. The ad does not bespeak the ethos and the rationality which I have been taught is essential to Jewish tradition. It is an unfortunate lapse and I call upon you to send an apology to Secretary General Kurt Waldheim.

Sincerely,

Eva K. Opton.





October 28, 1976

Minister Hanan Bar-On  
Embassy of Israel  
Washington, D.C. 20008

Dear Hanan:

Yes, I had seen Allon's address to the U.N. General Assembly. But I much appreciate your sending a copy to me with your own comments, they were of much interest.

I'm also pleased to have another copy of the address for sharing with members of my staff.

With warmest regards, I am

Sincerely,

Alexander M. Schindler

EMBASSY OF ISRAEL  
WASHINGTON, D.C.

שגרירות ישראל  
ושינגטון

PERSONAL

October 15, 1976

Rabbi Alexander Schindler  
Union of American Hebrew  
Congregations  
838 Fifth Avenue,  
New York, New York 10021

Dear Alex,

I am certain that you have already seen Allon's recent speech to the U.N. General Assembly. Nevertheless, I take the liberty of letting you have another copy in order to draw your attention in particular to the paragraphs dealing with the arms race in the Middle East. I believe that this is particularly timely in view of the rather unbridled attacks against the recent decision by the President to authorize the release of some rather important items of armaments, items which had been under discussion for many months.

I believe that Israel's proposal for the moderation of the arms race, which has been repeated for years, is the real answer to some of the substance of the accusations levelled against us. In other words, as long as there is no balanced and mutual reduction of the imports of armaments into the area, there is no choice but to keep up Israel's deterrent strength.

Passing to another matter in Allon's speech,

*Thank him -  
Tell him I had  
seen it, &  
Gruen, but  
appreciate  
add. formal  
copy for distribution*

EMBASSY OF ISRAEL  
WASHINGTON, D. C.

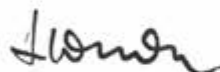
שגרירות ישראל  
ושינגטון

- 2 -

I believe also that his words on racism and  
apartheid are significant.

With the kindest and warmest regards.

Yours,



Hanan Bar-On

# CONFERENCE OF PRESIDENTS OF MAJOR AMERICAN JEWISH ORGANIZATIONS

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

21 October 1976

## AFFILIATED ORGANIZATIONS:

American Israel Public  
Affairs Committee  
American Jewish Congress  
American Mizrahi Women  
American Zionist Federation  
Anti-Defamation League  
B'nai B'rith  
B'nai B'rith Women  
Bnai Zion  
Central Conference of  
American Rabbis  
Council of Jewish Federations  
and Welfare Funds (observer)  
Hadassah  
Jewish Labor Committee  
Jewish Reconstructionist  
Foundation  
Jewish War Veterans  
of the U.S.A.  
Labor Zionist Alliance  
Mizrachi-Hapoel Hamizrachi  
National Committee for  
Labor Israel, Inc.  
National Council of  
Jewish Women  
National Council of  
Young Israel  
National Federation of  
Temple Sisterhoods  
National Jewish Community  
Relations Advisory Council  
National Jewish Welfare Board  
North American Jewish  
Youth Council  
Pioneer Women  
The Rabbinical Assembly  
Rabbinical Council of America  
Union of American Hebrew  
Congregations  
Union of Orthodox Jewish  
Congregations of America  
United Synagogue of America  
Women's American ORT  
Women's League for  
Conservative Judaism  
World Zionist Organization  
American Section, Inc.  
Zionist Organization of America

Mr. Kalman Seigel, Editor  
Letters to the Editor  
New York Times  
229 West 43rd Street  
New York, New York 10036

To The Editor:

Publication by the Commerce Department of the names of U.S. companies that comply with the Arab boycott fails to meet the need for strong legislation that makes the Arab boycott in this country unlawful.

We need a law that protects American companies from Arab pressure to stop trading with Israel. We need a law that protects American companies from Arab pressure to stop trading with other U.S. companies that trade with Israel. Such legislation should become a top priority of the next Congress and Administration, no matter who is elected President.

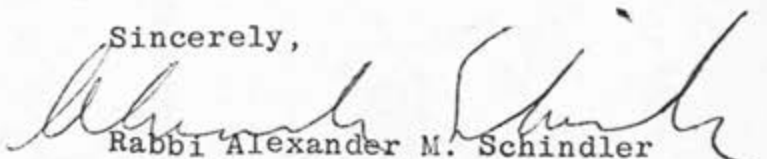
Without such laws, the Arab states will remain free to exploit American industry as a weapon in their economic war against Israel, America's friend and ally in the Middle East.

Without such laws, the quality of citizenship of American Jews and all who support or trade with Israel will continue to be under growing Arab attack.

Without such laws, U.S. corporations will face ever-increasing Arab demands to choose between profit and principle -- the profit of lucrative Arab business versus the principle of free trade and equal opportunity.

Strong anti-boycott legislation is necessary not only to guard against the importation into American life of foreign discrimination. Tough laws against the boycott are needed by U.S. companies to shield them from Arab pressure that would distort their business judgements and twist their business decisions to accommodate the Arab world's continuing aim of destroying the State of Israel.

Sincerely,

  
Rabbi Alexander M. Schindler  
Chairman



PERSONAL

October 1, 1976

Ambassador Simcha Dinitz  
Embassy of Israel  
Washington, D.C. 20008

Dear Simcha:

Thank you for your kind personal note in regard to my ZOA speech. I understood the inference which might be drawn from that one phrase; I only object to the headline which accused me of denouncing the Israel Government as "treating Jews like milk cows, that they want their money and nothing else." That was not exactly what I said.

If you must know, I felt abused by Golda's remarks about me in Maariv last Friday, where she said something to the effect that "Schiniler will not succeed in alienating American Jews from Israel." That was an unkind cut. I think you know what I feel and what I tried to do and it hurts especially because only the day before my 13 year old cried and when I asked him why he said, "I have no father, you are going away again." And where do you think I was going, to alienate Jews from Israel? But there was a compensating blessing too, for on Tuesday of last week, with David's assent, I intervened with Nicolae in behalf of a Romanian Jew who long had been refused a visa or even an appointment with Rosen. On Friday, ~~erw~~ Rosh Hashonah, Nicolae called up to tell me that he had received his visa that every day!

Golda's remarks were a low blow on several counts but I am not going to even write her a personal note, never mind a public letter. I have too much respect for what she has done and for her age.

On a more official matter, I enclose herewith a letter from one of our Houston congregants which makes an interesting suggestion. If you agree, please forward it to the Israel Ambassador to Mexico, maybe your good colleague can do something along these lines. In this connection and in regard to Argentinian Jewry, I asked our man in Washington -- Rabbi David Saperstein of the Reform Jewish Religious Action Center -- to begin quiet conversations with legislators toward the end of readying appropriate immigration legislation should it be needed in a hurry.

Ambassador Simcha Dinitz

Page -2-

October 1, 1976

Simcha, again my thanks for your comments. I want you to know that I deeply value your friendship. Rhea joins me in sending warmest regards to you and Vivian and we reciprocate your good wishes for a Gemer Tov.

Sincerely,

Alexander M. Schindler

Encl.

bcc: Yehuda Hellman



INC. OF TEXAS

6867 Wynnwood Drive, Houston, Texas 77008 • Phone 713-869-8371

September 27, 1976

Rabbi Alexander M. Schindler  
President, Union of American  
Hebrew Congregations  
838 Fifth Avenue  
New York, New York 10021

Dear Rabbi Schindler:

Thank you for your letter of September 23rd, verifying the conversation that I had with Al Vorspan concerning the relationship between the American Jewish community and the Government of Mexico. I certainly concur that at the present time patience is indicated.

I do, however, feel that there are some things which, in the absence of effectiveness on the part of ADL, that the UAHC should begin working on immediately. I have discussed this point with Ted Freedman at ADL and belabored it for the last seven (7) years concerning Jewry in Latin America. I think that it is imperative, not only for the self-survival of the Jews in Mexico, but in particular for the Jews of Argentine, that PR in Mexico be immediately implemented. There is no question in my mind that should an exodus occur from Argentina that the doors must be kept opened, as this is the natural country to which the Spanish-speaking Jews of Argentina would want to immigrate.

I believe that the UAHC, through the reform synagogues can do a much more effective job than outside agencies, such as ADL. The case could be strengthened considerably, should you be able to get the cooperation of the heads of the conservative and orthodox movements in New York City, so that together, through the synagogues, an education and course of action by the Jews of Mexico could be initiated. I think at the present time, where there is tremendous concern and fear in the minds and hearts of the Jews of Mexico, that you and your colleagues could make the point much more emphatically than during times of non-strife. Therefore, I feel the time is now -- not three months from now, after things are quiet, for the Jewish communities of Latin America to recognize that, in many cases, they are their own worst enemies and are to a certain extent, sealing their own fate.

Rabbi Alexander M. Schindler  
September 27, 1976  
Page Two

The Jews of Mexico City have "ghettoized" themselves, not only physically, but emotionally. They are not actively involved enough in the total betterment of the Mexican society through organizations, such as Rotary, Kiwanis, Lions Club, women's auxiliaries for Catholic charities and hospitals, etc., etc. Yes, there is some involvement - - And, yes, it is difficult in the Mexican political society to be accepted, even if a person wants, but that situation parallels the American scene thirty years ago, and I do feel that through the synagogues and through the Rabbis, that this point of getting more involved in the total social welfare of Mexico, as opposed to just the Jewish issues, is a strong point in raising the profile of the Jews in Mexico among their fellow citizens. ADL has been unable to get this point across beyond a few leaders. It is now up to the Rabbis and synagogues.

Two weeks ago, there was a large editorial in the Guadalajara newspaper, blaming the Jews for the economic ills of Mexico and this seems to be spreading. We are encountering some of it in Houston and San Antonio from some of the more radical Chicano leadership. I think this current anti-Semitism wave is a much more important issue to stem today, than the question of how Mexico votes on the subject of Zionism and I am deeply concerned that it be nipped in the bud.

To you and your family, I wish a year of health, happiness and fulfillment.

Sincerely,

  
Sanford Lack

SLe

CC - Mr. Ted Freedman, ADL, 315 Lexington, New York, New York 10016  
Rabbi Robert I. Kahn, Temple Emanu El, 1500 Sunset, Houston  
Mr. Al Vorspan, UAHC, 838 Fifth Ave., New York, New York 10021  
Mr. Tom Newman, ADL, 4211 Southwest Freeway, Houston 77029



EMBASSY OF ISRAEL  
WASHINGTON, D.C.

שגרירות ישראל

ושינמון

*Assi Auer*

PERSONAL

28 September 1976

Rabbi Alexander M. Schindler  
President  
Union of American Hebrew Congregations  
838 Fifth Avenue  
New York, N.Y. 10021

Dear Alex:

Thank you for your letter of September 14th with which you enclosed your address to the ZOA. As I was not present at the meeting, I have read your remarks with great interest.

With regard to that section which you say was treated critically by the Israel press, I can only offer to you the following comment for what it is worth:

I agree with you on the first part of this paragraph where you said that you were "employing a metaphor which may not be too elegant..." I also agree with you that Israel does not need or, for that matter, wish to have a cow as her companion. Where I think the source of the misunderstanding lies is by the inference that might be drawn from your remark that Israel believes that the American Jewish community is a cow to be milked, or that the American Jewish community considers itself to be so.

In all my long association with American Jewry I have found it to be Jewry with a heart, Jewry with a mind, Jewry capable of independent thought as well

EMBASSY OF ISRAEL  
WASHINGTON, D.C.

שגרירות ישראל  
ושינגטון

PERSONAL

28 September 1976

Rabbi Alexander M. Schindler,  
page 2.

as united action. I don't think anyone of us thinks  
of American Jewry in different terms and that, I am  
sure, includes you, too.

Thank you very much for sharing your thoughts  
with me.

אמן חתמה ס/ב

Sincerely,



Simcha Dinitz  
Ambassador

September 14, 1976

His Excellency, The Israel Ambassador  
Simcha Dinitz  
Embassy of Israel  
1621 22nd St., N.W.  
Washington, D.C. 20008

Dear Simcha:

Yehuda Hellman tells me there has been a negative press reaction in Israel to my address at the ZOA. I'm at a loss to see how anything I said could be construed as being critical of Israel. I enclose a copy of my remarks for your perusal, if you can tell me where I am critical I'd like to know!

With warmest regards from house to house, I am

Sincerely,

Alexander M. Schindler

Encl.

TELEGRAM -- September 27, 1976 - Telephone for Immediate Delivery

President Gerald R. Ford  
The White House  
Washington, D.C.

The organized Jewish community urgently requests your Administration to take all possible measures to assure the final adoption of the anti-boycott legislation now before Congress. Economic blackmail must be resisted; America cannot sell its moral principles for oil money. It must not become the instrument for furthering the foreign policy aims of nations whose purposes are inimical to ours. The Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations asks your personal intervention to that end.

Rabbi Alexander M. Schindler  
Chairman

cc: Rick Brown (Accounting)

*Jan -*  
*Case*  
*JTA*  
*Incl Pres*  
*PC Pool*  
*cc'd*  
*Times*  
*AP*  
*UPI*  
*Reuter*  
*Foray Post*  
*Day Post*

Statement - Telegram

let to WH.

— I yld. Act B

I read to John

John

Call on

JTA

Memo -

all Israel Com<sup>ing</sup>

Greg DeV

Post

Call

Times ✓

AP ✓

UP ✓

Reuters ✓



From the desk of:

RABBI ALEXANDER M. SCHINDLER

The organizaed American Jewish community

*requests your admision to take all measure which*  
urgently asks you to take leadership in assuring the ~~final~~ *fix*

*for*  
final adoption of anti-boycott legislation *before Congress*

*George*  
Blackmail must be resisted; America cannot sell

its moral principles for oil money. It must

not become the intrument for furthering

the foreign policy aims of nations whose

purposes are inimical to ours. The

Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish

Organizations asks your personal intervention

to that end.

# אמת מארה"ב

רביי אלכסנדר שינדלר, יושב ראש  
"מועדון הנשיאים" של הארגונים היהודיים  
דיום בארה"ב, השמיע בליל שבת בקורת  
נוקבת על ישראל, הממוקדת את כל  
פעולותיה בתפוצות בתחום של גיוס  
כספים, עד שיהודים אמריקניים מקבלים  
את ההרגשה שהם "פרה חולבת".

לדעת שינדלר יש לתת ליהודי אמריקה  
את הזכות למתוח בקורת על עמדותיה  
של ישראל ולהביע דעות עצמאיות, שכן  
"השמעת האמת היא הצורה הנעלה ביותר  
של מתן תמיכה לישראל".

יש לשער שרביי שינדלר לא התכוון  
לעצם הזכות להשמיע דעות עצמאיות  
ודברי בקורת. היא שמורה ליהודים בת-  
פוצות כדבר המובן מאליו (ולא מעטים  
מהם משתמשים בה כדי לומר "אמתות"  
שקשה להגדירן כצורה הנעלה ביותר של  
מתן תמיכה לישראל). כוונתו היתה, ככל  
הנראה, שדעתם של יהודי התפוצות צרי-  
כה להיות בעלת משקל, שהיא צרי-  
כה להשפיע על ההחלטות המתקבלות  
בישראל.

זו תביעה שתעורר, מן הסתם, מחלוקת  
חריפה; אך כדי שאפשר יהיה להתייחס  
אליה, צריך להציג תחילה את השאלה  
— אילו דרכים קיימות כדי לברר מה  
דעתם של יהודי אמריקה בשאלה נתונה?  
האם השקפותיהם של ראשי הארגונים  
היהודים צליכות להתקבל באופן אוטומטי  
כמשקפות את דעתם של המוני היהודים  
בארה"ב?

לישראל יש פרלמנט, ויש מכשירים  
שבאמצעותם מתנהל הוויכוח הציבורי. בין  
שהחלטות המתקבלות באן טובות ובין  
שאיןן טובות, הן משקפות את דעתו ו-  
רצונו של רוב הציבור. מי שרוצה מי  
ההחלטות הללו יושפע מהלכי הרוח  
השוררים ביהדות אמריקה, צריך לדאוג  
קודם כל לכלים שבאמצעותם ניתן למדוד  
כצורה יעילה ואמינה את התפלגות הדו-  
עות בקרב הציבור היהודי שמעבר לים.

## הנגיד הספרדי הודח בשל המלצתו לקשור קשרים עם ישראל

**אנשים  
ומעשים**

נגיד הבנק הממלכתי של ספרד, זואיס קורונל דה פלמה, הרוזן תרזארה, שביקר לפני שבועות אחדים בארץ, כאורחו של משה זנבר, נגיד בנק ישראל שוחרר מתפקידו ובמקומו נתמנה חוזר מריה לופז, כלכלן שאינו מומחה לבנקאות.

„טיימס“ הלונדוני המוסר על כך מוסית, כי הרוזן תרזארה הודח ממשרתו כנגיד הבנק, על שהעיר בפומבי בעת ביקורו בתל-אביב, כי על ספרד לקשור יחסים דיפלומטיים עם ישראל. וזה עורר את חמת הערבים, אשר ספרד מקיימת אתם יחסים כלכליים הדוקים. הרוזן תרזארה נתמנה כמנהל הראשי של בנק החסכון.

\*

## „מאחר שהטלויזיה בישראל גרועה“



ד"ר יוראם יללם

ד"ר יללם וקסלר, הנשיא ל-שעבר של „בני ברית“ שהשתקע לפני שנה בישראל הציג את ה-שגריר שמחה דיניין בהופעתו ב-ועידת „בני ברית“ בוואשינגטון וסיפר, כי שהותו בישראל הפכה אותו לגץ פוליטי. שמעתי כאן בוועידה את גאומיהם של קאסטר, פורד וקיסניגר ושום דבר מדב-ריהם לא שכנע אותו שישנה מ-דינה ערבית כלשהי שמוכנה ב-אמת ותמים להשלים עם קיומה של ישראל כמדינה עצמאית במזרח-התיכון. והפחות משכנע מכולם היה קיסניגר — הוסיף יללם וקסלר. האורח מישראל אף התלוצץ ואמר לצירי הועידה: 2500 הצירים שלכם אינם מהווים בישראל אסיפה גדולה, מאחר שהטלויזיה בישראל היא כה גרועה, הרי פרט לערבים שבהם מופיע קוגאק, אפשר בישראל להקהיל קהל יותר גדול...”

\*

## „אפילו לא לדמשק“

רק לפני שנתיים נתקבל יאסר עראפאת בתשואות סוערות ב-או"ם, כיום מסרבים לתת לו כני-סה אפילו בסוריה — במלים אלה הגדיר השגריר שמחה דיניין ב-נאום בוואשינגטון את התמורה הגדולה שחלה במעמדו של אש"ף. והוסיף: לפני חדשים אחדים תבע האס"ף אסאד נשיא סוריה בתוקף „שעראפאת יוזמן לוועידת זינווה, היום אסאד אינו מתיר את כניסתו אפילו לדמשק“...



שמחה דיניץ

\*

## „לא כפוליטיקאים הקשישים“



ח"כ אחוד אולמרט



ח"כ יוסי שריד

אחרי חילופי הדברים החריפים שהושמעו בין חברי הכנסת יוסי שריד ואחוד אולמרט בפרשת מיי-נויו של המבקר הפנימי של ה-כנסת, היו שחשבו ששיתוף ה-פעולה בין שני הח"כים הצעירים בעלי הדעות המנוגדות בא לקיצו, ולא היא. גם יוסי שריד מן המערך וגם אחוד אולמרט מהליכוד הו-דעו לסופר „מעריב“ כי הם הת-פייסו, ושלא כפוליטיקאים הקשי-שים — הם יוכיחו ש„יונה“ ו„נץ“ יכולים לשתיף-פעולה, ובקרוב יש-מעו מחדש על שיתוף זה, בחי-שיפת עיוותים ופגמים.

\*

## „לא אצלנו“

גיימס קאלהאן נשאל על-ידי עורך „מיגוון“ של מפלגת העבודה ב-ישראל לדעתו על השביתות ב-שירותים הציבוריים בישראל וב-השביתה בשירותים אלה. תשובתו אמר ראש ממשלת בריטניה:



קאלהאן: לא הייתי רוצה להביע דעה על המצב בישראל. ב-בריטניה הנהיגה ממשלת הלייבור מדיניות של שיתוף פעולה והשכנת שלום תעשייתי ביחסי עבודה במקום עימותים וסכסוכים. מדיניות זו כלולה במה שאנו קוראים „האמנה החברתית“. והיא מחייבת את הממשלה לשתף את שני הצדדים במשק, בתוכניותיה לעתיד. הוכחה להצלחת מדיניות זו היא העובדה, ש-השיעור הנוכחי של סכסוכי עבודה הוא הנמוך ביותר בעשור האחרון.

ראיון זה של ראש ממשלת בריטניה עומד להת-פרסם ב„מיגוון“ השבוע, בעת שעל בריטניה מאיימת שביתת הימאים, וארגוני הימאים הישראליים הביעו נכונותם לתמוך בעמיתיהם השובתים בבריטניה.

\*

## אנו לא פרה חולבת



אלכסנדר שינדלר

אלכסנדר שינדלר, יו"ר ועידת הנשיאים של הארגונים היהודיים באמריקה טען בנאומו בליל שבת בוועידת ציוני אמריקה בניו-יורק, כי ישראל, או לפחות ישראלים רבים, מתייחסים אל יהודי אמריקה כאל פרה חולבת, שצריכה לתת חלב. והוא הוסיף ואמר: ואם אין זו המדיניות של ישראל קיימת אי-צל חלק מיהודי אמריקה ההרגשה שמתייחסים אליהם כאל פרות שי-צריך לחלוב, לוקחים מהם את ה-חלב מוציאים אותם מפעם למרעה, אך אם יש-ראל רוצה בשותף למאבקה היא זקוקה לאיש עם מה-שבה עצמאית ולא לפרה“.

בוועידה זו של ציוני אמריקה הופיעו סגניהם של פירד וקארטר במירון לנשיאות (הסינאטורים דול ומנדייל) בעוד שפורד וקארטר הופיעו בוועידת „בני ברית“ בוואשינגטון. לוועידה בניו-יורק הוזמן אלוף (מיל.) אריאל שרון.

## המנכ"ל לומד ערבית



עמוס ערן

השמועה שעברה מפה לאוזן היתה, כי ראש הממשלה יצחק רבין התפנה מעיסוקיו המרובים וי החל לומד ערבית בשעורי בית אי צל מורה ערבי. הבדיקה העלתה, שאמנם ראש הממשלה לא נתפנה ללימוד זה, אך מנכ"ל משרדו עמוס ערן — לומר ערבית מדוי ברת בקורס מזורז באולפן, ואף מקדיש לכך 14 שעות ליממה. לי צורך זה אף קיבל חופשה קצרה מעיסוקי המשרד.

עמוס ערן עומד בראש ועדה לטיפול בדרוזים.

## חלב ודבש

לשר הבטחון שמעון פרס היתה תגובה מהירה ו קולדעת על דברי אלכסנדר שינדלה, שטען כי ישראל רואה את יהדות ארה"ב בתפקיד „פרה חולבת“. בפגישה עם משלחת של עסקנים יהודיים מארה"ב ביום א' השבוע אמר שמעון פרס: ארץ ישראל היא ארץ זבת חלב ודבש, אתם תתנו לה את החלב, ואנו ניתנו לכם, ליהודי התפוצות את הדבש.

## „תודה על כל מה

## שעשיתם למעננו“

פרדינאנד מארקוס נשיא הפי ליפינים חגג בשבת האחרונה את יום הולדתו בצורה מקורית. בלוי ית רעיתו, שלשת ילדיו וששה שרי ממשלתו הוא בילה את היום בי מושב ריקארטה, שהוא מושב קרי אופרטיווי שהוקם בפרויקט ישי ראלו — פיליפיני.

כאשר נפרד הנשיא מארקוס מי אנשי המקום גיגש אל המומחה הישראלי, גיורא דורי, העומד בי ראש הפרויקט הישראלי-פיליפיני לחץ את ידו ואמר לו: „תודה על כל אשר עשיתם למעננו“.



פרדינאנד מארקוס

לחץ את ידו ואמר לו: „תודה על כל אשר עשיתם למעננו“.

## 'Israel treating U.S. Jews like milk cows'

By MALKA RABINOWITZ

Jerusalem Post Correspondent

NEW YORK. — Rabbi Alexander Schindler, chairman of the Conference of Presidents of Major Jewish Organizations, criticized Israel on Friday night for its concentration on the fund-raising function of American Jewry.

"Some American Jews," said Schindler, "have the feeling that they are cows to be milked, walked around a bit for some exercise and then let off to pasture."

Addressing delegates to a convention of the Zionist Organization of America here, Schindler said that "cows have their limitations."

"When I am in trouble, I do not want a cow. I want a man with the capacity for independent thought. Truth is the highest form of support for Israel."

Given the strong basic support of American Jewry for Israel, it was a healthy, perhaps even required development that there was criticism of Israel policy.

In an address on Saturday evening, ZOA leader Jacques Torczyner pointed to a power struggle in the American Jewish community in which "the fund-raisers" were seeking to establish dominance "without a democratic base."

## B-G University honour for K

Jerusalem Post Reporter

BEERSHEBA. — The Ben-Gurion University of the Negev will make U.S. Secretary of State Henry Kissinger an Honorary Fellow at a dinner in New York on September 20, the university announced yesterday.

Kissinger has agreed to attend the dinner and receive the award from the university president, Yosef Tekoah. Kissinger was chosen for the honour for his contributions to "academic and diplomatic endeavours and to the security of the State of Israel," the university said.



## MOSHE DAYAN'S

### "Story of My Life"

reveals  
never-before-  
published details  
of his career as a  
soldier-politician  
and his private  
life.

Serialization  
of this  
important  
autobiography  
continues tomorrow

Sept 12, 1976  
Pg 1



September 22, 1976

Dear Dick:

Your note and the clippings just arrived and I am grateful for your thoughtfulness. I also want you to know that I fully agree with your comments.

By now I trust you have the full text of my address, it was sent to you via airmail express, and that you can see how hopelessly I was misquoted in the thrust of my message. To some extent, the ZOA is responsible for this since their thrust is anti-government so that the platform hurt - but the big problem for me is the press which feeds on discord.

You also should know that the full text of my speech was sent to Dan Patir, as well as Rath of the Jerusalem Post which did me the most dirt.

I'll be interested in hearing from you after you've read my text.

A bit belated, but nonetheless heartfelt, mazal tov on your 50th! I'm sorry Rhea and I couldn't share in the simcha, it would have been such a joy for us both.

Rhea and the kids join in sending fondest regards to you and the family and our best wishes for a beautiful, happy and healthy New Year.

Affectionately,

Alexander M. Schindler

Rabbi Righard G. Hirsch  
13 King David Street  
Jerusalem, ISRAEL

PERSONAL

האיגוד העולמי ליהדות מתקדמת  
WORLD UNION FOR PROGRESSIVE JUDAISM

13 King David Street  
Jerusalem, Israel

Tel. 234-748, 232-444 טל.

רח' המלך דוד 13  
ירושלים

Office of Executive Director

לשכת המזכיר הכללי

September 14, 1976

Dear Alex,

You have undoubtedly already heard about the storm you kicked up with your talk at the ZOA. Enclosed are the clippings from the Jerusalem Post & Maariv.

It is difficult for me to believe that the newspaper account is accurate. It must have been taken out of context or have been inaccurately quoted. As it stands, it is not the kind of statement that in your capacity as Chairman of the President's Conference you should want to be associated with. If I am correct, then you should get off letters to the Israeli press sending the full text and underlining the related statement (or have Yehudah Hellman do so in your behalf).

On the other hand, if you did make the statement as quoted, then I urge you to think through carefully the implications. Be aware that the Israeli press (and the American as well) are hungry for news of dissent. Any criticism of policy or any interpersonal rivalry is blown way out of proportion. (Marilyn Oye in the Washington Post - the business with Ben Ari in the Israeli press)

The subject of Israel-Diaper relations is especially sensitive. You have already declared your position that the long range needs of Israel

are best served by an American Jewish community making independent judgments. You have made your point, and for the most part it has been accepted. <sup>11"</sup>? Quit while you're ahead. Our experience ~~with~~ the Religious Action Center and social action in general is that people question your right to speak only when they disagree with what you say. The more you speak in generalities on "rights" and "truth," the more likely are you to be considered a critic rather than a supporter of Israeli policy. You can't win - at least not as Chairman of the President's Conference. The President's Conference is not an ideological commission like the AJC Committee's Task Force on Israel: Diaspora relations, nor even the AZF's Commission on Zionist ideology. Those are nice parlor-room debating societies. The President's conference is a vital instrument of American Jewry for supporting the cause of Israel on specific, often life-and-death, issues.

Hence, my advice, which I hope you will not consider gratuitous: so long as you serve as Chairman of the President's Conference, concentrate on the specifics and eschew the philosophizing as much as possible. I recognize that the above is really the subject for an extended conversation. This is just a starter.

Best wishes & all for a 226 32

Shick

# CONFERENCE OF PRESIDENTS OF MAJOR AMERICAN JEWISH ORGANIZATIONS

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

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Women's American ORT  
Women's League for  
Conservative Judaism  
World Zionist Organization  
American Section, Inc.  
Zionist Organization of America

August 27, 1976

Mr. Josef Almogi  
World Zionist Organization  
P.O. Box 92  
Jerusalem, Israel

Dear Mr. Almogi:

I was both astonished and disturbed to read the article, "American Jews and Israel," in the 1976 Number 1 issue of Forum, published by the World Zionist Organization. It is the kind of reportage which one might expect to be published in a Third World journal--replete with half-truths, inaccuracies, misinterpretations and essentially anti-Zionist material of a kind that one certainly does not expect to see in a magazine bearing the imprimatur of the W.Z.O.

Particularly troubling is the author's treatment of the so-called "Israel Task Force" of the NJCRAC and CJFWF, which is described as representing "recognition on the part of the fundraisers that developing beneficial pro-Israel alliances and promoting a pro-Israel public opinion climate is a specialized skill best handled by experts in the field of community relations."

I was startled to learn--as I am sure you would be on reading the article--that "the bulk of pro-Israel community relations activities are conducted not by the Zionist bodies but by the officially non-Zionist and pro-Israel American Jewish community relations agencies."

You may wish to consult Charlotte Jacobson on the accuracy of this statement. But even that is not necessary. The author reveals his own ignorance--and anti-Zionist bias--in asserting that "relatively few" American Jews (he places the number at 480,000) "are members of officially Zionist organizations." The fact is that this figure is far greater than the membership of the non-Zionist community relations agencies whom he regards as the major proponents of pro-Israel sentiment in the U.S. The further fact is that 480,000 "members" equals 480,000 families--nearly one out of three Jewish families in the country. Not a "relatively few" number at all! But in his eagerness to



justify ignoring the Zionist movement, the author must dismiss all Zionist pro-Israel activity and argue that "indirect" pro-Israel political activity is "conducted largely by the voluntary, mass-membership and tax-exempt local and national Jewish 'community relations' agencies."

That Hadassah has a far larger "mass membership" than any of the community relations agencies the author mentions is not revealed to the unsuspecting reader, nor that the activities of the American Zionist Federation are also "tax exempt," nor that the Zionist movement is vigorously engaged in political action for Israel.

The author is so eager to vaunt the various programs of the "Israel Task Force" that he commits a series of breaches of security. We are told, for example, that "a national speakers bureau to coordinate the appearance of pro-Israel speakers across the country was set up (at a cost of \$150,000) as an independent agency with no ostensible Jewish identification, so as not to impugn its credibility in the general community." There is a description of another project to prepare interpretive material on Israel for Washington-based columnists, commentators and reporters (\$30,000). There is also a description of efforts "to introduce the news of Israel" into "specialized trade and technical publications."

Is it necessary for a Zionist magazine to publish such facts and thus reveal strategy and tactics to the Arab League, the Senator Abourezks and the enemies of Israel wherever they may be?

Finally, I must tell you, in all candor, that I am offended by the author's description of the Presidents Conference. What is particularly infuriating is to read the author's comments on the admitted fact that the Presidents Conference "to a certain extent has been recognized by successive Administrations as... official spokesman for American Jewry on Israel and related matters."

One would have thought that any objective observer writing on the subject of "American Jews and Israel" might underscore the significance of this historic development, both for American Jewry and for Israel. Instead, the author dismisses the very idea of it. "The reality of the situation," he writes, "is somewhat different from appearances."

In other words, the "successive Administrations" that have been foolish enough to regard the Conference of Presidents as the "official spokesman for American Jewry" ought now to withdraw that recognition. Perhaps after reading such a statement in an official W.Z.O. publication, the Arabists in the State Department may be emboldened to propose a change in policy. If the Presidents Conference does not represent American Jewry, why should the President and the Secretary of State bother to meet with it? Far from being the authentic voice of American Jewry on issues affecting the security and dignity of Jews abroad, according to the author, the Presidents Conference serves merely as "an occasional forum for discussion--particularly convenient for visiting Israeli dignitaries who wish to address 'the American Jewish Community' at one fell swoop--and as an



occasional spokesman in rare cases of unity."

Is American Jewish unity so "rare" as to make the Presidents Conference only an "occasional" spokesman? You and I know better. And is the "diverse" composition of the Presidents Conference a drawback that operates "to preclude any meaningful functional role?" Or is not the Presidents Conference able to speak for American Jewry--and has not the Presidents Conference been recognized by "successive Administrations"--precisely because it is so diverse and so broadly representative? The broad range of ideologies and function among the constituent organizations of the Presidents Conference lies at the heart of its strength and significance; when the Presidents Conference speaks, it speaks for all American Jewry. That is why it is regarded correctly as the authentic voice of the largest and richest Jewish community in the world. And it is this recognition that is so resented by the "Professor of Jewish Studies and Political Science" who is published by the W.Z.O. to "examine the political relationship of the American Jewish community to Israel."

It is intriguing to note that the author bases his assessments exclusively on interviews with "many staff members of the various community relations agencies" comprising the Israel Task Force. He sought no interviews with leaders of the Presidents Conference, or of the Zionist organizations, or any of the many other major organizations whose membership encompasses the bulk of American Jewry. Did the good doctor really expect an objective assessment from those who are subjectively involved? As a CCNY alumnus, I am particularly pained by such shoddy methodology. Meritocracy clearly has seen its day, not just when it comes to admissions but on the faculty level too.

I will not fatigue you by listing the many other errors of fact and interpretation to which unwary readers of the Forum have been exposed in this article. Suffice it to say that they are innumerable. It is disheartening and puzzling that the WZO should give them currency.

I am aware that the magazine includes the standard disclaimer that "the views presented in the articles are those of the authors' only." But I do not regard this as absolving the editors or Forum of responsibility for publishing material that is damaging--indeed, dangerous--to the cause of Israel.

Sincerely,

Alexander M. Schindler

AMS:arf

cc: Mrs. Charlotte Jacobson  
Mr. Zvi Yaron  
Mr. A. Schenker

bcc: Rabbi Alexander M. Schindler

RABBI ALEXANDER M. SCHINDLER • UNION OF AMERICAN HEBREW CONGREGATIONS  
PRESIDENT 838 FIFTH AVENUE NEW YORK, N.Y. 10021 (212) 249-0100

August 11, 1976

Mrs. Max N. Matzkin  
National President  
Hadassah  
New York, N.Y. 10019

Dear Rose:

First of all, do not be "saddened" by having to write as you did. Why should a letter taking issue with what I said sadden you? I certainly am not in any sense offended by it, all the more so because I respect your judgments much, I always have and even in this instance you are just and wise in some of the points you make.

Let me deal with the various points you raise ad seriatim:

1/ Sorry I gave you 150,000 more members than you have, ascribe it to a rabbinic proneness to hyperbole which is exceedingly difficult to shake. I don't have the San Francisco interview before me -- as a matter of fact, I rarely do more than scan these clippings, not wanting to be annoyed by the usual garble -- but as I recall it the question to which I responded was the following, "Are the presidents of the Presidents' Conference really representative of organized American Jewry?" and my response was that we are, I am elected, David Blumberg is elected, and you, of course, are an added shining example.

2/ You are right on the National Conference on Soviet Jewry question and I was clearly under a misapprehension. I checked this matter now fully and the formation was not quite the way I was given to understand it was. On the other hand, I stand by my conviction that a separate organization for this and other like efforts merely serves further to fragmentize the American Jewish community and that the entire Soviet Jewry issue should be handled by one of the umbrella organizations, to wit the Presidents' Conference.

3/ On the matter of Vietnam you will have to take my word for it. The UAHC, as you know, was the Jewish organization most closely identified with the anti-war movement. At that time I was Vice President and I give you my word that I received call after call and messenger after messenger enjoining us to tone down our public statements if not to eliminate them entirely since "those guns which face America in Vietnam are the guns which will face us in Israel." There were times when in response to these pleas and just for the sake of "Sholom Bayis," Al Vorspan and I marched into Maurice to plead with him to cooperate. True, neither Rabin nor anyone else of that rank ever said this to me directly, but their ministers did and certainly gave the impression that they were not speaking for themselves.

but not at the expense of our  
When will the leaders of America  
the offensive and make their position  
President Carter who is becoming  
more autocratic and more "even-handed" than  
any of our previous presidents.

**Dr. Solomon Colodner**

## **Back to '48 partition**

Dear Editor:

I found Rabbi Rackman's article of May 29th extremely disturbing. His reliance on President Carter has now been overtaken by the President's press conference of May 27th. His statements there indicate that we are, in effect, back to the 1947 Partition Resolution. Here Rabbi Rackman discusses Jerusalem as a birthday present (!), while Carter is essentially at square one, questioning Israel's establishment.

Rabbi Rackman's line of thought — "that Israeli Jews . . . not become obsessed with the notion of sovereignty . . . facts, not abstract concepts" — is even more remarkable in the light of current events. I trust that a Ramat Gan perspective rather than that of New York will convince Rabbi Rackman that if there is any

Mrs. Max N. Matzkin  
August 11, 1976  
Page -2-

4/ I really do think that there was a kind of worshipful attitude toward Golda on the American Jewish scene which led most among us to give her unquestioned obeisance. But you are right, it is probably wiser if I do not say so publicly and I won't in the future, but I still believe it. The feet of clay did not become too widely apparent until 1973 and while there were undoubtedly some who had doubts before then, those doubts were not voiced.

5/ I, too, am tired of all this discussion about dissent and I must tell you that I am getting clobbered from both sides. On the one hand people say I am really a messenger for Breira and on the other hand people say that what I am trying to do is to exercise censorship on the American Jewish community. Obviously, neither is the case. It may be true for others but I for one do not use words like "open discussion" and "dissent" as a code word for Breira. Joe Sternstein and Jacques Torczyner have had as much say in the conduct of the Presidents' Conference, if not more, than they did in any prior administration. When I say open discussion, I mean open discussion for everyone.

6/ In regard to the CCAR resolution, let me assure you at once that I had absolutely nothing to do with it, I did not even participate in the debate nor in a special meeting which was convened past midnight one night to discuss the subject at greater length. As I understand it, the final version was a kind of "amalgam" designed to compromise a number of forces, the doves on the one hand and the hawks on the other. The doves wanted to have the Social Action resolution, which you will recall, affirmed and the hawks and centrists would have none of it. Moreover, in his final address Arthur Lelyveld came down pretty heavy on the "critics of Israel," so much so that the press misrepresented him as having labeled them treasonous if not more. This led to the insistence on the reaffirmation of a free discussion. What I am really trying to say is that most of the problems were internal CCAR rather than external Israel vis a vis the American Jewish community.

I think that I have pretty much covered everything you raised. Again, let me say how deeply I appreciate your constructive comments.

Good luck with your convention and warmest regards.

Sincerely,

Alexander M. Schindler

August 11, 1976

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National President  
Hadassah  
New York, N.Y. 10019

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Mrs. Max N. Matzkin

August 11, 1976

Page -2-

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Good luck with your convention and warmest regards.

Sincerely,

Alexander M. Schindler

# HADASSAH

THE WOMEN'S ZIONIST ORGANIZATION OF AMERICA, INC. • 50 WEST 58th STREET, NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10019 • (212) 355-7900

August 5, 1976

Rabbi Alexander Schindler, President  
Union of American Hebrew Congregations  
838 Fifth Avenue  
New York, N.Y. 10021

Dear Alex:

The combination of your interview in the San Francisco Jewish Bulletin and the resolutions passed at the Central Conference of American Rabbis leads me to write the kind of letter which I did not believe I would ever have occasion to send to you.

Let me first deal with the interview. I thank you for your free gift to Hadassah of an additional 150,000 members, but our membership still has attained only the glorious number of 350,000. And while it is true that I won a contested election, I did not have to "fight my way up the ladder."

I think the issue of dissent has taken on the aspect of an attempt to muzzle people's opinions. The question is what does dissent represent? Dissent, according to the dictionary means, "to differ in belief or opinion or to reject the doctrine of an established church." Dissent need not necessarily be only on the part of BREIRA, JDL, or - in Israel - the group which calls itself Gush Emunim.

There is a great difference of opinion in Israel on how to achieve peace and security, just as there is a difference of opinion in this country on how we can help Israel to achieve that peace and security. However, to make it appear that dissent in the Jewish community is a virtue only because it is dissent and therefore must be respected, is doing ourselves a disservice.

I could disagree with you about whether or not American Jewry should have a say in Israel's policy decisions. But when you say publicly that Israel told us that we should not oppose the Vietnam War, I think you will have to document for me who the "they" are, when it was told to us, and why you feel it necessary to make a statement such as this, undocumented, in a public newspaper. Your facts about the formation of the National Council for Soviet Jewry are incorrect. Golda Meir had little or nothing to do with its formation, even though she was the Foreign Minister.

..... continued



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H A D A S S A H

Rabbi Alexander Schindler, President  
Union of American Hebrew Congregations

- 2 -

August 5, 1976

Your facts about the formation of the National Council for Soviet Jewry are incorrect. Golda Meir had little or nothing to do with its formation, even though she was the Foreign Minister.


I believe that you do yourself and Israel a disservice when you say that "everything Golda wanted, Golda got," etc. There were many who questioned what was happening both in Israel and in the Jewish communities during the years between 1967 and 1973. I am not nervous about you, Alex, as you claim some Zionists are. But I think you do yourself and the Presidents' Conference an injustice with this kind of flip statement.

As you know, I am a member of a Reform congregation, and no one was happier than I when I began to see the acceptance of Zionist ideology by all bodies within the Reform Movement, whether members of the Reform Movement were members of Zionist organizations, or not. However, I consider it horrendous that the CCAR has adopted the kind of resolutions which were reported in the press.

I am particularly distressed to find that the Central Conference of American Rabbis passed a resolution in which it called for the encouragement of a full discussion in the North American Jewish community for alternatives, and to support forums for every subject including options for the solution of the "Palestine" problem. The implication seems to be that there is presently, no place or opportunity for such discussions. That resolution ends with a statement that dissent is not disloyal and then reaffirms commitment to and support for open discussion on ways to bring about a secure peace for Israel. It strengthens my opinion that the word "dissent" has now become a new synonym for BREIRA and that it is not simply a question of who dissents from prevailing opinion but that dissent for the sake of dissent shall now become a glorious achievement.

I am saddened, Alex, by having to write this, but I feel that I must, if only because I respect your ability, your integrity, and your ability to be a leader.

Sincerely,

  
Mrs. Max N. Matzkin  
National President

# CONFERENCE OF PRESIDENTS OF MAJOR AMERICAN JEWISH ORGANIZATIONS

515 PARK AVENUE

NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10022

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Cable Address: COJOGRA

## "DISSENT IN THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMUNITY -- ISSUES AND RESPONSIBILITIES"

(Summary of a discussion ---- June 15, 1976)

Rabbi Alexander M. Schindler, chairman, opened the discussion, explaining that the meeting had been called because of a growing interest in the subject and a general feeling that it would be useful to explore both the areas of dissent of American Jews from Israel's policies and the responsibilities that necessarily accompany expressions of dissent.

Rabbi Eugene Borowitz of Hebrew Union College, editor of Sh'ma, and a member of Breira, made the opening presentation.

Dissenters feel that the Jewish "Establishment" has manifested a monolithic attitude of defensiveness on the West Bank issue, Rabbi Borowitz said. They believe that the establishment does not encourage open discussion and very rarely allows for genuine debate. Because most organizations want something from the State of Israel -- money, program assistance, or the kovod of being publicly associated with the State of Israel and its leaders -- the inevitable result is a muffling of dissent, he said.

In support of this argument, Dr. Borowitz noted that all Jewish magazines of over 10,000 circulation are organizationally controlled and that most Anglo-Jewish newspapers are part of the Federation-UJA structure and that large-scale community gatherings do not provide for debates on policy alternatives or possibilities.

Rabbi Borowitz said a variety of tactics were used to discredit dissenters, including personal attacks on their professional and Jewish credentials and guilt by association -- the use of the sneer and epithets such as "self-hating Jew," "Marxist fellow-traveller," "neo-Nazi," etc. Ultimately, Dr. Borowitz argued, issues are never discussed -- only the personalities involved. Yet, in his view, dissent was not only morally desirable, but in fact a particularly Jewish virtue.

Dr. Borowitz contended that because of a commonly-held view that "the Jewish people needs a united front in order to survive," no issue can be debated since every debate is bad for Israel. Increasing numbers of dissenters believe, however, that a perpetual united front is "bad politics." Moreover, American Jewish dissenters did not invent the issues; they are only raising issues that first arose in Israel. Meanwhile, if and when the Israeli government changes its composition or its policies, the American Jewish



community would be unprepared because of a lack of informed public discussion of issues.

Dr. Borowitz expressed the view that the American Jewish community tended either to over-react or to react over-zealously to "cues" from Israel. An example cited was the Mexican situation, where he said the reaction was such that not even the Israelis were happy. In addition, he said, a stricture on public dissent was particularly difficult because the boundaries between what is public and what is private becomes blurred. Suppressing public debate and holding private debates "within the club," he added, leaves the vast majority of the Jewish community ill-informed and uneducated.

A vacuum exists and, as in nature, groups spring up to fill it, Dr. Borowitz observed. As the Jewish Defense League filled a vacuum for a while -- albeit not by methods or tactics approved of by most of organized Jewry -- so, to, were new groups springing up unlikely to abide by the rules set up by the organized community. The very nature of dissent presupposed that, unless co-opted by the community, dissenters could not "abide by the rules" because they were already marginal to the community. The question was, with the minority growing larger and more vocal, what could be done to stimulate proper debate?

Rabbi Fabian Schonfeld, immediate past president of the Rabbinical Council of American, made the second presentation.

Rabbi Schonfeld held that such events as the Salute to Israel Parade and the Soviet Jewry Solidarity Day march represented, with their enormous crowds, the "gut feelings" of the vast majority of American Jews. Dissent in the Jewish community, he said, did not mean the same as it did with respect to Vietnam. To the Jews, dissent conjured up memories of Auschwitz. As a result, Rabbi Schonfeld said, dissent was appropriate only when it did not help the enemies of the Jewish people.

We live in a time of unprecedented danger for the Jewish people, Rabbi Schonfeld went on to say. To the extent that Israel survived, we would. Israel's security was ours. Therefore, while we had a right and an obligation to speak out and voice our criticisms of Israel, the ultimate decisions could be made only by the Israelis themselves.

Rabbi Schonfeld said he was concerned not so much by what the dissenters were saying as by where they were saying it -- in the pages of the New York Times and the Washington Post. And he charged dissenters with behaving as they did because, as he put it, they had not forgiven either the State of Israel or Prime Minister Rabin for having supported former President Nixon.

Rabbi Schonfeld concluded by asserting the belief that dissent was valuable so long as it was not made public. He recalled that the Sinai Pact divided the Presidents Conference but that for public consumption a consensus had been hammered out. We must, therefore, iron out our differences beforehand so as not to give aid and comfort to our enemies.



During the discussion that followed the two opening presentations, Rabbi Louis Bernstein (RZA) expressed the view that the "so-called" dissenters were trying to force Israel into showing her hand before peace negotiations were undertaken, thereby abetting Israel's enemies.

Rabbi Sol Roth (RCA) argued that dissent could and should be encouraged when the issue was not one of survival but that a united front must be presented when the issue was one of survival.

Harold Grubard (LZA) supported Rabbi Schonfeld's contention that the ultimate responsibility was on the heads of the Israelis and that American Jews, living in the United States, could not presume to decide what the major or minor issues concerning survival were.

Rabbi Amiel Wohl (CCAR) held that the real problem was not the issue of dissent from Israel's policies but how to mobilize support for them, and that the major issue confronting the Jewish community today was how to build a real Zionist movement and a real ideology of commitment in the Jewish community.

Mrs. Rose Halperin agreed with Rabbi Wohl that the really important question was how to educate the Jewish community affirmatively rather than negatively. On the issue at hand, the real question was how and when dissent was expressed. Why, she asked, were the dissenters so anxious to publicly express their views?

Rabbi Israel Miller expressed the view that while the dissenters did love Israel they were misguided and, because of their lack of judgement, could be dangerous! "Be wise but be careful of your words," he suggested. He noted that Breira was not the only dissenting group and that we were not a monolithic community. American Jews had a right and an obligation to a point of view; however, in being supportive of Israel, we acted most effectively when we arrived at a consensus.

Rabbi Emanuel Holzer (RCA) expressed the opinion that Dr. Borowitz' argument was a straw man. He endorsed Rabbi Miller's argument that the guiding principle in the Jewish community was consensus and that it was not a monolith.

Rabbi Joseph Glaser (CCAR) agreed with Dr. Borowitz that there was a vacuum in the American Jewish community. But he voiced concern about "going public," noting the pitfalls involved. Items in the Anglo-Jewish press -- ads, news releases, notices -- intended for "internal" consumption were often picked up by the daily press. The Breira ad which helped trigger the present concern with dissent had appeared in the Jerusalem Post and was timed to coincide with the anti-Kadum rally held in Tel Aviv. Unhappily, it was then picked up by the New York Times as a straight news story. Where then does "internal" dissent leave off and "public" dissent begin? Rabbi Glaser felt that with a minimal United Nations and a weak and frightened Europe, the only guarantee of Israel's survival was the

United States. The Jewish people was therefore in great danger. Consequently, if the minority failed to win adherents to its views within the Jewish community and went outside -- e.g., Washington -- they were not only being irresponsible but were indulging in a tyranny of the minority.

Following the free discussion, Dr. Borowitz rose to deliver his final remarks. He had not suggested, he said, that we in the American Jewish community should make decisions for Israel but that we make them for ourselves. For that we needed an informed, educated American Jewry, something we did not now have. The pity of it was that once the Israeli government made a decision, it counted on us for support. But American Jews, not having been involved in the process, were left bewildered.

Agreeing with Rabbi Miller that on major matters there was a need for unity and an instrumentality such as the Presidents Conference, he called upon the Conference to help set up guidelines for appropriate dissent in the American Jewish community to be directed to the organized Jewish community. These guidelines, he said, should be directed at exploring three questions: When can one dissent? On what can one dissent? How can one dissent?

Rabbi Arthur Hertzberg, president of the American Jewish Congress, was called on by Rabbi Schindler to summarize and weave together the varying strands of the discussion.

Rabbi Hertzberg prefaced his remarks with what he called "two factual observations" -- first, that the vast majority of American Jews were to the right of Jewish leadership on issues concerning Israel. In the minds of the majority, unfailing support of Israel was The Religion.

As an example, Rabbi Hertzberg cited the case of the tourism boycott against Mexico instituted by Jewish organizations after that country's vote in support of the U.N. General Assembly resolution condemning Zionism. When the organizations decided to reinstitute Mexican tourism, their members simply refused to follow.

Rabbi Hertzberg's second observation was that abuses of consensus and pressures on the consensus stem not only from the left but from the right as well. He noted, for example, that the whole issue of Kadum was brought to the attention of the press by the fact of the settlement itself -- in direct opposition to government policy -- and the march through the West Bank. The left wing became involved only after the debate was initiated by the right.

The difficulty was that no one had yet adequately defined the meaning of "community" -- and the American Jewish community in particular. If we accepted the community of Ben-Gurion, where the Galut is peripheral, the American Jewish community was simply a "claque" existing only to shout "hurray" to all that the State of Israel does. If, however, we believe that Jews are "One People," then we in the American Jewish community have the right and responsibility to help decide the future course of Jewish life.

The difficulty arises when we realize that the Jewish community is neither centered in Jerusalem nor multi-polar. In Rabbi Hertzberg's mind, the community could be defined, for want of a better term, as "a community of not-quiteness" -- not quite parity between Jerusalem and the Golah and not quite non-parity.

Given this imprecise condition, what is our role? Rabbi Hertzberg expressed the view that we must constantly make clear to Jerusalem what are the real issues and events in the American Jewish community. While Israel has its own agenda, there is also an agenda in Kansas City -- and it may not always agree with the one in Jerusalem. It is our duty, therefore, to make the Israelis listen to and understand what Kansas City is concerned about.

At the same time, there are dangers to dissent. Thus, in the 1956-57 Suez crisis, the U.S. Secretary of State took advantage of deep divisions within the American Jewish community to achieve certain political goals he perceived to be the needs of American foreign policy but that seriously damaged Israel's position.

Regardless of the code words one uses, Rabbi Hertzberg continued, be it "survival," "defense," "security," etc., what Israel does and how it acts has a powerful effect on American Jewish life. Therefore, the American Jewish community has the right and obligation to have its own opinions and to dissent if necessary from Israel's positions -- bearing in mind, however, that one must be willing to pay the price of that dissent.

What Rabbi Hertzberg did find objectionable were those dissenters who used outside power or influence to impose their perception of "What's good for the Jews" on the Jews. Thus, he continued, the real problem was not with those Jews who dissent within the American Jewish community but with those, marginal to the community, who take their arguments and disagreements with the community to the general American public. This "messirah" goes beyond the acceptable boundaries of debate. Alluding inter alia to Kurt Lewin's concept of identity, Rabbi Hertzberg pointed to the danger represented by prominent Jews who are looked upon by the general public as Jewish leaders by virtue of their positions within the general community and who seek to impose the "tyranny of the minority" upon the majority of the Jewish community by their manipulation of the American press and American policy-makers to gain coverage for their dissenting views on Israel. Here it was no longer a question of seeking to influence Israeli policy through legitimate dissent but rather of influencing American policy toward Israel through public criticism that attacked Israel's position and thereby weakening the Jewish State.

Rabbi Hertzberg felt that those who felt strongly about the right to dissent should do so -- but to "fight the good fight" meant to fight from within and to be willing to take the lumps which are the inevitable result of dissent. (He saw no reason why the Jewish "Establishment" had to make it easy for dissenters by supporting their publications or paying for their opinions.)



submitted by Joanne Jahr  
20 July 1976

July 29, 1976

Mr. Ben L. Kaufman  
Cincinnati Inquirer  
617 Vine Street  
Cincinnati, Ohio 45202

Dear Ben:

I just returned from Israel and your column of July 17th was called to my attention. I do think that your statement, at least in its tone and with its reference to "censorship of public Jewish debate," misrepresents the consensus of the Presidents' Conference.

I am writing these lines not for the sake of eliciting any kind of correction from you. It is more of a personal note because I want you to understand what our position is.

To begin with, I think you must see our statement in its proper context of an American Jewish community which, up to 1973 at least, gave unquestioned allegiance to the policies as they were enunciated by the Israeli government. Whatever Golda wanted, Golda got. In 1973, all that was changed ~~and~~ the idols of old proved to have feet of clay. While there was no erosion of support for Israel among American Jews, there was some erosion of confidence. Questions concerning the wisdom of this or that Israeli governmental policy began to be heard here as they did in Israel. In Israel, these dissenting voices were freely heard and could not be stifled. On the American scene the Israeli establishment, mostly domestic, strove to do so.

Seen in this context, our call for a full and free discussion of all views concerning Israel represents in effect a declaration of independence, asserting the right as well as the responsibility of the American Jewish community to assert its own views and to give the full opportunity for the expression of divergence.

Concomitant with these rights and responsibilities comes the duty to communicate these views in all their patterned divergence to the Israeli leadership and I am in the process of establishing the means for such a communication which I hope will obtain not only on the national level, but on every level of the American Jewish community in its contacts with Israel.



Now to the issue of "public" dissent. Quite obviously, once these matters are debated among Jewish organizations and on various Jewish platforms throughout the country, divergences cannot be kept secret. They are public property and no attempt has been made or is being made or will be made (at least insofar as I am concerned) to prevent their public disclosure. Obviously some of these divergences may give "aid and comfort" to the enemy but that is the price of freedom and I choose the honey even with its sting.

I draw the line only on that kind of public criticism whose sole intent it is to garner U.S. public support or even U.S. governmental support for a particular ideological position. This, it seems to me, constitutes "Messira" which our tradition has always eschewed.

Three further comments in this connection:

- a) I include in both my freedom and my strictures the right and the left. Criticism of Israeli governmental policy does not only come from the Bereira. When the JDL stages public demonstrations, it does not seek to make its views known either to the Jewish community or to the Israel leadership; it addresses itself solely to U.S. public opinion. In other words, my use of the word "open discussion" is not a code word to encourage criticism from the left alone, and the established leadership of the right will be able to testify that, under my administration as chairman of the Presidents' Conference, they have had more ample opportunity for the expression of their view than they've ever had before.
- b) Those differences which obtain in the American community are not anywhere as wide as they are portrayed to be in the press. The terms "dove" and "hawk" are misapplied once transferred from the Viet Nam experience to the Middle East situation. No Jewish hawk argues for the leveling of Damascus or for the mining of the Alexandria harbor; nor does a Jewish dove propose that we abandon Israel altogether. What separates the two are the risks that should be taken for peace.
- c) One of the matters which troubles me greatly, especially concerning that criticism of Israeli policy which comes from the left and with which I would normally sympathize, is that there is not even a shadow of a response from the Arab side, no indication whatsoever that any kind of a give on Israel's side will elicit a responsive give in the Arab world. Here is Israel's problem in its quintessence.

I hope that my lines will give you some idea on where I stand and why I was offended by your designation of our actions as "censorship" writing further that "Christians will be angered" by our action. I really do not know or understand how this can be a consequence.

Again, let me tell you this is a personal letter which seeks no reaction or retraction, merely a better understanding on your part of our position.

Sincerely,

Alexander M. Schindler

cc: Mr. Albert Vorspan

TURN

P.S. Your charge that I "delivered Reform Judaism" to the WZO "as the price" for the chairmanship of the Presidents' Conference is also in serious error.

The recommendation to do so emanated from the South African delegation to the World Union. It received fervent support from every other constituency and anyone involved will be able to tell you that I was one of the last holdouts -- not for ideological reasons but rather for practical political considerations.

The move to join the WZO was proposed in 1969 or 1970. It was approved by all other elements of the Reform Jewish community before the Union gave its assent in 1974. I was made chairman of the Presidents' Conference in 1976.

# CONFERENCE OF PRESIDENTS OF MAJOR AMERICAN JEWISH ORGANIZATIONS

515 PARK AVENUE

NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10022

PLaza 2-1616

Cable Address: COJOGRA

July 29, 1976

Mr. Richard Ostling  
Religion Editor  
Time Magazine  
Time Life Building  
New York, NY 10022

Dear Mr. Ostling:

In accordance with our conversation, I enclose a news release issued on June 17, 1976, at a news conference called by Rabbi Alexander M. Schindler, Chairman of the Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations.

The material summarizes a meeting called by the Presidents Conference on June 15, 1976. The subject of "dissent" within the Jewish Community may be found on pages two and three.

If you wish to speak with Rabbi Schindler further on the subject, may I suggest that you call him at his office at the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, of which he is president, at (212) 249-0100. Should you wish to reach him over the weekend his home number is (203) 227-0232.

With all good wishes,

Sincerely,



Richard Cohen  
Press Officer

RC:jd  
Enc.

cc: Rabbi Alexander M. Schindler

# CONFERENCE OF PRESIDENTS OF MAJOR AMERICAN JEWISH ORGANIZATIONS

515 PARK AVENUE

NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10022

PLaza 2-1616

Cable Address: COJOGRA

Contact: Richard Cohen

For Immediate Release

NEW YORK, June 17 -- The chairman of the Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations today called on the Ford Administration and "all candidates for the Presidency" to adopt a Middle East strategy that would emphasize "the kind of peace which the Arab states must accept and the method by which agreement on that peace is to be reached."

At a news conference prior to his departure for meetings in Israel, Rabbi Alexander M. Schindler declared: "The debate on how best to reduce tensions in the Middle East has centered in recent months on the extent of territorial concessions that Israel must make.

"It is time that the makers of our country's Middle East policy -- and those who hope to make it -- recognize that if there is to be a just and lasting peace in the Middle East three essential conditions must be met:

"They are: (1) Economic and cultural relations -- the free movement of goods and people; (2) Diplomatic relations between Israel and her Arab neighbors; (3) Secure borders as the guarantee of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of all the nations in the area."

Rabbi Schindler added that "American policy must be based on recognition that these goals can be reached only in direct negotiations between the parties -- not by any imposed settlement."

He continued: "Direct negotiations between the parties are not merely more conducive to the establishment of normal, friendly international relations; they are symbolic of that act of mutual recognition which is the essential pre-requisite

(MORE)

to a Middle East peace."

Rabbi Schindler said that "The focus of discussion must shift from the return of territories to the nature of peace, from a one-sided demand for Israeli concessions to the insistence that the Arab states take steps now -- not a generation from now -- to normalize their relations with the Jewish state and to make clear they have abandoned their refusal to accept Israel's sovereignty.

"We intend to make this approach known to the Presidential candidates of both major parties," the Presidents Conference leader declared.

Yehuda Hellman, executive director of the Presidents Conference, said both the Republican and Democratic nominees for the Presidency would make formal addresses to the Presidents Conference following their respective party conventions. He recalled that in 1972 Richard Nixon and George McGovern had accepted invitations from the Presidents Conference to speak.

#### On Jewish "Dissent"

On the question of "dissent" within the Jewish community, Rabbi Schindler disclosed details of a special meeting on the subject called by the Conference of Presidents Tuesday (June 15).

At that meeting Rabbi Eugene Borowitz of the Hebrew Union College-Jewish Institute of Religion spoke in favor of a policy that would encourage dissent from and criticism of Israeli policies. Rabbi Fabian Schonfeld, former president of the Rabbinical Council of America, argued against that position. Rabbi Arthur Hertzberg, president of the American Jewish Congress, summarized the arguments and expressed the consensus of the discussion that followed the opening presentations.

"The overwhelming opinion of the more than 100 representatives who attended," Rabbi Schindler said, "was to support free expression of the widest variety of views and opinions on Israel's policies -- provided that such views were voiced



within the Jewish community.

"American Jews have not only the right but the responsibility to express their views to their organizations so that these views may in turn be communicated to the government and people of Israel," Rabbi Schindler said in describing the consensus of the Presidents Conference meeting. "But when Jewish dissent 'goes public' -- that is, when criticism of Israel's policies is expressed in the daily press or in the halls of government," Rabbi Schindler said, "it was the near-unanimous opinion that the result is to give aid and comfort to the enemy and to weaken that Jewish unity which is essential for the security of the Jewish state, and, indeed, of the Jewish community of America."

Rabbi Schindler opened the news conference by deploring the "senseless murder" or the American ambassador to Lebanon, Francis E. Meloy, Jr., and his economic counselor, Robert O. Waring, yesterday.

"This act of blind violence is still another example of the Arab terror that decent people everywhere abhor, but that governments appear unwilling to eradicate," Rabbi Schindler said. He disclosed that he had sent a message of condolence to Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger to be transmitted to the families of the two murdered American diplomats.

Rabbi Schindler will attend several international Jewish gatherings in Israel, including the meeting of the World Conference of Jewish Organizations (COJO) in Jerusalem June 30 to July 2.

June 17, 1976

Rabbi Arthur Hertzberg  
Temple Emanuel  
147 Tenafly Road  
Englewood, N.J. 07631

Dear Arthur:

Your summary and wrap-up of our Presidents' Conference discussion was absolutely brilliant! You left me with nothing to say -- a very rare event indeed. You are one sharp, bright Galitzianer.

Arthur, I am deeply grateful to you, as I know all of those who heard you at the meeting are. You put the discussion into perspective, you made some very important and cogent points and your summary was masterful.

Know that I consider myself brilliant in having invited you to summarize the discussion.

With heartfelt thanks and every good wish for a rewarding and refreshing summer, I am

Sincerely,

Alexander M. Schindler  
Chairman

June 17, 1976

Rabbi Fabian Schonfeld  
Young Israel of New Garden Hills  
150-05 70th Street  
Kew Garden Hills, N.Y.

Dear Fabian:

You gave an extremely fine presentation at the meeting of the Presidents' Conference. For myself personally and for the Conference I want to express heartfelt appreciation to you.

The topic at hand is a most difficult one and a very important one. While minds may not have been changed, I do believe a measure of understanding developed among those of varying views. That in itself is salutary, as is the opportunity to have a frank and open discussion on an important issue.

With repeated thanks and every good wish for a rewarding and relaxing summer, I am

Sincerely,

Alexander M. Schindler  
Chairman

June 10, 1976

Rabbi Fabian Schonfeld  
Young Israel of Kew Garden Hills  
150-05 70th Street  
Kew Garden Hills, N.Y.

Dear Fabian:

I am delighted that you have accepted responsibility for being one of the two initial discussants at the Presidents' Conference meeting on "Dissent and the American Jewish Community - Issues and Responsibilities." I understand that you had something of a dry run at the Synagogue Council last night and that is to the good, it will mean that you will come to our meeting a little better "untergegartlet."

The title is broad and in its sub-title the word issues is included. I certainly do not want you to omit their discussion from your presentation, especially since I am personally pledged to the idea of an open discussion of issues around the table of the Presidents' Conference. Nonetheless, I do want to emphasize that I do not begin to believe that we can have an up and down vote or even approach a consensus on the issues level. Therefore, the focus of the discussion as I will conduct it and as I want to see it develop will be not as much on the issues as on the process of dissent as we ought to encourage it on the American Jewish scene. Accordingly, I would be very much beholden to you if a sub-portion of your remarks were to be devoted to this particular issue. Moreover, there are two levels of the process which must be considered. The first is whether there should be open discussion or not because there is assuredly no unanimity of opinion on that score either. Secondly, there is the question of the proper means of expression of these divergency of views, shall it be public or private and if so how and when and to whom. Finally, there is the question of establishing the means of communication to Israeli leaders which will assure that these divergant views, whatever they are, reach a listening ear.

If you have any questions at all in this connection please don't hesitate to call me. I look forward to seeing you on the 15th. With warmest regards, I am

Sincerely,

Rabbi Alexander M. Schindler  
Chairman

June 7, 1977

Dr. Werner J. Cahnman  
67-71 Yellowstone Boulevard  
Forest Hills, N.Y.

Dear Dr. Cahnman:

I regret the delay in contacting you in regard to your letter of May 29th. It was received while I was in Israel and awaited me on my return to my office just this day.

Your analysis intrigues me and you will be interested in knowing that it received some confirmation from the conversations which I had with Prime Minister-Elect Begin.

With every good wish, I am

Sincerely,

Alexander M. Schindler



COMMITTEE ON SOCIOLOGICAL HISTORY

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AND HISTORIANS

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The City University  
of New York

May 29, 77

Rabbi Alexander Schindler  
Union of American Hebrew Congregations  
838 Fifth Ave, New York, N. Y. 10021

Dear Rabbi Schindler =

The encl. letter to the Ed. of the N.Y.T. might  
interest you. The discussion must be kept alive  
now, after the foreseeable earthquake has occurred.

I shall be with Ambassador W. on June 7. In  
case you should have returned from Israel prior  
to that date, I would be happy to hear from you,  
perhaps over the phone. (212-268-2099).

With all good wishes,

Sincerely,

Werner Cahnman.

To the Editor: Regarding the Mideast, we observe a remarkable convergence between Arafat and Begin. Both want the whole undivided Palestine, or Israel. Indeed, the whole country is a unit and is felt to be a unit. But neither the Arafat nor the Begin plan will work because passions run too high to make a genuine sharing possible. However, it may be to the good that the discussion has reached the point where a variety of options begins to emerge. Among them is the option of Federation, by which I mean the creation of two states, an Israeli state and an Arab-Palestinian state, including Jordan. These states, whose internal organization must be left to themselves, would be politically separate, but economically linked through specifically concluded treaties. A Palestinian/Arab ought to be free to live and work and acquire property in Israel and a Jew ought to be able to do the same in the Arab state. The Jew will have to be given the chance to retain Israeli citizenship, even if he resides outside the State of Israel and an Arab may have the equivalent opportunity, if he resides in Israel. Both Arab and Jew will then be able to settle anywhere in the country without foregoing the protection of their respective governments. There will have to be federal authorities, to adjudicate controversial cases and mutually agreed sanctions for any violation of the elaborate arrangements which will become necessary. There might be a federal district in Jerusalem, although Israeli sovereignty in a unified city is to be maintained. The acceptance of principles of this kind will not mean peace, but the start of peace negotiations. It ought to be understood on all sides that peace itself is a proposition which will take a long time to be consummated.

New York, May 29, 1977  
Werner J. Cahnman  
Professor Emeritus  
Rutgers University

June 7, 1977

Mr. John B. Massen, Director  
Northern California Division, UNA-USA  
152 St. Francis Boulevard  
Daly City, California 94015

Dear Mr. Massen:

Please forgive the delay in responding to your letter of May 28. I have just returned from a visit to Israel and this was my first opportunity to review your letter and respond.

I thank you for sharing the various materials with me and I want you to know I am intrigued by your proposal. I am taking the liberty of sharing all the materials you provided with Mr. Albert Vorspan, Vice President of the UAHC and Director of the Commission on Social Action of the Reform Movement. He will be contacting you directly and will discuss your proposal at greater length once he has had an opportunity to study the information.

With appreciation for your efforts and with every good wish, I am

Sincerely,

Alexander M. Schindler

cc: Mr. A. Vorspan

May 24, 1977

Mr. Falik Gorenstein  
Gevat Eshkol  
Kfar Saba, Israel

Dear Mr. Gorenstein:

Your letter saddens me deeply. I am especially distressed for there is no assistance I can offer to help solve your problems and make life a bit easier for you and Mrs. Gorenstein. I do regret this very much.

Your situation is one which must be handled internally in Israel by those in authority. Unfortunately, my hands are tied in such a situation and I simply cannot be of aid.

With regret and every good wish, I am

Sincerely,

Alexander M. Schindler

cc: Mr. I. Agatstein

TO: RABBY SCHINDLER NEW - YORK U. S. A.

From: FALIC GORENSTEIN - GEVAT ESHKOL -  
KFAR SABA, ISRAEL.

Dear Rabby Schindler !

I am begging you for help even though I am not sure that you would be able to assist me.

My family (my wife, my son, and I) arrived to Israel from the Soviet Union on Dec. 13. 1972.

An appartement was assignet to us as soon as we landed at the Israel Airport.

At that time we did not have any knowledge concerning our places of employment. Consequently, our present situation is as follows: We live in Gevat - Eshkol (Kfar Saba); My wife works in Bnei Brak, and I work in Trutit. Bnei Brak is pretty far away from Kfar Saba, and my wife has to spend about 2½ hours every day just commuting to and from work, which is very difficult for her.

I have repeatedly asked the authorities to assign us an appartement that would be closer to my wifes place of employment but my appeals produced no results. Moreover, the last letter of refusal I have received, clearly stated that I am not a new-comer anymore and therefore I am no longer entitled to any benefits. I could never imagine that after 21 years of my fighting for Freedom in Russia I would find myself in exile, I would become a slave totally dependent from the appart.



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I tried everything I could in Israel and I got nowhere.

Appealing to you for help is the last chance I have.

With deep respect,

Farik Gorenstein

KFAR - SABA, March 20, 1977.

Translated by Agatstein Edi,

6962 Milbrook Park Drive, Ap. 2 B

Baltimore, Md. 21215 U.S.A.

Mr. Farik Gorenstein is about 62 years old, and

Mrs. Fania Gorenstein is about 60 years old.

I. Agatstein

E. J. Agatstein

Указание Раби Митгм  
ей Корнштейна Франк  
Прозвонивший Тебой Эшкол 69/9 Корар Саба  
Израиль

Я к вам обращаюсь не зная обстоятельств ни ва-  
ших ни моих, дело в следующем  
Я Корнштейн Франк мой отец Франк и сын  
прибыли в Израиль из России 13/11. 1970. с нам  
предоставлена квартира ныне в пути семья кварти-  
ра в Тебой Эшкол. Корар Саба мы не знаем где  
квартира и где будет работать, в Иерусалиме работа-  
ем в городе Бней Брак а в Эрцлай, Ватцордене мы  
работаем в своем доме как только же мои  
заработки я не могу содержать семью, а мои отец  
приходится ехать на работу и с работы 2 1/2 часа  
что очень отрицательно на ее здоровье на мои  
просьбы к властям Израиля помочь мне в смысле  
квартиры поближе к работе отца, я получил  
отказ а в последнем отказе мне сообщили что  
я уже не один человек кто так прошел, это был  
отец Иегудинтов, я думаю не мог себе представить  
что после 17 лет борьбы за выезд из России и 21 отказ.  
Я работаю в школе в Израиле как преподаватель в  
Родов квартире, а что такое то у израильтян  
власти не имеют доброй воли, так что  
не удивительно что тысячи в России прохиз-  
мства и не удивительно что евреи из России  
не едут в Израиль а сосредотачиваются в Иерусалиме, я не  
безнадежен во всем если бы меня в Израиле было

Baltimore, den 28. III. 1977.

Lieber Max und Familie,  
Sende dich diesen Brief  
mit der Bitte, die Adresse  
des Rabby Schindler (Präsident der  
Jüdischen Gemeinde) New-York -  
ausfindig zu machen und ihn  
einzuschicken. Das sind unsere  
Bekannte aus Gernowitz, und in Israel  
plant man sie mit der Wohnung, und  
die sind alt und krank.

Mit vielen Dank!

Beste Wünsche für den  
Osterfeiertagen!

Vielleicht Edi, Betty, Kinder





מנהל  
מחלקת  
מסלול

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# CONFERENCE OF PRESIDENTS OF MAJOR AMERICAN JEWISH ORGANIZATIONS

515 PARK AVENUE

NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10022

PLaza 2-1616

Cable Address: COJOGRA

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April 19, 1977

TO: Presidents and Executive Directors  
FROM: Rabbi Alexander M. Schindler, Chairman  
Yehuda Hellman, Executive Director

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The Presidents Conference' meeting with Samuel Lewis, Ambassador to Israel from the United States, which will take place on Wednesday, April 27, at 4:30, has been moved to the penthouse meeting room at 515 Park Avenue, New York City.

Each organization is invited to send either its president or its executive director to the meeting. If you have not already done so, please let us have the name of your representative, so that appropriate accreditation can be arranged.

April 26, 1977

Mr. E. Peter Goldring  
4560 Prairie Avenue  
Miami Beach, Fla. 33140

Dear Peter:

It was good hearing from you and I deeply appreciate your taking the time to write and share your concerns with me. Your comments and the various materials are of interest and I am grateful for your thoughtfulness.

With every good wish, I am

Sincerely,

Alexander M. Schindler

March 29, 1977

Dr. Alex M. Schindler  
Union of American Hebrew Congregation  
838 Fifth Avenue  
New York, N.Y. 10021

Dear Dr. Schindler:

I had the pleasure of meeting you on Thursday of last week, right after your lecture at Temple Emanuel, when I handed you a copy of a letter written to Prime Minister Rabin.

During the last few years I have written more than a dozen letters regarding the policy which Israel should take to be able to withstand the pressure of the Arab onslaught. It is my contention that first and above all the policy of Israel should be friendship toward the Arabs in general, preaching it and organizing friendship manifestations toward the Arab population in general. Such a move is especially important toward the Palestinian Arabs, who are in so-called "occupied territory", and create leadership of friendly Arabs who should be committed to an Israeli-Arab friendship.

There are many ways to create such an Arab leadership, and no way should be left untried in order to have this kind of nucleus who would be willing to accept Israel, not only their existence but also their friendship and protection.

If such a leadership is created an independent Palestine would be possible and would then have a Friendship Pact with Israel and be able to be independent by having the protection of Israel and not be devoured by the neighboring Arab countries like Syria or Jordan. There is no reason why Israel should throw the West Bank or Gaza into the lap of Jordan and then by revolution Jordan become a PLO country, creating a threat to the existence of Israel.

If we can create a friendly Palestine, which is of course very difficult, if we can do it by any means, then a solution would be that we have the borders guaranteed, like creating Israeli military bases in the independent Palestine on the borders of Jordan and Syria, in order to protect them from being annexed.

If we would take a concensus today in the West Bank and Gaza asking for a plebescite where three questions will be put to the voters on the following basis:

1. Would you like to be annexed to Jordan?
2. Would you like to have an independent Palestine with friendship toward Israel?
3. Would you like to keep the status-quo as it is now?

If and when we have such a nucleus of Arabs who would preach friendship toward Israel, we could get the majority of the people in the West Bank and in Gaza to vote for Proposition #2.

We should also advise the population that the people not voting are voting for status-quo.

Nevertheless, the first and most important part of this plan would be that we should create the friendship of certain Arab leadership, which could be 50 names, who would get the protection of the Israeli Army.

Russia did it in Czecho-Slovakia, and the world was crying rape for four months and then everybody accepted it. We did it in Santa Domingo and Chile and just lately Cuba did it for Russia in Angola.

We are in the West Bank and we are in Gaza, and there is no reason why we should not be able to do it.

However, all my calls for this idea are without echo. If you wish, I would send you copies of my letters with hundreds of arguments for this project in order to convince you of the possibility of such project. You being in the position you are, I am sure your voice won't go unheard if you feel that this plan has merit, and would like to hear from you regarding the above.

I am also enclosing the statement made by Rabin, which I referred to in my letter which I gave you. I was introduced to you by Dr. Lehrman, who is a very close friend of ours.

Thank you very much for the attention given to me, and wishing you a Happy Passover,

With best regards,

Respectfully yours,

  
E. Peter Goldring

EPG:al  
enc.

cc: Rabbi Irving Lehrman





JOSEPH M. DREXLER and PETER GOLDRING

## Drexler, Goldring Step Up To Chair Heritage Dinner

Yeshiva University will hold its annual Heritage Award dinner Tuesday, March 22, at Temple Emanu-El on Miami Beach, it was announced by Joseph M. Drexler and Peter Goldring, chairmen.

The dinner will be in honor of Louis Berkowitz, a Master Builder of Yeshiva University, who will be presented with the Heritage Award, the highest accolade for voluntary leadership to be bestowed by America's oldest center of higher learning founded under Jewish auspices.

Dr. Norman Lamm, the newly elected president of Yeshiva University, will be the guest speaker.

Among Yeshiva University's fourteen graduate and undergraduate schools are the Albert Einstein College of Medicine, the newly established Benjamin N. Cardozo School of Law and the Rabbi Isaac Elchanan Theological

Serving as cochairmen of the dinner are Rabbi Max A. Lipschitz, Judge Steven D. Robinson and Commissioner Barry D. Schreiber. Among the associate chairmen are Moses J. Grundberg, Robert C. Josefsberg, Herbert S. Shapiro, Joseph L. Sharpe and Leonard Zilbert.

Peter Goldring has served as chairman of the Florida Friends of Yeshiva University for the past three years. He is well-known in communal and philanthropic circles through his work for the Greater Miami Jewish Federation and many other charitable causes.

Joseph M. Drexler, honorary chairman of the dinner, is a fellow of the Benjamin N. Cardozo School of Law and is a founder of the Albert Einstein College of Medicine of Yeshiva University. His philanthropies cover the gamut of Jewish life.

# Syrian Troops Try to Calm

From Herald Wire Services

BEIRUT — Syria poured fresh troops into Lebanon today to quell a rash of killings in the mountain villages southeast of here avenging the assassination Wednesday of Moslem leftist leader Kamal Jumblatt.

At least 200 Christians have been killed over the past two days by members of Jumblatt's Druze sect. Syrian officials fear the killings could plunge Lebanon back into civil war.

According to Maronite officials here, at least 7,000 Christian villagers have fled from their villages near Jumblatt's home in the mountain town of Mukhtara.

Tough Syrian troops in battle dress, supported by tanks and artillery, moved into the Chouf today to secure the villages. According to reports here, at least 40 persons were arrested.

Despite the violence against the Christians, there is no evidence that they had anything to do with the machine gun killings of Jumblatt.

## Israel Leader Fears Shift in U.S. Policy

TEL AVIV — Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin warned Friday that there is a danger of a pro-Palestini-



## WORLD BRIEFS

an shift in U.S. Middle East policy and a possible "unprecedented fight" with Washington over demarcation of borders in the region in a final settlement.

"There is a grave danger of erosion in the positions of the U.S. administration, public and Congress on the issues of the Palestine Liberation Organization and a Palestinian state," Rabin said in an interview in the newspaper Ma'ariv. "We shall have to mount an information campaign to expose the real face of the PLO," he said.

Terming "very serious" Carter's call for a near-total Israeli withdrawal from captured Arab territory in a final Middle East settlement, Rabin said Israel faced "an unprecedented fight with the Americans on this score."

## PLO Chief Denied Negotiating Powers

CAIRO — Supporters of Pales-

tinian guerrilla chief Yasir Arafat have withdrawn a proposal to give him sweeping powers to negotiate with Israel, Palestine Liberation Organization sources said Friday.

The sources, members of the PLO's parliament-in-exile meeting here, said every guerrilla faction except Arafat's Al Fatah opposed the plan. One source said Zuheir Mohsen, leader of the Syrian-controlled Saiqa guerrilla group, had threatened to resign from the PLO executive committee if the Palestine National Council (parliament) passed the proposal.

The measure also would have let Arafat choose the PLO leadership.

## President of Congo Seriously Wounded

KINSHASA, Zaire — President Marien Ngouabi of the Congo was seriously wounded by shots fired in his living quarters in Brazzaville Friday, according to reports reaching Zaire and Paris.

Diplomatic sources in Paris said reports from the Congo said the shots were fired by a young infantry lieutenant and that the president was seriously wounded.



April 25, 1977

Mrs. Magda Ben Mose  
Givat Ada  
Harhave 7 - 37808  
Israel

Dear Mrs. Ben Mose:

Many thanks for your kind letter. I am grateful to you for sharing with me your appreciation of my activities in behalf of Klal Yisroel and the activities of the Conference of Presidents' of Major American Jewish Organizations. I assure you we all seek to do our very best to secure peace and security for Israel and for the Jewish people; we look upon our activities as of a service of the heart.

While you write that you are not young, from the wealth of facts and figures and quotations you share it is obvious that you are indeed young in heart and spirit and mind. The concerns you voice are shared by many and I thank you for taking the time to share your thoughts with me.

Alas, I fear I am unable to assist you in your request to appear on television to take your concerns to the people. Unfortunately, I have no connections which might help you gain this wish.

With repeated thanks and every good wish, I am

Sincerely,

Alexander M. Schindler

Mr. Rabi Alexander Schindler  
President of Jewish Organisations  
838, 5th Avenue, New-York, N.Y. U.S.A.

Magda Ben Mose  
Givat Ada,  
Harhava P.O. box 34808  
Israel  
14.4. 1977.

Dear Sir,

I have read very much in the newspapers about the activities of your organisations, and in special, about your activities, and I think, as many other Israeli citizens, that you and your organisations, today more than ever, have a very great, but extremely difficult, mission to fulfill; you are doing more, than any other Jewish community, any time in the history.

I was born in Hungary; in 1944, my father, mother, and hundreds from my family, were deported by the Germans, and murdered in Auschwitz, as other 600.000 people, too, Hungarian Jews.

I was lucky, if it can be called luck, that they've not killed me but I was a slave in a concentration camp, and after the war, I have found myself, homeless, penniless, very sick and very hungry, even, in post-war Europe. And a very anti-semitic Europe, as ever, until today. Afterwards, I came to Israel. There are in Israel, one million refugees from the Arabic countrys and, at least six-seven hundred thousand refugees from Eastern Europe and Russia.

A great rabi in Hungary, Chatam Sofer from Pressburg, in the nineteenth century, told once:

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"The Jews were taken away, as prisoners of war, by the Roman, I consider myself, a prisoner of war, even now. And so are all the Jews, until they can go back, to Zion." How true! I have read from Lion Feuchtwanger, "The Jewish War" in which book is described, how the Jews in Rome, which were Roman citizens, have collected every day money, to buy free some Jewish slaves (if not all of them, of course) which were to be thrown to the lions in the circus, in the next days! - Now, not all of the slave-owners were that inhuman, and not all the emperors were Nero! - But the Jews never were again entirely free! It seems as if the human history were some kind of Sleeping Beauty, or not even Beauty, because the Crusaders, the Pogroms, Inquisitions, Auschwitz, Siberia, shows, that the Circus is open, the Lions are hungry, (and other ugly beasts) and the Emperors, whoever they ~~may~~ might be, couldn't care less.

I have read also, in the newspapers, that the million, or so, Jews, from the Moslem countries, now living in Israel, will coordinate their claims, with the help of the Israeli Knesset, maybe, because now, <sup>with</sup> the propaganda of the Palestinian refugees, which is well-organized, and contains all the old Antisemitic slogans, everybody seems to forget, that there were nearly two million refugees, now settled in Israel, who suffered more in this century, as any other nation, and more unjustly. The mufti of Jerusalem, a very good friend of Hitler, gave him the horrible idea of Auschwitz and genocide, which boomeranged, made homeless the East European Jews, who in vain asked all the countries, to let them in, to escape death. After the holocaust, the world opinion was, that the least, what they can do, is to allow the Jews, to have a land, their very own.



I am from a family of writers and intellectuals. I know, as most people, what power propaganda can have. And what propaganda the petro-dollars can buy. But I remember one article of Ilia Ehrenburg, written in March, 1945. "The armies against Germany aren't fighting alone. With them goes another army, the unjustly murdered millions, among them so many defenseless children, women, old people; in gas chambers, in their homes, on the streets, unborn children, babies in their mother's arms."

I have read in a Hebrew newspaper, that in the "Bildzeitung", a German newspaper, not so long ago, somebody wrote: "We make Safari, hunting and killing animals, so we made 'Safari', hunting and killing the Jews; and we have paid for our pleasure. So what?" I am sure, no German would dare ever, to write: "We have hunted French, or English, or Polish people; we have paid; it was a pleasure. So what?!" and underwrite his name. No German newspaper, in their right mind, would dare to publish it; no German government would tolerate it; and even less, the French or English, etc. people. They would have some answers to "So what?" I wanted only to give one example, about the mentality of the German public, and government, today. I would like to give some answers, too. For a long time, I have thought about it. I am unknown, powerless; my intention might be good, necessary, etc. but I couldn't find the way, to the public, even if only to the Jewish public. If you think so, Sir, please, be so kind, and help me, to speak in the television, as Ilia Ehrenburg wrote "in the name of the another army". In 1948, I wrote a book, about my life, as a slave in ~~Germany~~ <sup>Germany</sup>, it was published in a newspaper, so I have material. I wish, it weren't true, as the Arabs, and neo-nazis say, nowadays.

I am not so brilliant, as Poe "In the Maelstrom," as Tolstoy in "One day in the life of Ivan Denisovich" but my case, couldn't be more just, clear, and tragic. I always hear: The holocaust, is such a thing, that can't be explained in words. Why not? As Shakespeare said in "Macbeth" when the Prince Malcolm doesn't want, that is, says, that doesn't want, to become a King: "I am cruel, greedy, unjust, merciless, am I worthy to rule?" "To rule?" - answers Macduff - "Not even, to breathe!"

I am not young, and my life is, as a feeble candlelight; maybe, I can't be, for a long time, a living witness, and a living reproach, as well, for the monstrosity of the world's behavior, against the Jews, now and in the past. I hope, not so much, in the future.  
"World enough for two!"

Thank you very much, you, and the American Jews, are the only ones, who really understand, and help, us. And, hoping for your understanding and help, thank you in advance.  
Yours faithfully,

Magda Ben Mose.

P.S. I think, it would be necessary, to remember and to emphasise, that we, the 400.000 ex-D.P.-s, have lost, first, many of our children, in Auschwitz, then, the same men and women, grown-up sons, from their second wife and husbands, in the recent years and wars of Israel; now the same vampires (East Germany, Hungary, Idi Amin, the Arabs, etc.) are asking, in the U.S., night and day, for the

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remaining children's blood.  
Or the petrol will be more expensive.  
There was a family in one kibboutz.  
First, Arabs killed the husband, then,  
the only son died in a war; then, the  
grandson, an only son; and we are  
called racists! Not the Germans.  
Imperialists. Not the Russian.  
Somehow, our blood, seems cheaper to  
be, as anybody else's.

Yours faithfully,  
Magde Ben Chose

April 4, 1977

Mr. Moshe Rosenbluth  
Shivte Israel, 43  
Jerusalem, Israel

Dear Mr. Rosenbluth:

Thank you for sharing with me your letter to Dr. Kissinger.  
While I do not share your views, I do appreciate your having  
taken the time to bring them to my attention.

with kindest good wishes, I am

Sincerely,

Alexander M. Schindler

משה רוזנבליט

טו טבת תשל"ז  
ב"ה ירושלים  
5.1.1977

רח' שבטי ישראל 43  
טל' 233429

כבוד הרב הגדול  
רב הפעלים לטובת עמו,  
כש"ת שינדלר  
נ. יורק  
ר.מ.ב.,

הנני מתכבד בזה, להמציא לכבודו הרם, העתק ממכתב  
ששלחתי לד"ר קיסניג'ר.

בכבוד רב,

משה רוזנבליט





Mr. Henry Kissinger  
The White House,  
Washington, D.C.  
U. S. A.

December 10th, 1976.

Dear Mr. Kissinger,

I am a layman, one of the inhabitants of Israel, who lives in Jerusalem, who is involved with the people and one who knows the public opinion.

I would like you to know how the Israeli citizen reacts towards your operations. This, in view of the forthcoming termination of your office, as the politician architect of the United States. My declaration is unbiased, nor directed by any influential party.

Please note, that the conclusion of the people residing in Zion, is that your involvement in the Arab dispute, was always to depress them, break their spirit and hopes, as a consequence of your political pressure. You have, in our opinion, entered the Album of our foes of all times.

You have caused our two retreats from strategical territories and abundance of the oil wells, which resulted in a convenient spring board for our enemies to attack us. You filled the Arab stores with sophisticated ammunition, for our destruction and abolishment. The P.L.O. lifted its head in your "reign". You withheld our total victory, when we had encircled the Third Army and were close to destroying both the First and Third Armies. We have realised, with great sorrow and pain, that you have renounced your nation's interest to those who wish to annihilate us.

According to Jewish conception and ethics, however, man is to be judged by the scale of his merits and as man is only blood and flesh and can err, in view of his luscious desires, or wrong judgement, you cannot be excommunicated, nor can the sign of Cain be attached to your forehead forever. You have a chance to amend your ways, you can change your deeds to good ones yet.

Sir, your chance lies in the interval period, between the "change of guards" at the White House, to do good deeds, for the nation you come from. You may, if you comply, go down in the Jewish History, as its benefactor. You may for instance, see to it, that we get an abundance of sophisticated weapons, so that when woe comes unto Jacob, the nation shall be in a position to defend itself and hit back the foe. You may use your influence with the friendly Arabs, mollify their standing and force them to make peace with us. A further alternative for assistance, may be your disclosing to the Leaders of Israel, facts hitherto unknown to them.

And the nation of Israel shall be happy to embrace his lost child and take him back to its bosom. You are our brother and the past shall be forgotten, as is well for a man who has been enlightened by the Lord Almighty, to overcome the momentary pleasures of this world and the imaginary popularity. May God be with you !!

Our sages have said ; there is one who buys the world in one hour. You may be the one.

I have written the above in naivete and sincerity.

Truly yours,

Mr. Moshe Rosenbluth,  
Shivta Israel 43,  
Jerusalem, Israel

March 11, 1977

His Honor the Mayor Walter Washington  
District Building  
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mayor Washington:

I want to express sincere commendations and appreciation to you, the D.C. Police Department and employees of the District for the great sensitivity and calm authority displayed by one and all during the recent seige. I thank God that the hostages have been released, that they are safe and sound and returned to their loved ones. I pray that those who suffered injuries will soon be returned to strength and health.

We were honored to have you with us for the Presidents' Conference luncheon in honor of Prime Minister Rabin. In view of the circumstances of the day, I am doubly grateful to you for taking the time to be with us. Some of the people at the luncheon had heard the news reports and your presence was a calming factor.

With every good wish and warmest regards, I am

Sincerely,

Alexander M. Schindler

March 15, 1977

His Excellency The Israeli Ambassador  
Ehud Avriel  
111 East Wacker Drive - Suite 1308  
Chicago, Illinois 60601

Dear Ehud:

It was good seeing you in Washington and I am delighted that you were able to join us at the luncheon in honor of Prime Minister Rabin. Your presence meant a great deal to me and I want to express my appreciation to you for making the trip to Washington.

I also want to convey my heartfelt thanks to you for your efforts in behalf of Kibbutz Yahel. All of us are deeply grateful to you for your support and consideration.

With warmest personal regards, I am

Sincerely,

Alexander M. Schindler

~~THE~~ ALAN LEVINE SAYS:

1) MR AVRIEL (CHI.) IS REALLY  
DOING A JOB FOR US TO  
RAISE A SLG. SUM. *write letter.*  
PLS. GIVE HIM PERSONAL  
THANKS WHILE IN DC

2) "IN SPITE OF EVERYTHING,  
MENTION TO KLUTZNIK  
THAT YOU APP. HIS  
EFFORTS ON THE  
KIBBUTZ

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CONFERENCE OF PRESIDENTS OF MAJOR AMERICAN JEWISH ORGANIZATIONS J  
JAHR  
515 PARK AVE  
NEW YORK NY 10022

THIS MAILGRAM IS A CONFIRMATION COPY OF THE FOLLOWING MESSAGE:

2127521616 TDMT NEW YORK NY 29 03-07 1133A EST  
PMS ISRAELI CONSULATE

ATTN EHUD AVRIEL

CONSUL GENERAL, RDM REPORT DELIVERY BY MAILGRAM, DLR  
111 EAST WACKER DR SUITE 1308  
CHICAGO IL 60601

CORDIALLY INVITING YOU TO PRESIDENTS CONFERENCE LUNCHEON FOR PRIME  
MINISTER RABIN IN WASHINGTON DC WEDNESDAY MARCH 9 1230 PM AT THE  
SHOREHAM HOTEL, PALLADIAN ROOM WARM REGARDS

RABBI ALEXANDER M SCHINDLER, CHAIRMAN, CONFERENCE OF PRESIDENTS  
OF MAJOR AMERICAN JEWISH ORGANIZATIONS (515 PARK AVE NEW YORK  
NY 10022)

11:33 EST

MGMCOMP MGM



nightletter

2/24/77

Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin  
Jerusalem, Israel

Mazaltov. I look forward to our continued warm relationship.

Rabbi Alexander M. Schindler

March 3, 1977

Reverend Robert W. Haney  
Minister of Education  
The First & Second Church in Boston  
64966 Marlborough Street  
Boston, Massachusetts 02116

Dear Reverend Haney:

Many thanks for your recent letter. I am grateful to you for your expression of support and friendship.

Your concern for human rights in general and the death of Mrs. Dora Bloch in particular is heartening. I feel that you are a kindred spirit and I am gratified that you continue to speak out for justice and humanity.

With appreciation and every good wish, I am

Sincerely,

Alexander M. Schindler

# The First and Second Church in Boston<sup>1630</sup>

A Unitarian Universalist Church

64-66 Marlborough Street  
Boston, Massachusetts 02116  
Telephone: (617) 267-6730

February 17, 1977

Rabbi Alexander M. Schindler, Chairman  
Conference of Presidents of Major  
American Jewish Organizations  
515 Park Avenue  
New York City, New York

Dear Rabbi Schindler:

Your advertisement in The New York Times several months ago caught my attention. Unfortunately, the onset of church holidays and illness was even more efficient in catching my attention. Consequently, this letter is tardy in the extreme.

Being a poor, assistant parish parson in a church that does not involve itself in public issues, I am in no position to contribute much of anything to your campaign against the incredible anti-Jewish actions of the General Assembly of the United Nations and of other related international bodies. However, I want very much to express to you my personal regrets at these actions and to assure you that I shall do all that I can to alert the people with whom I deal to the dangers inherent in such actions.

I would call to your attention the enclosed address concerning the case of Mrs. Dora Bloch. It is unfortunate that any person's living and dying should ever become a "case," but so it is with Mrs. Bloch.

Ambassador Herzog has been quick to complain about my characterization of the remarks of Foreign Minister Allon on page 5, but, alas, I cannot alter what the Foreign Minister said, nor should his remarks be thought exceptional. A Jewish state is still a state and is, like all other states, easily tempted to think of its subjects as objects, to be manipulated for reasons-of-state.

Despite all such trivia, I am still very much concerned about Mrs. Bloch and continue an active correspondence in her behalf. Nothing may come of it—indeed, in this insane world, it seems almost certain that nothing will come of it—but, nevertheless, the effort must be made. Without it we are all doomed.

Sincerely,

*Robert W. Haney*

Robert W. Haney  
Minister of Education

## THE SECOND DYING OF DORA BLOCH

Text of a sermon delivered at the First and Second Church in Boston on the occasion of United Nations Day, October 24, 1976, by the Reverend Robert W. Haney

It is sometimes said of those of us who walk the liberal pathway in religion--surely the road "less traveled by"<sup>1</sup>--that the one belief we generally share is a serious commitment to freedom. Yet anyone who talks extensively with religious liberals will quickly discover that there are other beliefs that we share almost as fervently. One of these is a belief in the worth of the United Nations. Consistent with that belief, we are annually encouraged to observe this date as United Nations Day, a day when we "join together in a common affirmation of the goals of world peace and social justice embodied in the U. N. Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights."<sup>2</sup> I suppose that many, if not most of us have joined enthusiastically in such observances in the past--and with good reason. The specialized agencies of the United Nations have probably done more for the well-being of the poor, the hungry, and the homeless than any single government has ever done, or could have done, or might even have wanted to do. Throughout its history, the United Nations has often served the needs of great masses of people very well. For its work for them we shall be ever grateful.

But as religious liberals we believe in other things as well as freedom and the worth of the United Nations. We believe in the worth of individual human beings; we believe in the inviolable sanctity of human beings. We believe that people have rights that governments individually and collectively should respect and protect. And we believe that whoever violates those human rights must be called to account.

If we truly wish to honor these beliefs, if we wish to maintain them as central to our system of values, then we must face one fact honestly, clear-headedly, with what Albert Camus liked to call lucidity. We must confront the fact that the United Nations, which claims to honor these same principles, is unwilling to act upon them.

To set the stage for our examining together a particular case-study, I would ask you to reflect on an old myth and its treatment in painting and poetry. You all know, I'm sure, the story of Daedalus and his son, Icarus. You remember the story of their escape from Crete by means of wings ingeniously created to imitate those of birds. Father and son soar into the sky, the first men to rise above the earth in flight.

Far off, far down, some fisherman is watching . . .  
Some shepherd rests his weight upon his crook,  
Some plowman on the handles of the plowshare,  
And all look up, in absolute amazement,  
At those air borne above . . . .<sup>3</sup>

But as the enthusiasm of the young Icarus increases, he flies higher, and higher still, until the wax that holds his wings together melts, and he plummets into the sea.

What of the bystanders? In a justly famous painting, Pieter Bruegel the Elder captures the moment when Icarus sinks fearfully into the dark green waters. We see the young man's thrashing legs and glimpse a portion of his hand. But they are small details in a large composition. "On the mirror-smooth sea Bruegel has set a ship with bellying sails, imperturbably following its course . . . ."<sup>4</sup> The plowman, the shepherd, and the fisherman "quietly attend to their work without taking notice of the unfortunate aviator . . . ."<sup>5</sup> A foolhardy but brave young man is dying, and no one notices. So Bruegel portrays the scene.

However, the poet W. H. Auden has chosen to interpret the painting in a different way. In his well-known poem, "Musée des Beaux Arts," he declares that the drowning of Icarus was noticed by the bystanders, but no one cared.

About suffering they were never wrong,  
The Old Masters: how well they understood  
Its human position; how it takes place  
While someone else is eating or opening a window  
or just walking dully along . . . .

In Brueghel's Icarus, for instance: how everything  
turns away  
Quite leisurely from the disaster; the ploughman may  
Have heard the splash, the forsaken cry,  
But for him it was not an important failure; the  
sun shone  
As it had to on the white legs disappearing into  
the green  
Water; and the expensive delicate ship that must  
have seen  
Something amazing, a boy falling out of the sky,  
Had somewhere to get to and sailed calmly on.

Of the two interpretations--Bruegel's and Auden's--clearly Auden's is the more disturbing--indeed, terrifying. Surely we have cause to grieve when some calamity befalls a fellow creature while we are otherwise engaged. How much more intense must be our pain, our sense of guilt, when we and those we trust glimpse that calamity and then, for whatever reason, look away.

When you and I awoke on the fourth of July, we found ourselves celebrating not only the two hundredth anniversary of our country's independence, but also the end of another episode in international terrorism--or so we thought. For a week, a group of passengers and crewmembers aboard an Air France jet liner had been held captive in an abandoned, squalid building at Entebbe airport in Uganda. For some of them, the flight had begun in Bahrain, a small island nation in the Persian Gulf; the passengers had transferred to the Air France plane at Tel Aviv, where other travelers had joined them, and the plane had stopped at Athens airport on its way to Paris. But instead of going to France, more than 250 human beings found themselves diverted to Benghazi, Libya, and finally imprisoned at Entebbe, with the full knowledge and co-operation of the President of Uganda, the self-styled Field Marshal Doctor President Idi Amin Dada.<sup>6</sup> The air-pirates, who claimed a variety of nationalities, also claimed loyalty to the cause of the Palestine Liberation Organization. By July 3, 104 passengers and crewmembers were still being held prisoner; the great majority of them had been singled out by their captors as being Jewish.

In the depth of the night of July 3 and 4, Israeli soldiers landed at Entebbe, freed the captives, slew many of their captors, and transported all the remaining victims of this sordid act of piracy to Israel. All, that is, but one.

On July 5, the Jerusalem Post reported that one passenger had not been rescued. She was a 75-year-old grandmother. Her name was Dora Bloch. On July 3 she had been rushed to the hospital from her prison at Entebbe after choking on some food. She was still hospitalized when the other hostages were freed and flown to Israel. The govern-



ment of Israel expressed concern for her well-being. The government of Uganda testily replied that, at the moment of the Israeli incursion into Ugandan territory, Israel had assumed full responsibility for all hostages, and Uganda was no longer responsible for anyone.

Discovering that Mrs. Bloch held both Israeli and British citizenship, the government of the United Kingdom next expressed concern for her welfare. Uganda declared that she had been returned to Entebbe before the raid. Its foreign minister made the same claim before the Security Council of the United Nations a few days later. And this was a callous, cynical lie.

Addressing the House of Commons on July 7, the British Minister of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs reported that a member of the staff of the British Embassy in Uganda had "visited Mrs. Bloch on the evening of the fourth of July in the hospital [many hours after the completion of the Israeli raid at Entebbe]. She was guarded by two men in plain clothes who indicated that she would shortly be taken to the Imperial Hotel in Kampala. An hour later the same evening the same official took food to the hospital for Mrs. Bloch but was denied entry at the main gate."<sup>7</sup> Following the public disclosure of his visit, that official was ordered out of the country by President Amin.<sup>8</sup>

Diplomatic sources in Washington reported that Mrs. Bloch had been dragged screaming from her hospital room a few minutes after the visit of the British official. They surmised that she may have choked to death on a gag that had been placed in her mouth to silence her protests.<sup>9</sup> A refugee from Uganda reported seeing Mrs. Bloch's half-burned body in a forest on July 5. Said Field Marshal Doctor President Idi Amin Dada, "Why are the British talking so much about this lady?"<sup>10</sup>

Who was Dora Bloch? The startling fact is that no one ever asked that question seriously at the time. The newspapers and magazines never even agreed on her age. The Jerusalem Post reported that her late husband had been Welsh. She had two sons. One was married, and she was on her way to New York from Israel to be present at the wedding of the other when she was kidnapped to Uganda. What had she done in her life? What did she like to do? How did she feel about this and that? Nobody ever cared to enquire. To the world press, she was unimportant and unworthy of a reporter's time. Ironically, it is a question from President Amin that tells us most about her. During one of his visits to the hostages, he enquired about her occupation. "Oh," she said, "I am just an old mother."<sup>11</sup>

When Dora Bloch first disappeared, the government of Israel appealed to a number of other governments for assistance in discovering what had happened to her. Similar requests were made to major religious and diplomatic leaders by the Ashkenazi chief rabbi. In late summer, as a mere private citizen, I repeated some of those appeals, both to governments involved in the hijacking, governments representative of the international community at large, religious leaders, and leaders of major international organizations. I was particularly interested in discovering what various governments and world leaders had said or done about Mrs. Bloch's disappearance. The results of all these enquiries have been most instructive.<sup>11a</sup>

I am sure that I do not need to catalogue for you the fundamental precepts of Judaism and Christianity that pertain to her case. The first reading for this morning's service is representative of the hundreds of appeals for the compassionate and respectful treatment of human beings that resound through the Old and New Testaments. Surely some of the world's religious leaders should have something to say, at least.

From His Holiness Pope Paul VI: Silence

From the President of the World Council of Churches: Silence

Perhaps their silence does not matter very much. Perhaps nothing would have been accomplished by their having said something or done something. The religious leaders of the world do not lead much--or many--anymore.

But it is otherwise with the governments of the world. By the terms of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, to which all states subscribe upon becoming members of the United Nations, they are committed to protecting a number of rights that appear to have been violated in the case of Dora Bloch.

Let us listen to some of those rights and to the responses of some of those governments, and the response of the Secretary General of the United Nations.

"Everyone has the right to life, liberty, and security of person." So reads Article 3

From the Ambassadors to the United Nations  
of Japan, Kenya, India, Egypt, and the Soviet  
Union: Silence

"No one shall be subjected to torture or to cruel, inhuman, or degrading treatment or punishment." So reads Article 5.

From the Ambassadors of Bahrain, Greece,  
France: Silence

"Everyone has the right to recognition everywhere as a person before the law." So reads Article 6.

From the Ambassador of Uganda: Silence

"Everyone is entitled to a social and international order in which the rights and freedoms set forth in this Declaration can be fully realized." So reads Article 28.<sup>12</sup>

After repeated requests; from the Secretary General  
of the United Nations: Silence

Dora Bloch was a passenger in international commerce at the time she and others were kidnapped. She disappeared while a prisoner in a country other than her own. There is testimony that she was murdered in that country. The voices of most of the governments of the world assembled as the United Nations are silent, as is the voice of the Secretary General. Their silence is deafening, and it teaches us a very simple lesson. "Everyone" may have "the right to life, liberty, and security of person," etc. but no one should expect the governments of the world or the United Nations itself to do anything at all to protect that right or any other--especially, perhaps, if the victim of injustice is old, female, white, and Jewish.

Most of the people who will talk about the case now believe that Dora Bloch died in Uganda at the order of President Amin. And, symbolically, she is dying a second time--on the banks of the East River in Manhattan.

How can this be? How can the organization of governments that came into being to ensure both peace and justice in the world turn its back on Dora Bloch?

\* A general answer can be found, I think, in a recent book by one of the world's leading authorities on international organizations. Professor Leland M. Goodrich has this to say about the place of human rights in the work of the United Nations. "In the field of human rights, the approach of the United Nations has been selective and highly political. While it has succeeded in listing the basic human rights which should be protected and in drafting covenants for their legal protection, its concern with specific instances of violation have been dictated by political considerations and majority votes rather than an interest in securing wide and equal respect for recognized rights."<sup>13</sup>

If we had the time and the insight, I am sure that we could discover the specific political reasons that have inspired the overwhelming majority of the governments of the world and the United Nations itself to turn their backs on Dora Bloch. In general terms, some governments want to maintain friendly relations with President Amin and are willing to ignore whatever he does. Some governments are interested in doing whatever will embarrass, annoy, or insult Israel. And Mr. Kurt Waldheim, the current Secretary General, is a very eager candidate for re-election to that position and is evidently unwilling to antagonize anybody by being fussy about the life and liberties of a Jewish grandmother.

But let it be noted as well that those governments that have worked the hardest to discover what happened to Dora Bloch and to bring her case to the world's attention--the government of Israel and the government of the United Kingdom--have also dealt with her case in a highly political way. Israel relentlessly tried to associate her fate with the probable fate of the other hostages, in order to justify the commando raid at Entebbe.<sup>14</sup> As for the behavior of the United Kingdom, the speed and intensity of its approach to the question of what had happened to Mrs. Bloch were considerably moderated by the government's desire to remain in President Amin's good graces, and thus to protect--albeit ineffectively--the lives and property of the 500 British subjects who had chosen to remain in Uganda.

Politicians and journalists like to think that whenever they have explained some course of action in political terms, they have thereby justified it. That kind of thinking has even acquired a not inconsiderable measure of popularity among private citizens. The result of this practice can only be the undermining of our fundamental humanity.

The practice of justifying action or inaction in terms of political self-interest is based upon the assumption that there are no significant differences between public interests and private ones, national concerns and individual rights. It "altogether denies that there is any private sphere, that individuals have any rights or integrity separate from or beyond politics."<sup>15</sup> But this, of course, is precisely the principle by which terrorists justify their kidnappings and bombings, and tyrants justify their murders. There is a higher law than the laws of politics, and unless we are willing to serve it, we shall be utterly destroyed.

I wish I could close these remarks by bringing the case of Dora Bloch to a happy or at least sure conclusion. Even so, her family and her government continue to hope that somehow it will be possible "to return her body for a proper Jewish funeral and burial in Israel."<sup>16</sup> But to their pleas, to the pleas of all who care about the inviolable sanctity of a human being, there are no responses from those who could act.

But there is something that you and I can do. We can reshape our thinking about those who remain silent. I invite you to ponder again the words of Albert Camus.



[A]11 I ask is that, in the midst of a murderous world, we agree to reflect on murder and to make a choice. After that, we can distinguish those who accept the consequences of being murderers themselves or the accomplices of murderers, and those who refuse to do so with all their force and being. Since this terrible dividing line does actually exist, it will be a gain if it be clearly marked.<sup>17</sup>

This may seem like a very modest goal, but we have avoided seeking it for a very long time.<sup>18</sup>

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#### Readings

- 1) Isaiah 42:5-7; Exodus 22:21-24; Amos 5:14-15a, 5:21,24
- 2) Albert Camus, "Homage to an Exile," in Resistance, Rebellion, and Death, p. 100; and Neither Victims nor Executioners, pp. 20-21, 55

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#### NOTES

- 1 Robert Frost, "The Road not Taken."
- 2 Undated letter from Robert W. C. Brown, Director of the Unitarian Universalist UN Office.
- 3 Ovid, Metamorphoses, tr. by Rolfe Humphries (Bloomington, 1961), pp. 188-89.
- 4 M. Seidel and R. H. Marijnissen, Bruegel (New York, 1971), p. 75.
- 5 Otto Benesch, The Art of the Renaissance in Northern Europe, rev. ed. (London, 1965), p. 113.
- 6 William Stevenson, 90 Minutes at Entebbe (New York, 1976), p. 108.
- 7 London Press Service, Verbatim Service, 140/76, Wednesday, 7th July 1976. Made available by the United Kingdom Mission to the United Nations.
- 8 The London Times, July 14, 1976, p. 1. See also the Security Council debates between July 9 and 14, summarized in the UN Monthly Chronicle, XIII:8, August-September, 1976, p. 70.
- 9 The New York Times, July 8, 1976, p. 4.
- 10 The Jerusalem Post, July 14, 1976, p. 1.
- 11 Quoted in Newsweek, July 19, 1976, p. 45.
- 11a To the original twelve letters sent to ambassadors, answers were eventually received by me from the permanent UN missions of the United States, the United Kingdom, and Israel. Newspaper reports and private communications supply no evidence of responses to the pleas by Israeli religious and political officials.
- 12 Treaties and Alliances of the World, rev. ed. (New York, 1974), pp. 15-16.
- 13 Leland M. Goodrich, The United Nations in a Changing World (New York, 1974), p. 270.
- 14 See the remarks of Foreign Minister Allon, quoted by Stevenson, op. cit., p. 196.
- 15 Daniel P. Moynihan, "The Totalitarian Terrorists," New York, July 26, 1976, p. 40.
- 16 Personal letter from Tuvia Saar, First Secretary--Press, in the office of the permanent representative of Israel to the United Nation, dated September 30, 1976.
- 17 Albert Camus, Neither Victims nor Executioners (Chicago, 1972), p. 55.
- 18 Paraphrase from Anthony Lewis, "Morality in Foreign Policy," The New York Times, October 21, 1976, p. 39.

GIDEON HAUSNER  
CABINET MINISTER

השר גדעון האוזנר

November 19, 1976

Rabbi Dr. Alex and Schindler  
6 River Lane,  
Westport, Conn, 06880  
U. S. A.

Dear Alex,

It was a pleasure to meet you again, this time in New-York.  
I hope that we will be able to maintain a regular and steady  
contact, in spite of my party's probable stepping out of the  
coalition in Israel, in the nearest future.

Thank you ever so much for the most informative and instructive  
meeting arranged with some leading members of the Presidents'  
Conference.

With warmest regards for you and for Rhea in which Yehudith  
joins me,

Cordially,



GIDEON HAUSNER



# CONFERENCE OF PRESIDENTS OF MAJOR AMERICAN JEWISH ORGANIZATIONS

515 PARK AVENUE

NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10022

PLaza 2-1616

Cable Address: COJOGRA

November 16, 1976

Rabbi Alexander M. Schindler  
Union of American Hebrew Congregations  
838 Fifth Avenue  
New York, New York 10021

Dear Rabbi Schindler:

Please be informed that the Minister of Defense of the State of Israel, The Honorable Shimon Peres, will participate in a special meeting of the Presidents Conference. The meeting will take place at 10:30 A.M. on December 8, 1976, at the Harmonie Club, 4 East 60th Street, New York City, and will last until noon. WCO

Participation in the meeting will be limited to one delegate per organization, preferably the president or the executive director. Please call our office to let us know if you can attend.

Cordially yours,



Rabbi Alexander M. Schindler  
Chairman

AMS:arf

cc: Mr. Al Vorspan

bcc: Y. Hellman

November 23, 1976

Mr. Frank Saris  
Harmonie Club  
4 East 60th Street  
New York, N.Y. 10022

Dear Mr. Saris:

There is a slight change in time for the meeting Rabbi Schindler is having at the Harmonie Club on December 8th. The time has been changed to 11:00 a.m. until 12:30 p.m. I trust this does not present any problems. All other arrangements as to set-up of the room and serving of tea and coffee remain as outlined in my letter of November 16th.

With thanks for your usual kind cooperation, I am

Sincerely,

Edith J. Miller  
Assistant to the President

bcc: Yehuda Hellman

November 16, 1976

Mr. Frank Saris  
Harmonia Club  
4 East 60th Street  
New York, N.Y. 10022

Dear Mr. Saris:

Rabbi Schindler would like to reserve a private room for a meeting on Wednesday, December 8, 1976 from 10:30 a.m. to 12 Noon. If you could reserve the Board Room, I believe that is where he held a meeting on October 25, it would be much appreciated as he would like to have a conference style meeting around a table rather than a theatre style arrangement.

There will be between 30 and 40 people present at the meeting and I will confirm that number in advance of the session. We would like to have coffee and tea available during the meeting.

The meeting is to be posted as Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations.

Please don't hesitate to call me if you have any specific questions in regard to this request.

With appreciation and kindest regards, I am

Sincerely,

Edith J. Miller  
Assistant to the President

November 9, 1976

Mr. Herman L. Sainer  
Jewish Agency  
515 Park Avenue  
New York, N.Y. 10022

Dear Hy:

It was thoughtful of you to share with me the item from Harper's on the Middle East and Israel. I am grateful and thank you for thinking of me.

With warmest regards, I am

Sincerely,

Alexander M. Schindler

*National Committee on Control and Authorization of Campaigns*  
*of the*  
*Jewish Agency for Israel*

*Member Organizations*

Council of Jewish Federations  
and Welfare Funds

Jewish Agency for Israel  
Joint Distribution Committee

United Israel Appeal

United Jewish Appeal

United Jewish Appeal of  
Greater New York

World Zionist Organization-  
American Section

*Co-Chairmen*

Charlotte Jacobson  
Jack D. Weiler

*Co-Ordinator*

Isadore Hamlin

*Staff Consultant*

Herman L. Sainer

November 4, 1976

515 Park Avenue

New York, N.Y. 10022

Tel.: PLaza 2-0600

Cable Address JEVAGENCY

Rabbi Alexander Schindler  
Union of American Hebrew Congregations  
838 Fifth Avenue  
New York, N. Y. 10021

Dear Alex,

Methinks you'll enjoy the enclosed think-piece from  
Harper's for November, on the Middle East and Israel  
in the midst thereof.

Perhaps those sensible paragraphs might constitute a  
position paper for your beloved Presidents Conference?

Stay well, and delightfully loose.

Cordially,

*Hy*  
Herman L. Sainer

*acknowledge  
with pleasure*



October 28, 1976

Professor Zbigniew Brzezinski  
Research Institute on Russian Affairs  
Columbia University  
622 West 113th Street  
New York, New York 10025

Dear Professor Brzezinski:

For myself personally, and for the Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations, I want to express profound gratitude to you. We thank you for having taken time from your very busy schedule to meet with us. It was a great pleasure and privilege to have you in our midst.

You made a great impact on your audience and I know that we all gained new insights from you. Your presentation was thoughtful and lucid, really a superb address.

With repeated thanks and warmest regards, I am

Sincerely,

Alexander M. Schindler

CONFERENCE OF PRESIDENTS OF MAJOR AMERICAN JEWISH ORGANIZATIONS

515 PARK AVENUE  
NEW YORK 22, NEW YORK  
Tel.: PLaza 2-1616

Date: 22 October 1976

MEMORANDUM

To: EDIE MILLER

From: Joanne Jahr

FYI

The enclosed copy of Ambassador Herzog's speech was sent to Rabbi Schindler by Ambassador Herzog.

I ordered extra copies from the Consulate/Mission -- enough to send out across-the-board to the Presidents Conference and to COJO (World Conference of Jewish Organizations, in which the Presidents Conference is an observer).

To the Presidents Conference people I am simply stamping the front cover "Distributed by the Presidents Conference" as the title is self-explanatory. To the COJO people, I stamped the front cover "Distributed by the World Conference of Jewish Organizations" and enclosed a covering memo (as you can see from the attached sample).

Best wishes.

# WORLD CONFERENCE OF JEWISH ORGANIZATIONS

515 PARK AVENUE, NEW YORK, N. Y. 10022

*Participating Organizations:*

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


22 October 1976

TO: MEMBERS OF COJO  
FROM: Yehuda Hellman, Secretary-General

-----  
Enclosed please find the text of an address delivered by Israel's Ambassador to the United Nations, His Excellency Chaim Herzog, at a meeting of the Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations on Tuesday, 19 October 1976.

We believe you will find it useful for background purposes in your activities in connection with the United Nations.

Encl.  
YH:jj

  
October 26, 1976

Mr. Donald S. Day  
Liberty Bank Building  
Buffalo, N.Y. 14202

Dear Don:

Thank you for your thoughtfulness in sharing with me the Riesman article. As it happens, I did see his statement but I do appreciate your thinking of me for sometimes such items are not called to my attention. Better duplication than not having any knowledge of such items!

With fond regards from house to house, I am

Sincerely,

Alexander M. Schindler

SAPERSTON, WILTSE, DAY & WILSON

ATTORNEYS AT LAW

LIBERTY BANK BUILDING

BUFFALO, N. Y. 14202

WILLARD W. SAPERSTON 1863-1956

DANIEL N. McNAUGHTAN 1869-1952

RICHARD H. WILE 1904-1968

ALFRED M. SAPERSTON	HOWARD T. SAPERSTON
DONALD S. DAY	R. KERFORD WILSON
JOHN L. KIRSCHNER	FRANCIS W. GREUNE
WARREN S. RADLER	MORTON MENDELSON
WELLS E. KNIBLOE	ROGER B. SIMON
LAWRENCE J. GALLICK	HERBERT J. LUSTIG
DONALD P. SHELDON	BRUCE D. DRUCKER
FRANK T. GAGLIONE	WILLIAM LERNER
CLIFFORD R. FULTON, JR.	WARREN B. GELMAN
THOMAS F. SEGALLA	NEIL A. GOLDBERG
GARY L. MUCCI	PHILIP B. ABRAMOWITZ
BRIAN P. FITZGERALD	

HARRY H. WILTSE  
OF COUNSEL  
AREA 716 856-5400

October 20, 1976

Rabbi Alexander Schindler  
Union of American Hebrew Congregations  
838 Fifth Avenue  
New York, New York 10021

Dear Alex:

I received the enclosed reprint in a mailing which was sent to me as President of the United Jewish Federation of Buffalo.

I assume that you have already seen the article but did not know whether you were aware of its widespread distribution.

I know that you have many other more important things on your mind but did feel that I should at least let you know that I had received a copy.

Very best personal regards.

I am looking forward to seeing you in Cleveland early next month.

Cordially,

  
Donald S. Day

DSD/kk  
enc.



# JOINING THE JACKALS

by Robert A. Riesman, president, Jewish Federation of Rhode Island

*This article was reprinted from the Community Voice, September 15, 1976, published by the Jewish Federation of Rhode Island (reprinted at no cost to the Federation).*

What follows is a personal statement. Perhaps I am pre-empting too much space in your newspaper when I express at this length my individual views and concerns. I tell myself that the issues dealt with are issues that engage us all: the survival of the State of Israel, the integrity and communality of American Jewish life.

Some of it makes unattractive reading, as indeed it made for unhappy writing. It is not an agreeable task, to show that statements were made that gave aid and comfort to those who wish ill to Israel and were subsequently disclaimed, to speculate on the motives for making statements and later denying them.

Nowhere do I question the right of anyone to criticize, to dissent, to speak out, however recklessly or irresponsibly. Apart from taking the Name of the Lord in vain or bearing false witness, Judaism has placed a high value on free speech, long before the First Amendment to our Constitution. But the speaker must be prepared to meet with future disbelief, should his words prove untrue.

Rabbi Arthur Lelyveld, a battle-scarred veteran of the civil rights marches of the sixties and a biting critic of the "Jewish establishment," has voiced his anxiety over unbalanced and reckless public criticism of Israel by a small but vocal element in the American Jewish community. "When we join the jackals who are tearing at Israel's body," he warned the Reform rabbinate in his president's message to the annual convention of the Central Conference of American Rabbis this June, "we give aid and comfort . . . to those who would cut aid to Israel and leave her defenseless before murderers and terrorists."

His concerns were well-founded and his words prophetic. Within a month, former Vice President Spiro Agnew, now head of a tax-exempt foundation, Education for Democracy, conducted a nationwide mailing of the foundation's newsletter *Memoranda*, featuring an attack on Israel entitled "Mideast Time Bomb." The most cogent element in the article—otherwise a rehash of the distortions and untruths we have come to expect from Arab propagandists—was a paragraph of quotations, hostile to Israel and supporting Mr. Agnew's position, all attributed to Jewish sources. They read, in full:

Several Jewish organizations in the United States are even more emphatic in their criticism of Israeli imperialism. The Social Action Commission of Reform Judaism has denounced the "irresponsible

practices" and "provocative actions" of the Israeli Government in occupied Arab territories. A new organization, Breira (Hebrew for "Alternative"), sent an open letter to Israeli leaders condemning the "unfortunate killing" of Arabs in Galilee and deploring "violations of civil rights and loss of life" in the West Bank. Rabbi Prinz, chairman of the World Council of Jewish Organizations and a director of Breira, was one of the signers of the open letter. Rabbi Henry Siegman, executive director of the Synagogue Council of America, roundly criticizes Israel for the treatment of the Arabs living in the territories conquered in the 1967 war and is finding American Jews "very receptive" to his position. In short, the Israelis can no longer count on the automatic support of either The United States or the American Jewish community.

The Social Action Commission, Breira, and Rabbi Siegman repudiated the remarks ascribed to them, claiming that they had been misquoted and their positions on Israel distorted. But painful as it is to say, it appears to me that whoever wrote the article in Spiro Agnew's *Memoranda* had reason to regard these quotations as authentic. Even more painful to relate, the disclaimers by our Jewish friends sound unconvincing and, in some cases, disingenuous.

Let us start with the Social Action Commission. Did they say it or didn't they? Does the *Memoranda* quotation above fairly reflect the sense of their resolution or were their statements, as the Commission told the Anti-Defamation League, distorted and taken out of the context of a resolution "that is supportive of Israel"?

The sorry fact is that there was no distortion. As for the context, Rabbi Lelyveld's appraisal follows:

As a Conference, we have affirmed our right to hear every Israeli point of view including those of the "dissidents." We shall not relinquish our right as Jews and supporters of the State of Israel to express our concern, and even our specific criticisms. It goes beyond criticism, however, and becomes irresponsibility when we join the jackals who are tearing at Israel's body, as when we enact one-sided resolutions accusing the government of Israel of provocation when it has been acting with exemplary moderation both in the instance of prayer on the Temple Mount, and in regard to demonstrations in behalf of the right to settle in Judaea and Samaria.

It is one thing to call for negotiations and concessions which will advance the cause of peace. It is another, and to my mind totally inadmissible, for a Jew to give aid and comfort through ill-calculated formulations to those who would cut aid to Israel and leave her defenseless before murderers and terrorists. Such a resolution as that adopted by our own Commission on Social Action shows a lamentable lack of understanding both of Jewish history and of the contemporary history of the Middle East.

The resolution to which Rabbi Lelyveld refers was passed late this April at a media event staged during a meeting in Warrenton, Virginia, of the Commission of Social Action, under the professional leadership of Rabbi Balfour Brickner, who together with his assistant, Rabbi David Saperstein, sits on the executive board of *Breira*. Marjorie Hyer, a staff writer for the *Washington Post*, was invited to the meeting and used the resolution as the keynote for her May 3 nationally syndicated article, "U. S. Jews Beginning to Go Public in Criticism of Israel." Her account of the resolution reads:

mission of Reform Judaism adopted a resolution alleging "irresponsible practices" and "provocative actions" by the Israeli government in dealing with Arabs in the occupied territories.

Specifically, the resolution cited the provocative Passover weekend march through the West Bank by the ultra-rightist religious group, Gush Emunim, which set off demonstrations in which one Arab was killed and at least five injured by Israeli security forces' gunfire; the establishment of new Israeli settlements in the occupied territories and the "politicization of the Temple Mount," a Jerusalem area sacred to both Jews and Moslems.

Rabbi Brickner's comment, as quoted by Ms. Hyer, indicates how "supportive of Israel" was the resolution:

Brickner pointed out that "the rest of the world is bringing out the issue—as well as the fact that some of the things Israel is doing has shocked the American Jewish community."

He cited "the expropriation of Arab lands in the Galilee, the activities of Gush Emunim, the harsh way in which the (Arab) demonstrators (on the West Bank) were dealt with, the deportation of two Arab Israelis (radical candidates for West Bank town offices before the April 12 elections)—these are the kinds of things that are public knowledge and that create tremendous concerns."

Nowhere is the resolution or Rabbi Brickner critical of the Arab role in the Mid-East problem, except for the boycott and petrodollars, and nowhere is there balance. The complaint about the "politicization of the Temple Mount" makes no mention of the fact that, out of respect for the rule of law, the Israeli government let stand the ruling of the local magistrate permitting Jewish access to the Temple Mount for prayer, awaiting a reversal from the Jerusalem District Court. Israel was begrudged the credit as a democracy for holding the West Bank elections, unthinkable in the Arab world: free elections that also enfranchised women, as they were never enfranchised under Jordanian rule; the results accepted by Israel, even though hostile candidates were elected. What ever else we may say about the Agnew hate sheet, we cannot charge that he has "distorted" the statements of the Social Action Commission or of its professional head.

Rabbi Lelyveld continues, "Fortunately, that resolution was appropriately amended by the UAHC Board of Trustees, but not before it had



The last is an understatement. The resolution reinforced other anti-Israel statements accumulated by Ms. Hyer from Jewish sources, which later appeared in the *Memoranda* article. Here is a fuller text of the statement quoted in the Agnew document, Breira's "Open Letter to Israel's Leaders" of April 7, signed by Rabbi Prinz, among others:

"We are grieved by the tragic events of the past weeks in the occupied West Bank and within Israel proper. In particular we mourn the unfortunate killings of six Arab Israeli citizens in the Galilee. We also deplore the violations of civil rights and the loss of life which have taken place in the West Bank."

Once again we find the onesided attack on Israel. Breira would let the Arabs riot in the West Bank towns without Israeli intervention. Such a policy might well have destroyed the lives and property of an overwhelming majority of Arab residents who opposed and abstained from the rioting and whom the government was obliged to protect. In a part of the world where civil rights are otherwise non-existent, and loss of life—or hundreds of lives—a daily occurrence, Breira chooses to castigate Israel and only Israel for what in fairness was a restrained response to a virtually unmanageable situation.

Confronted with the Agnew article, Robert Loeb, executive director of Breira, was quoted by Mary Breasted of the *New York Times* on July 30 as acknowledging that his group was sometimes critical of Israeli "imperialism," though the newsletter "distorted" the views of his organization. Breira later pulled itself together and issued a statement.

"We unequivocally denounce such manipulation of responsible Jewish dissent," it began, and went on to describe the characterization of "imperialism" as "absurd."

Breira first came to the attention of the general Jewish community when it sponsored an advertisement, dated November 4, 1974, signed by prominent rabbis and other Jews, criticizing those who peacefully demonstrated against Arafat's appearance before the United Nations. Breira calls itself a "national Jewish organization representing a growing and increasingly significant voice within the Jewish community calling for an overall peace settlement as the basis for Israeli security." Claiming "nearly 1,000" members as of this spring, it surfaced after the Yom Kippur War, apparently as an offshoot of the Committee on New Alternatives in the Middle East (CONAME), taking on Robert Loeb from the staff of CONAME as executive director of Breira. A number of the CONAME steering committee

positions on its advisory board, and other CONAME affiliates listed as members.

CONAME distinguished itself on October 25, 1973, as a signatory, along with 19 Arab organizations, of a telegram to members of both Houses of Congress, which read, in part: "We the undersigned representatives of millions of American citizens from all over the United States strongly urge you to vote absolutely no arms or advisers to Israel. Prevent the diversion of massive funds from American needs to a foreign state's military expansionism . . . The U. S. Congress, not Israel, repeat not Israel, should decide how American tax dollars should be spent." Six weeks later, CONAME disavowed the use of its name, but *Time* magazine, in a June 23, 1975, article, "Pushing the Arab Cause in America," listed CONAME among the "some 20 organizations" that were "carrying the Arabs' message."

Breira's message is often indistinguishable from the Arabs' message. Rabbi David Sapirstein, a member of the Breira executive board (and of the staff of the Social Action Commission) was quoted in the *Jewish Post and Opinion* of February 16, 1976 as saying that some Israelis believe that Israel should talk to the PLO "if the Arab group first agrees to recognize Israel's right to exist" but that Breira posed "no such precondition." It is Israeli intransigence and lack of "initiatives," according to Breira, that present the major obstacle to peace in the Middle East. Back to the 1967 borders, turn the West Bank over to the PLO and all will be well. According to Rabbi Albert Axelrad, member of the Breira executive board and chaplain and Hillel director of Brandeis University, writing in the *Boston Jewish Advocate* of August 19, 1976, the PLO emerged only after Israel failed to advance "political initiatives" following the 1967 war. This would come as a surprise to Ahmed Shukeiry, who was chosen chairman of the PLO upon its founding in 1964 at the first Palestinian National Congress and endorsed by all the Arab states. It would come as a surprise to the survivors of the PLO's 20th Palestinian Division, two brigades of which were concentrated in the Gaza strip in May of 1967, awaiting Nasser's command to attack Israel. One would think that Breira executive board member, Rabbi Max Ticktin, director, National Department of Field Services and Leadership Training of B'nai B'rith Hillel Foundations, would have provided better field service and training in history to his proteges among the many Hillel rabbis who have joined Breira.

The sad fact is that, not only did Breira say what Agnew said it said, but that the entire Agnew article says little about Israel or the Middle East that has not already been

by its staff or executive board members.

Rabbi Siegman has announced that he will press for a libel action against Mr. Agnew, denouncing as "a total fabrication" the statement attributed to him in the excerpt above. The Agnew excerpt was apparently taken from the May 3 *Washington Post* article in which Ms. Hyer characterizes an essay by Rabbi Siegman as "criticizing Israel for its failure, over the past nine years, to come to grips with problems of the territories and people it conquered in the 1967 war." Ms. Hyer goes on to quote Rabbi Siegman:

In discussing the article last week, Siegman half laughed and observed: "I had half expected to become a martyr, you know, for saying those things. I felt it would bring down all kinds of wrath on me. But nothing of the sort has happened. I discovered that people have been very receptive to those ideas."

Since Rabbi Siegman's suit may come before the courts, I do not think it appropriate to comment on whether the "fabrication" is indeed total or whether the issue is one of nuance rather than substance.

Perhaps Spiro Agnew has rendered the American Jewish community—and Israel—a service by showing some American Jews how close they had come to the brink. The shock of recognition, of hearing one's own words used by an enemy of Israel against Israel, may well cause many Breira members to part company with the jackals. Perhaps they will re-evaluate their support of the hard core of Breira who hold "seminars" for members of the United States Congress "to open new perspectives," which translates into undermining American support for Israel and increased pressure on her for unilateral concessions. Perhaps it is time for members of Breira to stop lending their name to communications to Congress, calling for American recognition of the PLO and a Palestinian state.

According to the *Jewish Post and Opinion* of July 9, 1976, Rabbi Prinz has complained of actions taken by Breira officials, without consulting the board. Other eyes have been opened by recent events. Rabbi Axelrad tells how he was shocked by the Palestinian terrorists when all Jewish hostages at Entebbe, including those Jews who proclaimed their anti-Zionism to the hijackers, were separated from those to be released. To his credit, Rabbi Axelrad writes:

... this terrorist action succeeded once and for all in burying the myth that they are solely and strictly anti-Zionist, anti-Israel, but not anti-Jewish, anti-Semitic.

I must confess that for a time I was

and sympathizers who were taken in by this colossal deception. This act, however, exposes the lie and places in the open the fact that at least to these terrorists the enemy is not Israel, the geo-political nation-state, but Israel, the transnational Jewish people. For them, at least, it is clear that anti-Zionism is but a cloak for anti-Semitism.

To those rabbis and intellectuals now trapped in the blind alley of Breira, those who are not basically anti-Israel but whose standards are not met by all actions of the Israeli government, a "breira," an alternative must be found to the shrill, self-righteous, reckless, corrosive Breira. It is incumbent on American Jewish leadership to make good on the pledge of Rabbi Alexander Schindler, president of the Conference of the Presidents of American Jewish Organization, as well as of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, to open discussion of divergent viewpoints and responsible dissent.

For the moment, Israel is enjoying a remission from outside pressure. As the contradictions in the Arab world emerge, Egypt is sending troops west to the Libyan border, while major elements of the Syrian army are engaged in Lebanon. No American demarche is expected until early next year. However, the next few months can bring new challenges to Israel. No one can foretell the outcome of the Lebanese crisis: whether the PLO will survive, and if it does, who will control it and what course it will take. The General Assembly of the UN will soon convene, with Yugoslavia and Cuba leading a renewed assault on Israel. The Libyan representative will preside over the Security Council. A President of the United States will be elected. For American Jewry, this is a time for flexibility, not for rigid doctrinaire formulas; for watchful waiting; but above all for communality, not divisiveness.

We must seek and find what unites us as Jews. In Rabbi Lelyveld's words:

Let us be as fair to our Israeli brethren who have overwhelmingly opted for reconciliation and peace as we are to the as-yet scarcely audible Arab voices calling for recognition and co-existence. A people that has all but died in our time cannot in conscience be asked to barter away the miracle of its rebirth. A people that dwells amid the undeserved enmity of more than half the world cannot win approval by exposing itself to potential destruction. Courting martyrdom and adopting a posture of renunciation do not lead

October 26, 1976

Mr. Peter H. Bergson  
58 Haoranim  
Kfar Shmaryahu  
Israel 46910

Dear Mr. Bergson:

Thank you for your letter of October 11 and for sharing your thoughts and concerns with me.

I, too, would hope we might have an opportunity to discuss these matters personally. While I will be in Israel in November, it will be for but a few days and my schedule is already booked solid. However, I hope that when I am in Israel in January, as I plan to be, we will have a chance to chat.

With kindest regards, I am

Sincerely,

Alexander M. Schindler



58 HAORANIM  
KFAR SHMARYAHU  
ISRAEL 46910  
TEL. (03) 930-625

October 11, 1976

Dear Rabbi Schindler:

The Israeli press has been sniping at you for daring to say some things which are not quite in line with the "Zionist Dogma" of our establishment. In fact, they believe that you, being a "Jew in exile," have no right to say anything at all. You just have the duty to echo what they say here.

I am sure that you realize how much the situation has deteriorated since we last met. Yet, all Israeli parties are already involved in manoeuvres towards the elections that are thirteen months away. We have no independent, countervailing institutions. The academic world and even the press are subservient to the parties. Discussion, such as there is, becomes divided according to party line - and virtually no one speaks to basic national issues.

Many thinking Israelis are deeply concerned, but the sad fact is that we just don't have the wherewithall to extricate ourselves. The structure and leadership which got us into the present mess is incapable of taking the inevitable steps which might save us.

We can survive without financial help from American Jews. I don't think we can survive without their intellectual involvement. That's what makes your courageous initiative of such major importance. It is a ray of hope in an otherwise bleak horizon.

As you know, I believe in the inevitable necessity of separating Judaism as a world religion from the Israeli nation-state. Yet a common Jewish destiny has once again assumed a real meaning after twenty-eight years of screaming "We are one." One cannot simply disengage. The survival of Israel is therefore not merely an emotional concern for American Jews. The future of Israel will determine in a much more practical sense the quality and the way of life of Jews in America. That's why I believe you not only have the right, but the duty of independent analysis to plan a common action between the Jews of America and the people of Israel.

To let the system operate as it did these past twenty-eight years is in my opinion a betrayal of responsibility of American Jewish leaders to their own communities as well as to us here. The Israeli establishment rules largely with the moral and practical power which is given to it by the Jews of the world, especially the Jews of the United States. This backing, this power, is given to an inept and shallow group of politicians of all parties, without any serious examination on the part of the Jewish leaders as to what is really going on in this country.

Just as your predecessors, Rabbis Wise and Silver and the others, must have been condemned before the "Bet Din Shel Ma'alah" for their crimes of

58 HAORANIM  
KFAR SHMARYAHU  
ISRAEL 46910  
TEL. (03) 930-625

inaction during the destruction of over 80% of the Jews of Europe (and not the deceiving "third of the Jewish people"), the present leadership of American Jews will have to carry the blame for standing idly by once again while Israel, which was established to solve the Jewish problem, becomes the greatest Jewish problem in the world today. Of course, I am not drawing a simple comparison. We don't face physical extermination and we have a powerful defense capability, but we are in a deep crisis of internal disintegration, of confused identity, of political paralysis which leaves the initiative to others.

After some more Israeli concessions there will develop a stalemate which will lead to war of a much greater magnitude than we have ever known before. There is already a dangerous erosion in American-Israeli relations and such a major war may endanger our relations with America to a point which might be fatal for Israel and tragic for the Jews of America.

Please forgive me for inflicting upon you this sad missive, but I feel that events since we first met have justified my warnings. While I am an optimist by nature, I feel compelled to sound this additional warning since we have been losing precious time by tragic passivity and inaction.

I would very much like to meet with you in person. Are you planning any visit here in the near future? I would greatly appreciate hearing from you.

With high regards and every good wish.

Sincerely,



PETER H. BERGSON

PHB:ss

Rabbi Alexander Schindler  
New York City

October 14, 1976

Mrs. Bracha Kopstein  
53 LaGuardia Street  
Tel-Aviv, Israel

Dear Bracha:

Many thanks for your warm good wishes. I reciprocate every good wish to you and your dear ones for the New Year, may it be a year of happiness, good health and shalom.

Your article was excellent and I am very grateful to you. It was a pleasure meeting you and I hope we will have an opportunity to meet again in the future.

With kindest greetings, I am

Sincerely,

Alexander M. Schindler

Greetings ! n n e 3 n



S/lex  
7/10/76

Dear Rabbi Schindler

Our heartiest wishes to you  
& yours for a Happy Succoth.

Enclosed is a second copy of  
my article about you. I am  
worried because I did not get a  
line from you in reply to my  
letters & article I sent you  
two months ago.

I hope you are well. Please  
let me hear from you soon.

!msh 11  
Bracha Kopstein

P. S. The national  
book - our Cradle Songs  
Anthology - went into  
print and your kind  
assistance would be  
appreciated very much.



October 7, 1976

Mr. Josef Mochly  
P.O. Box 55  
Shave Ziyon, Israel

Dear Mr. Mochly:

I appreciate your writing to share with me your thoughts in regard to the press reports of my recent address to the Zionist Organization of America.

As you probably know, a number of people spoke the same evening as I did and some of our comments were mixed up a bit. I must also note that portions of my address were reported out of context and thus changed the entire meaning of what I had to say.

I assure you all that I do I do out of a love of Israel and Klal Yisroel and I speak as I do because of that love. I seek not only frankness between Israel and the Diaspora, but also mutual respect and a relationship of understanding and integrity.

With every good wish for the New Year, I am

Sincerely,

Alexander M. Schindler

Shave Ziyon, 19 September 1976  
P.O.Box 55, ISRAEL

Rabbi Alexander Schindler  
Chairman of the Conference of  
Presidents of Major Jewish Organizations  
515 Park Avenue,  
New York, N.Y.C., N.Y. 10023  
U. S. A.

Dear Sir,

I am a jew, with one citizenship: Israel.  
I arrived in this country, as a zionist, at the age of eighteen. Today,  
thirty nine years after, I am still serving in the army six to eight weeks  
every year and I still pay to the State, through taxes direct and indirect  
about seventy agorot from every lira.

In the years past, I have - like most others - served in the Irgun against  
the British, in the British Army against the Germans, in the 1956, 1967 and  
1973 wars against the Arabs. Not to mention the interim small wars, and that  
even today, I have guard duties, like everybody else in my village, once  
in two weeks.

I am an architect, with professional interests which include material ones.  
How much was worth my time investment in US dollars?

I have five children, two right now through their conscription period, one  
for three and the other for seven years. How much is the worth of their best  
years spent in the army?  
And how much is the value of the trepidations six times a day, to hear the  
radio news, when your children are there.....somewhere?

I still work ten to fourteen hours a day and from every lira I make the State  
demands - through direct and indirect taxes - a minimum of seventy agorot.  
How much does this contribution adds to?

I will have to work all my life, as I will not be able to retire, since  
my retirement fund I have contributed to the defence fund. Any value?

All the above was not done for my own sake only, ....but still I have  
no milking-cow complex.

- 2 -

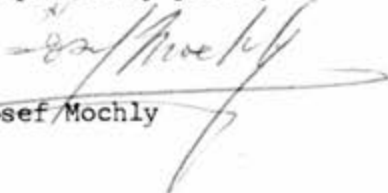
I am sure that your metaphore was intended as a hyperbolic argument, well intentioned, an admonition from a wise brother and rabbi. But even so, it is an insult to those dear, sincere personal friends, deeply involved in our lives, I have in your country. It is an insult to me.

The Baron and his family distributed their money, once upon a time, as a well meant, public spirited contribution through PICA, which also administrated the above funds. They were successful in creating a colony, a jewish colony. Internal matters can not be controlled from abroad without putting in jeopardy the whole idea of the Zionist State, growing in its own soil and to its own ideals.

There is a desperate need for money. All the time more and more money. But even the money is not as important as our selfrespect. We make many mistakes, we are arrogant, we need advice and we need the help of everyone. But please treat us as people, normal working people, like you. We are not cowboys and no professional milkmen.

I thank you for your attention and I send to you and your congregation the best wishes for the coming year, SHANA TOVA.

Respectfully yours,



Josef Mochly

# 'Israel treating U.S. Jews like milk cows'

By **MALKA RABINOWITZ**

Jerusalem Post Correspondent

**NEW YORK.** — Rabbi Alexander Schindler, chairman of the Conference of Presidents of Major Jewish Organizations, criticized Israel on Friday night for its concentration on the fund-raising function of American Jewry.

"Some American Jews," said Schindler, "have the feeling that they are cows to be milked, walked around a bit for some exercise and then let off to pasture."

Addressing delegates to a convention of the Zionist Organization of America here, Schindler said that "cows have their limitations."

"When I am in trouble, I do not want a cow. I want a man with the capacity for independent thought. Truth is the highest form of support for Israel."

Given the strong basic support of American Jewry for Israel, it was a healthy, perhaps even required development that there was criticism of Israel policy.

In an address on Saturday evening, ZOA leader Jacques Torczyner pointed to a power struggle in the American Jewish community in which "the fund-raisers" were seeking to establish dominance "without a democratic base."

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October 5, 1976

Mr. Natan Lerner  
World Jewish Congress  
123 Yehuda Halevi St.  
P.O. Box 14177  
Tel-Aviv, Israel

Dear Natan:

It was thoughtful of you to send me a copy of the Golda Meir interview and I thank you for so doing.

I also want to take this opportunity to express my warm good wishes to you and all your loved ones for a happy, healthy and fulfilling New Year.

Sincerely,

Alexander M. Schindler



# WORLD JEWISH CONGRESS

## ISRAEL BRANCH

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P.O.B. 14177

Cable Address:

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ת.ד. 14177

WORLDGROSS TEL AVIV

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55, NEW CAVENDISH STREET  
TEL.: WELBECK 0335

PARIS 8e  
78, AV. CHAMPS-ELYSEES  
TEL.: ELYSEES 9463

BUENOS AIRES  
PASTEUR 611  
TEL.: 47-4582

Tel Aviv, September 27, 1976

Rabbi Dr. Alexander Schindler  
Union of American Hebrew Congregations  
838 Fifth Avenue  
New York, N.Y. 10021

Dear Dr. Schindler,

I thought you would be interested in the full text of  
Mrs. Meir's New Year interview, attached hereto, in which  
she takes you to task.

With best wishes for the New Year and with kind regards

Yours sincerely

  
Natan Lerner

האיגוד העולמי ליהדות מתקדמת  
WORLD UNION FOR PROGRESSIVE JUDAISM

13 King David Street  
Jerusalem, Israel

טל. 234-748, 232-444

רח' המלך דוד 13  
ירושלים

Office of Executive Director

לשכת המזכיר הכללי

29th September, 1976

Rabbi Alexander M. Schindler,  
President - ~~CAIR~~  
838 Fifth Avenue,  
New York, N.Y. 10021

Dear Alex,

I hope that you, Rhea and the kids are well. Bella joins in extending to you best wishes for a good and creative New Year.

Enclosed is an interview with Golda Meir which was in the Erev Rosh Hashanah issue of Maariv. I am told that Golda also made reference in several oral presentations to "the milk cows".

I talked with Moshe Rivlin about it who had told me that he had discussed the matter with you when he was in New York and that he had suggested or was about to suggest to you that you should meet with Golda Meir when you are here. I told him that I thought it would be a good idea and suggested to him that he set it up. You can follow through with Yehuda Hellman there, to make sure that the meeting takes place. *or with Linda - direct*

*line*  
Except for this comment of Golda's, the issue has died down. There are many more important things which concern us.

In the meantime, I received the complete text of your talk and find there a number of matters which one could anticipate would have created some difficulty. Rather than my writing you about them, I will keep the talk here and when you are here in November we can have a brief discussion about certain nuances which raise the hackles of Israelis.

In the meantime we are looking forward to the Conference which I hope will prove to be successful.

Bivracha,

*Rich*

Rabbi Richard G. Hirsch

44.  
DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER  
AND  
MINISTER FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS

סגן ראש הממשלה  
ושר החוץ

Jerusalem, September 12, 1976

Dear Rabbi Schindler.

I should like to thank you for your letter of September 1st and for your thoughtful concern to find the best suitable modus for my meeting with the Presidents' Conference. I was glad to learn that in the meantime Ambassador Dinitz and you have found a good solution and agreed on the date.

I am looking forward also to have a personal meeting with you. For practical purposes I would suggest that we work-out a date when I shall be in New York.

With my best wishes and warm regards.

Yours sincerely,



Yigal Allon

Rabbi Alexander M. Schindler  
President  
Union of American Hebrew Congregations  
838 Fifth Avenue  
New York, N.Y. 10021

September 1, 1976

Yigal Allon, Foreign Minister  
Foreign Office  
Jerusalem, Israel

Dear Mr. Allon:

As you are aware, we have been in touch with the office of Ambassador Dinitz in an effort to work out the details of your visit insofar as the Presidents' Conference is concerned. We are holding two dates for you:

Thursday, September 23 - A luncheon meeting and public welcome on your arrival, involving the top leadership of the Presidents' Conference, its allied associates, as well as the press.

Tuesday, October 5 - To have you as the keynote speaker at our projected Conference which will deal essentially with those issues of vital concern to the Jewish community which are likely to come before the United Nations Assembly (suspension, Palestine Report, Zionism, the South African connection, terror, etc.).

Needless to say, we are very eager to have you and we are pleased that you have responded favorably to our invitation. I hope, too, that it will be possible for a brief private meeting with you during your visit, perhaps attendant upon one of the above noted sessions.

I do have some second thoughts concerning the October 5 engagement which did not occur to me when I discussed the matter with Simcha. But since talking to him I learned that your appearance before the U.N. General Assembly is scheduled for October 7. To have a major address from you on October 5 and then again on October 7 might put you in competition with yourself and lead to a disinterest on the part of the press. It is a risk to which I am loathe to expose you. This also puts us in something of a dilemma because we had hoped to have our Conference during that week and it would be unthinkable for us to have you in New York during the Conference and not have you as a featured speaker. I suppose it would be possible for us to postpone our Conference for a week or two or three so that we will not have this problem.

Yigal Allon, Foreign Minister  
September 1, 1976  
Page -2-

Please don't mis-understand me, we are anxious to have you twice but I feel conscience bound to call the problem of overexposure to your attention. We will, of course, abide most happily with your decision, whatever it may be.

All of us look forward to welcoming you in our midst. And I hope that you will let me know as soon as possible your thinking in regard to the problem I have raised.

With every good wish and warmest regards, I am

Sincerely,

Alexander M. Schindler

cc: Ambassador Simcha Dinitz  
Mr. Yehuda Hellman

bcc: Ambassador Chaim Herzog



JEROME ABRAMS, M. D.  
~~FRANK J. LAUDONIO, M. D., P. A.~~  
DIPLOMATES OF THE AMERICAN BOARD  
OF OBSTETRICS AND GYNECOLOGY  
190 GREENBROOK ROAD  
NORTH PLAINFIELD, NEW JERSEY 07060  
TELEPHONE 756-8513

May 26, 1977

Dear Rabbi Schindler:

Thank you for your clear and succinct statement ( that I received from Sam Rothberg ) concerning the Israeli elections.

Permit me to inform you of my rebuttal letter to the May 20th letter to the Editor of the New York Times from Tawfig Hasou of Charlottesville, Virginia.

" The May 20th letter from Tawfig Hasou from Virginia offers the formula for another Middle East State similar to the one Tawfig Hasou has left for the more favorable economic and political climate of the United States. ~~There~~ The Arabs' anger about Begin's election is a farce when the Arabs had treated the previous Israeli officials with boycott, terrorist attacks upon children, and outright refusal to negotiate or recognize. Tawfig forgot to include compensation for 600,000 Jewish refugees from Arab countries. "

Such letters should be sent by individuals as well as by organizations.

All of our efforts for Israel are lost if we do not try harder to create significant North American Aliyah. Since all other methods have failed, the last resort is the creation of North American ghettos in Israel. We are active in a group ~~in~~ that can supply North American doctors ( volunteers on a rotational basis to a new area where North Americans can receive the same type of care to which they have become accustomed but at no cost, the type of medical care which is not available in Israel unless at prohibitive cost.

Sincerely,



June 21, 1976

Mr. Joseph Vardi, Consul  
North American Director  
Government of Israel Investment Authority  
641 Lexington Avenue  
New York, New York 10022

Dear Mr. Vardi:

Your letter of June 2 has just reached our office, unfortunately during Rabbi Schindler's absence from the city and thus I am writing to acknowledge receipt.

Rabbi Schindler is presently on the west coast and will return only in time to depart for a series of meetings in Israel. He is not due back in the office until August. Of course, your letter and the materials enclosed herewith will be given his attention on his return.

With kindest greetings, I am

Sincerely,

Edith J. Miller  
Assistant to the President

Committee for Economic Growth of Israel  
(CEG-I)

For further information on investments,  
please call:

Joseph Vardi - (212) 486-8530

For imports from Israel:

Yeheskel Kassif - (212) 594-5215

For general information:

Elmer L. Winter - (414) 961-1000

*Schindler*

ישראל

GOVERNMENT OF ISRAEL

INVESTMENT AUTHORITY

641 LEXINGTON AVENUE  
NEW YORK, N. Y. 10022

CABLE ADDRESS: MEMISKAL, NEW YORK



June 2, 1976

Rabbi Alexander M. Schindler, Chairman  
Conference of Presidents Of Major  
American Jewish Organizations  
515 Park Avenue  
New York, New York 10022

Dear Mr. Schindler:

It was very nice seeing you last week at the Committee for the Economic Growth of Israel national board of director's meeting.

We are very pleased that you have agreed to serve on the national board of directors of the Committee for the Economic Growth of Israel. Your skills and experience will contribute greatly to the effectiveness of the committee.

The task that CEG-I has undertaken is essential to Israel's economic well-being. Israel must greatly increase its exports and much of this increase must come from foreign investment.

The Israel Government both here and in Israel, supports CEG-I in all its efforts. The enclosed article discusses a new mechanism which the Government has created to deal with a particularly serious problem: devaluations. The Ronnel Commission's recommendations provide a realistic solution to that problem.

Please feel free to call me for any information you may require.

Yours sincerely,

*Joseph Vardi*

Joseph Vardi, Consul  
North American Director

enc.

## Committee for Economic Growth of Israel (CEG-I)

Elmer L. Winter  
Chairman

1 June 1976

Dear Friend:

CEG-I is now officially launched. We had our opening luncheon on May 18 in New York. We reviewed our goals and we are now set to carry out our commitments to Israel, as fully and completely as possible. There is no question that Israel needs our help and I know, from the spirit that our members have demonstrated, we have the organization to deliver the goods to Israel.

Much to my very pleasant surprise, 109 people out of 150 invited have consented to serve on our Board of Directors. Does anyone need any further evidence of a deep interest in Israel on the part of our members.

Now, I ask you to assist Israel in your individual capacity. We need your help, stimulating either your own company or your business associates or your friends to invest in Israel and to buy products made in Israel. You will be surprised at how many people will respond favorably to your asking, "Would you like to have some information about the many advantages that Israel offers to you if you open a plant in Israel?" or "Would you be interested in purchasing Israeli-made goods?" By asking these questions, you will develop leads for the Israel government officials to follow.

There are three people and three telephone numbers on the attached card. I would appreciate your keeping this card in your wallet. These are the people that can handle inquiries.

I rely heavily upon you to help us meet our objectives -- making the economy of Israel a viable one.

Best wishes...always,

  
Elmer L. Winter

ELW/lis  
Enclosure



COMMITTEE  
FOR THE  
ECONOMIC  
GROWTH  
OF ISRAEL

CEG-1

FORBES Magazine on March 15, 1976 well described Israel's economic challenge:

*"Israel is fighting for survival on two fronts. Victory on the first will be empty without victory on the second.*

*Even if Israel finally wins its battle for political survival, that alone will not be enough. It must also win its battle for economic survival.*

*Right now the Israeli economy is not viable. With imports at \$8 billion and exports at \$3.9 billion, its balance-of-payments deficit has soared to \$4 billion — a staggering total for a nation of 3.4 million people."*

To meet this challenge, the COMMITTEE FOR THE ECONOMIC GROWTH OF ISRAEL (CEG-I) was created.

CEG-I was formed at the suggestion of Elmer Winter, a concerned American businessman and founder and past president of Manpower, with the active encouragement of Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin, Minister of Commerce and Industry Haim Bar-Lev, Minister of Finance Yehoshua Rabinowitz, the Israel Investment Authority, the Israel Trade Center and the Israeli Manufacturers Association.

CEG-I is an autonomous, voluntary organization of American and Israeli business people who have joined forces to promote exports and investments in Israel.

CEG-I cooperates with both the Israeli and United States Governments, but it is an independent body which speaks only for itself.

CEG-I replaces the Prime Minister's Economic Conference and incorporates the existing structure of the Conference.

## **THE GOALS OF CEG-I**

CEG-I will concentrate on achieving the following goals:

### **I Development of Investments in Israel**

CEG-I seeks to attract additional American manufacturing plants to Israel, especially those which operate primarily for the export market.

### **II Expansion of Existing Industry**

CEG-I seeks to assist Israeli manufacturers in improving production techniques, marketing of products and management skills. CEG-I also seeks to interest American manufacturers in joint ventures, know-how and licensing agreements with Israeli industry.

### **III Expansion of Imports into the United States of Products "Made in Israel"**

CEG-I seeks to increase the sales of products "Made in Israel" in American markets.

## **THE STRUCTURE OF CEG-I**

The work of CEG-I will be carried out as follows:

### **CEG-I Board of Directors in U.S.**

CEG-I will have a Board of Directors consisting of leading American business men and women, academicians and professionals. The Board will develop programs to carry out the previously defined goals. Those people selected to serve on the Board will have special business skills and expertise; some will have direct experience operating a branch of their company in Israel.

### **CEG-I Board of Directors in Israel**

CEG-I will have a Board of Directors consisting of leading Israeli business men and women, academicians and professionals, to assist Americans wishing to invest in Israel or develop export-import relations. The Board will work closely with the Government of Israel to:

- Continuously improve the business climate for American firms doing business in Israel.

- Make certain that all American requests are expeditiously handled.

- Periodically review incentives, tax laws and administrative rules relating to investments in Israel, import of products needed for manufacture in Israel and export of products from Israel.

## **LOCAL CEG-I BRANCHES IN THE UNITED STATES**

The National Office of the CEG-I will establish local CEG-I task forces in 20 major American cities. These task forces will be made up of leading business men and women, and professionals who will carry out the goals of CEG-I in the local community. The members of the task forces will pinpoint and contact local business firms in an effort to interest them in the expansion of their plants to Israel, and to develop relationships leading to the import of Israeli-made products into their community.

The local CEG-I task forces will assist in the development of Trade Missions to Israel, will organize "Israel Weeks," and will provide public relations services.

## **THE STAFF OF CEG-I**

CEG-I will have headquarters in both New York and Israel.

### **New York**

An experienced American businessman will serve as executive director of the New York office of the CEG-I. He will execute the program designed by the Board of Directors in the United States. He will work closely with the Israeli director to make certain that there is an appropriate followup in Israel of projects initiated in the United States.

In addition, one or more experienced Israeli businessmen will be assigned to the CEG-I New York office to provide first-hand information on Israeli business conditions to American businessmen.

## **Israel**

Headquarters of the CEG-I in Israel will employ an American executive director who will be responsible for executing the policies created by the Board of Directors in Israel. He will expedite all requests for action from CEG-I in the United States.

### **THE IMPLEMENTATION OF GOAL I Development of Investments in Israel**

CEG-I, on a nation-wide basis will introduce American manufacturers to the potential of manufacturing products in Israel, primarily for the export market. CEG-I will work closely with the Government of Israel Investment Authority in the United States and in Israel to not only develop introductions, but to bring about commitments leading to the opening of plants by American manufacturers in Israel.

Through a well-targeted campaign, CEG-I will first select those fields of industry which have the best potential for success in Israel, and will then try to reach companies in those fields in the United States.

### **THE IMPLEMENTATION OF GOAL II**

CEG-I will serve as a catalyst in providing to Israeli manufacturers advice and counsel, financial assistance, as well as in bringing to their attention opportunities for joint ventures, new markets and improved technology. Through an Assistance Program for Israeli Industry, the needs of various companies will be determined and aid will be sought for them in the United States.

CEG-I will also design programs for American management experts to lecture, hold seminars and be available for consultation in Israel.

### **THE IMPLEMENTATION OF GOAL III Expansion of Imports into the United States of Products "Made in Israel"**

CEG-I will, throughout America, assist Israeli manufacturers and U.S. distributors in increasing

the sale of products "Made in Israel." CEG-I will cooperate with the Government of Israel Trade Center and Israeli manufacturers in the development and implementation of programs to increase Israel's share of the U.S. market.

CEG-I will work to create a desire on the part of American buyers to purchase products "Made in Israel," through a campaign of advertising and active marketing.

As a first step, CEG-I will call for a marketing study of the problems and opportunities relating to the import of Israeli-made products in the United States.

### **HOW YOU CAN HELP CEG-I**

As a volunteer organization CEG-I welcomes any help that will assist it in meeting its goals. CEG-I needs:

1. \$1-a-Year Men and Women who can serve as Executive Directors of local CEG-I task forces.
2. \$1-a-Year Men and Women who can assist CEG-I in carrying out specific projects, and who can provide administrative assistance and contacts with manufacturers and retailers.
3. Specialists in various industries who can review projects from Israel to determine their applicability to the American market.
4. Specialists with special skills in marketing, management, production, quality control who are available to train personnel in Israel.

### **WHERE TO GET MORE INFORMATION**

Mr. Elmer Winter  
5301 North Ironwood Road  
Milwaukee, Wisconsin 53201  
(414) 961-1000



EMBASSY OF ISRAEL

OFFICE OF THE ECONOMIC MINISTER

641 LEXINGTON AVENUE NEW YORK 10022 (212) 486-8506

July 28, 1976

Rabbi Alexander M. Schindler  
Chairman  
Conference of Presidents of  
Major American Jewish Organizations  
515 Park Avenue  
New York, N.Y. 10022

Dear Rabbi Schindler,

... Enclosed please find a copy of letter to me by Eugene  
Blum of Baltimore and my reply.

We deal here with an uncoordinated and independent  
initiative to combat the Arab boycott, and, as you will see,  
I hesitate very much to encourage it in this form. On the  
other hand, good will and initiative should not be discouraged  
and therefore you may be interested in contacting him.

Incidentally, my letter includes various activities  
that everyone could engage in to strengthen our economy  
and you might find it useful to draw the attention of your  
members to it.

Sincerely yours,

  
Ze'ev Sher



Jews Against the  
Arab Boycott  
Attn. Eugene Blum  
6806 Harrowdale Rd.  
Baltimore, Md. 21209

July 1, 1976

Mr. Ze'ev Sher  
Economic Minister of Israel  
to the United States  
641 Lexington Avenue  
New York City, New York 10022

Dear Mr. Sher:

Enclosed you will find some of the literature and information concerning our effort to help bolster Israel's economic picture.

Basically our concept is a very simple one and does not involve any boycott on our part. We are simply asking Jews to buy from those companies that are aiding the Israeli economy (even though the Arabs don't like the idea).

As per our telephone conversation I would appreciate from your office, as quickly as possible, a letter outlining your concept of how this problem should be handled and what the aims of such a campaign should be.

I would think it necessary that the letter cover the following points: 1) the peril of Israel's economic situation caused by the boycott; 2) the need for some type of action on the part of the Jewish community; 3) that congressional nor state legislation have any effect on the consumer level; and 4) as you suggested, that the action taken should be to encourage new economic ventures into Israel and that local friends of Israel can and should be recognized on a local basis as not to be injured by an action taken on a national level.

Our organization has, as a result of four ads in the Jewish Times, evoked responses from not only the Baltimore area but also from such far away places as Winston-Salem, North Carolina, Atlanta, Georgia, and Orlando, Florida. It seems that the average Jew is anxious to do what he can for Israel on a consumer level.

Sincerely,



Eugene Blum

EB:ln  
Enclosure

# baltimore JEWISH TIMES

## JAABing The Arab Boycott

JAAB, an acronym for Jews Against The Arab Boycott, is an idea that for some three years has been haunting the mind of local public relations executive Gene Blum, a former officer in the Israeli Air Force during the 1948 War for Independence, writer, and lay scholar of economics. The idea became a fledgling organization recently when ten concerned Jews pledged time, talent and financial support to initiate a campaign at a grass roots level.

A simple concept in a complex

economic struggle that is currently raging world wide. JAAB's thrust is to organize and educate Jews about how their buying dollars can benefit Israel. "It's not enough to make contributions to Israel through charitable sources," stresses Blum. "Whether we're aware of it or not, what we buy positively helps Israel and what we buy negatively hurts her." By negatively, he means products from companies that may support Arab interests. By positively, he means products that are on the Arab boycott list. And here is the crux of JAAB: To spend the Jewish buying dollar exclusively in support of Israel.

TIME magazine recently printed an article that highlighted companies on the Arab blacklist. These were companies that are boycotted by the Arabs for doing business with Israel. Laments Gene Blum, "As far as we know, our Jewish organizations haven't begun to fight on a product level as yet. And it may

be safe to say that the average Jew does not know the companies supporting Israel. Our aim is to make this information available and to do everything possible to show that it's profitable to belong to the boycott."

This can be done, JAAB members feel, by concentrating Jewish purchasing power and selling power on selected items manufactured by companies that are proven friends of Israel. And this can be accomplished most successfully by directing emphasis on a few products at a time.

A sad story that Gene Blum tells is about the disappearance from the shelves of Jewish owned supermarkets of many Hudson paper products. "This is a company that heavily supports Israel. They even built a factory in Israel called Israel-American Paper Company. But when they were overtaken by larger manufacturers, the American Jewish community allowed them to slide. By supporting business

that support Israel, we are making every bit as significant a contribution as the one we make through our favorite charity.

"Among the companies we should heavily support are Coca-Cola, Ford, RCA, Zenith, Motorola, Revlon, Helena Rubinstein, Seagrams, and National Brewing."

It is with a product like National Boh or National Premium

**JAAB's thrust is to organize and educate Jews about how their buying dollars can benefit Israel.**

that Gene Blum hopes to begin the JAAB consumer campaign. "The success of these products," he explains, "in terms of profit growth based on Jewish support, is easily measurable." He recommends that not only do Jews buy the products, they can have their favorite retail outlets promote the products, as well. "And when you attend a social function," he adds, "ask your host to serve them, and if he doesn't, tell him why he should."

"By providing consumer information, by helping Jews to understand how to effectively direct their buying power, and by getting organizations behind promoting purchasing and selling for Israel projects, and by having a JAAB Speaker's Bureau speaker come to your functions with additional information on the importance of constructive purchasing, you can help strengthen Israel's economic position in today's tough pragmatic business world," says Gene Blum.

Lists and speakers and additional information on the Arab Boycott can be obtained by calling JAAB, Jews Against Arab Boycott at 301-653-1311.

## Fighting The Boycott

The Jewish community has been waiting for JAAB. JAAB is the highly appropriate acronym for Jews Against The Arab Boycott, a newly formed organization which seeks to organize and educate Jews about how their buying dollars can benefit Israel, and it has generated an overwhelming response in the two weeks it has been active. Although the group is based in Baltimore, and has solely been publicized in this magazine, calls have come in from such states as North Carolina and Pennsylvania.

"They've asked for speakers, for information on companies they aren't certain about, on how to begin chapters in their areas," reports Gene Blum, a local public relations executive who started JAAB. "B'nai B'rith,

Histadrut, the Baltimore Jewish Council, and the Jewish Identity Center have also contacted us. Many leading businesses want to join the campaign as well."

This past week, JAAB received a copy of the list of 1,500 names on the Arab Boycott, names of companies which do business with Israel. The list is now available through JAAB, as are speakers and additional information on the Boycott.

JAAB has a promising future ahead of it. We congratulate Gene Blum for taking the time and effort to begin the group, and for publishing accurate lists of companies. And we hope the Jewish community will continue to support the efforts of JAAB.

**JAAB**  
**JEWS AGAINST ARAB BOYCOTT**  
**301-653-1311**

# Backlash at the Boycott

As the financial power of the Arab oil states has grown, so has their muscle in world trade. But in using their new strength, some Arab governments have been pursuing a policy that is deeply inimical to the legal and social principles of the industrial democracies. Financial and political capitals were shocked by the revelations last month that Arab bankers in Libya and Kuwait had threatened to pull their money out of major international bond issues unless certain U.S. and European banking houses with Jewish ties were barred from participation. Now the economic issues raised by such tactics are rapidly becoming a major diplomatic concern as well.

During his press conference in Hollywood, Fla., last week, President Ford made the U.S. position clear. "Such discrimination," he said, "is totally contrary to the American tradition and repugnant to American principles." Ford asked the Justice, Commerce, State and Defense departments to investigate, suggesting that the U.S. may take some economic counteractions against those who discriminate.

A day earlier, the Anti-Defamation League of the B'nai B'rith accused a number of private companies and U.S.

agencies of discriminating against Jews, and also provided part of an Arab boycott list that extended beyond the banking community into the ranks of American business. And only a few hours after the President's Florida press conference, Idaho Democrat Frank Church, chairman of the Senate Subcommittee on Multinational Corporations, produced a copy of the entire blacklist.

According to the B'nai B'rith, four private firms\* and two U.S. Government agencies had violated U.S. civil rights laws by excluding Jews from employment in Arab countries in order to do business or carry out aid programs there. Not all the companies responded immediately to the charges, but those that did so denied them. So did one of the federal agencies: the Overseas Private Investment Corporation, which promotes U.S. trade projects abroad. The other agency, the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers, which manages construction projects in Saudi Arabia for the U.S. Government, acknowledged tacit compliance with the boycott.

Going Along. At a hearing of Senator Church's subcommittee two Army colonels, William L. Durham and Joseph D. Bennett, explained that in deference to Saudi wishes, the Corps of Engineers made a practice of not assigning Jewish personnel to Saudi Arabia and also saw to it that its civilian contractors did the same. But both denied ever having seen the Arab boycott list.

Until last week, few Americans had. At the hearing, Church showed off a copy of the 1970 edition, which he had obtained from the State Department. Published in Damascus, the volume contains the names of 1,500 American companies, individuals and organizations with which the Arabs refuse to do business, supposedly because they are or have been involved with Israel in one way or another. But in many ways the list is baffling. The entries range from giant firms with worldwide presence like RCA and Coca-Cola to local U.S. department stores like Lord & Taylor. Some companies were unaware that they were on the Arabs' enemies list until it was published in the newspapers last week. For example, the American Electric Power Co. turned up on the list, even though the utility holding company has no interests anywhere in the Middle East. The Ford Motor Co. and Xerox Corp., both boycotted since 1966, are only two of many firms that have been trying to have their names removed from the blacklist.

The President's denunciation of Arab discrimination and the Church hearing, both of which took place on

\*Ashland Chemical Co., Bendix Field Engineering Corp., Dresser Industries Inc. and International School Services.



Orders.

the same day, were clearly intended as a signal of bipartisan U.S. concern about the boycott. In Cairo, where the Arab boycott committee is currently holding its semiannual review of the blacklist, Mohammed Mahgoub, commissioner general of the boycott office, defended the list as "a legitimate means of legitimate self-defense." At the boycott committee's opening session last week, Mahgoub insisted that companies are listed only if they "play a role in helping Israel's economic, industrial or military efforts."

Legal Tools. Washington has only begun to explore what legal tools are available to combat the boycott. Many antitrust law experts believe that Section 1 of the Sherman Act, which forbids contract combinations or conspiracy in restraint of trade, could be used against, say, an Arab bank that refused to deal with U.S. companies that have ties with Israel; but enforcement would be impossible unless the bank had assets located within the jurisdiction of a U.S. court. Some Justice officials are discussing another approach: a threat of action under civil rights laws against U.S. companies that bow to the blacklist by deliberately excluding Jewish employees from their Arab operations.

Ultimately, the argument that is most likely to force the Arab governments to reconsider their policy of ethnic economic discrimination is that they run the risk of a backlash against the boycott when they begin to invest their oil billions in Western countries in a big way. As President Ford put it bluntly last week: "Foreign businessmen and investors are welcome in the United States when they are willing to conform to the principles of our society."

## Who's On the List

The 1,500 entries in the Arab League's eclectic 1970 boycott list include many of the nation's biggest corporations, as well as a wide variety of other firms, foundations, individuals and products. A sampler:

Air Products & Chemicals	Kaiser Aluminum & Chemical
Allstate Insurance	Kaiser Steel
American Bank & Trust Co.	Alfred A. Knopf
Banwait Teller	Lord & Taylor
Burlington Industries	Miles Laboratories
CBS	Minute Maid
Club Méditerranée	Monsanto
Coca-Cola	Motorola
De Soto	National Brewing
E.J. Korvette	National Steel
Ford Motor	Owens-Illinois
Four Roses	Paul Masson
General Tire	Philadelphia National Corp.
Genesco	RCA
Hartz Mountain	Republic Steel
Pet Foods	Revlon
Helena	Seagram
Rubenstein	Sears, Roebuck
Henri Bendel	S.H. Kress
International Paper	Whirlpool
	Witco Chemical
	Xerox
	Zenith Radio



# BOYCOTT BACKLASH

Patronize These Friends of Israel

- |                                   |                             |                            |
|-----------------------------------|-----------------------------|----------------------------|
| • HUDSON PAPER PRODUCTS           | • HELENA RUBENSTEIN         | • FORD MOTOR PRODUCTS      |
| • KODAK CAMERAS AND FILM          | • FOUR ROSES                | • HEINEKIN                 |
| • NATIONAL BEER, CARLINGS, TUBORG | • MILES LABORATORY PRODUCTS | • HARTZ MOUNTAIN PET FOODS |
| • BARTON'S CANDY                  | • WHIRLPOOL                 | • CLUB MEDITERRANEE        |
| • RCA                             | • ZENITH                    | • MOTOROLA                 |
| • SEAGRAMS                        | • REVLOM                    | • KAISER ALUMINUM          |
| • ISRAEL WINES AND FOOD PRODUCTS  |                             |                            |

They are products and firms **ON** the Arab Boycott List.

## THEY DARE TO DO BUSINESS WITH ISRAEL!

Patronize companies **ON** the Boycott List!  
**BUY** products and **SELL** products on the List!

Now is the time to take firm consumer action. The economic survival of Israel depends on it.

### HELP BEAT THE ARAB BOYCOTT

- Arrange for speakers for your organization.
- Arrange for mailing inserts of boycott lists for your organization.
- Arrange committees in your organization to call on merchants, restaurants, hotels, motels, discount houses and supermarkets to carry products and push sales of companies on the Boycott List.
- Tell friends to join the battle against the Arab Boycott.

For further information on how to turn shopping dollars into victory dollars, OR FOR SPEAKERS, CALL:

**JAAAB**  
**JEWS AGAINST ARAB BOYCOTT**  
**301-653-1311**

# BOYCOTT BACKLASH

## What Do These Four Products Have in Common?

- Lincoln Continental Mark IV
- Coca Cola
- National Beer
- RCA

They are products **ON** the Arab Boycott  
List.

## THEY DARE TO DO BUSINESS WITH ISRAEL!

Patronize companies **ON** the Boycott List!  
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**JAAE**  
**JEWS AGAINST ARAB BOYCOTT**  
**301-653-1311**





EMBASSY OF ISRAEL

OFFICE OF THE ECONOMIC MINISTER

641 LEXINGTON AVENUE NEW YORK 10022 (212) 486-8506

July 28, 1976

Mr. Eugene Blum  
Jews Against the Arab Boycott  
6806 Harrowdale Road  
Baltimore, Md. 21209

Dear Mr. Blum,

Thank you very much for your letter of July 1, 1976 informing me about JAAB activities, and asking me to outline our concepts of how to help bolster Israel's economic picture.

Clearly, your colleagues and yourself must be congratulated, and we indeed appreciate very much what you are doing. We hope indeed that many other communities will follow your example and get together to assist Israel's economy.

In this area there are two main activities: first, assisting Israel's effort to reduce its current balance of payment deficit and making the US business community more open and ready to buy from Israel and to invest in Israel; second, fighting Arab economic coercion in this country, mainly the Arab boycott.

Jewish activities are carried on in both areas, by individuals, as well as by the various Jewish organizations. On the positive side, i.e. promoting Israeli goods and investments in Israel, the following activities could be undertaken :

- ...
- (a) Think Israel - look for goods produced in Israel and buy them (a catalogue is enclosed) ;
  - (b) Suggest to producers, wholesalers and retailers to use and sell goods produced in Israel ;
  - (c) Use in your home, and encourage your friends and neighbors, to buy and use in their homes goods produced in Israel ;

.../2

July 28, 1976

Mr. Eugene Blum

- (d) Join communal activities aimed to strengthen the economy of Israel, such as CEG-I headed by Elmer Winter (I am sending a copy of this letter to him so he may be able to contact you) ;
- (e) Suggest to businessmen and industrialists to consider Israel as a base of production. In this connection you should emphasize the relative advantages of Israel, such as our association with the European Community, Israel's eligibility for tariff preferences in the US under GSP, highly skilled and sophisticated labor, financial and other incentives for foreign investors and approved investment, and many more. Further information can be obtained from the Trade Commissioner or the Investment Authority in my office, or in the various regional offices (addresses attached) ;
- ...
- (f) Encourage trade and professional organizations in your area to organize businessmen's missions to Israel or open their platforms to speakers on behalf of Israel ;
- (g) Encourage tourism to Israel and fly Israel's national airline, El-Al.
- (h) Continue to assist and solicit others to assist Israel financially by contributing to the UJA or by purchasing Israel Bonds (the local offices will gladly accept your advice or volunteer work).

There are of course many other activities in these area and you and those with whom you cooperate, may choose those most suitable.

Success in the said activities is also success in combatting the Arab Boycott. Israel's economic growth is the best evidence that we repelled the attack the Arabs have launched, in particular because of the financial strength of the Arab oil producing countries, and that they have been defeated.

.../3

July 28, 1976

Mr. Eugene Blum

Our policy in connection with the boycott in the US has been ... explained in my speech in Austin, made sometime ago. This speech is attached. In addition, the various Jewish organizations, in particular the ADL, American Jewish Committee and American Jewish Congress, are actively engaged in various activities such as promotion of Federal and State legislation, adoption of Anti-Boycott policies by U.S. corporations and businessmen and exposing those complying with the boycott rules. Since all these activities are carried on nationally and as a coordinated effort, it seems adviseable to join them rather than act alone. Furthermore, these actions require more than catches the eye, e.g. why prefer companies which are on the blacklist over those which have excellent business relations with us or even invest in Israel, but for one reason or another are not on the list.

Our target should be to respect and reward all those who oppose the boycott or disregard it, and call on others to follow them. However, as you have seen from my speech, we do not advocate counter boycotting or creating an impression that we encourage or foster it.


You have also asked for guidance concerning the efforts to pass legislation. It would be improper on my part to give such guidance, but I am sure the various organizations, as well as the American Israel Public Affairs Committee, will be able to assist you in that.

May I again thank you for your efforts, and I hope that all of you will find the right way to assist us in our effort to make Israel's economy stronger.

I am at your disposal for any further clarification.

With kindest regards,

Sincerely,

  
Ze'ev Sher

GOVERNMENT OF ISRAEL OFFICES IN THE U.S.

EMBASSY OF ISRAEL -  
ECONOMIC SECTION  
1621 22nd Street, N.W.  
Washington, D.C. 20038  
Tel : 202-483-4100

Ze'ev Sher - Economic Minister  
Eitan Raff - Economic Counselor

GOVERNMENT OF ISRAEL -  
OFFICE OF ECONOMIC SERVICES  
641 Lexington Avenue  
New York, N.Y. 10022  
Tel : 212-486-8500

Office of Economic Minister -  
Ze'ev Sher, Economic Minister

Treasury Representative -  
Moshe Elran, Chief Fiscal Officer

Investment Authority -  
Joseph Vardi, Director for North America

Supply Mission -  
Meir Yagil, Director

Trade Commission -  
Yehekel Kassif, Trade Commissioner

Estate & Legacy Division -  
Jacob Danon

ECONOMIC CONSULAR OFFICES -  
(Representatives of Investment Authority  
and Trade Center)

OTHER CONSULAR OFFICES

Atlanta  
Mr. Levi Elad  
Consulate General of Israel  
805 Peachtree Street, N.E.  
Suite 656  
Atlanta, Georgia 30308  
Tel : 404-875-6947

Chicago  
Mr. Israel Elran  
Consulate General of Israel  
111 East Wacker Drive (Suite 1308)  
Chicago, Ill. 60601  
Tel : 312-644-4149

Los Angeles  
Mr. Yoram Rosenfeld  
Consulate General of Israel  
6380 Wilshire Boulevard  
Suite 1700  
Los Angeles, California 90048  
Tel : 213-658-7924

Boston  
Ra'anana Sivan, Consul General  
Consulate General of Israel  
31 Street & James Avenue  
Suite 450  
Boston, Mass. 02116  
Tel : 617-266-3800

Houston  
Ehud Lador, Consul General  
Consulate General of Israel  
One Greenway Plaza (Suite 722)  
Houston, Texas 77046  
Tel : 713-627-3780

Philadelphia  
Asher Daim, Consul General  
Consulate General of Israel  
255 South 15th Street (Suite 707)  
Philadelphia, Pa. 19102  
Tel : 215-546-5556

San Francisco  
Zvi Gabay, Consul  
Consulate General of Israel  
105 Montgomery Street (Suite 1900)  
San Francisco, California 94104  
Tel : 415-391-2786

GOVERNMENT OF ISRAEL POLICY IN THE U.S.  
ON THE ARAB BOYCOTT

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Ze'ev Sher  
Economic Minister  
to the U.S. and Canada

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Austin, Texas

February 19, 1976

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The purpose of this paper is to explain the position the GOI takes in the United States on the various issues that arise here in connection with the Arab Boycott or as a result of it. In particular I would like to concentrate on the policy in relation to the Arab boycott we consider that the U.S. business community and the Administration ought to adopt.

In principle, we agree and hope that all issues will be solved once peace will be achieved in the region. However, as you know, it takes two to make peace and our efforts in this respect have not yet been successful.

It goes without saying that the goal we would like to achieve in this country is the total elimination of any boycotting activity or discriminatory policy toward Israel, the Israeli business community and the Jewish community around the world. Thus, every action we may take, including counter attack, should be considered as an act of self defence in the economic warfare that the Arab states have lodged against us.

Other speakers have discussed the legality - or rather illegality - of complying with Arab economic warfare activities carried on in this country, or even outside this country, but in relation to US citizens or corporations. As far as I am informed, and in our opinion, compliance

by US citizens and residents with Arab boycott rules is illegal, both under international law and under domestic law, as well as immoral and contrary to US tradition and policy. It seems to me almost obvious that US firms, which cooperate with the Arabs in their efforts to boycott Israeli goods as well as businessmen who deal with Israel or in activities designed to damage Israel's economy, will find themselves involved in a legal action of one kind or another, whether anti-trust, violation of civil rights, non-disclosure of material information to shareholders, or under all or some of the statutes that have been referred to by other speakers. It should be noted, however, that in all such events it is not the fact that Israel has been the victim that gives the cause of action, but rather the cause of action is a violation of a legal principle of this country, a damage that has been caused to a person here, or the violation of rights of a person in this country. This would also explain why the Arab Boycott and discriminatory activities are a source of concern and reason for action in this country, in particular US Administration, the Congress and the various organizations concerned with the protection of civil rights and minority liberties.

In other words, warfare activities are carried on, in this country, by official and semi official representatives of the Arab countries, in addition to overt and covert activities undertaken by the Arabs through economic means or by economic coercion, by members of the business community and several US service bodies.

The question may be raised as to what legal right, as distinguished from a moral or political one, we have to request the US to combat the boycott activities including establishing certain policies, implementing domestic laws, and even introducing new legislation, all intended to combat the economic warfare lodged by the Arabs.

I have explicitly emphasized legal rights, since it is obvious that within the friendly relation which exist between Israel and the US one should expect that the US will do whatever feasible to eliminate hostile acts directed against Israel, in the form of participation by some members of the business community in the economic warfare.

The US and Israel agreed in various instances that the policy of the two governments is to oppose restrictive trade practices against countries friendly to either. Such opposition can be achieved only through appropriate steps to be undertaken in this country. We do not, however, rely on the statements alone, but also on a Treaty.

The US-Israel Treaty of Friendship, Commerce and Navigation provides in Article VII :

"Nationals and companies of either Party shall be accorded national treatment with respect to engaging in all types of commercial, industrial, financial and other activity for profit (business activities) within the territories of the other Party... "

Permitting the enforcement of boycott rules does limit this right. Article IX grants the right to acquire and dispose any type of property. The boycott limits these rights. Articles XIV and XVI grant MFN treatment to products produced in either country, and the boycott may make Israeli goods least favored. Therefore we have to refer to the remedies provided by the Treaty.

Art. XVIII provides :

" The two parties will, upon the request of either of them, have discussions regarding the actual prospective existence of business practices which may have harmful effects upon commerce between their respective territories; and each will take such measures as it deems appropriate with a view to eliminating such undesirable practices. Business practices which may have harmful effects are those which restrain competition, limit access to markets... and which are engaged in or made effective by one or more private or public commercial enterprises or by combination, agreement, or other arrangement among such enterprises."

The policy of Israel is therefore the one we may raise in such discussion. In order to understand the policy let us first discuss the various factors which may affect our policy -

- (a) The current impact of the boycott on Israel's economy is immaterial insofar as our request to take steps to eliminate it. The overriding principle is that no country friendly to us should permit hostile acts against us within its jurisdiction.

- (b) Since Arab activities, pressures and possible potentials and rewards have created awareness of the issue that may affect the future attitude of the business community, it is necessary that steps to curb possible future developments will be taken as early as possible.
- (c) Israel, as well as the US, are committed to the general principle that world progress can be achieved by a continued reliance on free economic markets, by promotion of a free, cooperative and open order of world trade - and therefore, to continue resistance, in principle, to the application of restrictive trade practices.
- (d) Awareness of the problem, but without proper information on its applicability, possible impact and effect, and the lack of informational and educational effort by the responsible bodies in the US, have created a voluntary boycott and shying away, by US interests, from business opportunities, that Israel has to offer, a matter that is neither justified by reason, nor by fact.
- (e) Progress toward peace in the Middle East will be achieved only by creating the right atmosphere of credibility, trust and recognition by all parties concerned that peaceful coexistence is feasible and practical. Any act, attitude or illusion that creates the impression that, at this stage, no possibility exists



to cooperate, at one and the same time, with the two adversaries in the Middle East, that business identification must be with one of the parties only, is harmful to the effort to achieve peace in our area.

These factors stated above determined our policy to be as follows -

- (a) We believe that ways and means should be found to enhance commercial intercourse between Israel and the Arabs even before a formal peace is established. In fact, economic cooperation and commercial activities have since WW II, in almost all cases, preceded a formal peace between former enemies.
- (b) We oppose the notion that economic activity can be undertaken in one of the camps only. We welcome every party willing to do business with us, whether he has business interests in Arab world or not. We do not believe in counter boycotting of any kind. We do not request as others, that volume or extent of doing business with us should have a size relative to the size and extent of business somewhere else.
- (c) We believe it is necessary to fight boycotting activities advocated, forced or advocated by others. A nation cannot, and should not, tolerate its being considered a pariah and unwanted in a business community or any segment thereof. A country should resist any attempt to be defined as a second rate citizen, with whom you do business in the back alley only.

- (d) We are a sovereign nation entitled to equal treatment. We do not want to be singled out in any way or form. Therefore, we object that within the jurisdiction of friendly nations businessmen should be required, by hostile forces, to submit information not required about other nations.
- (e) It is intolerable that hostile activities by other should be carried out against us by threat or economic coercion. We have to fight this practice and in this connection we oppose our being singled out by any one, in any manner, in connection with business transactions carried on with us, or as a matter of fact, in connection with business transacted with third parties.

We are in full agreement with the US Government that boycotting activities in this country against us are intolerable. The State Department declared in a release of April 2, 1975 that "the US opposes the Arab Boycott. We do not support or condone it in any way".

This declaration is in accordance with the policy embodied in Sec. 3(5) of the Export Administration Act which provides :

- (1) The policy of the US is to oppose boycotts fostered or imposed against other countries friendly to the US, and
- (2) to encourage and request domestic concerns in the export trade to refuse to take any action, including furnishing of information or signing agreements, which has the effect of furthering or supporting such boycotts.

There are, however, more than one opinion on the most appropriate steps to be taken at this time to combat the boycott. In this context I would like to comment on some of the statements forwarded by Administration spokesmen :

The US position is basically that without in any way affecting the friendship between US and Israel (a) the boycott issue can be solved only within the framework of a peace settlement in the ME; (b) steps to be taken now by the US may create confrontation with the Arab world; (c) the interests of the US business community are in the Arab markets, and creating the situation that they could not comply with the Arab boycott rules will jeopardize their competitiveness in the Arab markets.

This position has been demonstrated today in Secretary's Baker speech where he said: "The questions (of the boycott are) intertwined with some of the most vital interests of the US".

These interests include - "The paramount issue of peace... we (the US) do not believe that actions such as the boycott, which increase tension, are in the best interest of any of the countries involved... on the other hand... these interests are not served by precipitous or emotional reactions... which could produce a climate of confrontation... second, one of the issues involved is 'our national security'. Since sixty percent of the known oil reserves are in the Middle East a cut off from those suppliers... could have adverse implications for the US national security".

There is an "enduring friendship for the State of Israel", but there are "important economic considerations". The Arab countries now represent the fastest growing market in the world economy. US exports to the Arab countries more than tripled in the past three years, reaching \$5.3 billion, (and) are expected to exceed 10 bil. \$ before 1980.

This, in the words of Secretary Baker represent jobs... but also "we serve the interests of both sides - both economic and political... to the extent that transfers of superior American technology and products help these countries to develop and raise the living standards of their people. Efforts to expand (the US) commercial relations with the Arab countries, more than just a cynical chase after the Petrodollar..."

With due respect to the honorable speaker, who clearly expounded his bona fide thoughts, I beg to differ -

First, we cannot believe the argument that US foreign and internal policy are so vulnerable. Is it really true that the dependency on Arab oil has made the US subject to coercion by others, so that the US is unable to maintain its way of life? Is it really conceivable that the US has lost its position in the world and at home which makes the US so big and so strong? Is there no world freedom of determination, freedom of choice and equal opportunity? It is hard to believe! And if so, is it really true that only the freedom to seek business opportunity in Israel is jeopardized? Thus, is the price of assurance of oil supply really not

only trading with Israel but, may be, tomorrow, the State of Israel itself and then after tomorrow, the well being of the US and the world?

I am afraid that even the speaker would not like to agree with his argument.

Second, is fighting for better business relationship, where Israeli and Arab business interests may eventually get indirectly together, affecting the chances for peace?

We would think that this should be one of the means to be used toward peace. If today there exists mistrust and hatred, the way to choose is the one which may get people together. We prefer open bridges rather than stonewalling.

Thirdly, it is legitimate to question whether there will really be a confrontation between the Arab world and the US in the event the US takes appropriate steps against the enforcement of the Arab boycott in the US? Undoubtly, Arab Governments just as probably they have done in the past, will express their opposition and present their protest, against future steps, but it is hardly believable that a confrontation which may either weaken the US-Arab relationship or have recognizeable impact on US business will result. Let us look at this very important point with respect to two countries Egypt and Saudi-Arabia



First, Egypt. It is evident from the various discussions taking place on economic cooperation between the US and Egypt that Egypt is interested in US investments, know-how and managerial capabilities. Would Egypt turn its back on all this, if US business, as a rule, does not discriminate against Israel and carries on business with Israel? Of course, they may be able to discriminate against companies which do business with Israel, as long as they are able to find out, when companies are permitted to inform the Egyptian authorities about their relationship with Israel and as long as the US will tolerate this. But should they? Furthermore, clearly when US public monies are involved, the US will be in a position to ascertain that non-discriminatory practices will be adopted.

With regard to Saudi-Arabia the situation seems to be different. Because of their wealth they might have the freedom of choice. However, even here it seems to be otherwise. The implementation of the ambitious development plan of the country, as well as their regrettable arms purchase program, require close connection and access to the US market. Furthermore, in many areas US industry and business are the leaders. Is it reasonable to believe that they will prevent themselves from utilizing this market because of its relationship with Israel? In fact, speakers from that country have said time and again that their national interest to get the best available goods and services will prevail.

Furthermore, it was stated in a joint communique between the US and Saudi-Arabia as follows :

"In reviewing the atmosphere within which economic relations between the two countries have been progressing, the Saudi side reiterated the Saudi Government's position concerning the League of Arab States' boycott of Israel, it reaffirmed that this boycott is a non-violent economic measure which is a product of the absence of a just and lasting peace in the Middle East; that it is not based on any form of discrimination relating to race, color, religion, national origin, sex or age; and that ever since it was started in the late 1940's, this boycott was not - and is not today - intended against the United States. The Saudi side further expressed its hope that the existing and potential economic cooperation between the two countries will not be disrupted by any misinterpretation of the Arab boycott of Israel. The American side was pleased with the reaffirmation of this policy of not discriminating on the basis of race, color, religion, sex and national origin. The American side further noted that President Ford's statement of November 20, 1975 with respect to discrimination and subsequent executive actions were not directed against any particular country. Both sides agreed to make these policies more widely understood and further agreed that any action based on misinterpretation of this policy could hinder cooperation between both countries."

These arguments of course are valid for the other Arab countries as well. Thus, I believe that introducing the relationship with Israel as a factor in the competitiveness of US industry vis-a-vis the rest of the world is not substantiated.

I would like to add that, of course, if participation in boycotting of Israel is permissible, then it becomes part of the competition between US firms - but is this the kind of competition which should be tolerated? It is the kind of competition which is contrary to US tradition and should be eliminated.

What would we like to achieve - We would like to see that US firms are able to do business in all parts of the region. We would like that companies should not be deterred from doing business with us because of their

business interests in the Arab world or because of their hopes to do business there in the future. On the other hand, we hope that companies which are actively engaged in business in Israel today or may be so in the future will not be discriminated against because of this, and no retaliatory steps should be taken for doing business with Israel.

Therefore, all we ask is that US Government should protect US business so that it can maximize its profits and avail itself of all opportunities equally.

This can be achieved in various ways -

First by direct approach to the Governments concerned. This, as far as we know, is being done. The degree of success is evident from declarations made by spokesmen of the Administration.

In another area, we ask the USG to create the situation whereby companies here shall not be able to participate in the implementation of the boycott rules, and among this we include - (a) refraining either explicitly or implied, from doing business with Israel because of considerations not connected with business or economics; (b) answering questions specifically concerning relations with Israel or Israeli firms.

In addition, steps should be taken so that the USG itself and its agencies should not participate, in any way or form, in furthering boycott activities.

We believe that these ends can be achieved in various ways -

- (a) An educational process through which US business should be told the facts, and should be encouraged to further non-discriminatory policies.
- (b) By introducing legislation that will eliminate the necessity for companies to decide whether to follow boycott practices or not, and make all turn down boycotting requests and reinstate equality.
- (c) By more forcibly protecting the interests of US business through reducing the possibility of foreigners utilizing US advantages, while otherwise discriminating against US business.

We have followed with interest and are appreciative of the many suggestions for legislation and the other legal steps taken or proposed to be taken. However, we believe that simple legislation to the point is the only meaningful solution which eventually will have to be pursued. Otherwise, the complexities of the situation will deter the business community from doing business in the Middle East altogether.

Having said this I cannot close my eyes to other activities undertaken in this country by various civic groups, in particular Jewish, which fight against the boycott. We, of course, support this action and appreciate all the steps that they take, since it serves our purpose and assists in reaching the goals we have set ourselves.

However, it must be understood that the basic philosophy and justification for their activity is much broader than our own, and exceeds our "narrow" interests. Their campaigns are not intended solely to preserve the legitimate interests of Israel, but as American, protect the American tradition of non-discrimination, equality of opportunity and free competition. Therefore, their activity must not necessarily be identified with ours, but should rather be identified with the struggle here to maintain the spirit of the Constitution and American way of life.

To sum up -

- (1) We have a legal right to request USG active steps against the boycott;
- (2) We believe that taking these steps is necessary not only to protect our own interest, but the interests of those in the US business community who do, or will do, business with us;
- (3) We believe that the best way to stop the implementation of boycott rules in this country, or by people of this country, is by legislation;
- (4) According to our assesment, the benefits from adopting this policy are greater and more advantageous than any possible damage from retaliatory steps that might possibly be taken by the Arabs;



- (5) Eventually opposition to the boycott may create new bridges and avenues for communication between the nations of the Middle East and thus assist in bringing the peace we all long for;
- (6) We believe that US firms will only benefit from doing business with us as well as with others and many opportunities are now lost for US business and industry.

American tradition, freedom and non-discriminatory practices made the US so strong and affluent. We believe that it is strong enough today to continue to pursue this policy, for its own benefit, as well as for the advancement of peace and human society.

July 29, 1976

Mr. Eli Ayal  
17 Jabotinsky St.  
Jerusalem  
Israel

Dear Eli:

I finally returned to the states. Yehuda is still gamboling about Europe, although he expects to be back in the states toward the end of this week.

We did enjoy our Israel journey much. The spirit was so different this time round, understandably enough. I hope that it will persist.

Rhea and I found our evening in your home a highlight of our journey. You are both so warm and wonderful and we respond to you in like manner. I hope you feel that. It was certainly thoughtful of you to extend yourself and we are both beholden to you and Miriam.

How did the television show go? Yehuda gave me a positive response but I can never really believe him. He hates to make me feel bad. In any event, for your sake more than mine I hope that it came across well.

Again, my thanks for everything you did and my admiration for what you are.

Affectionately,

Alexander M. Schindler

July 28, 1976

Mr. Don Patir, Press Minister  
Ministry for Foreign Affairs  
Prime Minister's Office  
Jerusalem, Israel

Dear Don:

Just a note to let you know how grateful I  
am for all your helpfulness. You were most  
thoughtful in every way.

Rhea and I were really unhappy that we couldn't  
stay for your party. Yehuda told me how very  
beautiful it was. Another time!

My best to you and yours. Hopefully we will be  
seeing one another soon. Cordial greetings to  
your wife, in which Rhea joins me.

Sincerely,

Rabbi Alexander M. Schindler

AMS:tb

July 28, 1976

Mr. Jeffrey Paul  
Jewish Chronicle  
25 Furnival Street  
London, E.C. 4A 1JT

Dear Jeffrey:

Just a note to let you know how nice it was to see you and to have a chance to chat with you. It seems to me, at least, that we are reasonably well attuned to one another.

Hopefully something will transpire along the lines which we discussed for our Presidents Conference journey. If you have some thoughts, write me or Yehuda.

Keep well and warm good wishes.

Cordially,

Rabbi Alexander M. Schindler

AMS:tb

c.c: Mr. Yehuda Hellman

July 28, 1976

The Honorable Zeev Suffot,  
Consul General  
Embassy of Israel  
2 Palace Green  
London, W.8, England

Dear Zeev:

Just a note to tell you how good it was to see you. I found your briefing on British Jewry and its commitment to Israel most constructive.

Of course, I am most grateful to you for your personal courtesies.

Cordially,

Rabbi Alexander M. Schindler

AMS:tb



June 14, 1976

Mr. Bernard Edelman  
22730 N. Nottingham Drive  
Birmingham, Mich. 48010

Dear Mr. Edelman:

Your letter of June 9th has just reached me and I hasten to respond. I want to thank you for taking the time to write and share your concerns.

I also want to assure you that the American Jewish community has not given up either its initiative or its determination in seeking proper press perspective as well as coverage for our point of view. As a matter of fact, I would venture to say that we are even more united as a community in this effort than we have ever been before.

As you know, the Presidents' Conference represents all of the major American Jewish organizations. We seek to discuss issues and events and act as a community when it is required for us to do so. Oftentimes, we may act privately rather than publicly to seek prompt and proper attention and action. I assure you, we are doing our utmost in every area of endeavor. You should also know that when matters come to our attention which do not fall within the purview of the Presidents' Conference, those matters are shared with the proper organizations for action.

With kindest greetings, I am

Sincerely,

Alexander M. Schindler, Rabbi  
Chairman

Bernard Edelman  
22730 N. NOTTINGHAM DRIVE  
BIRMINGHAM, MICHIGAN 48010

June 9, 1976

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

Gentlemen:

Jews appear to be losing both the initiative and determination necessary to help put events in their proper perspective. There appears to be a lesser effort at a time when an even greater dedication is required.

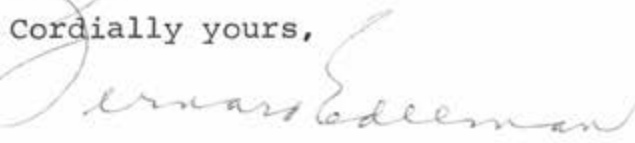
I had occasion to write to two national Jewish organizations about important matters and got no response from either.

Spokesmen for Arab views, on the other hand, appear to be taking some initiative and getting more attention.

In recent days headlines such as "Israelis kill Arab boy" and "Israelis kill Arab school girl" have appeared as news headlines by Associated Press. Such headlines do not tell the total story and serve to harm the Israeli image.

There should be a clearing house so that sound ideas can be quickly funneled to the proper organization for prompt action. We have no time to lose.

Cordially yours,



Bernard Edelman

BE:lb

June 14, 1976

Dear Joachim:

Thank you for your note of June 9th. I, too, regret that you are unable to be at the Presidents' Conference meeting tomorrow, for I would much have wanted our leadership to have an opportunity to hear from you. Perhaps at some other time we will have a chance to have you with us.

Undoubtedly, we will be seeing each other in Israel in a few weeks and I look forward to that. In the meantime, Rhea joins me in sending warmest regards from house to house.

Sincerely,

Alexander M. Schindler

Rabbi Joachim Prinz  
306 Elmwynd Drive  
Orange, N.J. 07050

JOACHIM PRINZ

June 9, 1976

Rabbi Alexander M. Schindler  
Conference of Presidents of Major  
American Jewish Organizations  
515 Park Avenue  
New York, New York 10022

Dear Alex:

I can't tell you how sorry I am that I had to cancel my speaking engagement. For very personal reasons I have to leave on the 14th and had to cancel not merely my meeting with the Presidents Conference but also several important meetings with the World Jewish Congress.

I was very much looking forward to appearing before the Presidents Conference. A public debate of the issues is long overdue, but, unfortunately, if I am ever to appear it will have to be postponed until I return in the fall.

With every good wish for a healthy summer, I  
am

Yours,



*I for regret etc*

May 10, 1976

Mr. Walter P. Stern  
Capital Research Company  
299 Park Avenue  
New York, N.Y. 10017

Dear Wallie:

I'm just back from a week of travel and found the promised copy of the American Jewish Committee memorandum awaiting me. Many thanks for your thoughtfulness in sharing it with me.

It was good meeting with you and I am grateful to you for taking the time from your very busy schedule to chat. It was a most helpful get together.

With repeated thanks and warmest regards, I am

Sincerely,

Alexander M. Schindler



AMERICAN BUSINESS CAN WELL AFFORD TO SAY NO TO BOYCOTT DEMANDS

A Background Memorandum

With petrodollars continuing to flow like oil into the coffers of the Arab oil nations, U.S. companies are vying for business opportunities in Arab lands. Does that mean they have to bow to Arab boycott pressures? Most evidence indicates this does not follow at all.

Acquiescence in the Arab boycott against Israel not only calls for refusal to buy from, sell to or invest in the Jewish state; it also requires a willingness to discriminate against American Jewish manufacturers, suppliers, subcontractors, investors--even against Jewish board members, executives, managers and technological experts. The U.S. Government, the American business community and the many civic and religious groups that keep watch over American policies and practices have all made it clear that they are not prepared to agree to such demands.

The Export Administration Act of 1969 declares it the policy of the U.S. "to oppose restrictive trade practices or boycotts fostered or imposed by foreign countries against other countries friendly to the U.S." The Sherman Anti-Trust Act prohibits restraint of trade. Employment discrimination violates the Federal Civil Rights Law as well as numerous other Federal, state and local statutes. And new laws and regulations are under consideration to tighten restrictions and increase the penalties against companies complying with boycott demands.

To counter this trend, a new series of rumors seem to have been floated by the Arabs and their friends. Anti-boycott requirements, it is said, are costing American companies contracts, investment capital and orders. Is this true? The widely respected Mitchell, Hutchins Inc., in a report issued in August 1975 analyzing OPEC Expenditures: Size, Timing, Nature and Beneficiaries, points out that the largest current OPEC markets are Iran, Venezuela and Indonesia--none of them involved in the boycott. And The New York Times, in a report from Paris dated April 4, 1976, notes that the Netherlands and the United States--special targets of the 1973 Arab oil embargo because of their pro-Israel stance--both increased their exports to the Mideast in 1974 and 1975, while France, its pro-Arab policies notwithstanding, has fallen behind. The same pragmatism marks most of the Arabs' business dealings.

By far the largest Arab purchases in the U.S. involve military weapons, hardware and parts. As of March 1976, the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers was authorized to subcontract and supervise the building of \$18 billion-worth of military facilities in Saudi Arabia alone. There are 3,000 Saudis studying in the U.S., and many of that country's highest officials were educated here. The Saudis are buying 110 Northrop F-5E jet fighters, and want our tanks, anti-tank missiles and armored personnel carriers. Only American companies can provide the technology for this sophisticated equipment, and the personnel to teach the Arabs how to use and maintain it. A decision to shift this business to other countries because U.S. companies will not bow to the boycott would mean not only scrapping and replacing expensive equipment but retraining pilots, aircraft technicians and artillerymen as well as essential civilian workers--an enormous waste of petrodollars. And in sparsely populated countries like Saudi Arabia and Kuwait, the limited labor supply would make such a switch particularly difficult and unlikely.

Of course, military supplies are not all the Arabs buy. In the next few years they are expected to increase their imports from the West in order to build schools, housing, hospitals and other facilities their countries are now lacking. For these goods and services too, the Arab states are most likely to look to the U.S., for neither Japan nor Europe nor both together have the industrial capacity to meet this high-priority need. "Despite anti-American sentiment in some of the Near and Middle East countries through the past decade, and sharp Japanese and European competition, there is marked preference for American products," Mitchell, Hutchins declares. "U.S. products are often the standard by which all other industrial machinery, transport equipment and consumer durable goods are evaluated." In the two most dynamic markets, Iran and Saudi Arabia, no single supplier is dominant, the study indicates, "but the U.S. has a commanding leading position in both of these countries."

Virtually all the Saudi development plans have been worked out by American experts and are based on contracts with American firms; many are already being implemented. Thus, a shift to other suppliers could cripple expensive projects under way. Indeed, as U.S. News and World Report reported in February 1976, despite their insistence on boycott compliance, the Saudis are worried that some large American firms will avoid business deals that may conflict with American law.

American equity markets also enjoy a special advantage. The Arabs are cautious investors, very much concerned with the diversity, stability and safety of their holdings, and the American capital market is the largest and most liquid in the world, more capable of accommodating big investments than any other. OPEC nations invested about \$1.5 billion in U.S. equities in 1975, up sharply from \$360 million in 1974. There was also a large increase in the flow of Arab money into U.S. Treasury notes, bank certificates of deposit, corporate stocks and bonds, real estate and other instruments.

The dollar, despite its vicissitudes in recent years, remains the most important reserve currency in international finance. As large holders of dollar-denominated securities, it is doubtful that the Arabs would follow a money policy that could do damage to their own wealth. But even if they chose to place their funds in foreign markets, that money would still be available to borrowers here. And realistically, as an Arab banker said in an interview reported in Business Week (March 15, 1976), even if there is no direct contact, a "pro-Israel" bank cannot with any certainty be eliminated from an underwriting: "It's like driving a train. You can choose who is going to run it, but you can't select the passengers."

Further, as Mitchell, Hutchins documents, while OPEC purchases of Western goods and services have increased sharply since 1973, "exports to the oil-producing countries still occupy only a small place in the trading activities of the developed world. [In 1974] exports to OPEC represented only about 5.5 per cent of total OECD exports." If the U.S. maintains its current market share, such OPEC purchases "could represent about 0.7 of 1 per cent of GNP in 1976." Similarly, the \$1.5 billion the Arab states invested in equities here is a minuscule portion of the well over \$800 billion in shares on U.S. stock exchanges.

It is also evident that when the Arab states need American goods, services or know-how they are ready to overlook or evade their own boycott rules. Many American companies--including IBM, TRW, General Electric, Textron, General Telephone and Electronics, Raytheon, McDonnell Douglas, United Aircraft, TWA, Boeing, Hilton, Hertz, Avis--are doing business with both Israel and the Arab world. Ford, Bacon & Davis, a large engineering firm on Algeria's blacklist, was chosen by Saudi Arabia for a new \$4 million contract; and Air Products & Chemical, which is on the Saudi list, is supplying the technology for a big plant in Algeria. Egypt is negotiating with the Ford Motor Company, which has been on the Arab League blacklist since 1966, for a \$150 million joint venture to build diesel engines and assemble trucks and tractors, even though Ford has said it will not stop dealing with Israel.

At the same time, the Administration is clamping down on U.S. companies that violate the law by overt or covert boycott compliance. The Justice Department has filed a civil anti-trust suit against the Bechtel Corporation, a construction company charged with excluding blacklisted subcontractors from its Middle East work. The Government argues that an American company operating under U.S. law may not do harm to other Americans in order to comply with the business conditions set by a foreign state, and that consent to such practices is tantamount to relinquishing this nation's sovereign right to make the laws controlling our commerce.

Thus, it is clear that Arab boycott demands are likely to meet growing resistance on both legal and moral grounds. But there is little danger that American businesses rejecting those demands will suffer for standing firm.



# NEWS COMMITTEE

FROM THE

**THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE** Institute of Human Relations, 165 E. 56 St., New York, N.Y. 10022, PLaza 1-4000

The American Jewish Committee, founded in 1906, is the pioneer human-relations agency in the United States. It protects the civil and religious rights of Jews here and abroad, and advances the cause of improved human relations for all people.

MORTON YARMON, Director of Public Relations

FOR RELEASE AFTER 12 NOON  
TUESDAY, APRIL 27, 1976

NEW YORK, April 27. . . Three speakers at a news conference of the American Jewish Committee declared here today that the American economy would not be hurt if American business took a strong stand against the Arab boycott.

They were Peter B. Kenen, Professor of International Finance at Princeton University; Dr. Jess N. Hordes, Executive Director, Research Project on Energy and Economic Policy; and Daniel Shapiro, Chairman of the American Jewish Committee's Task Force on Arab Economic Warfare.

Professor Kenen said that despite "rumors that seem to have been floated by the Arabs and their friends," defiance of boycott requirements were not likely to cost American companies contracts, investment capital, or orders.

He pointed to the Netherlands and the United States, which he described as "special targets of the 1973 Arab oil embargo because of their pro-Israel stance," stating that both countries had increased their exports to the Mideast in 1974 and 1975, "while France, its pro-Arab policies notwithstanding, had fallen behind."

"The same pragmatism marks most of the Arabs' business dealings," he continued, arguing that the Arab states apparently were prepared to overlook or evade their own boycott rules when they needed American goods. He added that many companies were doing business with both Israel and the Arab world, among them: IBM, TRW, General Electric, Textron, General Telephone and Electronics, Raytheon, McDonnell Douglas, United Aircraft, TWA, Boeing, Hilton, Hertz and Avis.

Elmer L. Winter, President; Richard Maass, Chairman, Board of Governors; Maynard I. Wishner, Chairman, National Executive Council; Theodore Ellenoff, Chairman, Board of Trustees  
Bertram H. Gold, Executive Vice President

Washington Office: 818 18th St., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20006 • European hq.: 30 Rue la Boetie, Paris, France 75008 • Israel hq.: 9 Ethiopia St., Jerusalem, Israel 95149  
So. Amer. hq.: Bartolome Mitre 1943, Buenos Aires, Argentina • Brazil: Av. Rio Branco 18, s/1109, Rio de Janeiro • Mexico-Cent. Amer. hq.: Av. E. National 533, Mexico 5, D.F.  
CSAE 1707

Ford, Bacon & David, a large engineering firm on Algeria's blacklist, Professor Kenen said, was chosen by Saudi Arabia for a new \$4 million contract; and Air Products & Chemical, which is on the Saudi list, is supplying the technology for a big plant in Algeria. Egypt is negotiating with the Ford Motor Company, which has been on the Arab League blacklist since 1966, for a \$150 million joint venture to build diesel engines and assemble trucks and tractors, even though Ford said it would not stop dealing with Israel.

By far the largest Arab purchases in the United States involved military weapons, hardware and parts, Professor Kenen said, pointing out that "the Saudis are buying 110 Northrop F-5E jet fighters and want our tanks, anti-tank missiles and armored personnel carriers. Only American companies can provide the technology for this sophisticated equipment, and the personnel to teach the Arabs how to use and maintain it."

Any Arab decision to transfer this business to other countries, Professor Kenen said, would be expensive for the Arabs. Moreover, he added, the lack of skilled labor in countries like Saudi Arabia and Kuwait added to the difficulty of such a move.

Aside from their military purchases, Professor Kenen stated, the Arabs would undoubtedly want to increase their import of materials needed to build schools, housing, hospitals and other structures. Other countries cannot supply all the Arab needs in the quantities desired. On this point he quoted a report by Mitchell, Hutchins, Inc., a leading investment house, to the effect that U.S. products were considered by Middle East countries to be superior to any others.

With regard to Saudi Arabia, Professor Kenen stated that "virtually all the Saudi development plans have been worked out by American experts and are based on contracts with American firms; many are already being implemented. Thus, a shift to other suppliers could cripple expensive projects under way."

American equity markets were also favored in the Middle East, Professor Kenen said, because of their diversity, stability and safety. The American capital market, he said, is more capable than any other of accommodating large investments and OPEC countries

invested about \$1.5 billion in U.S. equities last year, a sharp rise from 1974's \$360 million.

Mr. Shapiro, a member of the New York Bar, stated that the American Jewish Committee did not believe that the only way to do business with the Arabs was to give in to demands that conflict with United States policy, and with Federal, state and local laws against unfair business practices.

"If the American people and the Congress, as they should, find corporate kickbacks and bribery and special favoritism unacceptable," Mr. Shapiro said, "even if it means some business deals are frustrated, we believe they must also find discrimination against Jewish companies, Jewish professionals, Jewish subcontractors equally unacceptable. And we will be supporting measures both national and local that make this position clear to all."

Dr. Hordes said that despite growing evidence of increased Arab boycott requests in the United States, the Ford Administration had opposed Congressional efforts to strengthen anti-boycott legislation.

"Concerned with adverse economic and foreign policy consequences in the Arab world," Dr. Hordes stated, "the Administration has objected to Congress's attempts to insure that implementing provisions reflect stated U.S. policy in opposition to the boycott. Although the Administration has indicated a willingness to act against boycott-induced religious discrimination against American Jews, it has opposed action to protect U.S. firms from the Arabs' secondary boycott against Israel."

The U.S. Government has maintained, Dr. Hordes asserted, that a solution to the secondary boycott must await a political settlement between the parties. In so doing, he said, the United States in effect acquiesces in and in a sense becomes a party to an instrument of Arab pressure against Israel.

4/27/76

76-961-42

A, COL, EJP, NPE, NPL, NYL, NYS, PCR, REL, URB



May 14, 1976

Mr. Yehuda Leket  
Aliyah Desk  
The Jewish Agency  
515 Park Avenue  
New York, N.Y. 10022

Dear Mr. Leket:

The enclosed letter from Dr. Yaari of Haifa was sent to me and I have indicated to Dr. Yaari that I would share it with the appropriate forum. I do believe this is a matter to be handled by your office.

With kindest regards, I am

Sincerely,

Rabbi Alexander M. Schindler  
Chairman

Encl.

May 13, 1976

Dr. Shieradstei Yaari  
Leon Bloom 14/7  
Haifa, Israel

Dear Dr. Yaari:

I write to acknowledge receipt of your recent letter  
and to thank you for your comments.

I assure you that I will relay them to the appropriate  
forum.

With every good wish, I am

Sincerely,

Rabbi Alexander M. Schindler  
Chairman

*Copy 1 Dgt*

May 3, 1976

Rabbi Paul J. Citrin  
Temple Israel  
Boston, Mass, 02215

Dear Paul:

It was good hearing from you. I regret that I don't have the text of my sermon at Beth Elohim and thus cannot share a copy with you.

You ought to know that substantially I agree with your comments and the thrust of all my remarks in behalf of the Presidents' Conference tries to get that message across. As you well know, newspaper reports are not always accurate and complete and this was certainly the case with the scant quotation you shared with me.

I appreciate your sharing your thoughts with me. With warmest regards, I am

Sincerely,

Alexander M. Schindler

RABBI PAUL J. CITRIN  
TEMPLE ISRAEL  
BOSTON, MASSACHUSETTS 02215

*Ad? -  
Substantially  
agree with him -  
Quotation only*

April 28, 1976

*Scout*

Rabbi Alexander Schindler  
Union of American Hebrew Congregations  
838 Fifth Avenue  
New York, New York 10021

Dear Alex:

If you have a full text of the remarks you made at Temple Beth Elohim on April 23rd, I would appreciate receiving a copy. I am enclosing the BOSTON GLOBE'S scanty report of your address; of course, it hardly says enough to transmit a fair picture.

Even without seeing the full text of your sermon, I would like to react to the sentence which quotes you as saying that you would like the Israeli government "to be more forthcoming" in efforts to reach a peaceful settlement with the Arabs. I agree with you, because I believe that Israel will never fully know the true intentions of the Arabs until it tests them with formal, detailed, public proposals for settlement. I would very much like to see Israel lob the political ball back into Arab courts by making what Aryeh Elia~~h~~ calls a declaration of intent which would be carried out when the Arabs explicitly accept Israel's right to exist. However, without such simultaneous concrete, active evidence from the Arabs, it seems that being more forthcoming is no less a recipe for suicide than doing nothing.

Recently a GLOBE editorial also suggested that Israel must assume greater responsibility for peace and more flexibility in its position. I am concerned by such statements because they fail to mention the minimal Arab responsibility to renounce warfare and to recognize Israel's legitimacy. Pressure on Israel alone from the United States, whether from the government or from the media, is unbalanced and unjust. Furthermore, one imagines that indeed Israel might be "more forthcoming" if the United States would apply some pressure, however slight, in the direction of the Arabs. Those who refrain from discussing the Arab share of responsibility for peace reduce their moral credibility.

I am not interested in having the leadership of the American Jewish

April 28, 1976

community act as aye-sayers and uncritical defenders of Israeli policy. Yet, I fear that in our efforts to regain some independence, we may become tools of those who really wish us no good. Therefore, I hope that you, as President of our Union, and as Chairman of the Council of Presidents, are using your leadership privately and publicly to influence our government to press the Arabs, too, toward their peace-making responsibilities.

Though I have some inkling of your hectic schedule, I look forward to hearing from you at your convenience. With appreciation for your labors, I am

Cordially yours,



/d

Rabbi Paul J. Citrin



## Jewish leader favors Israeli pact with Arabs

The leader of the more than 1 million Reform Jews in the United States said yesterday US Jews are becoming less one-minded on Israeli policy in the Mideast.

Rabbi Alexander M. Schinler said the reform movement specifically would like the Israeli government "to be more forthcoming" in efforts to reach a peaceful settlement with its Arab neighbors. He would not specify on which issues he advocated this attitude, but he indicated tensions on the West Bank and possible talks with Palestinians were topics on which Jewish Americans might have divergent views.

"I personally am a dove and always have been," Schinler said.

The New York-based rabbi is president of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations and recently returned from talks with government leaders in Israel. He participated in services last night at Temple Beth Elohim of Wellesley, honoring Howard M. Wilkoff of Weston, past congregation president.

HERBERT MILLMAN  
National Jewish Welfare Board  
Fifteen East Twenty-Sixth Street  
New York, N.Y. 10010

*No answer*

Office of the Executive Vice-President

April 30, 1976

Rabbi Alexander M. Schindler, President  
Union of American Hebrew Congregations  
838 Fifth Avenue  
New York, New York 10021

Dear Alex:

I received a copy of your letter to presidents sharing a reaction by a Knesset member to your recent visit to Israel in behalf of the Conference of Presidents. I found this most rewarding.

It is evident that you have initiated a new constructive dimension of dialogue between the organizational leadership of American Jewry and the approximate counterpart in Israel.

This can only be good.

Thanks for sharing.

Warm regards.

Sincerely,

  
HERBERT MILLMAN

cc: Daniel Rose  
Yehuda Hellman

לשכת ראש הממשלה  
PRIME MINISTER'S BUREAU

Jerusalem, April 23, 1976

Rabbi Alexander M. Schindler  
Chairman  
Conference of Presidents of Major  
American Jewish Organizations  
515 Park Avenue  
New York, New York 10022

Dear Alex,

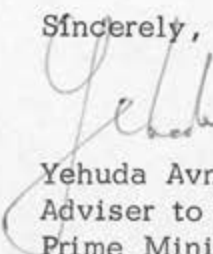
The Prime Minister has asked me to acknowledge with thanks your letter to him of April 6 and to state that he was most happy at the opportunity of meeting you during your recent visit.

Your letter to me of April 6 crossed with mine and I am delighted to note that we both concur that your first visit as Chairman of the President's Conference was most successful.

You can count on me to be of service to you as best I can.

Warm regards,

Sincerely,

  
Yehuda Avner  
Adviser to the  
Prime Minister

April 28, 1976

Mr. Aaron Normand  
22 Hatichon Street  
Savyon, Israel

Dear Mr. Normand:

Many thanks for your thoughtful letter of April 8. I appreciate your having taken the time to share your views with me.

Let me assure you that your views will be given forceful expression within the Presidents' Conference. However, beyond that I trust you can appreciate the fact that in making public statements I am, as chairman of the Conference, bound in my responsibilities to express the consensus of opinion.

With repeated thanks and kindest greetings, I am

Sincerely,

Alexander M. Schindler

bcc: Al Vorspan  
Yehuda Hellman

*Appreciate letter - show him -  
will give him peaceful  
expression within conference -  
beyond that are bound by  
significant as chairman  
to express conclusions -  
(show letter  
and my  
answer with  
M. Y. Schuler)*

AARON NORMAND

22 Hatichon Street,

Savyon, ISRAEL.

April 8, 1976.

*despatched 22nd April.*

Rabbi Alexander Shindler,  
President,  
Union of American Hebrew Congregations,  
838, 5th Avenue,  
New York, N.Y. 10021,  
U.S.A.

Dear Rabbi Shindler,

I am taking the liberty of turning to you as the leader of the great Zionist communities of American Jewry.

I am following with grave doubts both my Government's and my fellow countrymen's views and attitudes on the present state of the Arab-Israeli conflict.

My country is in a constantly increasing danger and I turn to you, as the leader of a great Jewish community in a great country, to try to help us in our plight.

The present state of mind in the country precludes the possibility that Israel's leadership should be able to reverse the prevailing extremist religio-nationalistic trends that are nourished by a mixture of hopes and fears for the country's security.

This way of thought is based on the concept that the pre-six day war Israel has to be discarded as an unrealistic and unmaintainable national unit. Therefore, annexation or permanent occupation of new territories, coupled with population and land-ownership changes involving the Arab population, is a prerequisite for the continuing existence of a Jewish State.

This belief is shared by the vast majority of the Jewish population in Israel and is supported by historical, religious, national economic and, last but not least, national defence and security arguments.

The execution of this policy is sanctioned by all the Zionist political parties, except Moked.

This policy is strongly opposed both by the surrounding Arab countries as well as by the local Arabs - mostly Palestinians - who are the objects of this policy and in the last analysis expected to foot the bill. Although the policy of annexation, population and property change was actually opposed all along, even by the staunchest friends

of/...



friends of Israel, it is only recently that friendly nations voice openly their dissent. This openly declared attitude of Israel's friends amongst the world's nations, coupled with the dramatic increase in Arab financial power, puts a rather grave question mark to the validity of the almost unanimously-held belief here that "if the Arabs are unwilling to accept our conditions voluntarily, we can continue to impose same on them, whether the rest of the world agrees with us or not."

This attitude was taken for granted here before the Yom Kippur War and has not really changed since. Neither the tragic consequences of the Yom Kippur War nor the continuing retreat of the economy, aliyah and standards of morality make the population and the country's leadership reflect whether we have not embarked on the wrong course.

Every new setback and disappointment causes more determination to act by sentimental motivations, with an ever-increasing disregard for facts that are piling up against us.

We are, in my opinion, approaching a Massadah spirit, which is engulfing the whole nation.

It is only a strong leadership of world Jewry that can still have a sobering and constructive influence on our country.

Friendly nations are unable to help us because disagreement with our nationally accepted policy brandishes them either as anti-Semites or as cowards who surrender to petrodollars.

Israelis disagreeing with the accepted national policy are brandished as defeatists and leftists, i.e. Communists and the day may not be far when they will be considered traitors.

American Jewish leadership has so far not committed itself politically. Except for giving every possible material and moral help to Israel, the attitude appears to be that "after all, nobody knows better than the Israelis themselves what is good for them, and it is our duty, therefore, to support them when they ask for our help."

I would venture the remark that has been - within limits - until recently the attitude of the U.S. Administration, as well.

It is a humiliating admission to make, but I indeed have grave doubts if we in Israel are in a position today to judge and to decide what is good for this country.

Those who are led and those who lead us have fallen victim to rosy dreams and dark fears that blur the boundaries between reality and imagination.

We/...

We are victims of protracted stress and hardship which result in confusion, similar to that which caused the loss of moral and logical balance of hundreds of millions of people in Europe at periods of wars and deprivation.

I have no doubt that to try and help Israel against its will cannot by any means be called an easy task.

But, taking a long view, the challenge and hope to indeed be able to help Israel in its plight should make the risk worth while.

Your Honour may be able to help this country more than Rabbi Jochanan Ben Zakkai did at the time, by saving Yavneh and its sages.

It is not too late yet to help this country to avoid the tragic circumstances that necessitated Rabbi Jochanan Ben Zakkai's dramatic action.

Constructive action has its dynamics not less than destructive fanaticism.

I am therefore convinced that, once started, a constructive movement to enable Israel to continue living and developing within the limits of reality will eventually find wide support amongst my countrymen as well.

One more hope I wish to express and that is that our sages saying:-

may also apply to this letter.

With best wishes for a

בבית הדין של מלך המלכים  
של חכמי ישראל

Yours sincerely,

*A. Normand*

Aaron Normand

April 6, 1976

Mr. Raphael Bashan  
Yediot Achronot  
Tel-Aviv, Israel

Dear Raphael:

It was wonderful to meet you and I was delighted with the report of our interview. You were faithful in recording and reporting my view and I want you to know how grateful I am.

I also enjoyed the interview very much. It is always a delight to be interviewed by someone not only perceptive but exceedingly well prepared. It was a delightful experience.

I relish the opportunity to come to know you on a more personal level for I feel we are kindred spirits. It is my fond hope that we will have an opportunity in the future to renew our friendship and to come to know each other better.

With repeated thanks and warmest regards, I am

Sincerely,

Rabbi Alexander M. Schindler  
Chairman

April 6, 1976

Mr. Max Varon  
Foreign Ministry  
Jerusalem, Israel

Dear Max:

Many thanks for your help in arranging the various meetings during my recent visit to Israel. I am grateful for your consideration and assistance.

The party at your home was so lovely and I am beholden to you and Rosie for your warm and gracious hospitality.

With every good wish and warmest regards, I am

Sincerely,

Rabbi Alexander M. Schindler  
Chairman

April 6, 1976

Mrs. Golda Meir  
Prime Minister's Office  
Jerusalem, ISRAEL

My Dear Mrs. Meir:

It was so very good to see you again and I deeply appreciate your taking the time to meet with me. It is always a pleasure to be with you and I am grateful for your consideration.

With every good wish and warmest personal regards,  
I am

Sincerely,

Rabbi Alexander M. Schindler  
Chairman



April 6, 1976

The Honorable Yitzhak Rabin  
Prime Minister of Israel  
Jerusalem, Israel

My Dear Mr. Rabin:

It was very good seeing you again and I want to thank you for taking the time to meet with me. I am delighted that we had an opportunity to talk.

Your many personal kindnesses to me are much appreciated and I also want to tell you how grateful I am to your staff for their consideration. They were all most helpful and gracious to me.

With every good wish and warmest regards, I am

Sincerely,

Rabbi Alexander M. Schindler  
Chairman

April 6, 1976

Mr. Shimon Peres  
Minister of Defense  
Prime Minister's Office  
Jerusalem, Israel

Dear Mr. Peres:

I am truly sorry that we didn't really have a chance to chat with one another. I certainly would have benefitted from the opportunity to exchange views with you. I do hope the future will provide an opportunity for such a get together.

I have not forgotten the subject of the telephone call to me and if I hear anything at all I certainly will get on to it at once and be in touch.

With every good wish and kindest regards, I am

Sincerely,

Rabbi Alexander M. Schindler  
Chairman

April 6, 1976

Mr. Yehuda Avner  
Prime Minister's Office  
Jerusalem, Israel

Dear Yehuda:

I hope you will understand and forgive me for not calling to say goodbye before I left Israel. Needless to say, I am deeply grateful to you for your many personal courtesies and especially for your manifest desire to make certain that my meeting with the Prime Minister worked out well.

You ought to know that I said some very nice things about your boss in many places and that includes press conferences, television appearances, etc. but those mamserim invariably cut those comments out. I believe Ha'aretz included one brief paragraph and I hope that he saw it, but in any event I think you ought to know that I tried and my comments were favorable.

With repeated thanks and warmest regards, I am

Sincerely,

Rabbi Alexander M. Schindler  
Chairman

April 6, 1976

Mr. Don Patir  
Prime Minister's Office  
Jerusalem, Israel

Dear Don:

I am deeply grateful to you for your many courtesies to me during my visit to Israel. You were so helpful and so very kind in every way. I hope you will forgive me for not calling you before I left the country, but I need not tell you what time limitations were mine and I hope you will understand.

I look forward to seeing you on many occasions in the future. I responded to you with warmth and friendship and it was a joy to be with you.

With repeated thanks for all your efforts and with warmest regards, I am

Sincerely,

Rabbi Alexander M. Schindler  
Chairman

February 27, 1976

Mr. Leon Fine, Advocate  
Fine & Dagan  
6 Malkay Israel Square  
Tel-Aviv, Israel

Dear Mr. Fine:

It was good hearing from you and I do, of course, recall having met you when Jay, z.l., introduced us some years ago. Your gracious good wishes on my election as chairman of the Presidents' Conference were much appreciated, even as I am grateful for your kind offer to be of assistance.

I also want to thank you for your letter of February 16 in regard to Mr. Shalom Cohen. Regretfully, during the period of his visit to the United States I will be out of the city for the bulk of the time. Therefore, I am suggesting that Mr. Cohen contact the Executive Director of the Presidents' Conference, Mr. Yehuda Hellman, and arrange to meet with him. Mr. Hellman is expecting his call and looking forward to meeting Mr. Cohen.

With repeated thanks and every good wish, I am

Sincerely,

Alexander M. Schindler

cc: Mr. Yehuda Hellman



FINE & DAGAN, ADVOCATES & ATTORNEYS-AT-LAW

6 Malkay Israel Square, Tel-Aviv

LEON FINE, B. A., LL. B. (New York)

SHIMON DAGAN, LL. B. (Jerusalem)

Telephone 25 75 25, 25 93 55

Cables: EASTLAW Tel Aviv

Our File.....

Date February 16, 1976.....

Rabbi Alexander Schindler  
Union of Reform Congregations  
Fifth Avenue  
New York, N.Y.  
U.S.A.

Dear Rabbi Schindler,

I would like to take the liberty to introduce you to Mr. Shalom Cohen, a former Member of Knesseth and President of the Israeli Black Panther Movement.

As you may know, the Israeli government - through the Ministerial Committee for Social Betterment, the Histadrut and the Jewish Agency - have agreed to the setting up of a Youth Village for the training of leaders and youth workers from the underprivileged and marginal neighborhoods. This worthy and timely project has received the support of Justice Minister Zadok, Police Minister Hillel, Jewish Agency Chairman Almogi and many esteemed and distinguished leaders of the Jewish Community in Israel.

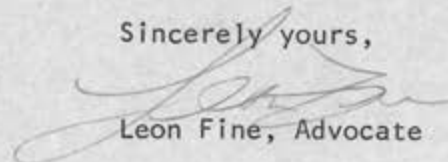
Mr. Cohen will be visiting the U.S.A. commencing March 15 to April 15 and he is very anxious to make your acquaintance and that of your associates in the Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations.

He has asked me to introduce him to you and will be writing to you directly hereafter to arrange to meet you following his arrival in the U.S.A.

I would be very grateful if you would do whatever you can to be of assistance to Mr. Cohen.

With thanks,

Sincerely yours,

  
Leon Fine, Advocate

LF/bk

cc: Mr. Shalom Cohen  
Kiryat Matalon  
Petah Tikva, Israel.

*Yehuda - 8/26*  
*Will you*  
*see him for*  
*me?*  
*I'll respond*  
*in K. A.*

FINE & DAGAN, ADVOCATES & ATTORNEYS-AT-LAW

6 Malkay Israel Square, Tel-Aviv

LEON FINE, B.A., LL.B. (New York)

SHIMON DAGAN, LL.B. (Jerusalem)

Telephone 25 75 25, 25 93 55

Cables: EASTLAW Tel Aviv

Our File.....

Date February 16, 1976.....

Rabbi Alexander Schindler  
Union of Reform Congregations  
Fifth Avenue  
New York, N.Y.  
U.S.A.

Dear Rabbi Schindler,

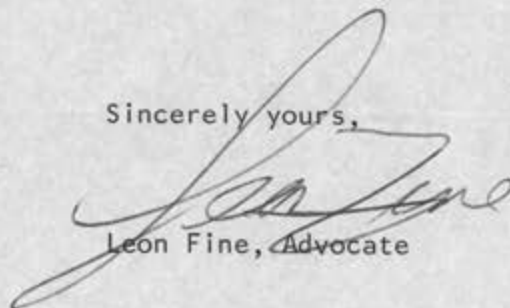
I would like to add my congratulations and best wishes to you on your election as chairman of the Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations.

All of us in Israel are aware of the important challenges ahead and of the vital role your organizations fulfill in matters of concern to Israel and the Jewish people.

If I can ever be of any help in any way, please do not hesitate to let me know.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,



Leon Fine, Advocate

P.S. I hope you remember meeting me on several occasions; we were introduced by my cousin, the late Jay Kaufman while I was on shlichut in America on behalf of Israel Magazine.

LF/bk

COPY  
CONFERENCE OF PRESIDENTS  
OF MAJOR  
AMERICAN JEWISH ORGANIZATIONS

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

AFFILIATED ORGANIZATIONS:

American Israel Public  
Affairs Committee  
American Jewish Congress  
American Mizrahi Women's  
Organization  
American Zionist Federation  
Anti-Defamation League  
B'nai B'rith  
B'nai B'rith Women  
Bnai Zion  
Central Conference of  
American Rabbis  
Council of Jewish Federations  
and Welfare Funds (observer)  
Hadassah  
Jewish Labor Committee  
Jewish Reconstructionist  
Foundation  
Jewish War Veterans  
of the U.S.A.  
Labor Zionist Alliance  
Mizrachi-Hapoel Hamizrachi  
National Committee for  
Labor Israel, Inc.  
National Council of  
Jewish Women  
National Council of  
Young Israel  
National Federation of  
Temple Sisterhoods  
National Jewish Community  
Relations Advisory Council  
National Jewish Welfare Board  
North American Jewish  
Youth Council  
Pioneer Women  
The Rabbinical Assembly  
Rabbinical Council of America  
Union of American Hebrew  
Congregations  
Union of Orthodox Jewish  
Congregations of America  
United Synagogue of America  
Women's American ORT  
Women's League for  
Conservative Judaism  
World Zionist Organization  
American Section, Inc.  
Zionist Organization of America

February 11, 1976

The President  
The White House  
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mr. President:

I write to convey to you our Conference's grave concern with the reports given wide circulation in the public press that the administration is giving serious consideration, indeed, is about to reach a decision on a program of arms aid and sales to Egypt.

As you know, we have been understanding of and sympathetic with the general thrust of American foreign policy which seeks to strengthen the moderate forces in the Arab world and which has been so successful in drawing Egypt more closely into the orbit of U.S. influence. As a consequence, we have accepted and even supported the granting of extensive economic aid to Egypt. Not only is this wise, but it is also morally right.

But the sale of arms to Egypt is another matter in its entirety.

To begin with, we see no justifiable need for such aid. Egypt, even now, and thanks to the lavish rearmament program of the U.S.S.R., enjoys a vast superiority in arms and personnel over Israel. Does Egypt really need more military equipment? Does it stand under the threat of imminent attack? In a word, we fear that such sales to Egypt will only further impair that tenuous balance of power which presently obtains and which is the necessary precondition of peace. Military supplies for Egypt must be seen in the context of the arms which are supplied to Syria, Jordan, Saudi Arabia and a host of other Arab countries from a variety of sources.

Moreover, the experience of the past has taught America that once such arms are dispatched, their disposition can never really be restrained, all promises to the contrary notwithstanding. No one can be certain where this equipment will be sent or how it will ultimately be used. All effective American control might well be lost.

These, then, are some of the reasons among others which give rise to our concerns, and we would much appreciate your thoughtful response to them.

Again, we have no objection in principle to economic aid, and I write even from the more personal experience of a recent lengthy journey through that land. What Egypt needs are tractors and not tanks; what its people desperately need and want is bread and not more bullets.

Very sincerely yours,

Rabbi Alexander M. Schindler  
Chairman

AMS:arf

Golda Meir

with best thanks for the  
beautiful flowers.

New York, Nov. 1977



Mar. 29-'76

Dear Edie,

Enclosed are papers Mr.

Hellman wanted me to  
forward to you -

Chris Miller

Raid.  
4/2

EMBASSY OF ISRAEL  
WASHINGTON, D.C.

RECEIVED  
MARCH 23 1976

March 19, 1976

Rabbi Alexander M. Schindler  
Chairman  
Conference of Presidents  
of Major Jewish Organizations  
515 Park Avenue  
New York, N.Y. 10022

Dear Alex:

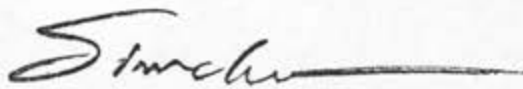
I take great pleasure in extending an invitation to you and Mr. Yehuda Hellman to be our guests in Israel from Sunday, March 28 to Thursday, April 1, 1976.

I am enclosing copy of an itinerary which includes meetings with the Prime Minister, the Minister for Foreign Affairs and the Chairman of the Jewish Agency.

I am confident that the visit will enable you to obtain at first hand, the thoughts and views of the Israeli leaders and people.

Wishing you a very successful trip and with warmest personal regards,

Sincerely,

  
Simcha Dinitz  
Ambassador

Enc.-

March 29, Monday

8:00 am Breakfast with Mr. Moshe Rivlin,  
Director General of the Jewish Agency

9:00 am Meeting with the Prime Minister

11:00 am Meeting with Monsignor Caro (if he recovers)

1:00 pm Lunch with Mr. Y. Navon  
Chairman of the Security & Foreign  
Affairs Committee of the Knesset  
and other members of the Committee

3:00 pm Meeting with Mr. W. A. Gafni  
Director General of the Treasury

8:30 pm At the home of Mr. M. Varon

March 30, Tuesday

8:30 am Meeting with Mr. Y. Almogi

11:00 am Meeting with the Foreign Minister

1:30 pm Lunch with Mr. A. Dulchin

afternoon travel to Tel Aviv

Overnight HILTON Hotel, Tel Aviv

March 31, Wednesday

8:30 am Meeting with General Shlomo Gazit

10:00 am Meeting with Mr. A. Ben-Nathan

2:30 pm Meeting with Mr. A. Shavit  
Chairman, Israeli Manufacturers Association  
and other Manufacturers of the I.M.A.

5:00 pm Meeting with Editors

7:30 pm Dinner with the U.S. Ambassador

*M. G. 100*

April 1, Thursday

Morning          Visit an Army Camp  
if there is time, visit a development town

Evening          Press Conference

April 2, Friday

Morning          departure from Israel

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To

RABBI ALEXANDER SCHINDLER

Via TRB 5271  
Insert "RCA"

GREATLY REGRET MISUNDERSTANDING AND NOW LOOKING FORWARD TO SEEING YOU AT 8:30 A.M.

AT MY OFFICE JERUSALEM 30th MARCH AS PER APPOINTMENT SET UP THROUGH FOREIGN OFFICE.

REGARDS,

YOSEF ALMOGI



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*To Edie  
for file*  
ALEXANDER SCHINDLER  
515 PARK AVE  
NEW YORK NY 10021

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INTL LT TDRN LOS ANGELES CA 03-18 0710P EST  
INT LT ALMOGI CARE JEWISH AGENCY  
PO BOX 92  
JERUSALEM (ISRAEL)  
REQUESTED MEETING WITH YOU WEEKS AGO SORRY THERE HAS BEEN A  
BREAKDOWN IN COMMUNICATIONS HAVE URGED FOREIGN MINISTRY TO CONSULT  
WITH YOU NOT ONLY IN REGARDS TO OUR MEETING BUT ALSO WITH REFERENCE  
TO EVERY ASPECT OF OUR PROGRAM IN ISRAEL WARMEST REGARDS  
SCHINDLER

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THE EXECUTIVE OF THE JEWISH AGENCY

OFFICE OF THE CHAIRMAN  
JERUSALEM

November 2, 1978

לשכת יו"ר ההנהלה  
ירושלים

Rabbi Alexander M. Schindler,  
President,  
Union of American Hebrew Congregations,  
838 Fifth Avenue,  
New York. N.Y. 10021  
U. S. A.


Dear Alex:

*No Answer*

Many thanks for your letter of October 13, and for your good wishes for the New Year, which are reciprocated in full measure, as I'm sure you know.

With warmest house-to-house greetings,

Sincerely,

  
Leon Dulzin

December 8, 1978

The Honorable Yitzhak Navon  
President of the State of Israel  
Jerusalem, Israel

Dear Mr. Navon:

For myself personally, as well as the families of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, I write to express heartfelt condolences to our brothers and sisters in Israel, indeed to Jews in every far-flung corner of the world.

In the passing of Golda Meir the human family has lost a giant, a woman of valor who embodied the indomitable spirit of the Jewish people.

She gave inspiration to the Zionist movement and the men and women she led in helping found and build the State of Israel. She gave pride to her fellow Jews in every corner of the globe for the dignity with which she led her cause and the commitment that made it ours. She gave heart to people everywhere who seek to live in freedom and who are called upon to defend freedom's cause, as her countrymen defended theirs.

With great courage she led the people of Israel through a period of tragic war. With great vision she led her country through two crucial negotiations that we now know was the beginning of the long journey, not yet completed, toward peace and reconciliation between Arab and Jew in the Middle East. There could be no more fitting valedictory for this modern day matriarch and prophet of her people.

We mourn her passing; we are all diminished by it.

Sincerely,

Alexander M. Schindler



April 27, 1978

Mr. Harry Barnard  
801 Lavergne Avenue  
Wilmette, Ill. 60091

Dear Mr. Barnard:

Many thanks for your most gracious and warm letter of support. It was thoughtful of you to take the time to write.

My efforts in behalf of Klal Visroel are a service of the heart. It is gratifying to know that I reach other hearts.

With every good wish, I am

Sincerely,

Alexander M. Schindler, Rabbi  
Chairman

HARRY BARNARD  
301 LAVERGNE STREET  
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS 60605

Personal

April 12, 1978

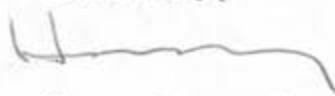
Dear Rabbi Schindler:

Your magnificent leadership in American Jewry in the present crisis concerning Israel is a source of great satisfaction to me and I send this note to tell you so.

I was brought up to be an anti-Zionist Jew, out in Colorado, even though Stephen S. Wise, seeming like God to me, installed the rabbi there, but I have seen the light. The leadership you are giving for sympathetic understanding of Israel's prime minister, Menachem Begin, and of Israel's needs, and your courage in pinpointing disturbing attitudes these days in the White House and the State Department, is tremendously important.

No doubt some American Jews are diffident in these matters, but I believe the great majority of Jews support you. You of course know that both Herzl and Brandeis learned that the "ordinary" Jews, as distinct from so-called "big names," are the backbone of the Jewish community: it is so today also and you have become their strong voice.

Sincerely,



Harry Barnard



Rabbi Alexander M. Schindler,  
Chairman, Conference of Major  
American Jewish Organizations,  
515 Park Avenue,  
New York, N. Y. 10022

HARRY BARNARD is recognized as an outstanding journalist and biographer of American political figures. His first biography was *EAGLE FORGOTTEN* (John P. Altgeld). Other published biographies by Mr. Barnard include *Rutherford B. Hayes and His America*, which was acclaimed in the *Saturday Review* as a landmark biography for its use of modern psychological insights, and *Independent Man: The Life of Senator James Couzens*, which the *New York Times* included in its list of "100 Best Books of the Year."

Mr. Barnard was chief editorial writer of the former *Chicago Times* and author of a nationally syndicated editorial page column, "Liberal at Large," which was sponsored by the *Chicago Daily News* and the *Des Moines Register Syndicate*. He began his newspaper career with the *Chicago Herald and Examiner*, where he served as rewrite man, travel editor, and assistant Sunday editor. He was also on the editorial staffs of the *Detroit Times* and the *Chicago Sun*.

His book reviews have appeared in the *Saturday Review*, *The Nation*, *Panorama* of the *Chicago Daily News*, *Book Week* of the *Chicago Sun-Times*, and the *Chicago Tribune*. He has also contributed to such encyclopedias and reference works as *Encyclopedia Americana*, *The Dictionary of American Biography*, and *Encyclopedia Judaica*.

Mr. Barnard has the distinction of having his biographies of Altgeld and Hayes included in the collection of representative American books selected for the White House Library of President John F. Kennedy.

Mr. Barnard has been on the faculties of the University of Chicago, Roosevelt University, and Columbia College, Chicago. He is a graduate of the University of Chicago.

He is currently at work on a biography of the late Wendell Willkie, having just published *THE FORGING OF AN AMERICAN JEW, The Life and Times of Julian W. Mack*. See also *Who's Who*.

Harry Barnard  
801 Laverne Avenue  
Wilmette, Ill. 60091

May 2, 1978

Rabbi Rav A. Soloff  
Beth Sholom Congregation  
700 Indiana Street  
Johnstown, Penna. 15905

Dear Rav:

It was thoughtful of you to share with me the item by Cooley in the Christian Science Monitor. Many thanks.

I had no idea of the degree of isolation in Johnstown, although I must note the news of Navon's election did not get too much coverage in the general press here. It was covered extensively in the Anglo-Jewish press.

With warmest regards from house to house, I am

Sincerely,

Alexander M. Schindler

**Beth Sholom Congregation**

700 Indiana Street  
Johnstown, Pennsylvania 15905

Rabbi Rav A. Soloff, Ph. D., D.D.

April 26, 1978

Dear Alex,

Did you see the report of Prince Fahed's  
interview with Paris Match?

You know how isolated we are out  
here? Not even readers of the New York Times,  
daily, knew of President Yitzchak Navon's  
election until I saw it in an old Christian  
Science Monitor! One of my members had  
picked it up in a Yiddish paper.  
Chag Sameach. Most cordially,  
Rav



April 26, 1978

President Jimmy Carter  
The White House  
1600 Pennsylvania Ave.  
Washington, D. C. 20006

Dear President Carter,

With regard to the proposed sale of war planes to Saudi Arabia, I wish to remind you of the statement by Saudi Crown Prince Fahed saying an annual Saudi military expenditure of \$8 billion "aims at making the Saudi army capable to intervene wherever national duty would call". Prince Fahed made it clear that he was referring to the possibility of a devastating reaction against Israel. (Prince Fahed's interview with the Paris Magazine Paris Match is reported by John K. Cooley on page 12 of The Christian Science Monitor of Monday, April 24, 1978.)

This is no time for the United States to sell advanced war planes to Saudi Arabia. If the purposed sale of war planes to Israel, Egypt and Saudi Arabia cannot be dealt with for each country separately on its merits I would urge that no sales be authorized at this moment.

Thank you very much for your consideration.

Sincerely,

Rabbi Rav A. Soloff

RAS:blm

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P  
Y

# Arab warnings to Israeli leadership multiply

By John K. Cooley

Staff correspondent of The Christian Science Monitor

Athens

Latest United States efforts to reactivate Egypt-Israel peace talks are taking place amid rising militancy and impatience in Arab countries outside Egypt.

These have included a warning by Saudi Crown Prince Fahed that "war is the only alternative" if current peace efforts fail.

There also are signs of tension in the Persian Gulf oil-producing states, with a consequent diplomatic effort by King Hussein of Jordan to forge a new Arab alliance "to defend the sources of Arab oil" against either Israeli action or subversion by Arab radicals.

President Carter's Mideast envoy, Alfred Atherton, met April 23 with President Sadat in the Egyptian Red Sea port of Hurghada, Cairo Radio reported.

Mideast analysts believe Mr. Atherton explored with Mr. Sadat Egypt's minimum demands for reopening talks with Israel before President Carter meets Israeli Prime Minister Menachem Begin early next month.

## Carter lead anticipated

Comment from Egypt and Israel indicates that both sides expect President Carter to make specific suggestions for breaking the deadlock then.

Saudi Crown Prince Fahed's reminder that the Arabs still have the war option if Israel continues to hold and settle occupied Arab territory came in an interview with the Paris magazine, *Paris Match*. If the present peace "opportunity" led nowhere, Prince Fahed said, "then a resulting [Arab] reaction against Israel might be devastating."

An annual Saudi military expenditure of \$8 billion "aims at making the Saudi Army capable to intervene wherever national duty would call." (In urging Congress to pass a package bill selling warplanes to Israel, Egypt, and Saudi Arabia, the U.S. administration is urging that the Saudi military machine is not geared to fight Israel).

"The intransigence of Meachem Begin," Prince Fahed said, "is not in the interest of Israel or its allies. We, the Arabs, have always been lenient and Israel now has to choose between a just peace, which is what we want, and war."

## Arab summit urged

Jordanian emissaries have been touring Arab capitals urging the convening of an Arab summit conference, including both President Sadat and his "rejectionists" Arab critics, to set up a unified Arab military command and to work out "a common strategy for the defense of the sources of oil."

In Beirut, Lebanon, meanwhile, Lebanese, Syrian, Saudi, and even Palestinian security agents are trying to track down a group calling itself "Arab Destiny." It has telephoned several newsmen to claim responsibility for an explosion at Saudi Arabia's big Abqaiq oil field April 15.

Four oil workers were killed and a large oil-gas separator plant destroyed. The Arabian-American Oil Company (AR-AMCO) said the explosion was due to a leaking gas pipe.

Saudi, Iranian, Kuwaiti, and United Arab Emirates leaders have been holding meetings in various capitals to discuss coordination of efforts to protect oilfields. Kuwait introduced compulsory military service April 15.

A report released by the Arab Economic Unity Council in Cairo warns against the growing number of foreigners working in Arab oil states as a security risk.

May 2, 1978

Dr. Abraham Gootnick  
105 Milburn Lane  
Roslyn, N.Y. 11577

Dear Dr. Gootnick:

Thank you for your letter of April 23. I am grateful for your continued concern and for your sharing your thoughts with me. Unfortunately, my schedule is such that it is simply not possible for me to meet with the many who seek to discuss the Middle East situation with me personally. Time simply does not permit me to do so.

You ought to know, however, that some new programs have been set in motion and I continue to do all that I can to serve the cause of Israel, even as my colleagues in the Presidents' Conference continue to strive in behalf of Israel.

With every good wish, I am

Sincerely,

Alexander M. Schindler



ABRAHAM GOOTNICK, M.D., F.A.C.P.

~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~  
~~1234 FIFTH AVENUE~~  
~~NEW YORK, N.Y. 10021~~  
~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~

~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~  
~~105 MILBURN LANE~~  
~~ROSLYN, N.Y. 11577~~  
~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~

April 23, 1978

Rabbi Alexander M. Schindler  
838 Fifth Avenue  
New York, N. Y. 10021

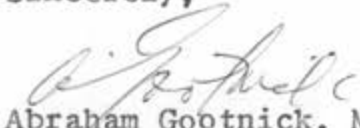
Dear Rabbi Schindler:

Thank you for the acknowledgment of my letter. But I am greatly troubled that at this late hour, when a massive protest against the Carter policy may stave off the worst of what's coming, the question of using our major weapon is still "under consideration." We have not yet resorted to the open reminder of the political options open to millions of American Jews. What more can we possibly be waiting for? What more need the administration do to convince our Jewish leaders of its implacable intentions toward Israel? Surely our present passivity has done nothing but encourage our enemies to ever more open assaults on Israel. What more is there to lose?

Whom can we turn to for the mobilization and organization of our fight for the survival of Israel? In your present position, even if some of your colleagues are misguided or fearful, you alone could set in motion the mass demonstrations needed to convince Washington ( the Congress even more than the White House) that there will be an unacceptable political price to pay for pushing Israel to the wall. The voice of our people would also serve to show up our intellectual defeatists for the insignificant splinter they are. I am sure you have read today's full-page advertisement in the Times over the signatures of Zumwalt, Keegan, Amory, Foley, and others. Can we ourselves do less, when it is almost too late?

Rabbi Schindler, we turn to you in this moment of terrible danger for our people. I would very much appreciate the opportunity to talk with you, and to share with you my sense of desperate urgency.

Sincerely,

  
Abraham Gootnick, M.D.  
105 Milburn Lane  
Roslyn, N.Y. 11577

AG:tm

April 24, 1978

Mr. Itshak E. Zeeter  
Askan Zioni  
Ramat Joseph (Bat Yam)  
Henrietta Szold Street 17A  
Israel

Dear Mr. Zeeter:

I have your recent letter and  
it is with regret that I must advise I am unable to be  
of assistance. Our organization simply does not have  
the resources to aid you in your plea. This I deeply  
regret.

With every good wish, I am  
Sincerely,

Alexander M. Schindler





עמק חילוק

אלוהי מאיר

לכב'

אבר' זלצבר פיקר

בה תוצאת עק יצא מנגדק אור' מ'ק עק/3/28 אל

א'ה'ע'ק ע'מ'ע'מ'ג' .  
ב'כ'ל'ת ס'מ'מ'ל' ע'ק א'מ'ל'ת'ק ע'מ'ל'ת' א'ל'ת' ח'צ'ר'ת'  
ש'ל'כ'ק. א'נ' מ'מ'ל'ת' ל'כ'ק ב'ל'א'ת' א'ל'ת' א'ז'כ'ל'ת' מ'ק' ע'ק 120!

ה'ה'כ'ה

אלוהי מאיר

(מ'מ'ל'ת' מ'ק'ל'ת')

אישור על קבלת  
בשנת הכספים 1977/78

קצבת זקנה

מהמוסד לבטוח לאומי  
01/07/63

במשבצת זו רשום פרט הסכומים ששולמו בסוף כל חודש				
אפריל	מאי	יוני	יולי	אוגוסט
1298	1298	1298	1298	1410
ספטמבר	אוקטובר	נובמבר	דצמבר	ינואר
1447	1596	1788	1788	418
סברואר	מרץ	סה"כ תשלומים		
418	418	14,475		
במשבצת זו רשום פרט המחאות ששולמו במשך שנת הכספים 1978				
סכום	תאריך	סכום	תאריך	סכום
00		00		
00		00		
סכום	תאריך	סה"כ בהמחאות:		
00		00		

במשבצת זו רשום הרכב הקיצבה בעד חודש מרץ בלבד ללא רף הפרשים:	
מספר הנפשות בעבורן משולמת הקיצבה:	02
האם משולמת הטבה סוציאלית:	לא
האם משולמים דמי מחיה ליתומים:	לא
סכום הקיצבה ברוטו:	1,047.00
סה"כ הניכויים:	629.00
יתרת הקצבה:	418.00
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יצחק זלצר	31
בת ים הנריטה סלד 21 5	5000
מספר התיק	השולח: סניף המוסד לביטוח לאומי
4/171550-0-04-5	יפא רח. התקומה 30

January 26, 1978

Mr. Paul Duling  
61 Hillandale Road  
Westport, CT. 06880

Dear Mr. Duling:

I have your letter of January 5 and I thank you for sharing your concerns. I am afraid I do not perceive the actions of our community as you do. Indeed, our perceptions are so far apart it would be difficult to carry on a meaningful dialogue by mail.

Suffice~~it~~ to say only that our goal is to achieve peace in the Middle East. This above all is what we yearn for and work for and we will support any and every effort, whatever its source, which in our judgment truly works toward that goal. We resist only those forces which under the guise of seeking peace are merely trying to scuttle it.

Perhaps one day we will have an opportunity meet and discuss this matter personally.

With kindest greetings, I am

Sincerely,

Rabbi Alexander M. Schindler  
Chairman

January 5 1978

President  
Conference of Presidents  
of Major American Jewish Organizations  
New York NY

Dear Mr. President,

I must express myself on your work. For many years, I have worked with Jewish organizations and Jews and admire the scholarly way they have approached problems - seeking the truth, the facts.

My friends - not all, but some - have become so emotionally involved in the Zion-Israeli situation that they no longer look at the problems of the Middle East with the same detachment that I have come to admire them for.

In private and public meetings, they have become an embarrassment because of their lack of facts, usually quoting biased Jewish propaganda sources. At times, I have had to bail them out of situations that only would make them look uninformed or even foolish. Perhaps I have come to expect too much of Jews.

Your ads, press releases and actions, along with the Anti-Defamation groups are so obviously one-sided that they defame a good number of non-Jews, and distort their true stands.

Surely the present aim for peace did not originate with the Israelis. For 30 years they have created endless problems, most of their own making, most because of their insensitive attitudes and actions against the local people they have replaced.

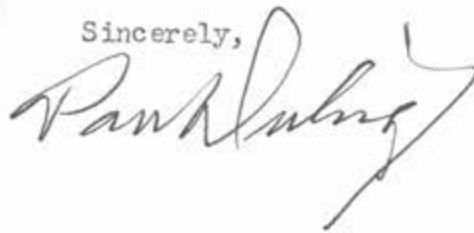
The Israelis' opposing UN peace keeping efforts over the years and creating new instances of problems is well recognized, and I have been appalled at such actions.

I appeal to you to turn the corner, change your tactics, take a new look at what you have done and are doing, to support President Carter and Sedat - to support Prime Minister Begin in efforts to back away from past war provoking actions and attitudes.

I have been really sorry to see what has been happening to the Jewish Cause, Jewish reputation, and Jewish influence for the past three decades. It has been a steady deterioration, and your organization and those with you have brought much of this about. Return to Jewish Principles - you can be a beacon to the rest of nations. Or, again, have I come to expect too much of Jews?

Paul Duling  
61 Hillandale Rd  
Westport, Ct 06880

Sincerely,





January 23, 1978

Mr. Robert K. Bucher  
Route 3  
Mechanicsburg, PA. 17055

Dear MR. Bucher:

Thank you for your letter of the 18th. Rabbi  
Schindler is out-of-the-city and your letter  
will be brought to his attention on his return.  
I am certain he will be grateful to you for  
sharing your concerns with him.

Sincerely,

Edith J. Miller  
Assistant to the President

Jan 18, 1978

Rabbi Alexander M. Schindler Pres.  
Union of American Hebrew Congregations  
New York, N.Y.

Dear Sir:

I believe the Jewish Community of the U.S.  
should pressure the Administration to leave Israeli  
boundaries where they are at present. It would  
teach the Arabs to mind their own business.

Sincerely

Robert K. Buckner

Box 3

Mechamstown Pa 17055

December 15, 1977

Mr. Emanuel Schwartz  
605 Lexington Avenue  
New York, N.Y. 10022

Dear Mr. Schwartz:

I am returning herewith your mailgrams to Ambassador Diniz~~it~~ and President Sadat.

That Israel's leaders take such a peace initiative seriously inclines me to do so also. There comes a time when you must muster the courage to take yes for an answer. This does not mean that you can relax all guards, but some risks for peace must be taken and I agree with Mr. Begin's policy fully.

With kindest greetings, I am

Sincerely,

Alexander M. Schindler

Encl.

Dear Rabbi  
Please return to me  
material enclosed  
after reading them  
Yours ES

December 27, 1977

Mr. Emanuel Schwartz  
605 Lexington Avenue  
New York, N.Y. 10022

Dear Mr. Schwartz:

Your letter of December 22 is mis-directed for I do not negotiate for Israel. I would suggest that you express your concerns and suggestions to Mr. Begin and not to me for my role is not one of a negotiator.

With kindest greetings.

Sincerely,

Alexander M. Schindler



Please  
reply  
if  
blewnt

Copy  
letter  
to  
Mr  
Dayan  
12/24/77

Dear Rabbi Alexander Schneider  
Don't you think that Israel  
is buying peace at a very  
high price? you see the  
moment you give the Arabs  
a Finger they want a Hand  
than the whole Body  
You would think the way  
they act that they would  
the 1973 war and not  
Israel - therefore negotiate  
and try and get the best deal  
Because Right now you are  
gambling with the FUTURE  
of Israel, So BELWARE  
Sure Israel needs PEACE  
desperately. But there is  
such a thing called unlimited  
& greedy demands.  
I have no faith in Begin & Dayan

14/10/15

*[Faint, illegible handwritten text, likely bleed-through from the reverse side of the page.]*

I am also a  
Member of the  
Heret + Mr.  
Mr. Boyer is our  
President

Did Russia or  
America ever give up  
any kind of territory  
they conquered? Why  
should ISRAEL  
mind you Israel did  
not conquer anything  
she just got back  
what rightfully belonged  
to her.

Somebody with  
a goodly number  
of letters

Mr. Alexander tell  
it to Mr. Carter &

Said it. If they don't  
know it. What assurance  
has Israel that 20 years  
from now the Palestinians  
may start a war & hoping  
to win because they will be  
7-8 miles away from  
Israel proper



*Ado Auer*

10<sup>th</sup> October, 1977.

Dear Rabbi Schindler,

Many thanks for your reply to my previous letter regarding the necessity of having the right of all Jews wishing to return to Israel confirmed should there be any tampering with the Resolutions 242 and 238 by inserting the phrase that the legitimate rights of the Palestinians must be respected; as also my very insistent feeling that the total mobilisation of the scientific and technical resources of the Jewish people is absolutely essential now in order to devise ways and means to break the Arab energy monopoly within the next five to ten years, before Arab financial power is used to strangle the state of Israel.

Now that it has become apparent that the United States is interested in breaking ~~the~~ the log-jam at any price, compromising their previous undertakings to Israel if necessary should they stand in the way of the American policy clearly enunciated in the June 1977 issue of the Reader's Digest—Resolve the Middle East Crisis—Now. The major point of the article was the dependence of the States on Arab oil for the foreseeable future as well as the fact that US aid is essential to keep Israel going. Not much training in logic is required to see that he who pays the piper calls the tune.

It now is becoming crystal clear that American Jewry will have to bear the increasing burden of keeping the State of Israel going to undercut the influence that the US must have should Israel keep on surviving by means of her hand-outs alone. So that what is now required as never before is a total and increasing commitment by American Jewry to rally to the support of Israel in such a way that she can retain her flexibility in dealing with all the very involved issues that are to be met soon at Geneva or elsewhere. It is here that influential leaders like yourself will have to use your influence with your congregants and supporters to regard the present situation as the greatest crisis the Jewish State has yet faced, and one in which only a total commitment to its increasing independence from foreign financial support will give it the strength to survive the

PAGE TWO.

new Arab onslaught on its <sup>as</sup>freedom, independence, security and financial stability. This onslaught is even disguised/a peace offensive, giving our enemies and lukewarm friends the chance to accuse us of sabotaging peace if we do not go along with their proposals that must ultimately lead us into bondage or should I say further bondage as it is clear that our dependence on US aid is just the beginning of the vassal even slave state we are going to become should we be unable to shake off the growing dependence on foreign aid. Even here in South Africa the Prime Minister keeps on saying that South Africa owes nobody any money and cannot be bought and does not ask the US for any hand-outs-it is clear that Israel has allowed herself to lose some of that precious independence we have all struggled so hard to achieve and the reason is simply that the Jewish people have had insufficient pride and self-reliance to rally to the support of Israel in a way that will make even our enemies realise that we mean business. I wish you all the success you need should you decide to lead such a movement to recover the lost independence of Israel. Should there eventually be interference with Jewish contributions to Israel from the US then I assume there will be a mass-immigration of Jews to Israel from America, for then the writing will truly be on the wall-we do not have to remain prisoners of the Diaspora for ever.

There is another, more involved point that I would like to raise. When the joint big power statement was made on the legitimate rights of the Palestinians it became clear to me that the Arabs regarded this as a victory for them as it gives them one more prop to refuse to accept the fact that the Jewish people have an inalienable right to the land of Israel by virtue of our intimate, prolonged and unwavering attachment to the land of Israel as reflected in our religious, national and cultural history. To accept this rather than that Israel is a plaything invented by UNO to assuage the sense of guilt of Europe over the 6 million dead, and thus not of

any consequence, has never been possible by the Arabs and therefore has inevitably given rise to the development of terrorist movements to eliminate the unwelcome intruder whom they never have and never will grant equal rights to freedom and independence, except on their own terms, which would make Israel their vassal at best or turn it into another ghetto at worst. This inability to accept Israel on equal terms, i.e. that she has equal rights to freedom and independence in the land of Israel as the Arabs have in the rest of the area is the crux of the Middle East problem and not the Pseudo-problem of the Palestinians, which never existed till, in desperation the Arabs fell back on this ploy to enable them to keep on denying the valid historical, religious and cultural ties that ~~xxx~~ gave Israel as much right to exist in the area as they themselves had.

I also note that Carter and his men seem very reluctant to acknowledge this inalienable right of the Jewish people to their ancient homeland for which so many of our people perished and so many sacrifices were made to rescue it from the semi-desert it had become, through neglect—clearly indicating that no people other than the Jewish people felt the intimate and unbreakable tie to the land of Israel. I think that the US is not willing to accept our inalienable rights as this will clearly lose them the Arab support they have, so that this particular point is far more important than is generally realised by us—of course the Arabs realise it very well and it is the cornerstone of their policy to deny this inalienable right of the Jewish people to the land of Israel. Should there be any doubt on this point, I refer you to Perspectives on a Troubled Decade: Science, Philosophy and Religion, 1939-1949. A symposium published by Harper, New York—it was the Tenth Symposium and edited by Lyman Bryson, Louis Finkelstein and R.M. Maciver. Chapter Ten on Attempts at Self-Interpretation in Contemporary Islam, Section 2 clearly enunciates the total rejection by Arab intellectuals and their religious leaders of any rights that the Jewish people might have to the land of Israel. Arab policy has been totally consistent on this point both before and since those statements

were made. Thus we can expect demands by the Arabs, such as return of the Palestinians to their homes rather <sup>than</sup> to ~~ex~~ accept the realities of the population exchange, in order to further trample underfoot our rights to the land of Israel—in addition we can expect attempts to limit immigration to Israel, thereby further limiting our freedom and independence and other efforts to sabotage our inalienable rights to the land of Israel. We can make certain compromises for the sake of peace, but never can we compromise on the fact of our inalienable right to the land of Israel—to do so would be to deny all our history, culture and national rights and would be tantamount to committing national suicide. This is well recognised by the Arabs who are attempting to achieve this state by denying us our inalienable rights through the ~~manoeuvre~~ use of the PLO as the aggrieved party who have to be compensated for the violation of their rights at the expense of Israel to the point where it totally denies the Jewish people their own far deeper, far longer and far more legitimate rights to the land of Israel than any contender, in particular the PLO whose nationalism is a true reflection of the whole Arab world's total inability to accept that the Jewish people have certain inalienable rights to the land of Israel that must be respected in any settlement—without which recognition there can never be peace. The above issue was clearly highlighted recently in the General Assembly when one delegate made this point that Israel owed its existence to UNO, thus giving UNO the right to tamper with it in any way it ~~saw~~ saw fit, possibly even to de-establish it. The Israeli delegate made the correct response in that these and other resolutions merely affirmed the inalienable rights of the Jewish people to the land of Israel, but it is so rarely that this point is made that it has largely been ignored. Let President Carter not put his political future on the line for the sake of Israel—we do not need his sacrifices to ensure our existence—but only his recognition of our inalienable rights to the land of Israel, come what may. If he chooses not to give this recognition, it is not the end of the road for us, only the end of a false friendship that we are better off without.

May the leaders of the Jewish people not throw away our ancient and G-d given rights because they believe that we cannot survive without being propped up artificially by others who only grudgingly, if at all, can grant us the right to exist—a right that we have struggled to establish for ourselves through the ages of persecution and that we seem to have in our grasp if only we can weather the storm that is now raging around us and will continue to do so for some time yet, till the rest of the world is convinced we can stand up for our rights no matter what is thrown against <sup>us</sup> in the struggle to try and mould us in the image that will suit others, but will spell the end of Jewish history and its significance for us and the world. In this struggle, I wish you God-speed.

Yours sincerely,

*F. J. Lichtigfeld*

Lichtigfeld, F. J., B.Sc., M.B.B.Ch., F.F.Psych. (S.A.)

84 Second Road, Kew,  
Johannesburg, South Africa.



November 11, 1977

Professor Emile Benoit  
Elka Park, N.Y. 12427

Dear Professor Benoit:

Thank you for your note of November 2 and for sharing your sentiments with me. I am grateful for the candor and the expression of your views.

Thank you, too, for your gracious contribution. I assure you your name will not appear in our list of contributors, in accordance with your request you will remain anonymous.

With kindest greetings, I am

Sincerely,

Alexander M. Schindler

cc: Mr. Yehuda Hellman

## EMILE BENOIT

Professor Emile Benoit  
Elka Park, N. Y. 12427  
(518) 589-5318

November 2

Gentlemen:

I am a member of the Society of Friends. I am deeply convinced that terrorist organizations like the PLO should be outlawed, and should not be rewarded for their terroristic activities by being allowed to play a role in diplomatic decisions.

It is my belief that an organization should be formed, which is interdenominational, and can not be discounted as merely representing Jewish self-interest, and which seeks to abolish terrorism, and to oppose all demands of terroristic organizations. I think you would attract a good deal of support that way which is not necessarily pro-Jewish. I for example have always been anti-Zionist, but I am much more anti-terrorist.

I regret that as a retired person, I can make only a nominal contribution, and I would prefer not to be on your list of contributors.

Sincerely yours,











*From the desk of*

YEHUDA HELLMAN

*Do you want to answer?*

*AR 7*

*515 Park Avenue*

*TV  
out of  
HT  
you  
per  
book*

*New York 22, N. Y.*



November 11, 1977

Samuel E. Seigel, Esq.  
225 Broadway  
New York, N.Y. 10007

Dear Mr. Seigel:

Many thanks for your gracious contribution to the Presidents' Conference. We are grateful for your support.

The Presidents' Conference works with representatives of the many member-organizations and they, in turn, provide program ideas and projects for their individual constituencies. We are delighted to have your offer of assistance and suggest that you step up your efforts in behalf of Klal Yisroel in your organizational work or synagogue projects.

With repeated thanks and warmest regards, I am

Sincerely,

Alexander M. Schindler  
Chairman

cc: Mr. Yehuda Hellman

SAMUEL E. SEIGEL

*Attorney and Counsellor at Law*

BARCLAY 7-7066

225 ~~253~~ BROADWAY  
NEW YORK, N. Y. 10007

November 2, 1977

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

Att: Rabbi Schindler.

Dear Rabbi Schindler:

Enclosed herewith please find my check and coupon concerning the PLO.

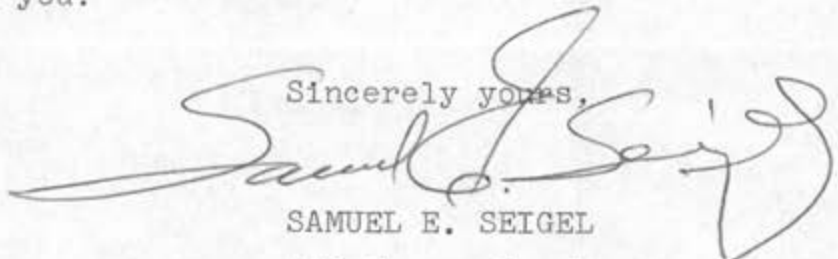
As a resident and community worker in Nassau County for the past 25 years, I would like very much to lend my efforts on behalf of Israel and the American Jewish Community.

Please contact me either at my home or office since I would like very much to lend whatever time and work in this vital problem.

I shall expect to hear from you at your earliest.

Thank you.

Sincerely yours,



SAMUEL E. SEIGEL

540 Conway Road,  
Elmont, N.Y. 11003  
516/PR 5/5191

SES:es  
enc.

October 6, 1977

Dr. I. Graeber  
Professor of Social Science  
Yeshiva University  
500 West 185th Street  
New York, New York 10033

Dear Dr. Graeber:

Thank you for your words of advice. Let me assure you that I am doing and will do everything in my power to assure the security and survival of the State of Israel. I certainly want to make certain that we will not commit the sin of silence a second time in our generation.

I only hope that the Hashem Yisborach Shemo will give me the strength required ~~for~~ the task.

Your good wishes for the New Year are fully reciprocated.

Sincerely,

Rabbi Alexander M. Schindler  
Chairman

cc: Yehuda Hellman

YESHIVA COLLEGE



YESHIVA UNIVERSITY

500 West 185th Street / New York, N.Y. 10033 / (212) 568-8400

Mon October 3, 1977

My dear Rabbi Schneider,

Time and events demand that you put on the mantle of A. H. Silver and Wise and Company to mobilize American Jewry to vigorously and openly protest the appeasement policies of Carter and his ruling clique of Arab and Soviet appeasers; ironically, each for dissimilar reasons and stratagems, but just so as Bile Israel in the process.

Nothing short of demanding Carter's recall who was elected on false promises and pretenses will save Israel and the Jews.

I also call upon you to demand the resignation of Cisrostak and Lipschutz, behind whom Carter and his ruling clique disguise their anti-Israel, anti-Jewish policies - as did

Roosevelt in the early forties, when his counsel was none other than the president of the Bureau of Jewish Education in New York. Read the advice of this "gentleman" who urged Roosevelt to expel Wise from the White House. Read the record of State who lied to Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver.

State diplomacy will not do.

Jewish scholars and academics have long been kept at arms length from the Jewish scene. We have foreseen the alignment of U.S. with the Soviet tyranny vis-a-vis Israel and the Jews. We have in fact warned them against such alignment against Israel and the Jews.

Take a page from the blacks who are getting a bigger size of the American pie than they expected - the institution of the quota system an importation from Europe at the expense of the Jews. Don't let the Shepards and the Fishers & others who wear the crowns of King of the Jews at such low price - . . .

With all my very best for a Happy new year

JN/c 751

(Dr) J. Fraebs Professor of Social Science. Formerly consultant to Label Katz and Dr. Theodore Adams of SCA.



October 10, 1977

Rabbi Amiel Wohl  
Temple Israel  
1000 Pinebrook Boulevard  
New Rochelle, N.Y. 10804

Dear Amiel:

This is to advise that I am sharing your letter of October 5 and the pamphlet enclosed therein with Yehuda Hellman. As the professional for the Presidents' Conference, the distribution of materials to our constituency comes under his purview. Thus, I would ask that you have Mr. Zweiboh discuss the matter directly with Yehuda.

With warmest regards, I am

Sincerely,

Alexander M. Schindler

cc: Yehuda Hellman

Statement by Rabbi Alexander M. Schindler, Chairman, Presidents' Conference - October 5, 1977.....

We are deeply gratified that our country and Israel have apparently settled their differences over the conditions for resuming the Geneva Peace Conference. That Conference can only succeed if it is based on UN Resolutions 242 and 338 and if it concludes with the signing of formal peace treaties that lead to the establishment of diplomatic, trade and cultural relations between Israel and the Arab States. There can be no peace in the Middle East if the so-called Palestine Liberation Organization is granted the status of party to the negotiations and if those negotiations become embroiled in dispute over an independent Palestinian State on the West Bank. Any such Palestinian State would destroy the chances for peace in the Middle East by providing a base for Soviet penetration and for terrorist incursions against both Israel and Jordan.

America has a vital stake in the security of Israel and in the peace and stability of the Middle East. The reported agreement by the President and the Foreign Minister of Israel on how that peace is to be negotiated is an encouraging and gratifying development which we welcome and support.

September 23, 1977

Ms. Jane Rosen  
The Manchester Guardian  
425 E. 58th Street  
New York, N.Y. 10022

Dear Ms. Rosen:

Many thanks for sending me a copy of your article  
on the Jewish lobby. You handled it very well  
and I want to express my appreciation.

With every good wish, I am

Sincerely,

Alexander M. Schindler

THE MANCHESTER GUARDIAN

~~20 EAST 53RD STREET • NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10022 • MURRAY HILL 8-1330~~

425 E. 58

421-3790

Dear Robb' Schneider,

You asked me to  
send you my pieces on  
the Jewish lobby when  
they appeared in the  
Guardian. Here they are  
(over) M.

well done

- I hope you think  
they're fair & accurate.  
It's a tough subject, &  
I'm grateful for the  
information you gave  
me.

Joan Rosen



September 19, 1977

Mr. Arthur Rabin  
146 Webb Avenue  
River Edge, N.J. 07661

Dear MR. Rabin:

Many thanks for your letter of September 7. I appreciate your having taken the time to share with me your thoughts and suggestions in regard to the security of Israel.

With every good wish for the New Year and with kindest greetings, I am

Sincerely,

Alexander M. Schindler

Arthur Rabin  
146 Webb Avenue  
River Edge, New Jersey  
07661

September 7, 1977

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

Dear Rabbi Schindler:

Although there may be cogent arguments against integrating districts heavily populated by Arabs into the Jewish State, it is obvious that for its future security Israel will need to permanently maintain a substantial, effective physical presence there. We can already see, however, the promotion of a "solution" envisaging no more than electronic devices and guarantees.

In this situation merely referring to Munich might be enough for people who were adults during that time. But it is just a name to most of those who were not even born until years later. Therefore I ask that the Presidents Conference, perhaps in cooperation with the American Professors for Peace in the Middle East, the American Jewish Students Network and the Hillel Foundations, encourage and sponsor nationwide research into the period. Detail by detail the parallels to the current developing situation will startle and alarm even you if you haven't reviewed them recently.

I realize that there are factors present today which were not present in 1938 and that history never exactly repeats but often takes unpredictable turns. However, there is enough similarity here to hopefully awaken a public and a Congress apparently willing to slip into the same pattern behind the leadership of a well-intentioned Administration.

A researcher will find that, contrary to what most people believe, British Prime Minister Chamberlain was neither weak nor evil. He was strong and obstinate, dismissing opposition

warnings. He adopted a policy that he was sincerely convinced would serve Britain's long range interests, settle a dangerous dispute and guarantee peace.

A student who researches the summer of 1938 will learn that the British government basically

- viewed the Sudeten German nationalist leader, Konrad Henlein, as a (compared to Hitler) relative moderate with whom the Czechs should deal;
- saw much justice in Henlein's demands for the "rights of the Sudeten Germans";
- did not realize that Henlein was operating under Hitler's personal direction;
- began to view Czechoslovakia's borders as an unfortunate mistake;
- considered Czechoslovakia's Benes government obstinate, "unrealistic," "intransigent," annoying and standing in the way of peace;
- downgraded the validity of Czech insistence on keeping its excellent army entrenched on its strong Sudeten mountain defense line;
- had as its main aim the keeping of the Soviet Union out of the area;
- felt that carrying out the commitments to Czechoslovakia would no longer serve Allied interests;
- carried on negotiations with the Germans behind Czechoslovakia's back;
- claimed that giving up Sudetenland would actually better serve Czechoslovakia's own long range interests and existence.

Along with the many events and details that point up the above, the researcher will see that the dislodging of the big Czech army from its mountain fortifications not only left that country indefensible and demoralized but strengthened the Nazi regime both strategically and militarily and gave that regime much more confidence and prestige.

The following year the remnant of Czechoslovakia was swept away. Its other two enemies (it was literally surrounded by enemies), Poland and Hungary, grabbed chunks before they themselves were later overrun. Freed of a major concern on its southern flank and convinced of Allied weakness, Germany next struck at Poland. World War II began less than a year after Britain and France finally accepted the Nazi version of the rights of the Sudeten Germans.

I am not writing this to teach you history with which you are already familiar. I want to point out that actual study of this period would be an effective object lesson for viewing current events.

Therefore I suggest that a drive to emphasize the study of 1938-39 begin on college, and even high school, campuses as we go into the 40th anniversary year of Munich. Each campus should try to function as a radial awareness center for the surrounding communities and media. ✓

An appropriate committee activated by the Presidents Conference should begin as soon as possible to

- contact receptive history department chairmen, teachers and school newspapers to ask that they focus on this period;
- distribute recommended reading lists and extracts; (Reprints of pertinent sections of the September and October 1938 issues of Time Magazine alone would be instructive; mixed in with the coverage of the Czech-German crisis are graphic items about the plight of the stateless Jews fleeing the Nazis and finding most doors closed to them);
- have Hillel and other student groups set up displays, seminars and lectures commemorating the 40th anniversary of the Munich disaster;
- seek out Czech-American groups to jointly publicize any memorial activities they may be planning;
- search for records of voices and for film strips relating to the Munich sell-out and its ultimate result. For example, Chamberlain defending his policy in Parliament after the March 1939 occupation of Prague is on a record entitled "Into the Storm - 1939" put out by CMS Records, 14 Warren Street, New York, N.Y. 1007.

Possibly recordings exist of talks by Churchill, Roosevelt, Eisenhower and/or others commenting upon the events preceding and following the Munich Pact. Segments should be assembled on tape for distribution. Where only writings are available perhaps well known actors or renowned historians and philosophers could read them onto tapes.

Naturally the point, expressed or implied, should be the parallels between

- the deceptive western public relations images of Hitler and Henlein and those of Assad, Arafat and others regarding their desire for peace;
- the agitation, sometimes violent, for the "rights" of the Sudeten Germans and those of the Palestinian Arabs;



- the gross exaggeration in propaganda of the disabilities of these two ethnic minorities;
- the continuation of the instigated agitation even after the Czech government granted all prior Sudeten demands and the already pledged renewal of "the anti-Zionist struggle" by the PLO when it gains freedom of action in a "Palestine entity;"
- the German armed and subsidized military and terrorist arms of the Sudeten German Nazis operating primarily from across Czechoslovakia's northern border and the Arab armed and subsidized PLA and terrorist groups operating across Israel's northern border;
- the value of the guarantees and commitments given to the Czechs both before and after Munich and those already given to Israel after every cease-fire since 1948;
- the proven need of Czechoslovakia for its Sudeten mountain defense line and of Israel for the Golan Heights and the Judean and Samarian mountains;
- both countries surrounded by enemies wishing to dismember them;
- the criticism of both countries for being unrealistic, intransigent and unmindful of the rights of the Germans/Arabs within their borders;
- the propaganda ploy of Hitler and Henlein in emphasizing a fraudulent Sudeten goal of self-rule to cover their true aim of absorption of the territory and its people by Greater Germany and the already known desire of Arab countries such as Syria and Iraq and of major elements of the PLO to incorporate Palestine into a Greater Syria or similar united Arab nation;
- the British and French reassessments of their commitments to Czechoslovakia in the light of newer interests and out of fear of war with Germany and the present U.S. wavering because of its dependence on Saudi Arabia and fear of Soviet intervention;
- the "good intentions" toward Czechoslovakia with the promise of "lasting peace" for acceptance of the pact and the same in relation to Israel;
- the theory that the guarantees and massive loans would be of greater importance to ultimate security than geography for Czechoslovakia and for Israel;
- the actual plans of Germany and of the Arabs for their victims as opposed to their pronouncements to western newsmen.

Students in every locality should be put to work researching the morgues of area newspapers and magazines to cull their editorials



of 1938 and 1939, particularly the summer of 1938. Did they support a version of evenhandedness then? Did they also portray Hitler as just another nationalist leader or even as a statesman with "valid arguments?" Did they support the "avoidance of war" by the "recognition of the rights of the Sudeten Germans" and criticize Czech government "intransigence" and "hard-liners?"

Photocopies of such editorials could be made part of displays alongside similar current attitudes toward Assad, Sadat, Arafat, the PLO, et al. vis-a-vis the Israelis. The horror which began in September 1939 as a result of September 1938 should of course be the climax of each display and program.

On the other hand, papers which opposed the sell-out of Czechoslovakia then and are supporting Israel's position now should be publicly complimented on their clearsighted consistency.

Incidentally, it is a bit jarring to find that right after the Munich Pact the "intransigent" Czech President Benes and his prime minister, Hodza, resigned and turned the reins of government over to a one-eyed general, Jan Syrový, who was the hero of the Czech Legion of twenty years before. General Syrový had been mobilizing the Czech army and people for resistance but by then he realized that it would be futile and instead undertook the implementation of the terms of the Pact and the rebuilding of the now truncated country.

Again, I fully realize that history does not repeat itself in every detail and that elements can and do enter into a situation to change its course. And I certainly do not want to see the 1938/39 course of history repeat. That is why we must set about now to do the changing.

After the Yom Kippur War it was estimated that the Arab states would need about five years to rearm and retrain for the next round of war. It may be only coincidental that both disengagement agreements are scheduled to end at about that time. In any case, the buildup of political, economic and psychological pressure is clearly developing. By next summer it will be extremely intense. Let us not wait until then to counter it.

You and your staff can probably think of more facets and applications of the above recommendations. They may also be drawbacks and difficulties which I overlooked. But I hope that you will consider

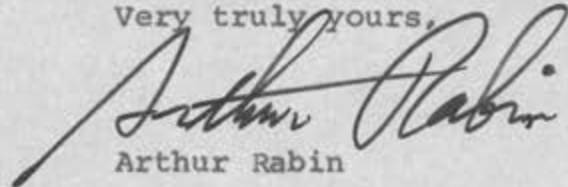
6.

them at your next planning session.

I apologize for the length of this letter and appreciate your taking the time to read it.

Thank you for your attention.

Very truly yours,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read "Arthur Rabin". The signature is written in dark ink and is positioned above the printed name.

Arthur Rabin

cc Prof. Seymour M. Lipset

From ENCYCLOPAEDIA BRITANNICA (15th Edition - 1977), Volume 2, Page 1196:

"(Czech) Prime Minister Hodza devoted all his talents to a search for a compromise that would satisfy the Sudeten Germans and held long conferences with (Sudeten German leader) Henlein's lieutenants...Henlein played his hand so skillfully that the influential circles, especially in London, believed that he was a free agent and not Hitler's stooge. The advocates of 'appeasement,' then rapidly gaining ground in Great Britain and in France, failed to realize that the Sudeten German negotiators had no intention of compromise and acted on instructions from Berlin. The main task of Henlein's party was to give Hitler a better chance to dislocate the republic without recourse to war...

"Although presented as a measure to make Czechoslovakia more homogeneous and viable the (Munich) pact and its ruthless implementation sealed the fate of the country."

\* \* \* \*

From THE GATHERING STORM by Winston S. Churchill (Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston, 1948), Book I, Chapter 17, Pages 299-303:

"...the Czech leaders could not believe...that at the very moment when for the first time they had the internal situation in the Sudeten areas in hand, the British Prime Minister (Chamberlain) should himself pay a direct visit to Hitler. This they felt would weaken their position with Germany...

"Both the Prime Minister and Lord Runciman (the British envoy previously sent to mediate between the Czechs and Germans) were convinced that only the cession of the Sudeten areas to Germany would dissuade Hitler from ordering the invasion of Czechoslovakia. Mr. Chamberlain had been strongly impressed at his meeting with Hitler 'that the latter was in a fighting mood.' ...Some ministers found consolation in such phrases as 'the rights of self-determination,' 'the claims of a national minority to just treatment'; and even the mood appeared of 'championing the small man against the Czech bully.'

"The French ministers brought with them a set of draft proposals which...favoured an outright cession of the Sudetenland to Germany. They added, however, that the British Government with France, and with Russia, whom they had not consulted, should guarantee the new frontiers of the mutilated Czechoslovakia...

"I have always believed that (Czech President) Benes was wrong to yield. He should have defended his fortress line (in the Sudeten Mountains)."

(From Winston Churchill's statement to the press on Sept. 21, 1938):

"The partition of Czechoslovakia under pressure from England and France amounts to the complete surrender of the Western Democracies to the Nazi threat of force. Such a collapse will bring peace or security neither to England nor to France. On the contrary, it will place these two nations in an ever-weaker and more dangerous situation...It is not Czechoslovakia alone which is menaced, but also the freedom and democracy of all nations. The belief that security can be obtained by throwing a small state to the wolves is a fatal delusion..."

\* \* \* \*

September 14, 1977

Mr. Shepherd Lipka  
323 Narrow Lane  
Orange, Conn. 06477

Dear Mr. Lipka:

Your letter of August 25th has just reached me and I hasten to reply. While I appreciate your letter and its sarcasm, it should properly have been directed to the person who was responsible for the admonition. As it happens I was not at the particular session of the CCAR Conference for I was in Washington giving direct and public expression to my views.

I counsel you to find out who is guilty before your condemn. This counsel, too, is worthy of the "great teachers of our time."

Sincerely,

Alexander M. Schindler

323 Narrow Lane  
Orange, Conn. 06477  
August 25, 1977

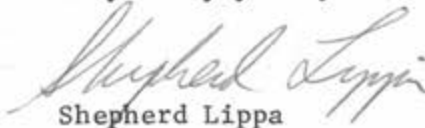
Rabbi Alexander M. Schindler  
Chairman  
Conference of Presidents of  
Major American Jewish Organizations  
515 Park Avenue  
New York, N.Y.

Dear Rabbi Schindler:

We now have a new expression of wisdom and morality to add to the Pirkei Avot: "Don't voice such thoughts, even to yourself, even if they are right". It has a fine ring to it, worthy of being included with the wisdom of the elders.

Since this statement is not ascribed to anyone by name, and since it accurately describes your attitude and actions, why don't you adopt it as your own. Just think, your name can be recorded alongside those of Hillel and the other great teachers of our past.

Very truly yours,

  
Shepherd Lippa

SH/kl



# KATZ IN 'THE MOUNTAINS'

GROSSINGER, N.Y. Shmuel Katz was on his 11th visit to America but his first to that state of mind, rather than nature, known as "the Mountains." As the car from the Israeli Consulate passed the billboards on Route 17, his eye fell on one that wasn't pressing an invitation to gluttony. "Keep Israel Strong," it urged. Enemy territory, "the Mountains" weren't.

Katz was on a mission, as he had been on his first American visit back in 1948, the month before Israel came into existence as an independent state. Then he was trying to buy arms for the Irgun, the force of Jewish irregulars in Palestine who were commonly described in those days as terrorists. That very month, April 1948, they were being condemned—not only by the Arabs, British and Red Cross but by David Ben-Gurion and the chief rabbi—for the destruction of a village called Deir Yassin, where 250 Arabs, women and children included, were killed in an Irgun assault. Katz, an expatriated South African, was a member of the Irgun high command.

Half a lifetime later, he was again an emissary from Menahem Begin, the dominant figure in the Irgun, and now unexpectedly, Israel's Prime Minister.

Katz's mission was to ease American misgivings—in particular, American Jewish misgivings—which had been aroused by journalistic excavations from Begin's underground past, as well as by the prospect of a diplomatic clash between the new Administration in Washington and the newer administration in Jerusalem. Since the Six-Day War in 1967, the word "terrorist" has again been part of the usage and gruesome experience of the Middle East but, until the Israeli election, the term was applied exclusively to Yasser Arafat and the Palestine Liberation Organization. Sticking it on an Israeli Prime Minister seemed to imply a rough moral equation that Katz—a man of scholarly mien and diction who, like Begin, never personally used a gun—had now to refute.

There was a time when the epithet "terrorist" didn't bother the Irgun veteran. Then it had romantic associations to East European movements of the 19th century. Katz's wife wrote a memoir entitled "The Lady Was a Terrorist." ("We thought that was rather piquant," he said.) But the epithet no longer flatters, not with the P.L.O. and the indiscriminate hostage taking and killing of civilians that has made terrorism an evermore sickening phenomenon. Shmuel Katz was ready to defend the Irgun with passion and pride. When I asked whether it wasn't a fact that it retaliated against Arab civilians at a time of random violence against Jews in the 30's, he replied tartly: "Not enough." But he wasn't here to justify the past. He was here to present Menahem Begin as a man of humane principle and reason, to demand for him the same unswerving support that Israeli leaders have been accustomed to receive from American Jews. The most effective way, therefore, to deal with the idea that Begin had been a terrorist was to denounce those who purveyed it.

At Grossinger's, a roadside cruise ship, Katz faced an audience of Reform rabbis who were eager as a group to be rallied and reassured but who were torn and troubled as individuals. In private, the rabbis agonized over fundamental questions in the relations of American Jews to Israel. Could they influence Israeli policy if they thought it unrealistic or dangerous? Or, since the dangers had to be borne by Israelis, should they even try? If they tried and failed, was



Shmuel Katz, right, with Israel's Chief Rabbi Schlomo Goren at a Salute to Israel parade in New York.

it permissible to discuss their doubts openly? Or were those who did so putting themselves in league with the P.L.O.?

pressing for a bargain that would end Israeli occupation of the West Bank of the Jordan River—where the population is 99.7 percent Arab—and Menahem Begin proclaiming the West Bank to be "liberated" Israeli territory, the questions are being asked by American Jews with an urgency they haven't had for 20 years. The desire to shield and preserve Israel from outside pressure is as strong as ever, but it conflicts with the fear that intransigence could prove as inept and indefensible a policy for Israelis as it has been, all these years, for Arabs; that the time to acknowledge the existence of the claim of Palestine Arabs is at hand, or overdue. One troubled rabbi quoted scripture: "You know the heart of a stranger, for you were strangers in the land of Egypt."

That wasn't Shmuel Katz's text, however. Facing the rabbis, he expressed a gentlemanly revulsion over characterizations in the American press of Begin as a former terrorist—"lurid attacks" he called them. The claims of Palestine Arabs were "a hoax," he said; the Carter Administration's emerging proposals, "recipes for war." It was a hard-line speech, but it didn't rule out territorial concessions—didn't really sound so different from what the rabbis were used to hearing from Israeli spokesmen—so most of them were able to leave with the thought that maybe nothing much had changed. The possibility that they might be shifting to a harder line themselves in order to find some accommodation with the new Israeli reality was not, for the moment, acknowledged.

Katz was pleased, even amused, by the failure of rabbis of dovish views to challenge his positions directly. "I was told I would have a rough time with them," he said. "But, you see, they're just weak." By this time, he was at a kosher hostelry in Fallsburgh, preparing to address a gathering of Orthodox rabbis among whom no doves were likely to appear. And, indeed, he was met with applause when he declared: "We are confident that the Jewish community in America will stand out courageously and challenge its Government if it becomes necessary."

But the question remained—who would decide when it became necessary, Israel or the American Jews? The next morning, in the rear acreage of Grossinger's vast dining room, a group of rabbis listened intently as a visiting scholar voiced thoughts that had been unspoken, that Shmuel Katz would consider unspeakable. His emotional conflict was obvious, but his points were bluntly made: that American Jews had a responsibility to assess for themselves Menahem Begin's past and present views as well as the Carter proposals and that "after 29 years of yes-manship," they were failing to do so. He himself, the scholar said, believed the Carter approach to be reasonable, and that American Jews had to find a way to say this to the Israelis. However, he wasn't prepared to say it publicly, not yet. A senior rabbi then rose to rebuke him gently for voicing such thoughts even in private, even if he was right.

Shmuel Katz's assessment had evidently been accurate: that the misgivings of American Jews would not soon amount to much, that those who could not support Israeli positions would mostly keep their doubts to themselves, counting on Menahem Begin to resolve them. The appearance, if not the reality, would still be a near-solid support.

Thus some Jews who six months ago would have shuddered at the thought of Menahem Begin as Israel's Prime Minister will welcome him to America next week in the hope that he'll break the impasse with the Arabs the way de Gaulle did in Algeria. Like Nixon in his opening to China, they are saying, he enjoys a freedom of action his more moderate predecessors lacked. I tried that line on his emissary. "I know," Shmuel Katz replied sarcastically, "de Gaulle made peace in Algeria, Nixon went to China, so Begin is the man to commit suicide—he'll give the country away. Never!"

"Never" is also when the Arabs will accept Israel. The flimsy hope is that these "nevers" can begin to cancel out, but that hope begs numberless questions: among them, whether Menahem Begin, in a lifetime's devotion to militant principle, has allowed himself any vision of peace. Those supporters of Israel who ask that question are more worried than they admit, for they have no answer. ■

September 8, 1977

Mrs. Liba Weingarten  
Schmuel Hanavi Street  
Block 107/56  
Jerusalem, Israel

Dear Mrs. Weingarten:

Thank you for your kind comments about my activities in behalf of Israel. It was thoughtful of you to write.

While I do not fully share Prime Minister Begin's convictions and therefore your concurrence with them, I do believe him to be a patriot, fully devoted to serving not just the State but the people everywhere and moved only by the desire to secure the safety of the Jewish people.

In answer to your specific question, I would agree that a German translation of his book would be desirable. The writings of any head of a state ought to be examined, although to be sure this particular book records his thoughts and deeds in the early struggle for the establishment of the State of Israel and its consolidation. One would imagine that such a work, therefore, would find its readership in Germany.

With warm good wishes for the New Year, I am

Sincerely,

Alexander M. Schindler

See  
Rb

# TEMPLE ISRAEL

LONGWOOD AVENUE and PLYMOUTH STREET • BOSTON, MASS. 02215

Telephone 566 - 3960

Rabbi

ROLAND B. GITTELSON, D.D., Sc.D.

Assistant Rabbi

PAUL J. CITRIN, M.A.H.L.

Cantor

MURRAY E. SIMON, B. Sac. Mus.

Executive Director

BERNARD I. PINCUS, F.T.A.

Religious School Principal

~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~

LILLIAN A. BEAUVAIS, B.J.Ed., B.Sc.Ed.

August  
24th  
1977

Rabbi Alexander Schindler  
U A H C  
838 Fifth Avenue  
New York, New York 10021

Dear Alex:

My apologies for having opened the enclosed by mistake. I didn't realize until after starting to read it that it was actually addressed to you.

I don't know Mrs. Weingarten personally but through the years have received a number of very long, Orthodox-oriented letters from her. Do what you wish with the enclosed.

Needless to say, along with this come my affectionate best wishes to Rhea, the kids and yourself for a wonderful new year, one in which I hope you will be able to achieve some personal relaxation and pleasure along with the incomparable contribution you are making almost daily to the security of Israel and the welfare of Jews everywhere.

I hope to see you soon and often!

As always,



Rabbi Roland B. Gittelson

/b

Handwritten initials "RBG" and a checkmark.

Mrs. Liba Weingarten

née Löbel

Attorney at Law

Vice President

The Jewish Nazi Victims Congreg. Inc.

Jerusalem

Schmuel Hanavi St. Block 107/56

(New York)

Jerusalem, den 10. August 1977 777

Herrn Rabbiner Dr. Alexander Schindler  
c/o Rabbi Ronald B. Gittelsohn  
Temple Israel  
Boston, Mass. 02215, U.S.A.

---


Sehr geehrten Herrn Rabbiner!

Ich habe mit Interesse Ihre  
ausgezeichnete Arbeit zugunsten Men-  
chem Begins verfolgt. G.s.B. hat  
er es ja jetzt geschafft und ist  
endlich Ministerpräsident geworden.  
Auch wir haben diesen Mann  
seit Jahren unterstützt, eben weil er  
ein glänzender Patriot ist.



Gerade als Kaniopfer, denen die  
Deutschen liebe Verwandte in  
Auschwitz vergast haben, wissen  
wir das Jüdische Vaterland  
zu schützen.

Natürlich hat MB recht, wenn er  
behauptet, daß ganz Eretz Israel  
den Juden gehört, denn dieses  
Land wurde uns doch vom Ewigen  
verheissen, nicht wahr!?

Allerdings fehlt noch die grosse  
Hijah aus den U.S.A., wo noch  
immer ca 6 Millionen Juden sitzen.  
Das State Department sagte ja  
ausdrücklich: "Millions of Arabs  
are living in the Westbank and  
in the  10 years since the 6

Say War only a few thousand Jews  
settled there! "

Was können wir von den Nicht-  
juden verlangen, wenn die Mehr-  
zahl unseres Volkes noch immer  
in der Diaspora lebt!

Ind. sende ich Ihnen 2 Durchschläge  
von Briefen, welche sich auf  
die "Revolt" beziehen. Vor Jahren  
wollte niemand etwas von einer  
deutschen Übersetzung ~~etwas~~ wissen,  
(auch Benahem Begin nicht, den  
ich viele Male persönlich getroffen  
habe),,  
aber jetzt meldet sich jeder.

Da auch Sie ein amerikani-  
scher "Jede" sind, wollte ich gerne  
von Ihnen hören, ob Sie

auch eine Übersetzung des  
Buches für nützlich halten?

Ich danke für baldige Rückantwort  
und wünsche Ihnen inzwischen  
alles Gute.

(Mrs.) Liba Ringarten, Morney at Law  
(M) (geb. Löbel)  
Jerusalem: Israel  
Rechov Schmel Hanavi  
Block 107/56

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Mrs Liba Weingarten  
Foreign Correspondent  
Schmuel Hanavi St. Block 107/56

Jerusalem

Israel

21. Juni 1977  
Dr.La/ja

MENACHEM BEGIN, The Revolt Story

Sehr geehrte Frau Weingarten,

Wir zweifeln nicht, dass das Buch jetzt bereits einen  
Verleger gefunden hat, der es im gesamtdeutschen Sprach-  
gebiet vertreiben kann.

Wenn das nicht so ist, bitte ich um Nachricht. Wir würden  
uns dann an den Droemer-Verlag wenden.

Mit freundlichen Grüßen  
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Dr. F. Lamprecht

# ZENTRALRAT DER JUDEN IN DEUTSCHLAND

Körperschaft des öffentlichen Rechts

Frau Rechtsanwältin  
Liba Weingarten

Schmuel Hanavi St. Block 107/56  
Jerusalem/Israel

SEKRETARIAT

4 Düsseldorf-Nord

Fischerstraße 49

Telefon 448697/443108

Fernschreiber 8-584727

3.8.1977

Gi/ho

Sehr geehrte Frau Weingarten,

aus dem Urlaub zurück, fand ich Ihr Schreiben vom 19.7.1977.  
Der von Ihnen erwähnte Droemer-Verlag gehört zu den Bekanntesten hierzulande. Insofern wären die Voraussetzungen für einen Vertrieb im deutschsprachigen Raum gewährleistet.

Ich gehe davon aus, daß Ihre Bemühungen konkrete Ergebnisse zeigen werden und verbleibe

mit freundlichen Grüßen

  
Alexander Ginsburg  
Generalsekretär



Mrs. Gute wünscht  
Liba Weingarten, geb. Löbel  
(aus Plauen i/Ö)

*Mrs. Liba Weingarten*

*Attorney at Law*

*Vice President*

*The Jewish Nazi Victims Congreg. Inc.*

Jerusalem

Schmuel Hanavi St. Block 107/56

(New York)

den 12. August 1977

Sehr geehrter Herr Rabbiner! P.P.

Diese Sache dürfte auch Ihnen  
am Herzen liegen.

Wir haben einen gemeinsamen  
Bekannten: Rabbi Gittelson, den ich  
in Jerusalem getroffen hatte. Denn Sie  
nach den U.S.A. zurückkehren werden  
Sie dort selbst meinen Brief vorfinden.

EXPRESS

YERUSHALAIM-HASHLEMA  
August 10.1977

Mr. Ehud Olmert  
Member of Parliament  
(Knesseth)  
Jerusalem

Dear Mr. Olmert:

As American religious Jews, living in Eretz Yisrael (now the State of Israel, thanks to the Almighty) we have been following with great interest your activities.

It seems that there are actually only two Members of the Knesseth who are doing things, you and Charlie Biton.

Here we want to bring to your attention a most disturbing fact:

Young women, learning at the Diaspora Yeshivah on Haar Zion have been physically attacked by Arab men while going thru the Old City of Yerushalaim-Ir Hakodesh. We, as survivors of the Holocaust cannot understand how these things can happen! After all, we are not in my native (Nazi) Germany any more, but we are living in our own sovereign State, thank G-d, free from Turkish and British rule!

The Germans also started on a "small scale" by attacking Jews etc and later my own dear father and other dear relatives ended up in the Gasovens of AUSCHWITZ. For us, the 6 Million Jewish children, women and men killed by the Germans are not just numbers or statistics, but we lived thru this hell ourselves and it were our own families that went up in smoke thru the chimneys of AUSCHWITZ. We urge you to read the book written by an American Christian "While Six Million Died" There it says, that an indifferent Christian World (including President Franklin Delano Roosevelt) looked on while the Germans systematically exterminated 1/3 of the Jewish Nation.

We did not expect, however the same indifference on the part of the Jewish Police, who was late in coming when Jewish girls and women had been attacked by Arabs in the Holy City of Jerusalem!!!

The Newspapers in Israel have consistently distorted the facts and even the Ministry for Religious Affairs has taken a hostile attitude to the Diaspora Yeshivah on Haar Zion, this historical place, so important in Jewish History.

We most urgently urge you to investigate the matter, would like to meet with you in person in order to furnish you with further details. There are also witnesses (girls that have been attacked in the Old City by Arabs) willing to testify even in Court.

One of my daughters lives there (on Haar Zion) with her American born husband and three babies and she told me, that some Members of Knesseth and other officials have come up to visit Haar Zion and even made patriotic speeches, but no one lifted a finger to improve matters.

We expect you to act and we are looking forward to meeting with you.

Sincerely

The Dr. Moshe Goldwag, Rabbi M. Fox, I. D. Loebel and Shabtai Teicher families (from New York)  
c/o Mrs. Liba Weingarten, Attorney (NY)  
Jerusalem, Israel, R. Schmu'el HaNavi, Block 107/56

CC: Rabbi Yerschmuel Löbel  
Walking Ford. Conn. U.S.A. etc.

(signed) Liba Weingarten  
nie  
Löbel

August 29, 1977

Mr. Adolf Loebel  
67-71 Yellowstone Blvd.  
Apt. 2-L  
Forest Hills, N.Y. 11375

Dear Mr. Loebel:

Please forgive me for not responding to you sooner but I was away most of the summer.

Thank you for sending me a copy of that historic page bearing the news of the San Remo Conference, which is indeed of great significance. I do not know how much these past decisions carry weight today for an entirely new set of geopolitical factors has come to the fore but we will save this material and make use of it when and if we can.

Thank you very, very much.

Sincerely,

Alexander M. Schindler

ADOLF LOEBEL, Apt. 2-L  
67-71 YELLOWSTONE BLVD.  
FOREST HILLS, N.Y. 11375

11  
55

Sehr geehrter Rabbi Shindler!

Beifolgend sende Ihnen eine Copie der  
Jüdischen Rundschau Berlin, aus dem  
Jahre 1920, 27. APRIL.

Ich nehme an, dass Sie sehr verehrter  
Rabbi Shindler deutsch können.

Vielleicht kann diese historische  
Zeitung in der jetzigen gespannten  
Zeit für Israel von Nutzen sein.  
Die Entscheidung von San Remo  
ist von grosser Bedeutung, die  
Gebiete Syrien, Libanon, Palästina,  
Trak, Jordanien gehörten zur Türkei  
die den Krieg verloren hat.

Ich habe Ihren sel. Vater  $\frac{1}{2}$  in Deutschland  
kennen gelernt. Er gab mir seinerzeit  
sein Gedichtband mit seiner Widmung.  
Es würde mich freuen, wenn dieser Artikel  
vom April 1920 Verwendung finden könnte.

Shalom

Adolf Loebel



# JÜDISCHE RUNDSCHAU

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Nummer 27

Berlin, 27. IV. 1920

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Der Zionismus erstrebt für das jüdische Volk die Schaffung einer öffentlich-rechtlich gesicherten Heimstätte in Palästina. „Baseler Programm“

## Erez Jsrael dem jüdischen Volke

### Gekommen ist die Stunde

Das Ereignis, auf das das ganze jüdische Volk seit zwei Jahren mit Bangen und Sehnsucht wartet, ist eingetroffen. Der Oberste Rat der Großmächte hat bestimmt, daß Palästina die nationale Heimstätte für das jüdische Volk werden soll und hat Großbritannien beauftragt, als Mandatarmacht ein Statut auszuarbeiten, nach welchem dieser Prozeß vor sich gehen soll. Seitdem am 27. Februar 1919 die Vertreter des jüdischen Volkes der Friedenskonferenz unsere Forderungen vorgelegt haben, war ein Stillstand eingetreten und die Entscheidung aus allerlei Gründen immer wieder verschoben worden. Der Aufschub hatte nicht nur eine gedrückte Stimmung im jüdischen Volk, das gerade in diesen letzten zwei Jahren die schrecklichste Zeit seiner Galuthgeschichte durchlebte, sondern auch krisenhafte Zustände in Palästina selbst zur Folge, die gerade in den letzten Tagen in den syrischen Aspirationen und in den Exzessen in Jerusalem zum Ausbruch kamen. Diese Verhältnisse haben bewiesen, daß ein weiterer Aufschub der Entscheidung eine Katastrophe wäre. So ist denn endlich auch das Schicksal Palästinas geregelt worden, und diese Regelung wird in den türkischen Friedensvertrag aufgenommen, der am 10. Mai überreicht werden soll. Entgegen allen in den letzten Tagen ausgestreuten Gerüchten sind die Großmächte den gegebenen Versprechungen treu geblieben und haben die Balfour-Deklaration sanktioniert. Damit ist Palästina dem Juden zugesprochen; die fast zweitausendjährige Epoche der Verbannung hat ihr Ende gefunden. Eine neue Zeit hebt an; der Auszug beginnt; das jüdische Volk steht, dem Wandern müde, an der Schwelle des alten Heimatlandes, dem es durch die Jahrtausende, in all den Leiden und Nöten der Wandererschaft, unverbrüchlich die Treue gewahrt hat.

Diese historische Stunde, die uns zu erleben vergönnt war, ist zu groß und zu ernst, als daß wir in laute Begeisterung und Jubel ausbrechen dürften. Wir danken bewegten Herzens den Völkern und Männern, welche unsere Not und unser tragisches Geschick verstanden und den Willen bekundet haben, uns zu unserer Befreiung zu helfen. Wir sind glücklich, daß gerade an unserem Volke in dieser trüben Zeit eine Tat der Gerechtigkeit getan werden konnte, die vielleicht dazu beitragen wird, die in dunkles Verhängnis versunkene Welt zu entsüßigen. Wir danken vor allem jenen Männern, die als Vertreter des jüdischen Volkes seit mehr als drei Jahren unermüdlich und allen schweren Hindernissen zum Trotz, in aufrechterm Glauben an die Güte der Sache, in oft schier übermenschlichem Ringen mit türkischen Widersachern die Sache unseres Volkes geführt haben und nun mit Gemütigung den Erfolg ihrer Arbeit erleben. Ihr Verdienst wird nicht vergessen werden und wird in den Annalen der jüdischen Geschichte für alle Zeiten vermerkt sein. Aber wir, die Massen des jüdischen Volkes, wir selbst müssen gestehen: Wir haben noch wenig getan für unsere Erlösung, unsere Leistung ist zu gering, als daß wir feiern dürften. Gerade die letzten Tage, die alles in Frage zu stellen schienen, haben eine gewisse erzieherische Wirkung für uns gehabt, und uns erinnert, daß wir uns nicht mit dem Bewußtsein erhaltener Zusagen zufrieden geben dürfen, daß wir noch weit vom Ziel sind, solange wir selbst nicht die Arbeit getan haben, die keiner für uns tun kann. Nun ist die Stunde gekommen, die von uns die Leistung heischt. Wir haben uns noch nicht einmal innerlich auf die Befreiung vorbereitet; wir stehen vor der Gefahr, daß es uns so ergeht wie einst dem ersten Geschlecht des Auszuges aus Ägypten, das wegen seiner Kleinmütigkeit verworfen wurde und in der Wüste sterben mußte. Die nächsten Monate schon werden lehren, ob wir der Aufgabe gewachsen sind. Der Weg ins Freie ist mit Dornen gepflastert; welche uns,

### Die Entscheidung von San Remo

#### Einverleibung der Balfour-Deklaration in den türkischen Friedensvertrag

London, 25. April 1920, 6.15 Uhr abends (Telegramm der Jüd. Rundschau).

Reuter berichtet aus San Remo vom Samstag (wörtlich):

„Die Konferenz hat die Einverleibung der Balfour-Erklärung in den Friedens-Vertrag mit der Türkei beschlossen, die vorsieht, daß Palästina das nationale Heim der Juden werden soll, unbeschadet der Rechte der arabischen Bevölkerung.“

Exchange Telegraph Agency berichtet ferner unter demselben Datum:

„Der Oberste Rat hat das Mandat für Palästina an Großbritannien gegeben, indem er Frankreich und Großbritannien die Regelung der Grenzfrage überläßt. Es ist ferner beschlossen, daß das Statut, das Großbritannien für Palästina ausarbeiten hat, Bestimmungen über die Errichtung einer nationalen Heimstätte für die Juden gemäß der Balfour-Deklaration enthält. Der Schutz der religiösen Gemeinschaften, der früher von Frankreich ausgeübt wurde, soll in Zukunft den zuständigen Konsulaten anvertraut werden. Die Frage der Bewachung der heiligen Stätten soll in Kürze geregelt werden. Der Franziskaner-Orden hat ersucht, daß eine Spezialkommission eingesetzt werden soll, um seine Frage zu prüfen.“

wenn wir uns nach den Fleischtöpfen der Knechtschaft zurückschauen! Das Werk der Befreiung heißt unheimlich schwer. Ein neues Volk wird aus dem alten entstehen.

hat in der Geschichte. Sehen wir uns der Größe, aber auch der Schwere unserer Sache bewußt! Palästina ruft jüdische Menschen, die in Freiheit leben und arbeiten wollen, die die Schmerzen der Schöpfung auf sich zu nehmen bereit sind. Die letzten Ereignisse haben gezeigt, daß die Verstärkung der jüdischen Positionen dringend erforderlich ist. Die arabische Gegnerschaft ist nach den übereinstimmenden Darstellungen künstlich entfacht; das arabische Volk selbst sieht die Vorteile einer jüdischen Einwanderung ein und wird sich überzeugen, daß die Juden in friedlicher Absicht kommen. Die endgültige Entscheidung der Friedenskonferenz wird zweifellos auch den Verhetzungsversuchen ein Ende machen, welche diese Entscheidung noch im letzten Augenblick beeinflussen wollten. Die jüdische Einwanderung wird jetzt beginnen, wir erwarten zuversichtlich, daß die Tore Palästinas sofort geöffnet werden. Der Moment ist da, wo die Arbeit beginnt, auf die wir solange gewartet haben und für die wir doch noch nicht vorbereitet sind. Jetzt heißt es alle Kräfte zusammennehmen. Jeder muß verstehen, daß alles, was er bisher getan, nichts ist im Vergleich dazu, was jetzt gefordert wird. Nur wenn jeder sein Äußerstes tut, kann das Werk gelingen. Von uns hängt es ab, ob Palästina Erez Israel wird.

Noch kennen wir nicht die näheren Einzelheiten der Bestimmungen. Aber durch den Beschluß von San Remo ist das Ziel des Zionismus, daß die Judenfrage als politische Frage durch internationale Vereinbarung gelöst werden muß, erreicht. Das ist ein großer, wichtiger Erfolg unserer politischen Arbeit. Aber die politische Lösung ist noch nicht die Lösung. Sie schafft nur Möglichkeiten und Voraussetzungen, aber nicht neues Leben. Durch keine Beschlüsse von oben kann unsere Befreiung Wirklichkeit werden, sondern nur durch unsere schöpferische Arbeit, durch Aufbau eines neuen Lebens. Dies wird die Lösung der Judenfrage sein, die — nach Herzls Wort — nicht nur uns beglückt, sondern auch mächtig hinauswirkt zum Heile der Menschheit.

Der Rat der Völker hat gesprochen. Nun hat das jüdische Volk das Wort. Möge es sich der historischen Stunde würdig erweisen.

R. W.

### Festsitzung im Berliner Büro

Am Montag, den 26. April, zu Mittag fand in den festlich geputzten Räumen des Zionischen Zentrums in Berlin eine feierliche Festsitzung statt, an welcher die Mitglieder des Aktions-Komitees, der Vorstandes der Zionistischen Vereinigung für Deutschland, sowie zahlreiche Gönner und Genossen teilnahmen. Den Vorsitz führte Herr Dr. Klee.

Dr. Klee: Der große Augenblick ist gekommen, wo die Erfüllung unserer Sehnsucht eingetroffen ist. Ich habe Ihnen die Mitteilung zu machen, daß bei uns folgendes Telegramm eingelaufen ist. (Verliest das Londoner Telegramm im Wortlaut.) Wir wollen dankbar sein gegen den, der die Geschichte unseres Volkes von der Urzeit bis auf den heutigen Tag so sichtbar gelenkt hat. Wir danken den Männern, die uns mit Tatkraft und Energie den Weg geführt haben und die uns weiterführen werden, nach Erez Israel. Wir wollen Kraft schöpfen aus diesem großen Moment, wir wollen all unsere Kräfte und all unsere Mittel in den Dienst unserer Sache stellen.

Von Hermann Struck, dem Vorsitzenden des Deutschen Misrahi ist von dem eben tagenden Delegiertentag nachfolgendes Schreiben eingelaufen:

„Die glückverheißende Nachricht, die Sie uns soeben übermitteln, hat uns aufs höchste erregt und die hellste Begeisterung bei uns ausgelöst, der wir uns Dank zu Gott nach uralter jüdischer Weise Ausdruck verliehen haben. Nehmen Sie im Moment des historischen Wendepunktes im Geschicke unseres Volkes unsere wärmsten brüderlichen Glückwünsche. Mit herzlichem Zionsgruß. Delegiertentag des Misrahi in Deutschland. gez. Hermann Struck.“

Professor Warburg: Ich brauche in diesem Kreise nicht näher auf die Bedeutung des Ereignisses von San Remo hinzuweisen. Es geziemt uns aber heute denjenigen Männern zu gedenken, die uns als erste den Weg gewiesen haben und in der schwersten Zeit unsere Führer waren. Wir gedenken unseres Herzl, des Schöpfers unserer Bewegung und Wolffsohns und der andern, die diesen Tag nicht mehr erlebt haben, besonders unseres Tschlenow. Wie würden diese Männer mit uns jubeln; doch auch sie hätten gewußt wie wir, daß das Ende unserer Arbeiten noch nicht erreicht ist, daß jetzt erst die wirklich schwere Arbeit beginnt. Aber sie hätten auch mit voller Kraft und Inbrunst diese Arbeit weiter fortgeführt. Wir wollen geloben, ihrem Beispiel der unermüdlichen Arbeit zu folgen. Die Jahre, die uns bevorstehen, werden schwere Jahre sein. Wir alle werden unser Äußerstes aufbieten müssen, um den Forderungen, die die Stunde an uns stellt, auch nur einigermaßen gerecht zu werden, aber wir haben das feste Vertrauen, daß es uns gelingen wird. Wir wissen: Wir stehen in einer der ernstesten, größten und verantwortungsvollsten Stunden der jüdischen Geschichte. Möge es sich erweisen, daß wir ihr voll gewachsen sind.

Dr. Schmarja Levin: Freunde, ich habe das ganze Leben gesprochen und das Wort ist meine Waffe.



August 24, 1977

Dr. Gerhard Schmidt  
Hotel Greystone  
Room 1511  
Broadway & 91st Street  
New York, N.Y. 10024

Dear Dr. Schmidt:

Thank you for your letter of August 21 telling me  
of the articles you have written on the Middle East.

While I appreciate your inviting me to forward these  
items to President Carter, I would suggest that you  
direct them to his office personally.

With every good wish, I am

Sincerely,

Alexander M. Schindler

DR. GERHARD SCHMIDT  
PROFESSOR  
HOTEL GREYSTONE  
ROOM 1511  
BROADWAY AT 91ST STREET  
NEW YORK, N. Y. 10024  
SC 4-1800

Rabbi Alexander Schindler  
838 5th Avenue  
New York,  
N.Y. 10021.

AUG 21 1977

Dear Rabbi Schindler:

I have written the following articles:

- (1) From Canaan to Israel. Contemporary Review<sup>w/</sup> vol. 229 ff 1331 December 1976 p. 324/5.
- (2) "Tut nichts, der Jude wird verbrannt." Aufbau. vol. XLIII ff 25, p. 18. 6/24/1977.
- (3) Lessing's prophecy. Jewish Week. vol. 187 ff 6.7/16/77, p. 20.

In (1) I tried to show on the basis of the Bible that Begin's statement Judaea and Samaria are old Jewish territory is correct.

In (2) and (3) (which are identical) I tried to show that the Jews are always condemned, whatever they do, using the authority of Lessing.

I want to submit photostats of these papers to the President of U.S. As you are handling the present case of Israel against the Arabs with the U.S. Government, I would like to ask you whether I should send the photostats to you for forwarding, so that the matter stays in the same hands, or whether you prefer that I send the papers directly to the President.

Very interesting is a letter sent to the New York Times and published on 8/20/77, p. 20, which states that if Israel has to return territory to the Arabs, then the U.S. have to return conquered territory like California, Arizona, Utah, New Mexico, Maine to Mexico and to the Indians.

Thank you.

Sincerely yours,

*Gerhard Schmidt*

August 24, 1977

Stephen J. Solarz, M.C.  
Congress of the United States  
1530 Longworth House Office Bldg.  
Washington, D.C. 20515

Dear Stephen:

It was thoughtful of you to share with me your report on the Middle East. I am grateful to you.

I look forward to some quiet moments when I may have an opportunity to study your report and give it the attention such a paper merits.

With every good wish and warmest regards, I am

Sincerely,

Alexander M. Schindler

STEPHEN J. SOLARZ

13TH DISTRICT, NEW YORK

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August 15, 1977

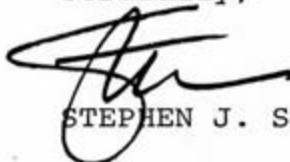
Rabbi Alexander M. Schindler  
Conference of Presidents  
515 Park Avenue  
New York, N.Y. 10022

Dear Rabbi Schindler:

Well, at long last, here it is: my  
"magnum opus" on the Middle East.

Needless to say, I'd very much appreciate  
any thoughts you might have on it.

Cordially,



STEPHEN J. SOLARZ

Enclosure

SJS:cld





**THE PROSPECTS FOR PEACE IN THE  
MIDDLE EAST: A FIRSTHAND REPORT**

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**REPORT OF A FACTFINDING MISSION  
TO ISRAEL, JUNE 30 TO JULY 7, 1977**

**TO THE  
COMMITTEE ON  
INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS  
U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES**



**AUGUST 15, 1977**

**Printed for the use of the Committee on International Relations**

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**U.S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE**

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**WASHINGTON : 1977**

# THE PROSPECTS FOR PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST: A FIRSTHAND REPORT

## COMMITTEE ON INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

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(II)

THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Printed for the use of the Committee on International Relations

U.S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE  
1977, WASHINGTON D.C.

## FOREWORD

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,  
COMMITTEE ON INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS,  
Washington, D.C., August 15, 1977.

This report has been submitted to the Committee on International Relations by Hon. Stephen J. Solarz, a member of the Committee on International Relations, who conducted a factfinding mission to Israel between June 30 and July 7, 1977.

The findings in this report are those of Representative Solarz and do not necessarily reflect the views of the membership of the Committee on International Relations.

CLEMENT J. ZABLOCKI,  
*Chairman.*

(III)

I have returned from my trip with a conviction that the justice of our historic commitment to the survival and security of Israel as our one reliable democratic ally in the Middle East. I believe that our policy has been both morally justified and strategically sound. If the Arab States ever come to the conclusion that the United States has turned its back on Israel, the prospects for the establishment of a real and lasting peace will be significantly diminished.

I am hopeful that this report will be useful to the members of the Committee on International Relations, and to the Congress as we consider the latest diplomatic efforts underway to find a way to the longstanding conflict in the Middle East. What I have tried to do in this report is to describe the positions of the Israelis and the Arabs on both sides and every possible dispute, together with my own analysis of the prospects for an agreement on the various points in dispute. I hope that this report will also lead to a greater understanding of the difficulties that confront us in our effort to secure a settlement of the conflict between Israel and its Arab neighbors. And, in the process, to encourage a greater measure of patience on the part of those who would prefer a quick fix to what may well be an intractable problem.

Sincerely,

Stephen J. Solarz,  
*Member of Congress*

## LETTER OF TRANSMITTAL

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,  
COMMITTEE ON INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS,  
Washington, D.C., August 15, 1977.

HON. CLEMENT J. ZABLOCKI,  
Chairman, Committee on International Relations, U.S. House of Representatives, Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. CHAIRMAN: Enclosed is a report on the factfinding mission to Israel which I undertook on behalf of the Committee on International Relations from June 30 to July 7, 1977.

The principal objective of this visit was to examine firsthand the policies of the government which recently took office in Israel and to assess the prospects for peace in the Middle East. During my stay in Israel, I met with a wide variety of Israeli political leaders, academic experts, journalists, and diplomats in order to discuss in detail the various components of the Arab-Israeli conflict.

I have returned from my trip more convinced than ever of the justness of our historic commitment to the survival and security of Israel as our one reliable democratic ally in the Middle East. I believe that our policy has been both morally justified and strategically sound. If the Arab States ever come to the conclusion that the United States has turned its back on Israel, the prospects for the establishment of a real and lasting peace will be significantly diminished.

I am hopeful that this report will be useful to our colleagues on the Committee on International Relations, and in the Congress, as we consider the latest diplomatic efforts underway to find some solution to the longstanding conflict in the Middle East. What I have tried to do in this report is to describe the positions of the Israelis and the Arabs on each and every issue in dispute, together with my own analysis of the prospects for an agreement on the difficult points in dispute. I hope that this report will also lead to a greater understanding of the difficulties that confront us in our effort to secure a settlement of the conflict between Israel and its Arab neighbors. And, in the process, to engender a greater measure of patience on the part of those who would prefer a quick fix to what may well be an intractable problem.

Sincerely,

STEPHEN J. SOLARZ,  
Member of Congress.

# LETTER OF TRANSMITTAL

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES  
COMMITTEE ON INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS  
Washington, D.C., August 15, 1977

Hon. CLYDE W. TALLENT, Chairman,  
Committee on International Relations, U.S. House of Representatives,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. CHAIRMAN: Enclosed is a report on the findings of the mission to Israel which I undertook on behalf of the Committee on International Relations from June 30 to July 7, 1977. The principal objective of this visit was to examine firsthand the policies of the government which recently took office in Israel and to assess the prospects for peace in the Middle East. During my stay in Israel, I met with a wide variety of Israeli political leaders, government officials, and diplomats in order to discuss in detail the various components of the Arab-Israeli conflict.

I have returned from my trip more convinced than ever of the justice of our historic commitment to the survival and security of Israel as our reliable democratic ally in the Middle East. I believe that our policy has been morally justified and statesmanlike. If the Arab States ever come to the conclusion that the United States has turned its back on Israel, the prospects for the establishment of a real and lasting peace will be significantly diminished.

I am hopeful that this report will be useful to our colleagues on the Committee on International Relations and in the Congress, as we consider the latest diplomatic efforts underway to find some resolution to the longstanding conflict in the Middle East. What I have tried to do in this report is to describe the positions of the Israelis and the Arabs on each and every issue in dispute, together with my own analysis of the prospects for an agreement on the difficult points in dispute. I hope that this report will also lead to a greater understanding of the difficulties that confront us in our effort to secure a settlement of the conflict between Israel and its Arab neighbors. And, in the process, to encourage a greater measure of patience on the part of those who would prefer a quick fix to what may well be an intractable problem.

Sincerely,

STANLEY J. PEARCE  
Member of Congress

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## (VII)

...and it is not a panacea. It is a process, a journey, a road to peace. It is a process that requires the participation of all parties to the conflict. It is a journey that requires the courage to face the difficult choices that must be made. It is a road that requires the wisdom to see the long-term interests of all peoples in the region. The United States has a special responsibility in this process. We have a special relationship with Israel, and we have a special interest in the peace and stability of the Middle East. We must continue to support Israel's right to exist and to live in peace and security. We must also continue to support the legitimate aspirations of the Arab peoples for peace and self-determination. Only through a just and lasting peace can the peoples of the Middle East live in harmony and prosperity. The United States will continue to work for this goal, and we urge all other nations to do the same.

## THE PROSPECTS FOR PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST: A FIRSTHAND REPORT

### INTRODUCTION

There are few areas of the world where peace is more needed or war more likely than the turbulent Middle East.

For almost 30 years now, ever since the establishment of Israel in 1948, the countries of the region have been embroiled in a continuing conflict which has not only taken the lives of more than 55,000 Arabs and Israelis alike, but has also wreaked havoc with the economies of the nations involved.

A growing recognition on the part of the people and politicians of the region that their mutual objectives can better be achieved by diplomacy than by war, has lent new momentum to the movement for a resumption of the Geneva Conference. And while it is by no means clear that the procedural obstacles on the path to Geneva can be surmounted—with the Arabs arguing that the PLO should be invited and the Israelis insisting that they be kept out—it is absolutely clear that the parties to the conflict would like to go there.

In an effort to make a firsthand assessment of the prospects for peace in the Middle East, I recently went on a factfinding mission to Israel for the Committee on International Relations. On previous trips to the region, I had explored Arab as well as Israeli attitudes toward the conflict in great depth. But now that a new government had taken office in Israel, I thought it would be particularly useful to discuss in detail the various components of the conflict with them.

It was a most productive mission. In 5 days, I met with a wide variety of Israeli leaders, including Prime Minister Menachem Begin, Defense Minister Ezer Weizman, Foreign Minister Moshe Dayan, Interior Minister Josef Burg, Education Minister Zvulun Hammer, Agriculture Minister Ariel Sharon, Opposition Leader Shimon Peres, former Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin, as well as Yigal Yadin, Shmuel Tamir, and Amnon Rubinstein of the Democratic Movement for Change, Zalman Shoval and Moshe Arens of the Likud, Yehuda Ben Meir of the National Religious Party, Lova Eliav of the Peace and Freedom Party, and Rabbi Menachem Porush of the Agudat Yisra'el. In addition, I met with a number of leading intellectuals, journalists, and diplomats, including Yehoshafat Harkabi, the Intelligence Adviser to the Prime Minister, Moshe Ma'oz, the director of the Truman Institute at the Hebrew University in Jerusalem, Louis Guttman, the director of the Institute for Applied Social Research, Hanna Zemmer, the editor of Davar, William Farrell, the Jerusalem correspondent of the New York Times, and our own Ambassador to Israel, Sam Lewis, who in a very brief time has already established himself as one of the most effective plenipotentiaries we have ever sent there.



Lest anyone doubt the extent to which Israel is completely committed to the principles of liberty and freedom on which our own country was founded 200 years ago, the recent elections—as a result of which the ruling Labor Party was removed from office after 29 uninterrupted years in power—provided a convincing demonstration of the depth of democracy in Israel. From a political point of view, there are few more significant events than a peaceful and orderly transfer of power. And the shift of responsibility for the fate and future of Israel from Labor to the Likud—without a single shot or divisive demonstration—reflects the extent to which our Israeli friends share with us a deeply rooted commitment to the democratic way of life.

But beyond our moral obligations to Israel as a sister democracy, in a world in which the number of democracies seems to dwindle daily, there are significant geopolitical circumstances which have historically justified our strong support for the Jewish state.

#### A STRATEGIC JUSTIFICATION

First and foremost is our stake in the survival and security of Israel itself. Israel does, after all, have the most powerful military machine in the Middle East. As a faithful and reliable ally, whose friendship has been demonstrated over and over again, it would presumably be available to assist us in a variety of contingencies, ranging from the Mediterranean Sea to the Persian Gulf. Indeed, I think it fair to say that Israel constitutes not only the most significant bulwark against the advance of communism in the region but is also the most important conventional deterrent to a direct Soviet incursion into the area. The Persian Gulf contains more than half the world's proven petroleum reserves. Virtually all of our West European allies and Japan are dependent on the gulf states for the oil on which their economies run. And it would have catastrophic consequences for the international balance of power if the Russians, through external invasion or internal subversion, were able to gain control of this strategically significant area. Israel, in these terms, is potentially in a position to do as much for us as we have been doing for them.

Israel's role as a friend and ally of the United States was perhaps most effectively demonstrated in 1970 when, at the height of the Jordanian civil war, Syria sent two tank divisions across the border to provide support to the Palestinian guerrillas who were engaged in an effort to overthrow King Hussein. Only a partial mobilization by Israel, at the request of our own country, persuaded the Syrians to withdraw, thereby saving the throne of the most moderate Arab leader of them all. Had the Palestinians succeeded in overthrowing Hussein, it not only might have transformed the East Bank into a Soviet base, but would also have posed a real threat to the current regime in Saudi Arabia which, like Jordan, has been a force for moderation in the Arab world. And, in the more recent civil war in the Lebanon, had Israel not warned Syria of the consequences of a move in force into southern Lebanon, the chances are that all, rather than just part, of that strife-torn nation would today be occupied by Syrian troops.

These are particularly important considerations because there seems to be a tendency on the part of some analysts to slight the strategic significance of Israel as our one reliable democratic ally in the Middle

East. To these American Arabists, Israel is at best a burden which we have to bear at the price of alienating our natural allies in the Arab world. Nothing, of course, could be further from the truth. In spite, and to some extent because of, our strong support for Israel, our relations with the Arab world have improved considerably since 1973.

And even if we were to abandon our obligations to Israel, as England once turned its back on Czechoslovakia, and Israel were somehow exorcised out of existence, the chances are that the Middle East would be as unstable tomorrow as it is today. The fact is that the dispute between Israel and the Arabs is only one—and by no means the most enduring—source of conflict in the region. The persistence of unpopular feudal regimes alongside strong modernizing forces; an ancient religion in conflict with powerful secular tendencies; dynastic rivalries such as the one between the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan and the Royal Family in Saudi Arabia; the monopolization of wealth and power by small elites threatened by the rising expectations of impoverished millions; longstanding communal and ethnic animosities such as those between the Kurds and Iraqis, the Bedouins and Palestinians, and the Maronites and Moslems—much more than the existence of Israel, are the true source of instability in the Middle East.

Imposed upon all these present and potential conflicts is the most dangerous of them all: the concentration of fabulous wealth in four militarily insignificant Persian Gulf States. While nations remote from the region may be reluctant to resort to force in order to seize the vast treasure which the sheikdoms possess, neighboring states may not necessarily be troubled by such scruples. In these terms, it is the very presence of Israel, whose existence crystallizes Arab animosity, which tends to prevent what otherwise might be an ineluctable descent into disintegration.

But perhaps most importantly, were we to repudiate the commitments of every Congress, and every President, since the establishment of Israel in 1948, it would completely undermine the credibility of our commitments elsewhere throughout the world. Our allies in Western Europe and Northeast Asia could discount the significance of our failure to live up to our presumptive obligations to South Vietnam. But they could not, and would not, lightly dismiss a repudiation of our commitments to a country like Israel, which both shares our values, and has so much support among the American people.

#### PROSPECTS FOR PEACE

At the same time that we have a significant stake in the survival and security of Israel, we also have a considerable interest in the avoidance of another war. And I know few serious students of the region who do not believe that in the absence of any real movement toward peace another war is virtually inevitable. Should the peace-making process collapse, and the Arabs decide to launch another attack, we would probably have to implement another airlift to Israel. This, in turn, would probably provoke another oil embargo by the Arabs and create the possibility of another great power confrontation with the Russians. In short, another war in the Middle East could result in a catastrophe not only for the countries of the region but for ourselves and the rest of the world as well.

All of these considerations militate mightily in favor of a comprehensive settlement which would enable the countries of the region to begin the process of diverting their resources from continued preparations for war into meaningful development for peace. Such a settlement would, of course, also advance our own interest in the region by presumably providing for the security of Israel, the diminution of the chances of war, the removal of the threat of another embargo and the reduction of the possibility of a serious conflict with the Russians. Indeed, since the political influence of the Soviets in the Arab world is largely a function of their need for Russian arms, it would also result in a serious setback for Soviet influence in the region.

No one, of course, would quarrel with the need—indeed, the necessity—for a just and lasting peace in the Middle East. What is open for discussion and debate is the extent to which a resolution of the conflict is possible and, more importantly, how it can be achieved.

While it may be true that the chances for a settlement are better today than they've been at any time in the last 30 years—largely as a result of a continued yearning on the part of Israel for peace, and an emerging recognition on the part of the Arabs that Israel is here to stay—the fact is that they are still not very good. The mutual mistrust which exists in the region has generated a gulf of suspicion so broad that even the President of the United States, with the best of intentions, may not be able to bridge it. And the sad but significant truth is that the most moderate Israeli position is still far apart from the most moderate Arab position on the terms of a settlement.

#### ARAB ATTITUDES

One cannot, of course, talk about an Arab position toward the conflict with any measure of confidence. Between the rejectionists and the responsables there is no common ground. What would presumably be acceptable to Jordan, what might be acceptable to Egypt, what could conceivably be acceptable to Syria, would clearly never be acceptable to either Libya or Iraq. And for all the talk about U.N. Resolutions 242 and 338 which one hears these days from the capitals of the confrontation states, the Palestine Liberation Organization still rejects them. Indeed, the leadership of the PLO—which ever since the Rabat Conference in 1973 has been designated as the legitimate spokesman for the Palestinian people—continues to contend that a final settlement will require the elimination of Israel and its replacement by a so-called secular democratic state.

But even if we assume that the Iraqis and the Libyans can be isolated, and the Palestinians delivered, should the front line Arab States reach a comprehensive agreement with Israel, there is relatively little reason to believe that it is about to happen. Without exception, the confrontation states contend that the minimum basis for an agreement is an Israeli withdrawal to the 1967 borders in Sinai and the Golan, the establishment of a Palestinian state on the West Bank and Gaza, and the return of East Jerusalem to Arab sovereignty and jurisdiction. In exchange for these tangible territorial concessions, the Arab leaders have so far publicly indicated a willingness to offer nothing more than an end to the state of belligerency, and have explicitly rejected the kind of "real peace," involving trade, tourism, open borders, and diplomatic recognition called for by the Israelis.

Israel, on the other hand, has taken the position that while it is prepared to make substantial territorial concessions in the context of a final settlement, it is not willing to withdraw to the borders which prevailed prior to the 1967 war, even in the unlikely event the Arabs offered them a "real peace" in exchange.

Since any settlement between Israel and the Arabs designed to bring the conflict to an end will necessarily be subject to the vagaries and vicissitudes of politics in the Arab world—which means it could easily be repudiated before the ink on the document ratifying the agreement was dry—the Israelis feel very strongly that whatever borders are finally agreed upon must leave them in a position to defend themselves should the agreement break down. It may, therefore, be useful to take a closer look at the political problems and security situation that prevails on each of the fronts currently in dispute.

#### THE NORTHERN FRONT

Anyone familiar with the terrain on the Golan—and the difficulty which Israel would confront in scaling the Heights should it become necessary to recapture them—must realize that were Israel to withdraw completely from the Golan, as demanded by the Syrians, it would be in a far less effective position to defend itself than it is at present should another war break out in the future. The Israelis also feel that they need the kind of strategic depth vis-a-vis the Syrians which a military presence on the Golan makes possible. Indeed, from the Israeli point of view, had the 1973 war broken out from the 1967 borders, the early fighting would have taken place on Israeli rather than on Syrian soil, within shelling distance of Haifa rather than Damascus. Since Israel has a large part of its population within easy tank and artillery range of the Heights, it is not likely to readily relinquish the natural advantages it now possesses by virtue of its present position on the Golan.

Of course, one has to assume that were Israel to withdraw from the Golan, it would insist on the demilitarization of the area from which it had withdrawn. Since Israel's main concern with the Golan is to prevent the Syrian Army from occupying the Heights, rather than watching the Israeli flag fly there instead, a number of people have suggested that demilitarization would go a long way toward satisfying the territorial demands of the Syrians, while assuaging the security concerns of the Israelis. The problem is that the Golan is such a small piece of property—there are only 29 kilometers between the present Syrian position and the edge of the Heights—it could be remilitarized, should Syria decide to break the agreement, within a matter of hours. Consequently, from Israel's point of view, the only way to make sure they are not confronted with a Syrian Army on top of the Golan, prepared and ready to strike at the heartland of Israel itself, is for them to maintain at least some kind of military presence there themselves. One is forced to conclude, therefore, that between the Syrian demand for a total withdrawal from every square inch of the Golan, and the determination of the Israelis, even in the context of a final settlement, to maintain at least a small military presence on the Heights for strategic purposes, there is not much room for the kind of compromise which might make an agreement between them possible.



### THE SOUTHERN FRONT

In the Sinai, where the vast distances involved implicitly provide the kind of strategic depth which Israel feels it needs on the Golan, there is much more room for accommodation. But even here there are sharply conflicting views about what would constitute a territorially acceptable agreement. From Egypt's point of view, the Sinai is Egyptian territory and, as President Sadat has said on many occasions, if the Israelis want peace they must be willing to withdraw from all of it. From Israel's point of view, there would be no problem, assuming Egypt were willing to offer a real peace, in withdrawing from almost all of the Sinai. Now that Egypt has been given back the oil wells at Abu Rodeis as well as the Suez Canal it has, after all, possession of the only economically significant assets in this Biblical wilderness. But the two blockades established by Egypt against the Israeli port of Eilat, in both 1967 and 1973, have convinced the Israelis that, in order to avoid such situations in the future, they must remain at Sharm al-Sheikh in the southern Sinai. This in turn would require an access route along the eastern coast of Sinai running from Sharm in the south to Eilat in the north. By maintaining a naval presence in Sharm, the Israelis would be in a position to potentially prevent another Egyptian blockade at Bab al-Mandeb. Failing that, they would hopefully still be able to deter an Egyptian effort to close their southern port to foreign shipping by being in a position to mount a counterblockade of the Gulf of Suez, thereby closing the Suez Canal for as long as the Arabs closed Eilat.

Just as the underlying differences between Israel and Syria make a final disposition of the Golan unlikely at the present time, the conflicting positions of Israel and Egypt make an ultimate resolution of the Sinai difficult to envision as well. All things being equal, it should probably be easier to resolve the differences over the Sinai than the disagreement over the Golan. This is partly because Egypt has a greater economic incentive to reach a settlement than Syria, and partly because returning the Sinai would pose less of a security threat to Israel than giving back the Golan. But the unwillingness of President Sadat to opt out of the larger Arab struggle against Israel, by making a separate peace, means that the foreign policy of Cairo is effectively circumscribed by what is acceptable in Damascus. In effect, the insistence of the Arabs on a settlement involving all of the issues, makes it much more difficult to solve problems which, if they could be disposed of separately, would be far easier to resolve.

### THE EASTERN FRONT

Even assuming that the territorial differences over the Sinai and Golan could somehow be resolved—it is not, after all, unheard of for countries to agree to a settlement at the conclusion of a negotiation which they explicitly rejected prior to the time it began—there would still be a need to work out an agreement on the West Bank and Gaza, the complexity of which makes the problem of the Sinai and Golan look simple by comparison.

The Arabs have taken the position that the return of these territories is an essential precondition for peace. Unlike the Sinai and Golan, however, where the Arabs have insisted on the return of all occupied

land, there appears to be a willingness on the part of most Arab leaders to consider minor modifications in the truce lines that prevailed on the West Bank and Gaza from 1949 to 1967. Essentially, this is because these territories never constituted part of the historic homeland of an officially constituted Arab sovereignty as did Sinai and Golan. But whereas the Arabs have insisted on the return of Sinai to Egypt, and the Golan to Syria, they have not demanded a return of the West Bank to Jordan. Indeed, while there is some division in Arab ranks over whether the West Bank (and presumably Gaza) should be loosely linked to Jordan in the context of a final settlement, they all see it as the appropriate area for the establishment of a Palestinian state. And ever since the Rabat Conference in 1973, at which the Arabs unanimously removed the right to negotiate for the future of the West Bank from King Hussein of Jordan and gave it to Yassir Arafat of the PLO, it has been the Palestinians rather than the Jordanians who have held the presumptive political title to this particular piece of property.

From Israel's point of view, however, the establishment of an independent Palestinian state on the West Bank and Gaza would be completely unacceptable. Such a state, in their judgment, would inevitably come under the control of the Palestine Liberation Organization whose National Covenant, which is to them what the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution are to us, clearly and unequivocally calls for the elimination of Israel and its replacement by a so-called secular democratic state. It is extremely doubtful that the Palestinians would be willing to repudiate the Covenant even if Israel were willing to permit the establishment of such a state. But even if they were prepared to acknowledge formally the right of Israel to exist as an independent Jewish state, and to abandon their "dream" of a "secular democratic state," the Israeli Government is convinced that the inherent political dynamics of the Palestinian movement would inevitably and ineluctably bring the irredentist forces within the PLO to the fore. It would not, after all, be easy for Arafat to defend himself against the accusation that, by accepting an emasculated ministate on the West Bank and Gaza, he had betrayed the very cause on behalf of which he had fought. No one, rejectionists like Habash and Hawatmah would argue, has the right to barter away the patrimony of the Palestinian people. Haifa, they would contend, is as much theirs as Hebron. And there is little doubt that they would not rest until Arab sovereignty had been established over both. In plain language, they would probably seek to use the West Bank and Gaza, not as a vehicle for the expression of their legitimate national interests, but as a base for an expanded and continuing war of terror against Israel.

### THE PALESTINIAN PROBLEM

The establishment of an independent Palestinian state on the West Bank and Gaza would, therefore, pose an unacceptable political and military risk to Israel, in the judgment of almost all the Israeli leaders I have ever met. From the West Bank, literally every airfield in Israel would be within easy range of handheld antiaircraft missiles. All of Israel's major population centers would be within the reach of Arab artillery. And Fedayeen guerrillas, emanating from

bases on the West Bank and Gaza, would be in a position to launch murderous missions against the people of Israel. This is not a purely hypothetical horror. The fact is that between 1949 and 1967 approximately 1,300 Israelis lost their lives in terrorists attacks which originated from the West Bank and Gaza. Since then hundreds of other Israelis have been brutally murdered by Palestinian terrorists. And for perfectly understandable reasons, the Israelis have no intention of permitting such a situation to develop again.

It isn't, of course, just the fear of the Fedayeen that has persuaded Israel that it cannot afford to permit the establishment of a Palestinian state on the West Bank and Gaza. They are also concerned about the extent to which their previous eastern border is inherently indefensible from a military point of view. Given the shifting contours of the 1967 border, there were points along the West Bank where Israel was only 9 miles wide, and at Natanya in the north and Qalqiliya in the south, it would take mechanized Arab armies only 20 minutes literally to cut Israel in half, should another full-scale war break out from the dividing line which prevailed prior to the 6-day war.

Some have suggested that were Israel to return the West Bank and Gaza it would have relatively little to fear, since the area from which it withdrew would undoubtedly be demilitarized. Even assuming this to be the case, and it is hard to envision an Israeli withdrawal without demilitarization, the Israelis are by no means convinced that such an arrangement would safeguard their interests. The more experienced among them believe that, while it may be possible to demilitarize unpopulated areas, it is impossible to demilitarize populated ones. Guns, artillery, antiaircraft missiles, bombs, and even tanks, could all be smuggled in by terrorists determined to use them. The Israelis have little confidence that the Jordanians would have the ability, or even the willingness, to prevent the transfer of arms from the East to the West Bank of the Jordan River. And once Israel is deprived of the right to station its own forces in the area, in order to prevent and punish any acts of terrorism that might develop, it would lose effective control over the situation.

It might be argued that Israel, like any country, would ultimately do whatever it needed to do for its own defense. And if the only way to bring a resurgence of terrorism to an end was to send the Israeli army on search and destroy missions across the new border, an agreement to the contrary notwithstanding, it would undoubtedly do so. What this assessment fails to take into account, however, is the extent to which such raids by Israel would only inflame the very passions the peace agreement was supposed to extinguish, thereby creating real pressures in the Arab world to bring what would be considered intolerable intrusions to an end.

But perhaps more importantly, with only 40 kilometers separating the 1967 border from the Jordan River, the West Bank could easily be remilitarized within 24 hours. The reorganization of the Jordanian Army since the 1973 war into four, rather than two, mechanized divisions, has given the kingdom a military capacity to translate such a possibility into a reality. And the developing relationship between Jordan and Syria, under which the former is moving into the embrace of the latter, increases the political potential for such a development. For Israel, which has a very small standing army, and

which needs 48 to 72 hours to mobilize its reserves, the demilitarization of the West Bank does not, therefore, represent a permanent solution to the problem of a surprise attack on the Eastern front.

#### AMERICAN GUARANTEES

Some have suggested that the United States, and possibly even the Soviet Union, might be persuaded to guarantee the inviolability of whatever new borders emerged from a settlement. But Israel, which doesn't even enjoy the benefits of diplomatic relations with the Russians, understandably puts little stock in Soviet guarantees. And who can blame them? Would we, or any of our West European allies, want to make our security dependent on assurances from the Soviet Union? The question, of course, answers itself.

This leaves the United States as the only possible guarantor of such an arrangement. But how reliable would an American guarantee realistically be? From Israel's point of view, in the post-Vietnam era, not very much. It isn't just that in their eyes we failed to meet our commitments to Vietnam. Historically, they believe, we've even failed to meet our commitments to them. Back in 1956, for example, when Israel withdrew under heavy American pressure from the Sinai and the Gaza Strip, following its lightning conquest of these territories in the Suez war, it did so with the understanding that the Egyptian Army would not return to Gaza. Twenty-four hours after Israel pulled out of Gaza, however, the Egyptian Army moved in. And when Golda Meir, who was then Foreign Minister of Israel, forcefully protested the remilitarization of Gaza to John Foster Dulles, who was then in his heyday as Secretary of State, that renowned international moralist told her there was nothing we could do about it.

But even worse than the refusal of the Eisenhower administration to do anything about the Egyptian move into Gaza in 1956, was the failure of the Johnson administration to do anything about the blockade of Eilat in 1967. When Israel withdrew from Sinai in 1956 it did so, to a significant extent, because of an American promise to guarantee freedom of passage through the Strait of Tiran. But when Egyptian President Nasser ordered the U.N. peacekeeping force out of Sinai in April of 1967, and announced that the Strait of Tiran would henceforth be closed to Israeli shipping, President Johnson, outside of a putative effort to organize an international consortium of maritime powers to run the blockade, did nothing.

The fact that President Johnson, preoccupied with events in Vietnam, felt himself politically incapable of coming to their aid, didn't provide much solace to the Israelis. And however history ultimately interprets this unfortunate incident, it has understandably reinforced the feeling in Israel that American guarantees can, at best, be a supplement to, rather than a substitute for, security arrangements which enable them, if the agreement breaks down, to defend their own interests.

#### THE FUTURE OF THE WEST BANK

Some have suggested that the security problems which would be created by an independent Palestinian state on the West Bank and Gaza, even a demilitarized one, could be solved if it were somehow



linked to Jordan. President Sadat and King Hussein have both spoken publicly about such a linkage and, to the extent a constitutional connection between a Palestinian entity and Jordan would tend to legitimize the demilitarization of the West Bank and Gaza, it is probably the political sine qua non for the establishment of such a state. What Sadat and Hussein undoubtedly have in mind, however, is at best a confederation of roughly equal sovereignties, which is a far cry from the tight-knit federation, conceived of by the previous Israeli Government, in which the West Bank would be nothing more than a Palestinian province within the framework of a larger Jordanian jurisdiction.

The present Israeli Government, however, is convinced that any Palestinian entity on the West Bank and Gaza, once removed from the security jurisdiction of Israel, would inevitably and ineluctably be transformed into a base for continued hostilities against them. Hussein himself, in their view, would be put in mortal personal and political jeopardy by such an arrangement. The leadership of the PLO is, after all, as much committed to the overthrow of the Government of Jordan as it is to the elimination of Israel. And with the West Bank once again linked to Jordan, the Palestinians would constitute an overwhelming majority of the population of a reconstituted Hashemite Kingdom, thereby imperiling the survival of the King. Even if the Palestinians were not able to take over the kingdom, however, there is no guarantee that Hussein might not be pressured or persuaded into permitting the West Bank to secede from the confederation, thereby leading to the establishment of precisely the same kind of independent Palestinian entity a linkage to Jordan was supposed to avoid. The breakup of a confederation in the Arab world is, after all, not exactly an unheard of phenomenon.

So far I have not even mentioned the very strong belief on the part of the new Israeli Government that Judea and Samaria are part of the historic homeland of the Jewish people. For many Americans, indeed for many Israelis, the fact that these territories were once a part of the Biblical kingdom of the Judean people is not a matter of the most vital political relevance. But to the new Government of Israel, Judea and Samaria are as much a part of the patrimony of the Jewish people, as the Golan and the Sinai are, in the eyes of the Syrians and Egyptians, a part of the patrimony of their people.

To those who argue that it is Jordan, not Israel, which has the most legitimate claim to the West Bank, the answer is that Jordan seized the area in the first Arab-Israeli war in 1948. The partition resolution adopted by the United Nations in 1947, which provided for the establishment of a Jewish state in Palestine, set aside most of the West Bank for a separate Arab state as well. In other words, Jordan occupied the West Bank from 1949 to 1967 as a result of the fortunes of war, just as Israel has occupied it from 1967 to the present for the same reasons. And if Israel isn't entitled to be there, as the Arabs have argued, then neither is Jordan. What all this means is that the future of the West Bank, or Judea and Samaria as the Israelis call it, should not be determined by an objective search for its historic title, but by how its ultimate disposition can best contribute to an enduring settlement of the conflict between Israel and its Arab neighbors.

## WHITHER JERUSALEM?

If a lasting peace is going to be achieved—and it is difficult to be excessively sanguine that it will—an agreement on the future status of Jerusalem will somehow have to be reached. Yet of all the issues currently in dispute, Jerusalem is probably the most complex and controversial of them all. For more than 100 years, ever since the Turkish census of the city in 1844, Jerusalem has had a Jewish majority. And for the last 2,000 years, ever since the destruction of the second temple by Titus in 70 A.D., Jews the world over have prayed for a return to the capital of their ancient homeland. Needless to say, now that they have it, the Israelis have no intention of giving it up.

Yet Jerusalem, while it does not appear to be quite as important in historic and religious terms to the Moslems as it is to the Jews, is still a matter of great significance to the Arabs. And they have all argued that East Jerusalem, which includes not only the Moslem but the Jewish and Christian holy places as well, must be returned to Arab sovereignty and jurisdiction. The Israelis, on the other hand, while willing to give the Arabs functional control over the Al Aksa Mosque and the Dome of the Rock on the Temple Mount, are not prepared to permit the repartition of the city. What the Arabs want, however, is political rather than just religious sovereignty over the Old City and the predominantly Arab areas of Jerusalem. But the Israelis, who have already fully incorporated East Jerusalem into the legal framework of the nation, are determined to make sure that it remains the undivided capital of the country.

Both sides have forcefully rejected the internationalization of Jerusalem, as a means of solving the problem, on the grounds that it would be inimical to their own interests. And given the emotional symbolism which both Arabs and Israelis attach to the status of the Holy City, and the apparently irreconcilable positions which they have advanced, it is difficult to envision the basis for an agreement between them. Clearly, the Israelis will never agree to a return to the status quo ante. By the same token, the Arabs will never agree to a settlement in which the status quo is legitimized. About all one can say, therefore, is that if they are able to reach an agreement on all of the other issues that divide them—the Sinai, the Golan, the West Bank, the problem of the Palestinians, and the nature of peace—then the good will which will have been generated in the process may make possible some kind of compromise over the future of Jerusalem. Whatever that agreement may entail, however, it will necessarily have to maintain the principle of Jerusalem as a united city in which the capital of Israel is located.

In the meantime, unlike the situation that prevailed prior to 1967, when Jerusalem was under Jordanian control, and Israelis were not permitted to visit the Western Wall, the people of all nations and religions are at least able to pray at their holy places.

## U.N. RESOLUTIONS 242 AND 338

So far the commonly accepted diplomatic framework for a settlement of the conflict is embodied in U.N. Resolutions 242 and 338. These two resolutions set forth the principle that, in exchange for a



withdrawal by Israel from territories occupied in the 1967 war, the Arabs should agree to recognize the sovereign existence of Israel within the framework of secure and recognized borders.

The Arabs have insisted that Resolution 242 requires a return of all the territories occupied by Israel in the 1967 war. The Israelis, pointing to the deliberate omission of the definite article "the" before "territories" in the resolution, have contended that, while it does require them to withdraw, it does not obligate them to go all the way back to the insecure and indefensible borders that existed prior to 1967.

Israel's readiness to withdraw at all, however, is dependent on the willingness of the Arabs to give them a real peace rather than a temporary truce in exchange. And so far, the most Sadat and Assad have been prepared to publicly offer in return for a complete and comprehensive withdrawal, is a peace agreement in which the state of belligerency between Israel and its Arab neighbors would be formally ended. With an end to the state of belligerency, they have contended, the Arab boycott against Israel would also be terminated, since the legal basis for it would be eliminated as well.

Sadat, who is much more explicit on these matters than Assad, has also indicated that, in the context of a final settlement, he would be willing to agree to the demilitarization of a large part of the Sinai (so long as Israel agreed to a proportionate demilitarization of the Negev), the presence of international peacekeeping forces in the area from which Israel withdrew, and even a mutual defense treaty between the United States and Israel, if an American military guarantee is desired by them. There is little doubt that King Hussein would also be willing to agree to such a settlement, though it is less clear that President Assad would as well. The Syrian leader has, to be sure, indicated a willingness to agree to an end of the state of belligerency, assuming Israel were willing to withdraw to the 1967 borders in Sinai and the Golan, and permit the establishment of a Palestinian state on the West Bank and Gaza. But he has so far refrained, unlike Sadat, from publicly expressing a willingness to accept either demilitarization of the territories from which Israel withdraws, or the establishment of an international peacekeeping force to patrol the territories, once Israel withdraws from them. Since it is difficult, if not impossible, to envision even partial Israeli withdrawals without the demilitarization of the areas it has left behind, the reluctance of President Assad to accept in principle the possibility of demilitarization does not augur well for a settlement of the conflict.

#### END OF BELLIGERENCY

But whatever the differences and disagreements between Sadat and Assad over such questions as demilitarization, and whether or not a Palestinian entity on the West Bank and Gaza should be linked to Jordan, they have both ritually rejected the Israelis' demand for a peace treaty involving trade, tourism, open borders, and diplomatic recognition. According to them, the accumulated antagonisms of the last 30 years make the kind of real peace which the Israelis want both unjustified and unrealistic. Let Israel just withdraw from the territories it occupied in 1967, and give the Palestinians their rights, they

contend, and these things will inevitably develop over time. In any case, the Arabs argue, an end to the state of belligerency should be enough to satisfy the Israelis. After all, they contend, the mere existence of trade, and tourism, and even diplomatic recognition, hardly constitutes a guarantee that peace will prevail. Most wars, they say, have broken out between nations that enjoyed commercial relations and diplomatic recognition. And the fact that countries don't trade and talk with each other, as we didn't for many years with the Peoples Republic of China, and still don't with Cuba, hardly means that war is inevitable.

Yet no one can realistically expect the Israelis to accept the territorial demands put forth by the Arabs, thereby leaving themselves in a far less defensible position than at present, without an agreement by the Arabs to completely normalize their relationship with Israel. There is, to be sure, no guarantee that trade, tourism, open borders, and diplomatic recognition will result in the establishment of a permanent peace. But there can be little doubt that it would maximize the prospects for peace and minimize the chances of war. More than anything else, what the Israelis have always wanted from the Arabs is acceptance—not so much of their right to exist as of their existence itself. In this sense, the kind of cultural and commercial relations, together with diplomatic recognition, which the Israelis seek, are designed first and foremost as a symbol of their acceptance by the Arabs. So long as it is kept in political and economic isolation, Israel contends, the underlying Arab attitude toward the presence of a Jewish state in the Moslem Middle East is unlikely to change. And if the Arab masses continue to see Israel as a historic anomaly whose very existence constitutes an unacceptable insult to the pride and honor of the Arab nation, then the long-term prospects for a *modus vivendi* between them will be dim indeed.

It is important to distinguish here among the different schools of thought that have emerged in the Arab world toward Israel over the last 30 years. First, there are those who have come to the conclusion that, for better or worse, Israel is a reality that is here to stay. For them, however unjustified the establishment of Israel may have been, there is nothing which the Arabs can realistically do about it. And, instead of continuing a futile and foredoomed effort to eliminate Israel, they believe they should try to come to terms with it. Second, there are those who, recognizing the futility of war, are prepared to make peace—not in order to come to terms with the existence of Israel as a Zionist state, but in order to shift the conflict from the field of battle to the realm of ideas. According to this school of thought, once the expansionist dynamic of Zionism is broken, and Israel is forced to withdraw to the shrunken borders which prevailed prior to 1967, it will inevitably wither away and diplomatically disappear. Finally, there are those who, never having come to terms with the reality of Israel, are still determined to destroy it. For them, the very existence of Israel as a sovereign Jewish polity constitutes an intolerable intrusion on Islam: the idea of a settlement with Israel an anathema. What they seek is not an accommodation with Zionism but its elimination. And they can be counted on to do everything in their power to disrupt any settlement which appears to legitimize the existence of Israel as a permanent presence in the Middle East.

## THE NEED FOR REAL PEACE

In these terms, the process of peace involves, as much as anything else, a struggle to shape public opinion within the Arab world. If an agreement designed to bring the conflict to an end is going to last, it will have to produce a lasting change in the underlying Arab attitudes toward Israel. There is little that can be done to win over the "rejectionists." But there is much that can be done to shore up the de facto acceptance of Israel by the "responsibles." And, perhaps most importantly, those Arabs who see in diplomacy a more realistic means of achieving their objectives than war, can be persuaded that their interests would better be served by a lasting accommodation than by a continuation of the conflict.

Real peace thus becomes both a manifestation of the Arab willingness to live in harmony with Israel as well as a cultural, political, and economic dynamic designed to reinforce and strengthen those forces in the Arab world which are the best and only hope for a lasting peace. Were Israel to withdraw from territories which are essential to its own defense without a real peace, it would only serve to leave the conflict open ended thereby lending legitimacy and encouragement to those forces in the Arab world who still reject the existence of Israel and are determined to destroy it. As time went on, and it became clear that Israel was neither falling apart nor withering away, they would be sorely tempted to try once again to win by war what they had been unable to achieve through peace. And if a settlement fails to produce a just and lasting peace, most Israelis believe, it would be far better for the next war to break out from boundaries that are defensible than from borders that are not.

## THE ROLE OF THE UNITED STATES

Where does this rather gloomy analysis of the prospects for peace in the Middle East leave us? And what are its implications for the role of our own country in the search for a settlement between Israel and its Arab neighbors?

Whatever the theoretical merits of the President's proposal—according to which Israel would more or less return to the 1967 borders, and permit the establishment of a Palestinian homeland presumably linked to Jordan, in exchange for which the Arabs would agree to give Israel a real peace including trade, tourism, open borders, and diplomatic recognition—I fear that it is simply not rooted in reality. The purpose of diplomacy, after all, is not to articulate ideal or even idealistic solutions, but to reconcile conflicting points of view within the framework of mutually acceptable agreements. For better or worse, the Israelis are no more likely to withdraw all the way to the 1967 borders than the Arabs are to make a complete commitment to peace. And the Arabs are no more likely to accept a permanent Israeli presence in the occupied territories than the Israelis are likely to accept an end to the state of belligerency in lieu of a real and lasting peace.

Under these circumstances, given the consequences for our own country of a failure to reach an agreement, there will be a real temptation on the part of the President to impose a settlement rather than wait for the parties to conclude one on their own. Fortunately,

President Carter has so far carefully and deliberately precluded such a possibility. I say fortunately because it is extremely unlikely that the Israelis would ever acquiesce to such pressure. And any effort to force the Israeli Government to accept a settlement it felt was not in its own interest would only have a unifying effect on Israel and a divisive effect on America. But even if we somehow succeeded in imposing a settlement, however momentarily attractive such a strategy might be, it would ultimately contain the seeds of its own undoing. In effect, since we have far more leverage on the Israelis than the Arabs such a settlement would clearly be one which was forced on Israel against its better judgment. Dependent on us as they are for arms and assistance, the Israelis might feel they had no alternative but to accept an agreement that they never would have accepted on their own. But if Israel were forced to give more territorially, or get less politically, as a result of American pressure, it would inevitably lead to excessive expectations on the part of the Arabs and political demoralization on the part of the Israelis—neither of which are sound or strong foundations for a just and lasting peace.

What we need to do is use our good offices to secure a settlement that leads to a real peace rather than a temporary truce. It would, after all, avail us little if we were to get an agreement which constituted a way station between wars rather than a prelude to peace. And in the search for a settlement there is probably nothing more counterproductive we could do than attempt to force our own conception of a compromise—no matter how equitable it may be—on the parties to the conflict.

## THE NEED FOR DIRECT NEGOTIATIONS

The history of the dispute between the Jews and the Arabs for a piece of Palestine could easily be written in the prose of the proposals designed to resolve it. The Peel Commission in 1937, the Anglo-American proposal in 1946, the Partition Resolution in 1947, the Rogers plan in 1971, and the Brookings report in 1975, have all attempted to reconcile the conflicting interests involved without success. Whatever the theoretical virtues of these various plans and proposals and some of them were not without merit—they all had one failing in common: By attempting to impose a settlement on the parties, instead of embodying a solution agreed upon by the parties, they only served to exacerbate instead of eliminate the differences between them.

It may well be that no settlement is possible in the foreseeable future. This is, after all, a conflict which has been going on for over half a century. And it could conceivably continue for another 50 years, if not longer, before it is finally resolved. But the lesson of history is clear: If a solution is to be found, it will have to come from the parties themselves, on the basis of the kind of mutual reconciliation and recognition that can emerge only from direct and detailed negotiations between them.

This is not to say or suggest that we don't have an important role to play in the effort to bring the parties together, and once they have been brought to the negotiating table, to facilitate the sort of creative compromises that will be necessary for peace. We are, in the final analysis, the only country which enjoys the confidence of all the countries involved. And we clearly have a very real stake in a settlement. But how we go about this essential effort will determine, in a



very significant way, its chances for success. Given the political obstacles in the path of a settlement, and the extent to which public opinion makes it difficult for each of the countries involved to make the necessary compromises, the more we speak out publicly the less flexible they can be privately. Particularly now that we may be approaching a resumption of negotiations, the time has come to diplomatically and politically cool it. Whatever suggestions we have to make should be made behind closed doors rather than in front of television cameras. Instead of forcing the leaders on both sides to publicly reject those parts of our proposals which are least acceptable to them, we should be quietly trying to narrow the differences between them.

#### WHAT KIND OF AGREEMENT?

There is little doubt that a comprehensive settlement would be in everyone's interest. For reasons I have already described, however, such a settlement is exceedingly unlikely in the foreseeable future. Since a collapse of the effort to achieve an agreement is likely to lead to another war—with potentially devastating consequences for the countries of the region as well as ourselves—we have a significant interest in maintaining the momentum for a diplomatic resolution of the conflict. If, and when, it turns out that a comprehensive settlement is not possible, we should use our good offices to explore the possibilities for additional interim agreements instead. It is not easy to be overly optimistic about the possibility for a partial, as distinguished from a comprehensive, agreement between them. But if it is not possible to get an agreement on a final settlement, it may still be possible to get an agreement on some of the territorial and political concessions that will have to be made if a final settlement is ever achieved. The advantage of such an approach is that it would presumably buy time for the forces of moderation on both sides to generate support for the kind of compromises that will be necessary for peace. Another advantage is that by reaching a tentative territorial accord it would presumably postpone the outbreak of another war. But most importantly, if we assume that in exchange for whatever territorial withdrawals were agreed to by Israel, the Arabs would be obligated to provide some of the political components of peace, it would be extremely helpful in inducing a greater measure of acceptance of Israel by the Arabs, and in generating a greater sense of confidence in the ultimate intentions of the Arabs on the part of the Israelis.

I'm not suggesting that the effort to secure such an agreement will be easy. Clearly a comprehensive settlement would be preferable. But it would be far better to get a partial agreement between some of the parties than to end up with a war involving all of the parties.

The problem, of course, is that even if Egypt were willing to accept another interim agreement in the Sinai, which in view of its economic difficulties it might find tempting, it probably would not be prepared to do so without a simultaneous agreement on the Golan. The last time Sadat moved on his own, in September of 1975, he received so much criticism in the Arab world, it is most unlikely he would again agree to a separate settlement. And with so little territory left on the Golan, between Israel's present position and the edge of the Heights, it is

not only difficult to envision what Israel has to give territorially, but it is even harder to figure out what Syria would be willing to give politically.

If it should turn out that progress on the Palestinian problem becomes an essential condition for movement on the other issues as well—and I think it fair to say that the Arabs can no more make a lasting peace without the Palestinians than they can effectively wage war without the Egyptians—it will undoubtedly be necessary to reach some kind of agreement on the future of the West Bank and Gaza. Needless to say, this will not be easy to do. Even King Solomon himself would have difficulty reconciling the demand of the Arabs for the establishment of a Palestinian state and the determination of the Israelis to prevent it. It may well be that there is no middle ground between them. But if there is, our ability to find it will depend on the kind of conceptual breakthrough which will enable Israel, as well as the Arabs, to view what is essentially an old problem in a new perspective.

So long as both sides see the future of the West Bank and Gaza as a zero-sum game in which what each loses the other gains, there will never be a solution. But if a formula for the future of these territories can be devised, in which each side gets most, if not all, of what it wants, then a settlement of the Palestinian problem may be possible.

#### PEACE IS NOT A PANACEA

From Israel's point of view, the days ahead will be difficult ones indeed. There are real risks no matter what it does. If the negotiations collapse, or never even get off the ground, the chances are that another war will sooner or later become inevitable. Yet even if it decides to make the territorial concessions demanded by the Arabs, in exchange for a real peace, there is no guarantee that the settlement will last. Even assuming that the current crop of Arab leaders are perfectly sincere in accepting an agreement along these lines, it is entirely possible that they could be replaced by a new generation of leaders who do not. And no one can preclude the possibility that the Arabs, if the expected economic benefits of a settlement fail to materialize, will feel politically obligated to go to war once again, if only to divert the attention of the masses from the pervasive poverty in which they are trapped. Certainly, in the aftermath of a settlement, a massive and bitter struggle will erupt in the Arab world. On one side would be the "moderates"—Egypt, Jordan, Syria, Lebanon, and Saudi Arabia—who had finally decided to come to terms with the existence of Israel. On the other would be the "rejectionists"—Iraq, Libya, and parts of the PLO—who would argue that the confrontation states had sold out the Arab cause and betrayed the Palestinian people. What the outcome of such a debate would be no one can predict.

But it is clearly not beyond the realm of possibility that the forces of extremism would triumph, and that those who had committed themselves to live in peace with Israel, would be repudiated by their own people.

All of these considerations argue, it seems to me, in favor of an effort to reach an agreement that will produce the basis for a just and

lasting peace in the Middle East. The chances of securing such a settlement are, of course, not very good. But we really have no alternative but to try. For us to wash our hands of the whole business, or to wallow in our own sense of despair, would be to invite the very disaster we should be doing everything in our power to prevent.

In this sense, I think it is terribly important for us to continually reaffirm our historic commitment to the survival and security of Israel. If the Arabs ever get the idea we are in the process of turning our backs on Israel, the prospects for peace, which are already dim, will significantly diminish. It is, in the final analysis, a growing recognition on the part of the Arabs that Israel is here to stay, which has inclined the more moderate among them to opt for a diplomatic resolution of the conflict. Let them come to the conclusion that they can defeat Israel on the field of battle, and the chances of another war in the Middle East will increase dramatically. And it is precisely for this reason that I think it is so important for us to provide Israel with all of the arms and assistance it needs, not only to deter, but if necessary to defeat, another Arab attack in the future.

When it comes to foreign affairs, countries rarely have an opportunity to adopt a course of action that is both principled and pragmatic. In the case of Israel, I believe that our policy has been both morally justified and strategically sound. I only hope, in the difficult days that lie ahead, that we have the strength and wisdom to stay the course, using our influence not only to protect the interests of Israel, but to secure a settlement in which all the people of this troubled area of the world can enjoy the benefits of peace instead of suffering from the ravages of war.

Ignore or

Advise Can't

get involved in  
re individuals



ORIGINALS

MY ADDRESS

*Honorable Rabbi  
Alexander Schneider  
Israel Leader*

Henry J. Montague  
c/o American Consulate-General  
Thessaloniki - Greece

*TEL-AVIV Israel*  
American Civil Liberties Union  
Washington D.C  
U.S.A

3rd August, 1976

Att. Florence Isbell, Director

REF: Untimely requested Resignation and Discriminating Reasons.

As a constant reader of the International Herald Tribune, I enjoyed reading the article of "CIVIL LIBERTIES" Office Hunts 1200 winners of suits as of February 3rd, 1975 by Linda Charlton.

My reason for writing to you is because I was forced to resign from my thirty-five years employment with Dun & Bradstreet Companies Inc., without any qualified reason.

To be sincere, I must tell you what I believe to be the facts: While I was a Dept. Manager, it was suggested to me by my immediate Supervisor to try and develop a special VISA REPORT, which service could be sold to steamship Companies and to Steamship Ticket Agents all over the U.S.A. The principal reason for this service, was because every steamship company had a number of prepaid steamship tickets, sold to american citizens, interested to bring their relatives to the United States of America. These prospective immigrants, were natives of foreign countries. Most of these immigrants, were the wives and children of American citizens.

The VISA REPORTS were investigated by the Bradstreet Company. After the merger of R.G.Dun & Bradstreet Company in 1933. These VISA REPORTS continue to be investigated by Dun & Bradstreet Companies Inc., with offices at 99 Church Street, New York City, New York 10007.

For years, I was the supervisor of the VISA REPORTS Dept. I mailed instruction forms to the managers of our offices. The main purpose of these instructions were to investigate and to ascertain the financial and moral responsibilities of the applicants in the U.S.A

These REPORTS were accepted by the State Dept at Washington D.C as well as, by American Consulates located in Foreign Countries.

I believe that this service assisting prospective immigrants, did not meet with the approval of some people who are enemies of Civil Rights and Freedom, loving people, and one of these antagonizers was my immediate assistant Sales Manager, who was transferred to New York City office first part of 1956.

I was one of ten Sales representatives under his Supervision and the unlucky one, to suffer and to lose my work. It was customary for all Sales Representatives to phone and report their sales activities to their immediate assistant Sales Manager, so one day during March 1956, while reporting my sales activities to my superior, I asked if there were any telephone calls for me. He answered 'Nevermind about your phone calls, I want you to drop all your activities and come to my office at 3.00 p., today.' I promised to be at the office on time. When I arrived at the office, I went to see my antagonist who immediately told me, and I quote: "Finally I came face to face with the originator and the Individual who established the Immigration Visa Report Service for the benefit

American Civil Liberties Union -2-

3rd August, 1976

....of jews migrating to America. I always wanted to KILL That man and I mean I want to KILL YOU."

I was shocked and felt nervous listening to this man's accusations and THREATS. My only comment was that the Visa Reports Service was helping Jewish people, as well as non-Jewish.

It is my firm belief that my Immediate Sales Manager engineered and plotted the dismissal of my employment with Dun & Bradstreet Inc., in conjunction with the former Executive Vice President of the Sales Dept, Mr. the miserable J.J.Smith.

My antagonist continued and told me: "Now you can leave your Sales Brief-Case and its contents on top of your desk and go to see Mr. J.J. Smith at his office."

Mr. J.J. Smith without any comments, handed to me a typed letter terminating my employment with Dun & Bradstreet Inc. It was a letter of forced resignation. After reading the letter, I was shaking and crying and asked Mr. J.J.Smith : 'Why am I loosing my Job? There should be a reason. Why this unfair untimely resignation?' He answered and I quote: " The company has nothing against you but has the PROVOGATIVE to dismiss anybody of its employees without any reason." I continued pleading and crying, shaking I ask him if my work was satisfactory and he answered that my work was O.K. He handed to me a typed letter stating that my forced resignation will take effect immediately and Dun & Bradstreet Co., will pay to me six month wages for severing your employment relations before retirement time.

For further details please see copy of my letter addressed to Haward Kraetz, Assistant Vice President of the Employees Group Benefit Division, Dun & Bradstreet Inc., 299 Park Avenue, New York City. N.Y. I trust you will find this letter self explanatory.

#### RECORD OF MY EMPLOYMENT:

From 1922 Employed by the Bradstreet Company, New Yord City, Head Quarters Until the Merger of the Bradstreet Company with R.G.Dun & Co in 1933  
 1933 After the merger I was employed by the Credit Clearing House until the merger of Dun & Bradstreet Inc, with Credit Clearing house when I was again employed in  
 1944 By Dun & Bradstreet Companies Inc., a total of 35 years of active employment.

My date of Birth is: February 12th, 1899

My dear Florence Isbell,

The reason for this letter is to present to you the real facts of my 20 years of trying to prevent public knowledge of my former employer DISCRIMINATION against me after about 35 years for employment and qualifications. Because I am a tourist in this beautiful country of Greece, I am not permitted to earn any money and I must pay about 800 (eight hundred) drachmas each year tourist taxes. My total monthly income is about \$300 Retirement cheque from Dun & Bradstreet Co Inc \$72.19 U.S.Social Security monthly\$217.60 For further details to prove my dire need for financial help please see copy of my letter addressed to Mr. Howard Kraetz, Vice President in charge of employees retirement Group and Insurance Copy of letter from KINGS PARK PSYCHIATRIC Center, KINGS PARK NEW YORK, where my



3rd August, 1976

...daughter RHELE MONTAGUE has been for about ten years.

For years, I have tried to adjust myself to hardships and mal-adjusted living conditions. If you will forgive my comparison: "The affair DRYFUS" is more or less a sample of my suffering due to Discriminations and Hate. I consider myself lucky to survive and endure such Humiliations and thank the Good Lord for helping me.

Je vous demand PARDON my dear ISRAEL for this lengthy letter.

Anxiously waiting for your kind advise and suggestions.

Respectfully

Henry J. Montague

Henry J. Montague

Suggestions and Advices

will be very much appreciated

My dear Rabbi Alexander Schindler

WHAT I really need is a  
Religious Jewish Leader

I will be happy to hear

from you. I am Sephardic

Spanish Jewish All of my ancestors  
were born in Salonica - Greece

I need your help

Respectfully

Henry J. Montague

August 17, 1977

Mr. Gates Barnet Stern  
1059 Harris Drive  
Emmaus, PA. 18049

Dear Mr. Stern:

Thank you for your letter in regard to "Le Paradoxe Juif" by Dr. Nahum Goldmann. I am, of course, aware of the publication of this book but must confess that I have not personally read the volume. Thus, I simply cannot comment on the book or the review which you were kind enough to share with me.

As to your query in regard to the UAHC's failure to take public cognizance of the book, I must note that we have very limited space in UAHC publications for the review of books. There are so many volumes of Jewish content and interest appearing on the scene these days we simply cannot call them all to the attention of our readers and we also limit reviews to books which appear in the English language.

With repeated thanks for your thoughtfulness and with kindest greetings, I am

Sincerely,

Alexander M. Schindler

GATES BARNET STERN  
1059 HARRIS DRIVE  
EMMAUS, PENNSYLVANIA 18049

August 12, 1977

Rabbi Alexander M. Schindler, Pres.  
Union of American Hebrew Congregations  
838 Fifth Avenue  
New York, New York 10021

Dear RABBI SCHINDLER:

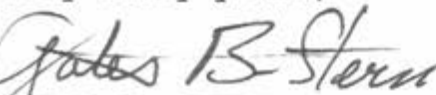
It would be enlightening to know how or why the Union of American Hebrew Congregations has failed to take public cognizance of "Le Paradoxe Juif" by Nahum Goldmann. Mr. Goldmann played such an important role in the creation of the State of Israel and has been so significant in the Zionist movement that, even though the book has not appeared in an English edition, his latest work must be familiar to you.

If the enclosed review from THE ECONOMIST (London) is a reasonable interpretation of Mr. Goldmann's thesis, we Jews in America are unwilling to face the painful reality that Israel is just another secular state. Israel is neither the paladin nor the guardian of the prophetic tradition which has been the historic basis for Jewish survival.

That such a staunch Zionist as Mr. Goldmann should substantiate my own anti-Zionist attitude is a personal paradox that underlines my concern that Israel may be a home land for Jewish people but does not offer a home to Judaism.

Your comments would be appreciated.

Very truly yours,



GATES B. STERN

GBS:gmd



## Israel

### Another view of Zion

Nahum Goldmann's book, *Le Paradoxe Juif* (Editions Stock, 14 rue de l'An-cienne-Comédie, 75006 Paris; Fr 38), was published in France last November. It has yet to appear in English. When it does, it is likely to come as a shock to many Jews, notably in America, for its attack on the mistakes being made by modern Israel. Nahum Goldmann, is the president of the World Jewish Congress, and one of that handful of men truly responsible for the creation of Israel. He is a traditionalist and a Zionist. Born in Lithuania in 1895, he was brought up in the Jewish financial and intellectual stronghold of Frankfurt from the age of five. The Goldmann parents were scholars of Judaism and members of Ahad Haam's "Bené Moshe" (Children of Moses) movement. But Mr Goldmann has never been the darling of the Israeli government. After the publication of "Le Paradoxe Juif" and the arrival of Mr Begin to power, the prospect of Mr Goldmann's ideas being welcome in Jerusalem is even more remote.

Judaism was the first religion to conceive the notion of one God. Yet for all its universalism, its people are deliberately separatist. This is but one of the paradoxes Mr Goldmann delights in and uses to illustrate his difficulties in coming to terms with the tangents, as he sees them, which Israel has led Judaism along. Since, he says, there is no logical reason for the existence of Israel, its only defensible *raison d'être* would be as propagator of Judaic values. A politically "non-aligned" Israel could become the spiritual, philosophical and cultural centre which would keep alive the Jewish traditions and strengths which have flourished for the past 2,000 years. The Jews, he writes, have no political past, "no diplomat except for the Messiah". This fact has made them turn inwards, drawing exhaustively on their own resources and producing more men who have contributed to human progress than any other "political" or power-conscious race. And so, he argues, they should have continued. Israel would do better, in Mr Goldmann's view, to have followed the road suggested by the Talmudic scholar, Ahad Haam, who preached the necessity for a spiritual centre for the Jews, over and above the pattern drawn for it by Theodore Herzl.

Until Israel becomes Ahad Haamist, Mr Goldmann says, it will not have fulfilled the Zionist mission. He fears that, by choosing to function as any other country does, Israel has ignored its spiritual heritage so completely that it will produce people devoid of the particular strengths which have made their race so especially gifted.

Mr Goldmann recounts conversations and transactions with people like Roosevelt, Adenauer, Truman, Mussolini and Henry Kissinger. Of Ernest Bevin, he writes: "His strong personality filled in the one huge gap that erudition had never occupied". He reports Lloyd George, reared on the bible, saying to Chaim Weizmann at their first meeting: "As a child, I knew the streets of Jerusalem better than those of London". Ben Gurion, Mr Goldmann thinks, was the only great man Israel has produced but "the one man responsible for instilling anti-Arab feelings in generations of Israelis—I said to him one day: 'You have succeeded in doing one thing that only God had achieved before you... you have succeeded in creating the Israeli in your own image!'"

Mr Goldmann accuses Mrs Golda Meir of promoting the same anti-Arab feelings and being insensitive to moral and religious values. He describes Rabbi Prinz (president of the American Jewish Congress) putting Mrs Meir in her place when she chided him for risking making President Nixon anti-Israeli by his publicised opposition to the Vietnam war: "All my life I have worked for Zionism... the teachings of our prophets seem more important to me than your politics". It was Israel's immobility under four years of Mrs Meir's premiership which led, in Mr Goldmann's view, to the 1973 war and Israel's isolation.

Mr Goldmann is distressed by the "Masada complex" rife in Israel. The Jewish people have survived because they considered survival a Judaic duty. Had they suffered from a Masada complex, he suggests, there would be no Jews alive today. "Should Jerusalem be fought for?" he once asked a rabbi, an authority on Talmudic law. No it should not, came the reply. "The supreme Judaic law is to respect your life in two cases: if you are forced to deny the existence of God or forced to kill another man. Then it is better to die... To sacrifice the life of even one soldier for Jerusalem is against our religious law".

Mr Goldmann will be accused of being an idealist and a dreamer. Nevertheless he is the same man who in one calculated move after another wrested three billion marks from the German government as "official" reparation payment to Israel and an "unofficial" annual payment of 1.2 billion marks which is still being paid today. He wants an Israel that is not only more Judaic but is also more aware of its Middle-Easternness: a synthesis of Israeli culture with the 2,000-year-old culture of the Diaspora, linking the Jewish world to the renaissance of Middle Eastern culture.

BOB DOLE  
KANSAS

*United States Senate*

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20510

June 27, 1977

STANDING COMMITTEES:  
AGRICULTURE, NUTRITION, AND FORESTRY  
BUDGET  
FINANCE  
SELECT AND SPECIAL COMMITTEE:  
NUTRITION AND HUMAN NEEDS

NA

Rabbi Alexander M. Schindler  
President  
Union of American Hebrew Congregations  
838 Fifth Avenue  
New York, New York 10021

Dear Rabbi Schindler:

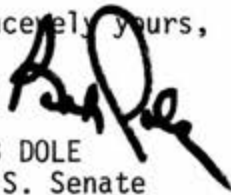
Many thanks for your thoughtful letter of June 20. Needless to say, I appreciate very much your taking the time to contact the head of the North American Desk of the Israel Foreign Ministry regarding my upcoming visit.

Am also grateful for your comments with reference to items of interest both to the American delegates and to the Israeli public, and will certainly keep your thoughts in mind in preparation of my remarks.

Thanks again. Hope to see you in Israel unless, as you indicated was a possibility, your duties call you back to the States earlier.

Best wishes.

Sincerely yours,



BOB DOLE  
U. S. Senate

BD:jc

June 20, 1977

The Honorable Bob Dole  
United States Senate  
Washington, D.C. 20510

Dear Senator Dole:

My good friend Rudi Scheidt has told me of your impending trip to Israel. I am sure that you will be well taken care of by the leadership of the ZOA. They are well known for the excellence of their arrangements and your visit will undoubtedly be instructive and fulfilling.

Nonetheless, I have written to the head of the North American Desk of the Israel Foreign Ministry to alert him of your visit. Again, I am certain he will already know of your visit but two lines of communication are better than one.

Insofar as what will interest the American delegates, as well as the Israeli public, their main concern obviously is what I have called a seeming step-by-step disengagement from the traditional American stance in its Mid-East policy calling for negotiations without preconditions. In public statements, in press conferences, an American blue-print does seem to be emerging - peace for the Jews, territories for the Arabs, and a third State for the PLO. The Administration insists that these are mere "conceptual frameworks" within which the negotiations can take place but the Jewish community, while still not questioning the intentions of Mr. Carter, is worried about how these statements are perceived and the truth of the matter is that they are perceived by one and all as policy and not just the delineation of areas of concern. This frightens the American Jewish community, stiffens the backs of the Israelis, and, worst of all, it raises the expectations of the Arabs, which if frustrated in the slightest degree will at the very least impede the process of peace, if not plunge us all into disaster.

There is a slight chance that I will see you in Israel during your visit, although my duties here may compell me to return to the States even before your arrival. I am due to leave for Israel at the end of the week. If I do see you there, wonderful. If not, I want to wish you well. All good wishes for a very meaningful trip.

The Honorable Bob Dole  
June 20, 1977  
Page 2

With kindest greetings, I am

Sincerely,

Alexander M. Schindler

cc: Mr. Rudi E. Scheidt

# United States Senate

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20510

June 1, 1977

## STANDING COMMITTEES:

AGRICULTURE, NUTRITION, AND FORESTRY

BUDGET

FINANCE

SELECT AND SPECIAL COMMITTEE:

NUTRITION AND HUMAN NEEDS

Mr. Rudi E. Scheidt  
Post Office Box 193  
Memphis, Tennessee 38101

Dear Rudi:

Many thanks for your letter of May 25, and it was good seeing you at the Salute to Gerald Ford Dinner.

We are checking out the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD), and I will have someone contact you by telephone to see what can be done.

Elizabeth and I will be going to Israel over the Fourth of July Recess, where on July 7th I will be addressing the 80th Anniversary Annual Convention of the Zionist Organization of America. Apparently 1,000 delegates from the United States are expected to attend, as well as President Ephraim Katzir and Prime Minister Menachem Begin. If you have any comments or suggestions which might be helpful, I will appreciate hearing from you.

Thanks again, and kindest regards. Hope to see you again soon.

Sincerely yours,



BOB DOLE  
U. S. Senate

BD:jc



RUDI E. SCHEIDT  
POST OFFICE BOX 193  
MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE 38101

June 9, 1977

Dear Bob,

I muchly appreciated your kind letter of June 1. I had a good talk with Dale Sherwin regarding UNCTAD and what we have to do is formulate a plan of action. The worst thing is that, if we don't do something soon, we will have all of UNCTAD's schemes adopted by default on our part.

I was delighted to learn that Elizabeth and you are going to Israel. I have asked my good friend, Rabbi Alex Schindler who is President of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations and also currently head of the Presidents' Conference of all major Jewish organizations, to contact you as I am sure he can be most helpful to you on your trip.

With very best regards..

Sincerely,

The Honorable Bob Dole  
United States Senate  
Washington, D.C. 20510

July 26, 1977

Mrs. Genie Silkes  
341 West 24 Street  
New York, N.Y. 10011

Dear Mrs. Silkes:

I am deeply appreciative of your understanding of my problem. My work for Israel has to take an absolute priority at this time. I simply have no other choice. I've been back and forth between Europe and Israel three times in the past month. Nevermind my Washington, D.C. trips which persist even now. I'm off again tomorrow ~~for~~ meetings at the State Department, the White House, etc. I was even supposed to take a vacation in August and it does not look like I will be able to make it. What am I to do? I can only promise you that as soon as it is humanly possible I will call you up for a meeting of sufficient time. I certainly want to.

With warmest greetings, I am

Sincerely,

Alexander M. Schindler

נא-מאן 24/11/1971

צו

רבי ז"ל ואלעקסאנדער שידלער,  
פרעזידענט פון דער פרעזידענט-קאנפערענץ,  
ביו יארק.

זייער חשובער און טייערער רבי ז"ל ואלעקסאנדער שידלער,  
איר דערמאנט זיך געוויס אין אלע מיידע באמיטלונגען מיט אייך זיך צו טרעפן פאר  
אן אינטערוויו פאר די זעקס/6 יידישע צייטונגען פון פארשיידענע לענדער  
פאר וועלכע איך שטייב.

אייך ווייט זייער גוט ווי פארנומען און פאריאגט איר זענט געווען וועגן  
עבינים פאליטישע און באציאנאל יידישע. איצט, אז אלע אייערע אבסטראקטונגען  
צו דערפירן צו אזא דערפאלגרייכער פארשטאנדעניש צווישן אמעריקאנער פרעזידענט  
מיטן פעמיער מיניסטער פון ישראל מנחם בעגון און צו דערגרייכן אזא שטארקע  
פארבינדערונג צווישן אמעריקאנער יידישע מיט ישראל אויף דאס איר מענט  
זיין שטאלץ, האף איך, אז וועט געפילנען אויך א ביסל צייט פאר מיר, כדי צו  
קענען מאכן מיט אייך אן אינטערוויו טאקע וועגן די טאטע לעצטע פאליטישע  
מיסיעס וואס אייך איז געלונגען אהורכצופירן.

אייך האב געהאט געזען אן אינטערוויו מיט אייך אין "פארווערטס", אבער איך  
פארטרעט זעקס/6 יידישע צייטונגען אויך מוזן אמעריקע. מיין עצם שרייבן  
איז אבדערט און איבדירידועל.

אייך האף, אז דאס מאל וועט איר מיר געבן א געלעגנהייט אייך צו אינטערוויווירן.  
אייך וועל אייך דאנקען פאר א שנעלע תשובה בנוגע דער דאטע און דער צייט

מיט דרך - ארץ  
געבאן סילקעס

Ms.  
Gemie Silkes  
341 West 24<sup>th</sup> Street  
New York, N.Y. 10011  
Phone: 691-5443

July 19, 1977

Mr. Larry L. Fabian  
Carnegie Endowment ~~for~~ International Peace  
11 Dupont Circle NW  
Washington, D.C. 20036

Dear Mr. Fabian:

Thank you so much for the copy of ISRAELIS SPEAK: About Themselves and the Palestinians, edited by yourself and Ze'ev Schiff. I look forward to reading it as soon as I have a free moment.

With warmest regards, I am

Sincerely,

Alexander M. Schindler

# Carnegie Endowment for International Peace

Director  
Middle East Program

1 July 1977

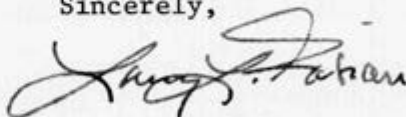
Rabbi Alexander Schindler  
President  
Union of American Hebrew Congregations  
2027 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W.  
Washington, D.C. 20036

Dear Rabbi Schindler:

I recently returned from Israel, where Ze'ev Schiff told me that neither you nor Mr. Hellman received the copies of ISRAELIS SPEAK: About Themselves and the Palestinians, that we sent you at the time of the book's publication by the Carnegie Endowment.

Our records show that the President of the Endowment, Thomas L. Hughes, sent you an early copy with his compliments on February 25th. We have no explanation for why you did not receive it, but I do want you to have another personal copy, which I am sending you under separate cover.

Sincerely,



Larry L. Fabian

LLF:mel





# Carnegie Endowment for International Peace

**Larry L. Fabian**

*Director, Middle East Program*

11 Dupont Circle, N.W. Washington, D.C. 20036  
Phone: (202) 797-6400 Cable: Interpeace Telex: 248329

July 18, 1977

Mr. Addis Gutmann, Jr.  
and  
Ms. Shirley Bridge  
Co-Chairpersons  
Social Action Committee  
Temple De Hirsch Sinai  
1511 East Pike Street  
Seattle, Washington 98122

Dear Mr. Gutmann and Ms. Bridge:

Thank you for your letter of July 5th. My statements were completely torn out of context. I never called for and am unalterably opposed to a total pull back and my record of that is both public and unequivocal. This is an outrageous misrepresentation of my comments. Only God knows where they got it from!

Thank you for your concern. With warmest wishes I am,

Sincerely,

Alexander M. Schindler

July 7, 1977

Mr. Addis Gutmann, Jr.  
and  
Ms. Shirley Bridge  
Co-Chairpersons  
Social Action Committee  
Temple De Hirsch Sinai  
1511 East Pike Street  
Seattle, Washington 98122

Dear Mr. Gutmann & Ms. Bridge:

Your letter of July 5 arrived after Rabbi Schindler's departure for Israel. He will be returning at the end of the month and your letter will be brought to his immediate attention.

With kindest greetings, I am

Sincerely,

Edith J. Miller  
Assistant to the President

cc: MR. Albert Vorspan

# Temple De Hirsch Sinai

Dr. Earl S. Starr  
Senior Rabbi

Raymond M. Galante  
President

July 5, 1977

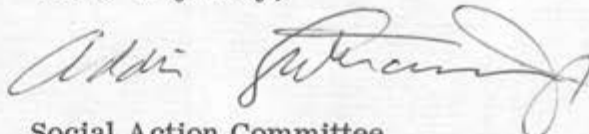
Rabbi Alexander Schlinder  
Union of American Hebrew Congregations  
838 - 5th Avenue  
New York, New York 10021

Dear Rabbi Schlinder:

I was appalled at the remarks attributed to you in a recent article in the Seattle Post-Intelligencer (copy enclosed), and am looking forward to your advising our committee by letter that you were quoted out of context.

An accommodation on the West Bank? Unthinkable!

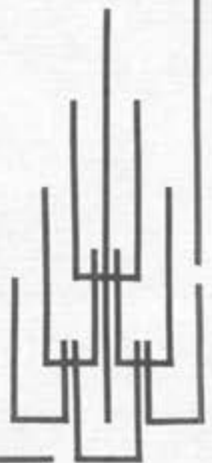
Yours very truly,



Social Action Committee  
Temple De Hirsch Sinai  
Addis Gutmann, Jr. and Shirley Bridge,  
Co-chairpersons

AG/dm

Enclosure



# Total Israel Pullback Urged

WASHINGTON — (UPI) — Responding to Israel's new government, the Carter administration yesterday urged Israeli withdrawal from all territories occupied since the 1967 Mideast War — including the west bank of the Jordan.

At the same time, the administration asked the Arabs to begin the process of patching relations with Israel by seeking a "durable" peace.

State Department officials said the policy statement read by spokesman Hodding Carter III was a response to new Israeli Prime Minister Menachem Begin's declaration that the west bank be excluded in negotiations for a Mideast peace.

And in reaction to Sen. Jacob Javits, the spokesman denied that U.S. Middle East peace proposals are slanted against Israel.

Javits had said Carter's proposals were "unrealistic," demanded more from Israel than the Arabs, and would more likely lead to war than peace.

Rabbi Alexander Shindler, a spokesman for major Jewish organizations, called the State Department statement "balanced." He said "it gives no cause for alarm of any kind."

Hodding Carter said the Carter administration "believes strongly that progress toward a negotiated peace in the Middle East is essential this year if future disaster is to be avoided."



July 21, 1977

Professor Martin Lipset  
Department of Political Science  
Stanford University  
Stanford, California 94305

Dear Professor Lipset:

Thank you very much ~~for~~ your letter of June 30th and the draft report on your findings. I find it very, very helpful. I will be in touch.

With warmest greetings, I am

Sincerely,

Alexander M. Schindler

STANFORD UNIVERSITY

STANFORD, CALIFORNIA 94305

DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE

*Put these #5 on  
Card, index...*

June 30, 1977

Rabbi Alexander Schindler, Chairman  
Presidents' Conference  
515 Park Avenue, 9th Floor  
New York, New York 10021

Dear Rabbi Schindler:

Thank you for your kind invitation to consult with you. I will, of course, be glad to do so. Please do not hesitate to call me whenever you would like to discuss anything. My home phone is (415) 326-9319, and my office number is (415) 497-4741. The best way to be sure of reaching me is to call me at home between 11 and 11:30 a.m. your time.

I have just finished a draft of a report on the findings of public opinion studies dealing with the Middle East from the 1940s to the present. I am enclosing a copy. I hope that you find it of interest.

Cordially,

*Martin Lipset*

Seymour Martin Lipset  
Professor of Political Science  
and Sociology

Enclosure

SML:bwm

*Acknowledge with thanks -  
find it very helpful.*

July 18, 1977

Mr. Max Kampelman  
Fried, Frank, Harris, Shriver & Kampelman  
Suite 1000, The Watergate 600  
600 New Hampshire Avenue, N.W.  
Washington, D.C. 20037

Dear Max:

Thanks so much for your letter of July 11th. I appreciate your kind words on my role as Chairman of the Conference and of my leadership at the meeting last week with the President.

I do indeed hope that we can get together and do some talking next time I am in your neck of the woods. I will let you know as the time approaches.

With warmest regards, I am

Sincerely,

Alexander M. Schindler

FRIED, FRANK, HARRIS, SHRIVER & KAMPELMAN

SUITE 1000, THE WATERGATE 600  
600 NEW HAMPSHIRE AVENUE, N.W.  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20037

FRIED, FRANK, HARRIS,  
SHRIVER & JACOBSON

FELIX S. COHEN (1932-1983)

RICHARD B. BERRYMAN  
DAVID E. BURENBAUM  
JAMES B. BLINKOFF  
PETER D. EHRENHAFT  
MILTON EISENBERG  
JOEL R. FEIDELMAN  
WILLIAM JOSEPHSON

MAX M. KAMPELMAN  
KENNETH S. KRAMER  
ARTHUR LAZARUS, JR.  
MELVIN RISHE  
RICHARD SCHIFFER  
SARGENT SHRIVER  
DANIEL M. SINGER

HAROLD P. GREEN

EDWARD J. BECKWITH  
HARVEY N. BERNSTEIN  
BUNYAN BRYANT  
S. BOBO DEAN  
REBECCA A. DONNELLAN  
HEIDI DELLAFERA EAGLETON  
THEODORE C. HURT  
WILLIAM B. HOFFMAN  
DENNIS H. HORN  
CAROL HERNDON ISRAEL  
MARTIN A. KAMARCK  
JAY R. KRAMER

CATHERINE R. MACK  
FRANCIS J. O'TOOLE  
JOSEPH J. PETRILLO  
VANESSA RUIZ  
LAWRENCE R. SIOHAN  
WILLIAM E. SUDOW  
SCOTT A. SUSARMAN  
TIMOTHY SULLIVAN  
HOWARD M. WEINMAN  
W. RICHARD WEST  
JULIE L. WILLIAMS  
ERIC J. ZAHLER

FREDERICK SASS, JR.  
COUNSEL

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TELEX 892406

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NEW YORK, N.Y. 10005  
(212) 964-6500  
TELEX: 820223

1 THROSMORTON AVENUE  
LONDON, EC2N 2JY, ENGLAND  
(01) 628-7814  
TELEX: 887606

July 11, 1977

OUR REFERENCE

Rabbi Alexander M. Schindler  
President, Union of American  
Hebrew Congregations  
838 Fifth Avenue  
New York, New York 10021

Dear Alex:

On Wednesday, after your meeting with the President, I received a rather thorough briefing as to what took place there. It became very clear to me that your own leadership at the session, coupled with what were obviously effective comments by you at the outset of the session, played a vital role in helping to make the session a successful one.

On Thursday, I had lunch and then later spent part of the evening with Roberta Peters here in Washington. She then told me of her friendship with you and your family and the high regard she had for you.

With all of this, it is long past time for me to tell you how pleased I am with your role as President of the Conference of American Presidents. We are all grateful to you for the impressive manner in which you have grown to the immense responsibilities.

I do hope that you will let me know when you are next in Washington so that we might have the conversation we once promised each other. There are many thoughts we ought to be exchanging and I want you to know of my desire to be of assistance to you in any way that might be fruitful.

All my best.

Sincerely,

  
Max M. Kampelman

August 4, 1977

Rabbi George B. Lieberman  
Central Synagogue of Nassau County  
Rockville Centre, N.Y. 11570

Dear George:

Thank you for your thoughtful note.

We too enjoyed meeting David. He is a chip off the old block.

With warmest good wishes, I am

Sincerely,

Alexander M. Schindler



RABBI GEORGE B. LIEBERMAN, D. D., Litt. D.

---

Central Synagogue of Nassau County

Rockville Centre, New York 11570

Southampton  
July 29, 1977

Dear Alex:-

I have been on the go, and on reaching this day our summer place, I found a copy of a letter which Mr. Sydney J. Schwartz, President of the New York Federation of Reform Synagogues, circulated with reference to your appointment of Rabbi Stuart A. Gertman as Director of the New York Federation of Reform Synagogues.

I want to salute you on this appointment. It so happens that I have had several contacts with him in his official capacity on challenging occasions. I have been very much impressed with him. The more I am in his presence the more I feel that he ranks very high in ability and sense of duty among the rabbis of the young generation. I have learned to esteem him for his gifts of logical reasoning, brilliant articulation and human quality. He deserves our encouragement and recognition.

May I also take this moment to tell you that with others I have been following your singularly effective spokespersonship in the Begin-Carter involvement. You are wearing the mantle of Jewish leadership with distinguished effectiveness. More power to you!

My son, David, who is pursuing higher studies at the University of London, and teaching at Cambridge, recently told me that he had met you in the home of Hugo Gryn one Shabbat. He was so excited about it. The impact of your presence touches many.

Sylvia joins me in warmest sentiments and best wishes for you, your Rhea and your precious family.

Faithfully,

Rabbi Alexander M. Schindler, President  
Union of American Hebrew Congregations  
838 Fifth Avenue  
New York, N. Y. 10021

GBL:MRB

cc: Mr. Sydney J. Schwartz

July 25, 1977

Dear Fred:

Thank you for your thoughtful note. You are most kind and I am grateful to you.

With warmest greetings, I am

Sincerely,

Alexander M. Schindler

Rabbi Alfred Gottschalk  
HUC-JIR  
3101 Clifton Avenue  
Cincinnati, Ohio 45220



HEBREW UNION COLLEGE—JEWISH INSTITUTE OF RELIGION

Cincinnati • New York • Los Angeles • Jerusalem

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

3101 CLIFTON AVENUE • CINCINNATI, OHIO 45220  
(513) 221-1875

PERSONAL

July 19, 1977

Dear Alex:

Since I have not done this before, I think this letter qualifies for inclusion in the American Jewish Archives.

I want to take this occasion in writing to tell you of my deep and full gratification in your leadership as President of the Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations. You have been more than equal for the task, which I know is a grueling, challenging and, at the same time, an exhilarating one.

I know how you relish what you are doing and how gratified you must feel by the large measure of success you have achieved in your role of spokesman for the organized American Jewish community.

I am deeply proud of the work that you are doing and wish you health and strength to continue in behalf of our people.

Sincerely,

Alfred Gottschalk  
President

AG:rw

Rabbi Alexander Schindler  
Union of American Hebrew Congregations  
838 Fifth Avenue  
New York, New York 10021

sent personal  
-thank you

July 14, 1977

Rabbi Alexander Schindler  
Union of American Hebrew Congregations  
838 Fifth Avenue  
New York NY

Dear Alex:

Someone once said something to the effect that the needs of a time period give birth to a man capable of meeting those needs.

After reading this week's TIME, and learning of the role you are currently playing in American-Israeli relations, I'm convinced of the truth of the above observation: Certainly, I have never known anyone I would deem more likely to bring some kind of orderly conclusion to affairs in the Mideast!

It is very fortunate that someone of your compassion, understanding, and persuasive ability has the ear of President Carter, as you obviously do.

And I'm proud to have known you well enough to address this letter to Alex! Best wishes for a long-lasting success in your current political role.

And Marge and I both send our love to Rhea.

Cordially

  
Martin J. Cohn

mjc;c

P.S. My presence in Cleveland doesn't imply abrogation of my status as a retiree -- I'm just being summer help back at the old stand! We return to Sarasota in September.

July 25, 1977

Judge Gerald Adler  
Brooklyn Jewish Community Council  
16 Court Street  
Brooklyn, N.Y. 11241

Dear Judge Adler:

Thank you so much for your letter of July 19th. It is so kind of you to offer your help as President of the Brooklyn Jewish Community Council and I truly appreciate it.

With warm greetings, I am

Sincerely,

Alexander M. Schindler



# Brooklyn Jewish Community Council

16 COURT STREET,  
BROOKLYN, N. Y. 11241



TELEPHONE  
TRIANGLE 5-8324

July 19, 1977

## Officers

GERALD ADLER  
*President*

MARVIN W. EPSTEIN  
ARTHUR S. HIRSCH  
ALLAN LASHLEY  
RABBI SOLOMON SHOULSON  
*Vice-Presidents*

NED MILLER  
*Treasurer*

STANLEY I. CLARK  
*Financial Secretary*

ESTHER SWILLER  
*Secretary*

HARRY BEARMAN  
HAROLD M. JOCOBS  
DR. BENJAMIN Z. KREITMAN  
RABBI ISRAEL H. LEVINthal  
SOL A. LIEBMAN  
ABRAHAM M. LINDENBAUM  
ABRAHAM J. MULter  
HARRY ZEITZ  
*Honorary Presidents*

EMIL N. BAAR  
SAMUEL ROTHSTEIN  
SIDNEY L. SCHIFF  
*Honorary Vice-Presidents*

OUIS ZAROWITZ  
*Honorary Treasurer*

Rabbi Alexander Schindler  
Union of American Hebrew Congregations  
838 Fifth Avenue  
New York, N.Y. 10021

Dear Rabbi Schindler:

I have been following your activities with great interest.

Please be advised that, in my capacity as President of the Brooklyn Jewish Community Council, I should be pleased to participate with you wherever necessary at the Conferences of Jewish Leaders, especially as it involves the State of Israel.

Very truly yours,

*Gerald Adler*  
(Judge) Gerald Adler  
President

GA:lg

Encl. - CCN



# COMMUNITY COUNCIL *News*

THE BROOKLYN JEWISH COMMUNITY COUNCIL

for the  
information  
of 650  
Affiliated  
Organizations

VOL. V

JUNE 1977

No. 54

ACTING SUPREME COURT JUSTICE GERALD ADLER ELECTED PRESIDENT OF  
BROOKLYN JEWISH COMMUNITY COUNCIL--CALLS FOR SUPPORT OF ISRAEL

\*\*\*\*\*



HARRY BEARMAN, OUTGOING PRESIDENT, HANDS OVER GAVEL TO JUDGE  
GERALD ADLER, WHO WILL LEAD THE COUNCIL FOR THE NEXT YEAR

ISRAEL CONSUL YAAKOV LEVY  
STATES THAT ISRAEL WILL MAKE  
STRONG PEACE EFFORT

Israel Consul, Yaakov Levy,  
head of the New York City  
Information Department, and  
formerly Vice Consul of Univer-  
sity Affairs, emphasized four  
points that may lead to peace  
in the Middle East.

He spoke at the annual meeting  
of the Brooklyn Jewish Commu-  
nity Council.

Consul Levy, after reviewing  
the historic events since  
Israel's inception 29 years  
ago, said that "the overwhelm-  
ing issue is still with us --  
a strong desire for peace".

Continued on P. 2

HARRY BEARMAN ADVISES ----  
"CARE AND BE ALERT" IN HIS  
VALEDICTORY MESSAGE

Harry Bearman, outgoing Pres-  
ident of the Council, in  
reviewing the Council's act-  
ivities during the past year,  
highlighted the following to  
the delegates attending the  
annual meeting at the East  
Midwood Jewish Center:

"1. We worked to ease neigh-  
borhood tensions in East  
Flatbush. We conducted,  
under the auspices of  
the BJCC "Neighborhood  
Preservation Town Hall",  
meeting at the East  
Flatbush Y. We also met  
with the Hispanic commu-  
nity in the Williamsburgh  
area to bring about a  
better understanding.  
This said -- WE DO CARE!

Continued on P. 2

REVIEWS PROBLEMS OF JEWS  
IN BROOKLYN THAT REQUIRE  
COUNCIL'S ATTENTION NOW

-----  
"Let there be Sholom for  
Israel and there will be  
Sholom for us". Thus spoke  
Acting Supreme Court Justice  
Gerald Adler after he was  
inducted as President of the  
Brooklyn Jewish Community Coun-  
cil at the Council's annual  
meeting and installation of  
officers held at the East  
Midwood Jewish Center, 1625  
Ocean Avenue, Brooklyn, on  
the evening of June 7th.

Justice Arthur S. Hirsch was  
chairman of the meeting.

Judge Adler noted that Israel's  
strength is maintained by  
"faith and willingness of the  
armed forces ready to fight  
and die for Israel's freedom  
and security--regardless of  
what party is in power. In  
Israel to carry a machine gun  
is a mitzvah. It is a mitzvah  
for us to support Israel. The  
same holds true in giving  
support to our Council, which  
is ready at all times, to go  
to the front and fight for  
Jewish rights.

"The Council has a great re-  
sponsibility. We are saddened  
over the plight of a few Jews  
left in Brownsville. They are

Continued on P. 3

## "Community Council News"

*Published by the  
Brooklyn Jewish Community Council  
Founded in 1939  
16 Court Street, Brooklyn 1, N. Y.*

Sam Rubenstein - Editor

HARRY BEARMAN ADVISES ----  
Cont. from P. 1

"2. We supported anti-boycott legislation; we contacted our legislatures, including Senator Javits and Senator Moynihan, to voice our strong support for Federal legislation, and urged their support of arms to Israel. We supported our Jewish brethren in Russian Jewry, notifying all our affiliates of forthcoming events. This said -- WE DO CARE!

"3. We interceded with the proper authorities with letters of protest on behalf of Prof. Jane Gerber when she was denied tenure of office to teach Judaic studies and the Holocaust. This said -- WE DO CARE!

"4. Mindful of the rights of Senior Citizens, we participated in the relocation of Senior Citizens. We distributed Jewish Holiday calendars to colleges, museums and other groups. This said -- WE DO CARE!

"5. There was an operation Recognition of the Mogen David Adom. We sent telegrams to the International Red Cross Headquarters asking for the recognition of the Mogen David. This said -- WE DO CARE!

"6. Our representatives met in

## BOROUGH PRESIDENT HOWARD GOLDEN PRAISES COUNCIL



PHOTO SHOWS BOROUGH PRESIDENT HOWARD GOLDEN (RIGHT) PRESENTING A PROCLAMATION TO JUDGE GERALD ADLER, WHILE HARRY BEARMAN (CENTER) LOOKS ON WITH GLEE

### PROCLAMATION HAILS COUNCIL FOR HELPING TO MAKE BROOKLYN A BETTER PLACE TO LIVE IN

Brooklyn Borough President Howard Golden, in a proclamation, hailed the Brooklyn Jewish Community Council for sponsoring programs designed to make the borough a "better place to live in, regardless of race, creed or color, or national origin". Mrs. Yvette Scharfman, Assistant to Mr. Golden, read the Proclamation.

a group session with the Conference of Christians & Jews on the question of Zionism Vs. Racism, and exchanged valuable ideas with Christian Blacks and Whites in our community. This said -- WE DO CARE!

"7. Many of our activities have been the subject of report in our Community Council News, which is so ably edited by our dedicated director, Sam Rubenstein, whose service we appreciate.

Mr. Bearman's Grandson, Scott London, who came here from California to attend the meeting, agreed -- "WE SHOULD CARE".

### ISRAEL CONSUL YAAKOV LEVY Cont. from P. 1

"The terrorist group (PLO) calls for the ruination of Israel," he said. "Ten years ago, Egypt threatened to destroy Israel. The City of Jerusalem was divided until 1967. Prior to then, Synagogues were burned and destroyed"

He then highlighted four points that could be the basis for Peace negotiations.

1. The solution of a peaceful settlement may be found through negotiations.
2. Since the inception of Israel 29 years ago, not one Arab leader was willing to sit down and meet with Israel to negotiate.
3. Defensible borders are needed because of the new weapons made available to the Arabs.
4. We object to a second Palestinian State. There is now a Palestinian State in connection with Jordan.

"Israel will not leave one stone unturned to gain peace," he concluded.



# JUDGE ADLER REVIEWS NEEDS OF JEWS IN BORO OF BKLYN

Cont. from P. 1

isolated in their homes, unable to shop and must live as recluses. We are going to do something about it.

"The unemployment problem of Orthodox Jews in Crown Heights will also receive our attention.

"The problems facing the Chasidic Jews in Williamsburg section of the Boro are serious and the Council is now involved in an effort to adjudicate them."

Judge Adler called upon the delegates at the meeting for their cooperation. He noted an outpouring of Jewish War Veterans, headed by Commander Allan Liebowitz and the Women's Auxiliary, headed by Phyllis Wugman, President. Also former Commander Mel Horowitz was present; more than a score of Rabbis; numerous judges and public officials.

Former Supreme Court Justice Abraham J. Multer, who was the installing officer, also gave the oath to the following elected officials:

Marvin W. Epstein, Justice Arthur S. Hirsch, Allan Lashley and Rabbi Solomon Shoulson, Vice Presidents; Ned Miller, Treasurer; Stanley I. Clark, Financial Secretary and Mrs. Esther Swiller, Secretary.

Also Honorary Presidents -- Rabbi Israel Levinthal, Harry Zeitz, Abraham M. Lindenbaum, Harold M. Jacobs, Sol A. Liebman, Justice Abraham J. Multer, Dr. Benjamin Z. Kreitman and Harry Bearman.

Also Honorary Vice Presidents - Judge Emil N. Baar, Sidney L. Schiff, Samuel Rothstein, and Honorary Treasurer Louis Zarowitz.



PHOTO SHOWS THREE TOP ELECTED OFFICIALS OF THE COUNCIL WHO PLEDGED FULL SUPPORT OF THE NEW ADMINISTRATION. RIGHT TO LEFT -- STANLEY I. CLARK, FINANCIAL SEC'Y: MRS. ESTHER SWILLER, SEC'Y AND NED MILLER, TREASURER

## DR. JACOB L. BERNSTEIN PAYS TRIBUTE TO COUNCIL

Dr. Jacob L. Bernstein, President of East Midwood Jewish Center, host to the Council's meeting, greeted the attending delegates and added:

"We in East Midwood and our officers are united to serve our Community. We look at our Community Council as an arm in our efforts to solve our problems."

He noted that Judge Adler, the newly elected President of the Council, is a member of the Jewish Center and, in behalf of the officers and directors, congratulated Judge Adler.

Judge Adler, in behalf of the Council, thanked Dr. Bernstein, the Congregation and the Sisterhood of East Midwood Jewish Center for their support and cooperation.

Mr. Liebman was Installation Chairman.

Sixty-seven members of the Board of Directors had their terms extended for one year.

////////////////////



PHOTO SHOWS DR. J. BERNSTEIN, CANTOR JOSEPH EIDELSON AND ABRAHAM NADEL, PIANIST

## DR. HARRY HALPERN DELIVERS THE INVOCATION

Dr. Harry Halpern, spiritual head of the East Midwood Jewish Center, in his invocation, at the annual meeting, noted the manifold problems confronting the Jewish people and the need of observing peace.

"We must speak out boldly in behalf of our people in Israel", he said.

Rabbi Halpern invoked blessings to the Council and officers to carry on with wisdom to lead "this organization successfully in all of its objectives."



# HAROLD M. JACOBS PAYS TRIBUTE TO JUDGE ADLER

Harold M. Jacobs, President of the Union of Orthodox Jewish Congregations of America, who was prevented from attending the Council's annual meeting because of a family wedding, in a telegram stated:

"No one more richly deserves this great honor of leadership which is being bestowed upon you. Congratulations to you and your distinguished office and may the almighty grant you good health for many years to come so that you can continue to serve our community."

\*\*\*\*\*

## MAYOR ABRAHAM D. BEAME HAILS COUNCIL'S OBJECTIVES

-----

The Mayor, in a message to Mr. Harry Bearman, said:

"The Council's sweeping scope of activities and broad range of religious and social concerns are truly remarkable. As the representative voice of nearly one million Jews, the Council has not only united Brooklyn Jewry and fostered the spiritual, cultural and educational needs for the enhancement of Jewish life, it has extended these objectives by fighting for human rights and justice everywhere."

## "REDLINING" ATTACKED BY COUNCILMAN ROBERT STEINGUT

The Council is fully in accord with the current fight against "redlining" practices which has been declared to directly inhibit the growth and vitality of our neighborhood.

Councilman-at-large Robert Steingut, a Community Council Board Member, introduced a resolution in the City Council which attacks the discriminatory and outrageous practices of redlining.



Officers and Board Members of the Brooklyn Jewish Community Council are shown on the dais with their distinguished guests at the Annual Meeting of the Council, held at the East Midwood Jewish Center on June 7th. Rabbi Harry Halpern is shown giving the benediction.

## MRS. ANNE REISS IS SALUTED FOR DEDICATED SERVICES

Harry Bearman, Council's Honorary President, stated that the Council is very grateful to Mrs. Anne Reiss, who came back after retirement, to help out in office work.

Mrs. Reiss faithfully served the Council for 18 years.



Photo shows Justice Arthur S. Hirsch, Chairman of the Annual Meeting, discussing the Program with Board Officials. Left to right: Louis Zarowitz, Samuel Rothstein, Judge Hirsch, Sol A. Liebman, Judge Abraham J. Multer and Allan Lashley



# HE MAXIMILIAN MOSS FOUNDATION AWARD



**TIME WELL SPENT . . .** The Maximilian Moss Foundation Award, a unique timelock, is presented to Sol Liebman, honorary president of the Brooklyn Jewish Community Council, by Mrs. Grace Moss at the recent scholarship dinner of Brooklyn ORT. Flanking the two are Daniel Eisenberg, left, former president of the Brooklyn Bar Association, and Max Welner, Brooklyn ORT president. The late Judge Moss, whose widow made the presentation, was a founder of the ORT group more than 30 years ago, a founder of BJCC as well, and a president of the Board of Education.

## JUDGE SIDNEY SQUIRE HONORED



JUDGE SIDNEY SQUIRE (seated) WAS THE HAPPY RECIPIENT of an award for his decades of leadership in the Jewish Community. The tribute was presented to him at the United Jewish Appeal-Federation of Jewish Philanthropies Joint campaign of the Brooklyn Lawyers Division. Judge Squire is a pioneer of the Council and a Board Member.

Seated with him (l. to r.) President of the Brooklyn Lawyers Club, Miriam Newman; Chairperson, Martha Gibbell and Mrs. Squire. (Standing) are Rabbi Benjamin Z. Kreitman, Hon. A. David Benjamin, Judge Bernard M. Bloom, New York City Corporation Counsel W. Bernard Richland, and guest speaker Dr. Aryeh Plotkin.

CARTER URGED BY COUNCIL'S RESOLUTION TO PURSUE HIS POLICY FOR A FULL PEACE IN MIDDLE-EAST BY DIRECT ISRAEL-ARAB NEGOTIATIONS

Delegates attending the 39th annual convention and installation of officers of the Council passed two resolutions pertaining to Israel. Samuel Rothstein, Council's Honorary Vice President, presented the resolutions.

One resolution voiced "great concern over President Carter's recent call for the creation of a Palestinian "homeland" with only minor adjustments in Israel's 1967 borders, and for compensation to Arab refugees."

"These statements undermine the goal of direct Arab-Israeli negotiations; obscure the basic middle-east problem", the resolution emphasized. "We respectfully call upon President Carter to implement the promises he made on these matters during his campaign for the Presidency of the U.S."

The resolution further urges the President to direct the Secretary of State, the State Department and all persons engaged in these matters "to pursue as the policy of the United States consistent with the President's previous commitments for a full peace based on direct negotiations between the parties."

The second resolution dealt with the election of a new Knesset in a democratic manner. The Council stated that it was proud that the people of Israel exercised their rights and that Israel is the only State in the Mideast that conducts free electoral contests.



SOL LEVY, PUBLISHER, HONORED  
BY YM & YWHA FOR 50 YEARS OF  
SERVICE TO JEWRY AND COMMUNITY



Sol Levy, retired Executive Director of the Williamsburg YM and YWHA, was honored by the "Y" Board of Directors on June 8th at a testimonial dinner held at the La Mer Caterers, 1060 Ocean Parkway, Brooklyn.

The tribute to Mr. Levy was in "recognition of more than a half century of exemplary and distinguished leadership, and community service".

Mr. Levy's recognition embraced many years of service in behalf of Jewry and scores of worthy charities. He was a strong supporter of the United Jewish Appeal, Federation of Jewish Philanthropies and National Jewish Welfare Board. He is publisher and editor of the Williamsburg News and Coney Island Times, both weekly newspapers. Among his accomplishments at the "Y", he pioneered new programs with governmental funding in Head Start; Youth Leadership Training; Home Camp for Children; Homemakers Holiday for Orthodox Women, and many other projects.

Mr. Levy is currently V.C. of the Held Weinberg Torah Institute Yeshiva in Israel. He also taught physical education at the Yeshiva Tora of Vodaath. He is a staunch supporter of Israel.

\*\*\*\*\*  
\*\*\*\*\*



**AFTER 40 YEARS . . .** Cantor Chaskele Ritter celebrated 40 years as a cantor at a reception held on Tues., May 17th, at Congregation Ahavath Israel, 2818 E. 29th St. Congratulating Ritter is Rabbi Bernard Berzon, spiritual leader of the temple, as Ben Ketover, left, chairman of the affair, and Norman Fierer, president of the congregation, look on. [Staff Photo by Tom McManus]

CANTOR RITTER IS A COUNCIL BOARD MEMBER

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June 22, 1977

Mr. Judah Dick  
955 50th Street  
Brooklyn, N.Y. 11219

Dear Mr. Dick:

Your letter of June 8 addressed to Rabbi Schindler has just been received at this office. I hasten to advise that he is out of the city and your letter will be held for his return.

I know Rabbi Schindler will be grateful to you for sharing your comments with him.

Sincerely,

Edith J. Miller  
Assistant to the President

**JUDAH DICK**

ATTORNEY AT LAW

955 50TH STREET  
BROOKLYN, N. Y. 11219  
TEL. 853-0639  
AREA CODE 212

June 8, 1977

Rabbi Alexander Schindler  
President, Conference of Presidents of Major Jewish Organizations  
515 Park Avenue  
New York, N.Y.

Dear Sir:

I read the story in today's NEW YORK TIMES over the relationship of American Jewry with Mr. Menachem Begin and prospects for peace. I thought you might be interested in an original proposal I sent to Mr. Begin a few weeks on how to offer the Palestinians a homeland without giving up Jewish sovereignty over all of ERETZ ISRAEL. I am sending you a copy thereof.

Very truly yours,

  
JUDAH DICK



JUDAH DICK

ATTORNEY AT LAW

955 50TH STREET  
BROOKLYN, N.Y. 11219  
TEL. 853.0639  
AREA CODE 212

May 26, 1977

Hon. Menachem Begin  
Member of the Knesset  
Tel Aviv, ISRAEL

Re: SUGGESTED SOLUTION TO ARAB HOMELAND PROBLEM

Dear Mr. Begin:

I was very pleasantly surprised by the outcome of the recent election in Israel and the prospects of an Israeli Government headed by a G-d fearing Jew who believes in the deep principles of our faith:

בְּרַחֲמֵי ה' וּבְחַסְדּוֹ יִשְׁכַּח עֲוֹנוֹתָם וְלֹא יִשְׁכַּח אֶת אֶתְרָם.

While I would like to be an optimist and accept the belief that the liberation of the entire Eretz Israel in the Six Day War was a vital step in the process of *גְּדֻלַּת אֱלֹהֵינוּ* and *פְּדֻת אֶרֶץ*, I fully realize that the next Government of Israel will be under tremendous pressures from the United States and other world powers to agree to a Palestinian homeland on the West Bank and in the Gaza Strip if and when the P.L.O. announce that they are willing to accept Israel's right to exist. So far, it can be said: *הַיְיִתָּהּ לְהַגִּיד* *אֶת* *הַיְיִתָּהּ* *לְהַגִּיד* *אֶת* *הַיְיִתָּהּ*, and the Israeli Government has been able to defer making any commitments on this matter.

I would like to take the liberty of making a suggestion which you may want to consider as a fallback position in the event Israel has to make some concessions on the West Bank in order to secure a true and lasting peace. I am thinking of having a COMMONWEALTH under Arab autonomy but Israel sovereignty in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip- similar to the status of Puerto Rico, The Virgin Islands, Guam and formerly the Philippines (up to 1946). All of these territories have special relationships with the United States which allow a great degree of local home rule but full assumption of all defense and foreign policy by the United States. All citizens of the United States are free to settle in these territories and no passport or visa is required to settle there. And the inhabitants of these territories are full fledged citizens of the United States. Nevertheless, they are not states and not considered integral parts of the United States. I am ready to send you texts of the applicable Statutes of the United States and Constitution of Puerto Rico so that you can examine the provisions for yourself to see whether they can be adapted to an Arab Commonwealth within the State of Israel, but I believe that these materials are available in the Law Libraries of the Hebrew University, Tel Aviv Law School and Bar Ilan Law School. They may be found in Title 48, United States Code, Chapter 4 to Chapter 8A. Ultimate control of legislative affairs rests with the Congress of the United States and the President but for the most part, the national government leaves the people of these territories to exercise their own right of self-government.

If such a form of government were granted the Arabs, Jews would still have the inalienable right to settle on the West Bank which is of course part of *אֶרֶץ* *יִשְׂרָאֵל*. Nevertheless, it would be best for the time being for such settlements to be in those parts of the West Bank which are not densely



populated by the Arabs. As relations between the Arabs and Jews improve, these restrictions can be dissolved and each citizen of the country permitted to settle wherever he pleases.

Creation of a Commonwealth may resolve the demographic problem which will face Israel in two decades if the West Bank and the Gaza Strip with all of its Arabs are granted Israeli citizenship. Based on present population trends, and the much greater Arab birth rate, the Arabs could achieve a majority status in so short a period of time and change the very nature of Israel as a Jewish State. This is a very serious problem which cannot be brushed aside lightly. If an Arab Commonwealth is created, the Arabs can be offered citizenship in the Commonwealth without being made full fledged citizens of Israel for the first 50 years - until relationships between the groups improve considerably. This will defer the population issue for several generations by which time more Jews would undoubtedly settle in Israel since a peace economy will be much stronger and attract many more Jews. It may also be possible to induce greater internal growth of the Jewish population and teach the Arabs the virtues of smaller families.

While I am sure that this plan will be rejected by the Arabs out of hand, it will not be easy for President Carter to reject it since it will offer the Arabs a homeland which they have not had in Eretz Israel for centuries, if ever. Since Israel has good reason for not trusting the Arabs, at least in the foreseeable future, any Arab homeland will of necessity have to be subject to some degree of Israeli controls to prevent serious security problems.

I also feel that this plan is not necessarily inconsistent with the Torah's prohibition of *עַמִּיתָא*. The retention of Israeli sovereignty and the right of Jews to settle in all parts of Eretz Israel it would seem would be sufficient re-assertion of the Jewish rights to meet the requirements *לְהַחֲזִיק בְּאֶרֶץ יִשְׂרָאֵל*, which is defined as *כִּדְלִישׁ הַבְּרִיחַ וְיִשְׂרָאֵל וְיִשְׂרָאֵל דְּבִלְחָא*.

The Halachic questions on this point have been discussed in the Responsa dealing with the sale of fields to an Arab for *גִּטּוֹנָה* purposes.

Wishing you a *שָׁלוֹם וְרוּחַ חַיִּים* and *בְּרַחֲמֵי הַשָּׁמַיִם*

Very truly yours,

*Judah W. ...*

June 17, 1977

Mr. J. Stamm  
15 Washington Place  
New York, N.Y. 10003

Dear Mr. Stamm:

Thank you for your recent note and kind words regarding my chairmanship of the Presidents Conference. It was thoughtful of you to take the time to write.

Thank you too for sharing your concerns with me. I assure you I agree with you. Unfortunately, we cannot control the press and very often they misquote or utilize words out of context.

With every good wish, I am

Sincerely,

Alexander M. Schindler

June 13/77

Dear Rabbi Schindler:

(please forgive the informality)

Many ~~ms~~ of us are gratified with the high level diplomacy, statesmanship of your leadership.

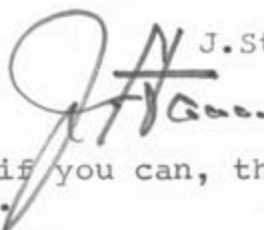
Something new (and dangerous) has been added to our troubles--the "geshrai" that Carter is anti-Israel. I think such noise should be promptly throttled.

Well-meaning Carter, lover of mankind, farmer from Georgia, a novice, relies on computers and others for his knowledge of the real world, thinking you can apply "Zero-Base-Budgeting" ideas to realpolitik and the Arab mentality--and so can sell Israel ~~Israel~~ down the river quicker than you can say "Begin."

He is NOT anti-Israel, and Jews should stop this clamor. They should yell loud for the damage he is doing. In his zero-budgeted (and blind-spotted) mind the Arab petrodollars loom large and weighty.

With every good wish, and prayers for your good health,

Respectfully,

 J. Stamm

and do forgive, if you can, the hurried writing.

*TK  
apw  
ms" r ps*

June 17, 1976

Rabbi Eugene B. Borowitz  
19 Reid Avenue  
Port Washington, N.Y. 11050

Dear Gene:

You were thoughtful and thought provoking yesterday, as you always are. I am deeply grateful to you for taking the time to join with us at the meeting of the Presidents' Conference and for sharing your views with our delegates.

As you know, there is a very wide spectrum of views among the organizations and the representatives. While I did not for a moment think anyone would have a change of heart, I feel the meeting was important for an exchange of views and an opportunity to hear how others reach their point of view and perhaps find a bit of understanding in regard to those with whom they differ. Such an open give and take is always salutary.

With repeated thanks and every good wish for a wonderful summer, I am

Sincerely,

Alexander M. Schindler  
Chairman

June 14, 1976

Mr. Jacob Stein  
20 Jerusalem Avenue  
Hicksville, N.Y. 11801

Dear Jack:

I, too, regret that you were unable to attend the luncheon in honor of Joe Sisco. It was a very meaningful and warm occasion and you would have enjoyed it very much.

I'm also sorry that you can't be at the meeting tomorrow when we will discuss "dissent." You would have a great deal to contribute to the discussion and I am grateful to you for having taken the time to share with me your views on the topic. Many thanks.

Alas, our schedules don't seem to mesh too well. I'll be in the city for about another week and then I leave for the CCAR Conference in San Francisco and go almost directly from there to the various meetings in Israel. Hopefully, our paths will cross at summer's end, if not before. Until then my repeated thanks and all good wishes.

Sincerely,

Alexander M. Schindler



June 10, 1967

Rabbi Eugene B. Borowitz  
19 Reid Avenue  
Port Washington, N.Y. 11050

Dear Gene:

I am delighted that you have accepted responsibility for being one of the two initial discussants at the Presidents' Conference meeting on "Dissent and the American Jewish Community - Issues and Responsibilities." I understand that you had something of a dry run at the Synagogue Council meeting last night and that is to the good, it will mean that you will come to our meeting a little better "untergegartlet."

The title is broad and in its sub-title the word issues is included. I certainly do not want you to omit their discussion from your presentation, especially since I am personally pledged to the idea of an open discussion of issues around the table of the Presidents' Conference. Nonetheless, I do want to emphasize that I do not begin to believe that we can have an up and down vote or even approach a consensus on the issues level. Therefore, the focus of the discussion as I will conduct it and as I want to see it develop will be not as much on the issues as on the process of dissent as we ought to encourage it on the American Jewish scene. Accordingly, I would very much be beholden to you if a sub-portion of your remarks were to be devoted to this particular issue. Moreover, there are two levels of the process which must be considered. The first is whether there should be open discussion or not because there assuredly is no unanimity of opinion on that score either. Secondly, there is the question of the proper means of expression of these divergency of views, shall it be public or private and if so how and when and to whom. Finally, there is the question of establishing the means of communication to Israeli leaders which will assure that these divergent views, whatever they are, reach a listening ear.

Don't hesitate to call me if you have an questions to pose in regard to your presentation. I look forward to seeing you on June 15th and until then, Rhea joins me in sending fondest regards mee bayit l' bayit.

Sincerely,

Rabbi Alexander M. Schindler  
Chairman

JACOB STEIN  
20 JERUSALEM AVENUE  
HICKSVILLE, N. Y. 11801  
—  
WELLS 8-6012

June 9, 1976

Rabbi Alexander Schindler  
Union of American Hebrew  
Congregations  
838 Fifth Avenue  
New York, New York 11021

Dear Alex:

I hope that this letter finds you and yours enjoying good health.

I am sorry that I was unable to join you at the luncheon for Mr. Sisco but a court matter in which I had to appear as a witness was scheduled for that date and I was mandated to appear.

There appears to be an increasing discussion in the American Jewish Community about what is erroneously termed the right of dissent. I submit that it is an erroneous and even harmful term because our function is not dissent - our function must be constructive thought and programs within the capabilities of the American political system to support those plans which we desire to have supported.

It is unfortunate that some in Israel become very agitated when an American Jewish leader states an opinion which he believes represents the opinion of his membership and which opinion is not exactly in accord with the prevailing opinion of the Israeli Government on the same issue. Such reactions dare not inhibit us from supporting positions we think merit our support.

I would hope that you could turn away from the term "dissent" and move toward putting our positions in a positive framework.

June 9, 1976

If I sit together in Synagogue with my wife, it is not because of dissent with the Orthodox but because I believe that I am doing the right thing.

And, if we urge a political position in American-Israel relationships, it is not because of dissent with Israel but because we believe in the soundness and effectiveness of our position.

Of course, there exists within our community some organizations which for ideological or financial reasons feel obligated to voice a monolithic "line" on any issue. This is their prerogative and I don't think we should challenge it any more than we should be challenged by these groups should we differ from this "line."

Now we come to our role of being critics of Israel's domestic and foreign policies. Here, I think, there are two levels which must be recognized. I do not think the Presidents Conference should be publicly critical of Israeli domestic or foreign policies. After all, if Israeli security is ever challenged, it is Israeli lives which will be on the line to defend the validity of their foreign policy decisions. And, if there are internal social problems, it could be said that if we want to have an influence, we should settle in Israel.

Yet, Alex, I cannot fully accept these strictures on my right to speak out. For, if I am considered to be a part of one Jewish people, some of whom live in Israel, and, if I am considered to be a partner in this great historic undertaking that is Israel, contributing my material resources and my time, then I must also contribute the best thought of which I am capable.

But, these thoughts I must convey to those in a position of leadership in Israel who are capable of constructing the desired policy, not to the general public.

Rabbi Alexander Schindler -3-

June 9, 1976

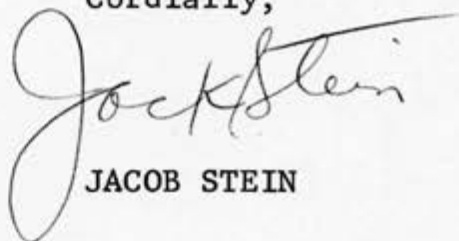
I believe that general public statements critical of Israel's foreign or domestic policies are seized upon in this Country by those seeking to divide our legislature in its support for Israel and it weakens the effectiveness of the Presidents Conference in achieving its goals.

Alex, I wish I could be more specific and I would very much enjoy meeting with you to discuss this further.

I will be in Florida for the next ten days. After that, I will be in town for several weeks.

Kindest personal regards.

Cordially,

A handwritten signature in cursive script that reads "Jacob Stein". The signature is written in dark ink and is positioned above the printed name "JACOB STEIN".

JACOB STEIN

JS:dl



**SCHINDLER SAYS AMERICAN JEWRY'S  
SUPPORT OF ISRAEL UNDIMINISHED  
DESPITE CRITICISM OF POLICIES**

NEW YORK, June 7 (JTA)--Rabbi Alexander M. Schindler, chairman of the Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations, declared today that criticism of certain Israeli governmental policies by American Jews in no way implies any diminution of their commitment to Israel. "Let no one be mistaken and misread our occasional questioning of this or that Israeli governmental policy as disunity or weakness. We remain committed with our very lives, all of us, to Israel's survival in security and in peace," Schindler said.

He spoke at a farewell luncheon tendered by the Presidents Conference to retiring Undersecretary of State Joseph J. Sicso. "Those differences that do exist among American Jews about Israel's foreign policy are nowhere near as serious as they are portrayed," Schindler stressed.

He took issue with the labeling of Jews as "doves" or "hawks" with respect to their views on Israeli policies. He said those terms were a throwback to the Vietnam War and "applied to the Middle East, they evoke dangerous and misleading comparisons."

**Dispute Is Over 'Kind Of Peace'**

Schindler observed, "I for one have never heard a Jewish 'hawk' demand that Damascus be levelled or that the harbor of Alexandria be mined. Nor have I heard any 'dove' question Israel's right to be. What divides the 'doves' and 'hawks' on Israel is not the ultimate goal of peace but the kind of risks that should be taken to achieve that peace," Schindler said.

"The real issue is not 'hawk' versus 'dove' but rather what is the 'quo' that Israel has the right to expect for its 'quid?' The debate of late has focussed on those territories that Israel should or should not surrender. But the essential questions are these: What kind of peace will result from Israel's concessions? Is there to be a mere mouthing of phrases like 'the non-use of force' which in the final analysis means nothing at all? Or should that peace include opening of trade, travel and cultural contacts between Israel and her Arab neighbors as the foundation on which a just and lasting peace can be built?" Schindler asked.

He concluded, "When the Arab states answer these questions, Israel and the world will know whether there will be a genuine peace in the Middle East or the kind of 'peace' that the Muslims and Christians of Lebanon are enduring as Arab slaughters Arab."



June 15, 1976

Mr. Abraham Frank, Vice President  
Association of Orthodox Jewish Teachers  
5012 - 13th Avenue  
Brooklyn, New York 11219

Dear Mr. Frank:

Thank you very much for your letter of June 9 and the spirit of helpfulness which it reflects. That cause which evokes our concern requires help from every quarter and offers of help are always welcome.

Let me also tell you at once that I share your high estimate of Malcolm Honlein. Although my association with him has not been close over the years I have always been very much impressed with his ability, so much so that when several months ago the Presidents' Conference determined to add another executive to its staff, to serve as associate to Mr. Hellman, I immediately contacted him to explore with him the possibility of his fulfilling this important position. Unfortunately, he was so fully committed to his present position and some other possible developments on the New York Jewish scene we could not carry our discussion further.

I must tell you, though, that despite the high regard which I have for him I do not begin to believe that the professional leadership of an organization, however efficient, is going to determine the course and success of its work. Objective factors come into play and I am afraid that Malcolm Honlein is a perfect case in point. The cause of Soviet Jewry, unhappily, is in serious disarray; there is a malaise in this field which presently obtains and certainly the "bottom line" is saddening for the number of Jews who emerge from the Soviet Union to freedom and especially those who find their way from Russia to Israel and not to the flesh pots of America is steadily declining and makes us all weep. Please do not misunderstand this as a slur against Malcolm or anyone else for that matter chas v' chalalah. All I really want to say is that there are factors which are at play against which even a staff leader as talented as Malcolm cannot prevail.

Mr. Abraham Frank  
June 15, 1976  
Page -2-

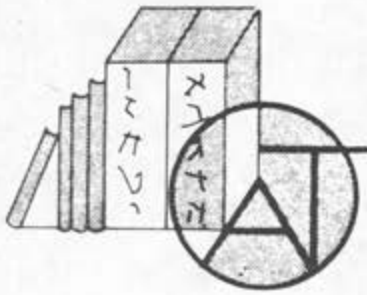
Your letter suggests that you have a plan which can "resolve the present crisis in Jewish leadership." If you do, I am eager to meet with you and learn of it. I for one know full well that all wisdom does not reside with me and I need all the advice and help which I can possibly get. Accordingly, I would very much like to get together with you to have the benefit of your ideas. Please be good enough to call my associate, Mr. Yehuda Hellman, to seek a mutually convenient time to meet. I must note the possibility of an early meeting is dim for I will be leaving for the west coast in but a few days and leave almost directly on my return from the coast to meetings in Israel and I wanted to forewarn you of this schedule.

With kindest greetings, I am

Sincerely,

Alexander M. Schindler, Rabbi  
Chairman

cc: Mr. Yehuda Hellman



# Association of Orthodox Jewish Teachers

OF THE NEW YORK CITY PUBLIC SCHOOLS

5012 - 13th AVENUE

BROOKLYN, N. Y. 11219

(212) 436-1600 -1

June 9, 1976

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Dr. Alexander Schindler, President  
Conference of Presidents of Nat'l Jewish Organizations  
515 Park Avenue South  
New York, N.Y. 10001

Dear Dr. Schindler:

The Association of Orthodox Jewish Teachers represents over 5,000 teachers and supervisors in the New York City public school system. Among its many projects is the only network of Jewish culture clubs in the public high schools.

I take this opportunity to inform you that our members are becoming increasingly worried about the unprecedented drift in U.S. foreign policy and by unfair criticism and tainted journalism used by the news media which has veered somewhat away from its former strong support of Israel. Our concern is over the apparent inability of Jewish organizational leadership to make significant positive changes in this policy.

We find it shocking to hear that Greek-Americans can succeed in curtailing U.S. aid to Turkey and the United Federation of Teachers in New York is able to get a legislative override of Gov. Carey's veto but National Jewish Organizational leadership, which is supposedly well-organized and highly effective, is unable to influence U.S. foreign policy toward greater support of Israel in its current political hour of need.

In the case of the teachers' union, our members are kept closely informed of the progress key bills make in the New York legislature and at crucial moments all 150,000 teachers are urged to write, telephone and visit their legislators, participate in rallies, or take part in a cavalcade and descend upon Albany. We have yet to be urged to take similar action in behalf of Israel.

The AOJT would like to recommend a possible solution to this problem.

continued

**Retired Teachers**  
Louis Wald  
Samuel K. Tanenbaum

**Social**  
Ruth Stillman

**Teacher Grievance & Legal**  
Meier Saslow  
Melvin Steinhardt

**Tours & Travel**  
Mair Fogel  
Mitchell Mann

**Welfare**  
Dr. Fred Bohensky

Page 2  
June 9, 1976  
Dr. Alexander Schindler

We have been impressed by the ability Mr. Malcolm Honlein of the New York Conference of Soviet Jewry in presenting the cause of Russian emigrants. He uses tact with professionalism and finesse. The news media continually focus on the plight of the unfortunate Jews who wish to leave or who remain in Russia. In contrast two of New York City's major daily newspapers sympathize with the plight of the Arab refugees who wish to return to their homes. We are confident that if Mr. Honlein's talents were harnessed to serve the cause of Israel, or if the mandate of the New York Conference were broadened to include the defense of Israel, that government circles and the news media would quickly take positive action.

We are not suggesting that this is the only solution. But we do feel that the present situation can not be allowed to continue and that something must be done to resolve the present crisis in Jewish leadership.

We trust that the above will meet with your kind and careful consideration. With all good wishes for your continued success, I am,

Very sincerely yours,

*Abraham Frank*  
Abraham Frank  
Vice President

AF/r1

P.S. Please let us know how the Akiva Clubs and their members can be of help to you.

June 10, 1976

General Julius Klein  
35 East Wacker Drive  
Chicago, Ill. 60601

Dear General Klein:

I fully agree with your assessment. I am absolutely convinced that the matter of economics is crucial here and I have pushed this view both within and without the Presidents' Conference, to make the matter of energy an issue of central concern for the American Jewish community in its efforts to achieve continuing U.S. support for Israel. As I have often stated in public and private interviews, one of my nightmares is that 150,000 Jews and friends of Israel will demonstrate before The White House and 10 representatives of industry and finance will walk through one of the side doors of The White House and counter-balance our appeal on moral grounds with a warning that by heeding this appeal America's economic health will diminish. I struck a somewhat more balanced tone in this particular article for essentially two reasons: a) political and moral efforts cannot be eschewed while not our most potent force, it is nonetheless not insignificant in retaining the good will of the vast majority of America's people. b) Because I do not want to be too gloomy in addressing a more general audience lest they say "how in heaven's name can we fight 70 billion dollars, we are lost," and then my words become a self-fulfilling prophecy.

I have established a Task Force within the Presidents' Conference to make the entire energy picture a force of its concern and certainly I would welcome your helpfulness in directing the attention of Jewish organizations, and in particular the JNV, to the task of exercising pressure in an area which many consider extraneous to Jewish interest. To wit: the entire economic picture with all of its manifold needs of furthering a program of energy conservation, incentives in domestic production of oil, a diminution of imports of oil, a greater purchase of imports from non-Arab countries and an intensive program of development of alternative sources of energy.

I appreciate your comments and your concern very much.

Sincerely,

Alexander M. Schindler

cc: Mr. Yehuda Hellman



## JEWISH POWER IN THE U.S. TODAY

The Presidents Conference Adopts a Moderate Tone Towards Future Struggles

Many intellectuals think that the "Yom Kippur War" has not only changed cease-fire borders in the Middle East, but also the status of Jews in American society. Professor Arthur Hertzberg has been since 1974, of the opinion that the results of the war increased both the scepticism and the obligation which U.S. Jews feel towards Israel. Israel Miller, the previous chairman of the Presidents Conference, was criticized for frequently "obeying" recommendations which originated in Jerusalem during his term of office. Miller, who was aware of this, had his reasons: the problems facing Israel are too complex and intricate for him to take the responsibility upon himself and ignore the solutions offered by the government in Jerusalem. His successor, Alex Schindler, attempts to lead the Presidents Conference into forming an independent position which will transform the united organization of American Jewry into an equal partner in policy formulation towards the U.S. The most picturesque and inclusive is probably the definition of Nathan Glazer, the philosopher. He claims that when American Jews come to ask their Christian neighbors to support the safe existence of Israel they resemble "a man exposed to the wind."

I do not know how many of those versions actually represent the condition of American Jewry. This state, full of contradictions, has experienced an endless number of generalized definitions, all of which disintegrated without leaving a trace. Often, he who speaks of a "United-Nation" does not represent more than a few millions who still salute the stars and stripes. Whoever claims that he knows what "all-America" is thinking voices only the opinion of a few thousand intellectuals, politically oriented, who lived along the eastern coast of the U.S. and pretend to evaluate the position and strength of America's Jewry, even if they relate only to its establishment sectors and find themselves dealing with misleading generalizations.

Misleading Generalizations

Mapping the Jewish forces in the U.S. encounters many difficulties in evaluation. Without sophisticated tools which may clear up the situation, it can be almost simultaneously debated that they are getting constantly stronger and that have now reached a peak, from which they are bound to decline. Recently I have listed some Jewish "facts", in chronological order of occurrence, only to discover that they contradict one another, like a list made by a damaged modern calculator.

\* In the elections headquarters of Senator Birch Bayh, who in the meantime has withdrawn from the Democratic race, I have found only Jewish campaigners, a strong indication of their known tendency to influence politics from "behind the screen." In Jimmy Carter's campaign organization, I saw a list on the wall giving the names of campaign activists through the U.S. Although Carter is apparently the Democratic candidate most detached from the Jews, many of the listed names were Lifschitz, Segal and Mandelbaum, etc.

The Agressive Lobby

\* More Senators and members of the House complain that the Jewish "lobby" is aggressive, arm-twisting and unpleasant. It presses and demands. Believes in power, noise and shows of strength. Gone is the modesty which characterized it in the past. They wonder whether this is a new tactic agreed upon by the heads of organizations.

It is difficult to know, but there are doubtless signs of uncomfortable dissatisfaction in the Congress in reaction to the activities of the Jewish "lobby."

\* In New York, Jewish architects are being avoided. Companies with Jewish names don't mention these names in the telephone (book) because the fat contracts are divided among architectural firms representing the Arab countries. Names of Jewish architects don't help in getting those projects. What is new and worrying is that many Jews prefer to let the affair pass quietly. They take monetary compensations or are satisfied with a mere modest assignment only to avoid a scandal. The Village Voice, which exposed the facts, explains that its choice of investigating architecture was coincidental. When reading the report, an Israeli tourist said that during his visits to the U.S. he had heard of a number of enterprises which received large orders from Arab countries who literally purchase all they produce. Jewish salesmen who were previously employed by those manufacturers have quietly disappeared.

\* Twenty-two giant corporations have given their obligation to the American Jewish Congress that they will not yield to the Arab boycott. But hundreds and maybe thousands of companies have complied with the conditions of the boycott. Some of the companies justify their compliance in the duty to respect the laws of countries in which Americans wish to develop their businesses. One of the large corporations, which was brought to trial, did not deny that it gave in to Arab boycott conditions. It claimed that yield to the Arabs is not considered a felony according to American law.

Three months ago, when he entered his office as chairman of the Presidents Conference, Alex Schindler, leader of the Reform movement, granted an exclusive interview to Ha-aretz in which two arguments were emphasized: American Jewry has to formulate an independent policy, without blinding obedience to Jerusalem, in an effort to encourage the dialogue with Israel. In another topic, he trusts the support of the American public for Israel, but is apprehensive about Arab money entering the U.S. economy. This money has a negative influence on the attitude of the business world to the Middle Eastern conflict. This new reality limits U.S. Jewry.

On the following day, after the interview was copied all over the world, there were requests to Schindler to deny, to explain, to correct the statements, which might have been taken out of context. He refused. Some clerks in Jerusalem toyed with the presumption that the new leader wants to enter into office with the public rumble and that this excitement will subside shortly.

But approximately two weeks ago, both Schindler and his political advisor, Yehuda Hellman, were called to Israel. The Prime Minister, Itzhak Rabin, has heard (of) the communique from him. If a clear conflict of interests will be formed between the United States and Israel, American Jewry will not be able to change the White House and State Department attitude.

It could not be inferred from him that American Jews' strength has vanished but rather that Schindler chose to put them in the right perspective. It seems that many Israelis see only the great strength of the Jewish "lobby", and deliberately ignore the argument that even an immense power has distinct limitations. A senior person on the Capitol Hill has told me that awhile ago that the Jewish "lobby" forgets sometimes that the U.S.A. is a Christian society. A bold show of strength is foreign to its mentality.

#### Cold Meeting

In the Presidents Conference a different attitude is emphasized. There is an awareness of the Jewish voters powers, yet it is evident that the leaders have some misgivings about the unplanned and excessive manner in which it is used. The most eminent recent example for it is the cold meeting between the President and Jewish leaders who came to protest the sale of six cargo planes to Egypt. Not only did the Jews leave empty

handed, but it was also largely publicized. This harmed the prestige of the Presidents Conference. In order to repair it, Schindler tries now the restrained style as a political method.

The voice of the Jewish forces is often heard now. From the "lobby" in Washington, there is a strong, loud voice, while from the presidents Conference in New York there comes a more moderate tone. Both voices help to understand the Jewish forces in the United States for the difficult struggle awaiting us on the morrow of the November, 1976 presidential election.

S. Z. ABRAMOV M. A. Jur. D.  
ADVOCATE  
NOTARY  
TEL-AVIV, 2, BAR-COCHBA ST.

P. O. B. 23130 ת.ד.  
TEL. 239587 טל.

ש. ז. אברמוב  
עורך-דין  
נוטריון  
תל-אביב, רחוב בר-כוכבא 2

April 16th 1976

Dear Alex,

I was extremely pleased to receive your letter of the 6th which reflects some of your recent experiences in Israel.

Let me begin with the last part of your letter and attempt an assessment of your visit. Having had occasion to hear many views on this subject, I would summarise it as follows;

(a) To many Israelis, your style of action represented a novel and welcome phenomenon, particularly your policy of extending your contacts beyond officialdom and politicians. It is an innovation worth pursuing and intensifying.

(b) You have injected a new line of political thinking, i.e. that U.S. Jewry is not omnipotent, that important as its influence may be, it is limited, and that its efficacy is confined to its functioning within the broad framework of the American national interest. I used the word "initiated" advisedly, for it is a mere beginning, and therefore, much more will have to be done to make Israeli public opinion fully grasp the significance of this point. Only then will our public opinion be able to evolve a realistic and sober approach to the grave problems facing this country.

(c) Your utterances have made some thoughtful Israelis realize, that Israel must choose very judiciously the issues on which it seeks the support of U.S. Jewry in its confrontation with Washington.

These points, I believe, sum up the results of your first visit to Israel in your capacity as President of C.P.M.J.O. What neither the Israeli leadership nor public opinion have so far comprehended, was that it is incumbent on the Israelis to hold frank and meaningful consultations with the spokesmen of U.S. Jewry, prior to summoning them to public action; this will not be an easy "educational"



task. It must, however, be done. In their present mood, the reluctance and even resistance of the Israeli leaders can be overcome. This is a unique opportunity of initiating a constructive and meaningful dialogue between the two great Jewries of today, which is long overdue.

And now a few remarks concerning the wider scene which you have found "not to be trouble free". This scene, as you realize, embraces many facets of our national life and it exhibits even to the inexperienced observer, certain negative ingredients, which make many people here depressed and even despondent. These negative ingredients have developed over a long period; they merely now come to the fore. It is this broader scene that U.S. Jewry has preferred to ignore, and rather than incur the displeasure of the Israeli establishment, it chose to remain silent on issues and developments which it would not tolerate in the U.S. This was a grave disservice to Israel.

By way of illustration, I will cite a recent utterance by Ambassador Toon, which Israeli officials resented, but many Israelis felt was proper and warranted. He called upon the Israelis to work harder to reduce their dependence on the U.S. It was indeed a pity that such an appeal was not issued by U.S. Jewry; it was their duty to tell this unpleasant truth to their brethren in Israel. What is plaguing Israel is not so much the social gap - but a major malaise afflicting us - the loss of the work ethic, very much the malaise afflicting England today. U.S. Jewry should have reminded the Israelis that unless they begin to treat work seriously, eradicate mass parasitism and make effort and productivity a national priority, the resultant situation will be graver than the external menaces. Without a move in this direction it will be difficult to either raise the national moral nor to strengthen national cohesion. Such a move, I believe, would not be resented even by the Israeli establishment.



I cited the decline of the work ethich as an illustration, one of several, aspects of our national life that need be remedied, painful as the process may be. On all of these issues, U.S. Jewry has not only the right, but owes a duty to speak up in a friendly and constructive manner, to be sure. Their views on crucial internal issues will not be ignored; they will, I am sure, carry greater weight than the exhortations of our leaders. The leaders of Israel are not in a position to day to ignore external Jewish criticism; unlike in the past, they are not now immune to views expressed by the spokesmen for the Diaspora.

The present predicament and the growing dependence on the Diaspora seem to indicate that the stage is ripe for the kind of dialogue which you have, in your own way, initiated on your last visit in Israel, from which, there may gradually evolve that partnership to which Israel has, so far, paid lip service, but which, in fact, has been a one way traffic, where U.S. Jewry has pliantly and uncritically accepted Israeli policies and practices, whether in the domain of foreign or of domestic affairs. The initiative towards a new development must obviously come from the U.S., and you have made a beginning in the direction of taking a more comprehensive view of Israeli external and internal realities. The further pursuit of a new policy calls, of course, for careful planning, including the choice of issue to be put on the public agenda.

I have written a longer letter than I had intended. I felt, however, that time and circumstances have placed you in a position, or rather have afforded you the unique opportunity of initiating a new departure of historic dimensions in the relationship between Israel and U.S. Jewry.

With warmest regards to you and Rhea,

Cordially,

*Salmon*

✓  
Good

April 27, 1976

FROM: Rabbi Alexander M. Schindler, Chairman  
TO: Presidents of Constituent Organizations

During my recent visit to Israel in behalf of the Presidents' Conference, I asked a member of the Knesset to give me an honest evaluation of my meetings in Israel. I am enclosing herewith a copy of his response which I believe will be of interest to you.

I call your particular attention to the latter paragraphs, especially in light of the discussion we had the other day as to whether the Presidents' Conference should or should not express views on Israeli internal matters.

Cordial greetings.

Encl.

Letter to Rabbi Alexander M. Schindler from member of the Knesset

April 16, 1976

I was extremely pleased to receive your letter of the 6th which reflects some of your recent experiences in Israel.

Let me begin with the last part of your letter and attempt an assessment of your visit. Having had occasion to hear many views on this subject, I would summarize it as follows:

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April 6, 1976

Mr. Zvi Ephron  
Rachov Feivel, 13  
Tel-Aviv, Israel

Dear Zvi:

I am deeply grateful to you for your many kindnesses to me. And I want to thank you and your lovely wife for your most warm and gracious hospitality.

My conversation with Sharon was extremely interesting. His well conceived position, which he articulates well, is one with which I have a problem but only because I deem it to be really unrealistic in terms of the present geo-political facts. But that does not mean that I underestimate the seriousness of his view nor do I underestimate the worth it should be given by the Jewish people in weighing its options.

I surely need not tell you how terrible I feel about my reaction to Ezer Weizman's pronouncements. If I had only been a little less tired my guard would have been up and I would probably have chosen to ignore the comments. I had gone without sleep for two or three nights and was totally exhausted and thus my reaction.

I was not really angry at Ezer, I have someone very much like him on my staff, a kind of enfant terrible who often speaks not only impulsively but with a desire to shock. But it is true that the attitude which Ezer reflected is not absent from Israel, on the contrary it may well be the predominant view and it does no one any good.

The only thing I really feel terrible about is not my having answered Ezer but because my response kind of put a pall over the spirit which you and your wife tried to create,,of which I was most aware and for which I am most grateful.

With warmest regards to you both, I am

Sincerely,

Rabbi Alexander M. Schindler  
Chairman



April 6, 1976

S.Z. Abramov, M.K.  
P.O. Box 23130  
Tel-Aviv, Israel

Dear Zalman:

It was wonderful to see you; it always is a joy to me to be with you. But I am sorry that both the message which I brought and the spirit which I found were not exactly trouble-free.

The backward glance of the past several days has not diminished my perception that something must be done about giving greater cohesiveness and unity both to the program and to the leadership of the government. If there is anything at all I can do, in your judgment, to help in this process do let me know. I will be grateful for your advice and more than willing to be of aid.

I would also ask that you give me your honest assessment and since I trust your judgment very much I ask that you not mince words in responding to me. I am eager to have your open opinion.

Rhea joins me in sending fondest regards.

Sincerely,

Alexander M. Schindler  
Chairman

February 13, 1976

His Excellency, The Israel Ambassador Simcha Dinitz  
Embassy of Israel  
1621 22nd Street, Northwest  
Washington, D.C. 20008

Dear Simcha:

Enclosed is a copy of our letter to President Ford.  
It was hand delivered to David Lissy and Joe Sisco.

I hope you are feeling better.

With warmest regards from house to house, I am

Sincerely,

Rabbi Alexander M. Schindler  
Chairman

Encl.

# CONFERENCE OF PRESIDENTS OF MAJOR AMERICAN JEWISH ORGANIZATIONS

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

## AFFILIATED ORGANIZATIONS:

American Israel Public  
Affairs Committee  
American Jewish Congress  
American Mizrahi Women's  
Organization  
American Zionist Federation  
Anti-Defamation League  
B'nai B'rith  
B'nai B'rith Women  
Bnai Zion  
Central Conference of  
American Rabbis  
Council of Jewish Federations  
and Welfare Funds (observer)  
Hadassah  
Jewish Labor Committee  
Jewish Reconstructionist  
Foundation  
Jewish War Veterans  
of the U.S.A.  
Labor Zionist Alliance  
Mizrachi-Hapoel Hamizrachi  
National Committee for  
Labor Israel, Inc.  
National Council of  
Jewish Women  
National Council of  
Young Israel  
National Federation of  
Temple Sisterhoods  
National Jewish Community  
Relations Advisory Council  
National Jewish Welfare Board  
North American Jewish  
Youth Council  
Pioneer Women  
The Rabbinical Assembly  
Rabbinical Council of America  
Union of American Hebrew  
Congregations  
Union of Orthodox Jewish  
Congregations of America  
United Synagogue of America  
Women's American ORT  
Women's League for  
Conservative Judaism  
World Zionist Organization  
American Section, Inc.  
Zionist Organization of America

February 11, 1976

The President  
The White House  
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mr. President:

I write to convey to you our Conference's grave concern with the reports given wide circulation in the public press that the administration is giving serious consideration, indeed, is about to reach a decision on a program of arms aid and sales to Egypt.

As you know, we have been understanding of and sympathetic with the general thrust of American foreign policy which seeks to strengthen the moderate forces in the Arab world and which has been so successful in drawing Egypt more closely into the orbit of U.S. influence. As a consequence, we have accepted and even supported the granting of extensive economic aid to Egypt. Not only is this wise, but it is also morally right.

But the sale of arms to Egypt is another matter in its entirety.

To begin with, we see no justifiable need for such aid. Egypt, even now, and thanks to the lavish rearmament program of the U.S.S.R., enjoys a vast superiority in arms and personnel over Israel. Does Egypt really need more military equipment? Does it stand under the threat of imminent attack? In a word, we fear that such sales to Egypt will only further impair that tenuous balance of power which presently obtains and which is the necessary precondition of peace. Military supplies for Egypt must be seen in the context of the arms which are supplied to Syria, Jordan, Saudi Arabia and a host of other Arab countries from a variety of sources.

Moreover, the experience of the past has taught America that once such arms are dispatched, their disposition can never really be restrained, all promises to the contrary notwithstanding. No one can be certain where this equipment will be sent or how it will ultimately be used. All effective American control might well be lost.

These, then, are some of the reasons among others which give rise to our concerns, and we would much appreciate your thoughtful response to them.

Again, we have no objection in principle to economic aid, and I write even from the more personal experience of a recent lengthy journey through that land. What Egypt needs are tractors and not tanks; what its people desperately need and want is bread and not more bullets.

Very sincerely yours,

Rabbi Alexander M. Schindler  
Chairman

AMS:arf