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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.

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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

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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

Alles Gute wünscht  
Liba Weingarten, geb. Löbel  
(aus Plauen i/Th)

*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  
sind den U.S.A. zurückgekommen 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 Yerschmick Löbel  
Wallingford, Conn. U.S.A. (etc.)

(signed) Liba Weingarten  
niece  
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

1  
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 Sz 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



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Nummer 27

Berlin, 27. IV. 1920

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XXV. Jahrg.

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 Mandatar-macht 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 den Juden zugesprochen; die fast zweitausendjährige Epoche der Verbannung hat ihr Ende gefunden. Eine neue Zeit hebt an; der Auszug beginnt; das jüdische Volk steht, des Wanderns müde, an der Schwelle des alten Heimatlandes, dem es durch die Jahrtausende, in all den Leiden und Nöten der Wander-schaft, 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 entsüßmen. 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 über-menschlichem Ringen mit türkischen Widersachern die Sache unseres Volkes geführt haben und nun mit Gemutigung 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 er-innert, 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 vor-bereitet; wir stehen vor der Gefahr, daß es uns so ergeht wie einst dem ersten Geschlecht des Aus-zuges aus Ägypten, das wegen seiner Kleinmütig-keit 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; viele 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 Groß-britannien gegeben, indem er Frankreich und Großbritannien die Regelung der Grenzfrage überläßt. Es ist ferner beschlossen, daß das Statut, das Großbritannien für Palästina auszu-arbeiten 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 Konsu-laten 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 Knecht-schaft zurückschauen! Das Werk der Befreiung heischt ungeheure Anstrengung. Ein Neues soll von uns bewirkt werden.

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 Verstärk-ung der jüdischen Positionen dringend erforderlich ist. Die arabische Gegnerschaft ist nach den über-einstimmenden Darstellungen künstlich entfacht; das arabische Volk selbst sieht die Vorteile einer jü-dischen Einwanderung ein und wird sich über-zeugen, daß die Juden in friedlicher Absicht kommen. Die endgültige Entscheidung der Fried-enskonferenz wird zweifellos auch den Ver-hetzungsversuchen ein Ende machen, welche diese Entscheidung noch im letzten Augenblick beein-flussen 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 Ver-gleich 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 Einzel-heiten der Bestimmungen. Aber durch den Beschluß von San Remo ist das Ziel des Zionismus, daß die Judenfrage als politische Frage durch internationale Vereinbarung ge-löst 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 Mensch-heit.

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 Vor-standes 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 dank-bar 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 Dele-giertentag nachfolgendes Schreiben eingelaufen:

„Die glückverheißende Nachricht, die Sie uns soeben übermitteln, hat uns aufs höchste erfreut und die hellste Begeisterung bei uns ausgelöst, der wir im Dank zu Gott nach uralter jüdischer Weise Ausdruck verliehen haben. Nehmen Sie im Moment des historischen Wende-punktes im Geschehe unseres Volkes unsere wärmsten brüderlichen Glückwünsche. Mit herzlichem Zionsgruß: Delegiertentag des Misrahi in Deutschland. gez. Her-mann 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, be-sonders 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 Ge-schichte. 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

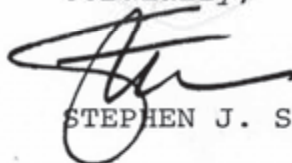
Rabbi Alexander M. Schindler  
Conference of Presidents  
515 Park Avenue  
New York, N.Y. 10022

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:cid





FOREWORD

**THE PROSPECTS FOR PEACE IN THE  
MIDDLE EAST: A FIRSTHAND REPORT**

**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

U.S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE  
WASHINGTON : 1977



# THE PROSPECTS FOR PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST: A FIRSTHAND REPORT

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AUGUST 15, 1977

Printed for the use of the Committee on International Relations

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WASHINGTON : 1977

22-24

## 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.*

I have returned from my trip more convinced than ever of the importance of our historic commitment to the survival and security of Israel, 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 to the Congress, as we continue the latest diplomatic efforts underway to find a 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 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.*

## 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

## AMERICAN JEW ARCHIVE



## 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 16, 1977

Hon. CLYDE J. WARRICK,  
Chairman, Committee on International Relations, U.S. House of Representatives,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. CHAIRMAN: Enclosed is a report on the fact-finding 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.

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Sincerely,

STEPHEN J. SOLAR,  
Member of Congress.

# THE PROSPECTS FOR PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST: A CONTENTS

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## (VII)

In an effort to make a first-hand assessment of the prospects for peace in the Middle East, I recently went on a fact-finding mission to Israel for the Committee on International Relations. On previous visits to the region, I had explored Arab as well as Israeli attitudes toward the conflict in great depth. But now that a new government has taken office in Israel, I thought it would be particularly useful to detail the various components of the conflict with them. In 5 days I met with a wide variety of Israeli leaders, including Prime Minister Menachem Begin, Foreign Minister Ezer Weizman, Education Minister Moshe Dayan, Defense Minister Josef Burg, Labor Minister Zeev Herson, Justice Minister Ariel Sharon, Opposition Leader Shimon Peres, and Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin, as well as Yigal Yadin, Shmuel Limor, and Amnon Rubinstein of the Democratic Movement for Change; Zelman Shoval and Moshe Arens of the Likud; Yehuda Ben Meir of the National Religious Party; Leva Elia; of the Peace and Freedom Party, and Rabbi Menachem Porch of the Agudat Yisrael. In addition, I met with a number of leading intellectuals, journalists, and diplomats, including Yehoshafat Harkabi, the Intelligence Advisor to the Prime Minister, Moshe Meir, the director of the Truman Institute at the Hebrew University in Jerusalem, Louis Gutmann, the director of the Institute for Applied Social Research, Hanna Zeimer, the editor of Davar, William Farrel, the Jerusalem correspondent of the New York Times, and our own Ambassador to Israel, Sam Lewis, who has been a first-hand participant in the peace process himself as one of the most important negotiators we have ever sent there.

## 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 anti-aircraft 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

2nd 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 losing 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 York 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 REBECC 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:

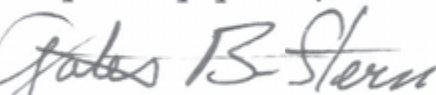
It would be enlightening to know how or why the Union of American Hebrew Congregations has failed to take public cognizance of "Le Paradoxe Juif" by Nahum Goldmann. Mr. Goldmann played such an important role in the creation of the State of Israel and has been so significant in the Zionist movement that, 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 COMMITTEES:  
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:

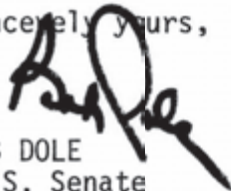
Many thanks for your thoughtful letter of June 20. Needless to say, I appreciate very much your taking the time to contact the head of the North American Desk of the Israel Foreign Ministry regarding my upcoming visit.

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

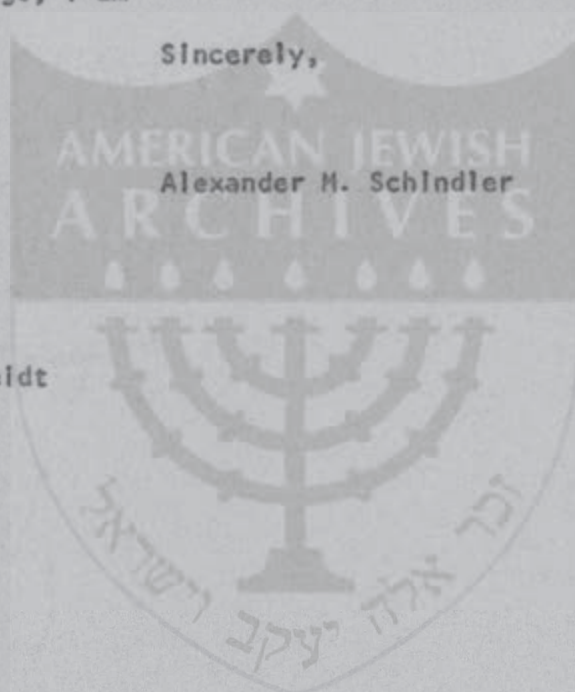
With kindest greetings, I am

Sincerely,

AMERICAN JEWISH  
ARCHIVES

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:

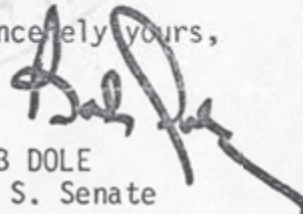
Many thanks for your letter of May 25, and it was good seeing you at the Salute to Gerald Ford Dinner.

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. א. א. 24/11. 1971

צו

רבי ז"ל אלעקסאנדער שידלער,  
פרעזידענט פון דער פרעזידענט-קאנפערענץ,  
ביו יארק.

זייער חשובער און טייערער רבי ז"ל אלעקסאנדער שידלער,  
איר דערמאנט זיך געוויס אין אלע מיידע באמיראנגען מיט אייך זיך צו טרעפן פאר  
אין אינטערוויו פאר די זעקס/6 יידישע צייטונגען פון פארשיידענע לענדער  
פאר וועלכע איך שטייב.

אין ווייט זייער גוט ווי פארנומען און פאריאגט איר זענט געווען וועגן  
עבייט פאליטישע און באציאנאל יידישע. איצט, אז אלע אייערע אנשטרענגונגען  
צו דערפירן צו אזא דערפאלגרייכער פארשאנדעניש צווישן אמעריקאנער פרעזידענט  
מיטן פעמיער מיניסטער פון ישראל מנחם בעגון און צו דערגרייכן אזא שטארקע  
פארבינדערונג צווישן אמעריקאנער יידישע מיט ישראל און דאס איר מענט  
זיין שטאלץ, האף איך, אז וועט געפלינען און א ביסל צייט פאר מיר, כדי צו  
קענען מאכן מיט אייך אן אינטערוויו טאקע וועגן די טאמע לעצטע פאליטישע  
מיסיעס וואס אייך איז געלונגען אדורכצופירן.

אין האב געהאט געזעען אן אינטערוויו מיט אייך אין פארווערטס, אבער איך  
פארטרעט זעקס/6 יידישע צייטונגען און מוזן אמעריקע. מיין עצם שרייבן  
איז אבערש און אינדירעקטעל.

אין האף, אז דאס מאל וועט איר מיר געבן א געלעגנהייט אייך צו אינטערווירן  
אין וועל אייך דאנקען פאר א שפעלע תשובה בנוגע דער דאטע און דער צייט

מיט דרך - ארץ

געבן א סילקעס

Ms.  
Geme 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

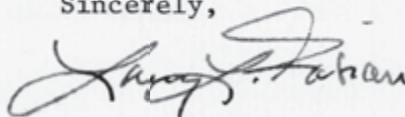
Rabbi Alexander Schindler  
President  
Union of American Hebrew Congregations  
2027 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W.  
Washington, D.C. 20036

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.

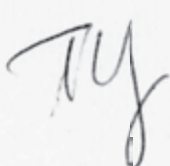
Our records show that the President of the Endowment, Thomas L. Hughes, sent you an early copy with his compliments on February 25th. We have no explanation for why you did not receive it, but I do want you to have another personal copy, which I am sending you under separate cover.

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, next...*

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 (1932-1953)

RICHARD B. BERRYMAN  
DAVID E. BIRENBAUM  
JAMES B. BLINKOFF  
PETER D. EHRENHAFT  
MILTON EISENBERG  
JOEL R. FEIDELMAN  
WILLIAM JOSEPHSON

MAX M. KAMPELMAN  
KENNETH S. KRAMER  
ARTHUR LAZARUS, JR.  
MELVIN RISKE  
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. HIRT  
WILLIAM B. HOFFMAN  
DENNIS M. HORN  
CAROL HERNDON ISRAEL  
MARTIN A. KAMARCK  
JAY R. KRAEMER

CATHERINE R. MACK  
FRANCIS J. OTTOLE  
JOSEPH J. PETRILLO  
VANESSA RUIZ  
LAWRENCE R. SIDMAN  
WILLIAM E. SUDOW  
SCOTT A. SUGARMAN  
TIMOTHY SULLIVAN  
HOWARD M. WEINMAN  
W. RICHARD WEST  
JULIE L. WILLIAMS  
ERIC J. ZAHLER

FREDERICK SASS, JR.  
COUNSEL

(202) 965-9400  
CABLE "STERIC WASHINGTON"  
TELEX 892406

120 BROADWAY  
NEW YORK, N.Y. 10005  
(212) 964-8500  
TELEX: 820223

1 THROGMORTON AVENUE  
LONDON, EC2N 2JT, 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:

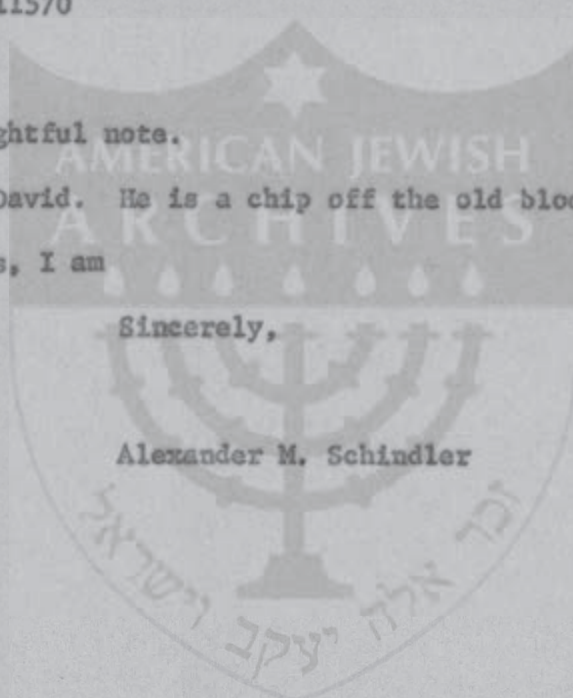
Thank you for your thoughtful note.

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 spokesmanship 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

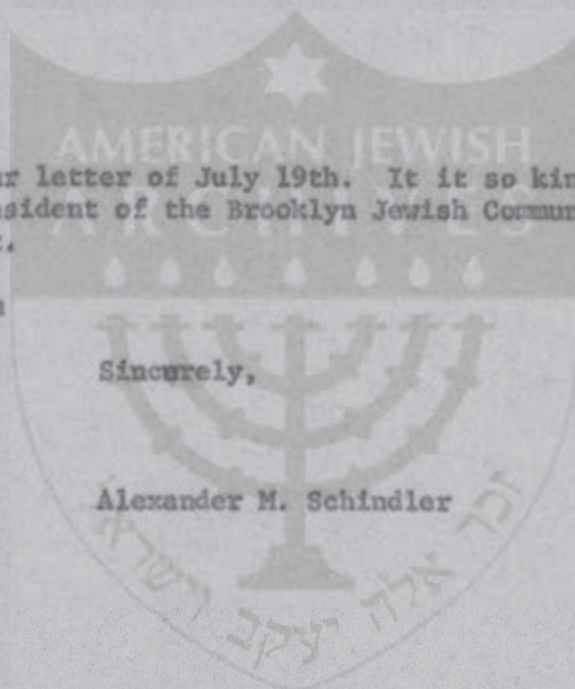
Dear Judge Adler:

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

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*President*

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*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

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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.

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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 Weiner, 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.

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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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16 COURT STREET  
BROOKLYN 1, N.Y. 11241

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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:

בנין מנחם, ראש ממשלה, ישראל, תל אביב, 26.5.77.

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 *גאולה* and *אשליה*, 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: *הממשלה החדשה, בנין מנחם, ראש ממשלה, ישראל, תל אביב, 26.5.77*, 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 *ארץ ישראל*. 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 *עַמִּיּוּת*. 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 *לפי דין תורה*, which is defined as *כדי שלא יאמרו גוים כי ישראל עברו עליהם* (דברים 32:44).

The Halachic questions on this point have been discussed in the Responsa dealing with the sale of fields to an Arab for *גמלי* purposes.

Wishing you a *שנה טובה* and *חג שמח*

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 ~~us~~ of us are gratified with the high level diplomacy, statesmanship of your leadership.

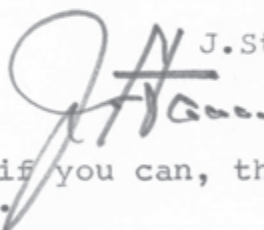
Something new (and dangerous) has been added to our troubles--the "geshrai" that Carter is anti-Israel. I think such noise should be promptly throttled.

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.

*W. Stamm*



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 OGAR 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 divergant 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.



June 9, 1976

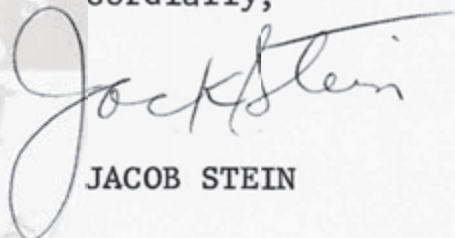
I believe that general public statements critical of Israel's foreign or domestic policies are seized upon in this Country by those seeking to divide our legislature in its support for Israel and it weakens the effectiveness of the Presidents Conference in achieving its goals.

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, reading "Jacob Stein". The signature is written in dark ink and is positioned to the right of the typed 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. Sisco. "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.

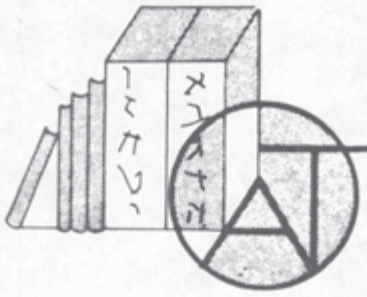
With kindest greetings, I am

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 JMW, 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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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 officialdom 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 ethic 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 today 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.



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

