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American Zionist Committee for Public Affairs, 1954-1956.

AMERICAN ZIONIST COMMITTEE FOR PUBLIC AFFAIRS

1737 H STREET N.W. • WASHINGTON 6, D.C. • EXecutive 3-1060

Louis Lipsky, Chairman

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MRS. MOSES P. EPSTEIN
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I. L. KENEN, Executive Director

July 2, 1954

Dear Dr. Silver:

We rushed this through and I sincerely hope it came out all right. It is going to all of our local contacts today and to members of Congress, and the A.Z.C. in New York has taken 5,000 copies which it will distribute. Thank you for calling us so quickly with your corrections.

Please let me know how many additional copies you would like for your use.

Best regards.

Cordially,

I. L. Kenen

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver 19810 Shaker Boulevard Cleveland, Ohio

Enclosures

AIR MAIL-SPECIAL DELIVERY

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ZIONISTS-REVISIONISTS OF AMERICA

Israel I. L. KENEN 1737 H STREET N.W. EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR AMERICAN ZIONIST COMMITTEE WASHINGTON 6, D.C. FOR PUBLIC AFFAIRS EXECUTIVE 3-1060 July 19, 1954 Dear Dr. Silver: I thought you would like to know that we published 15,000 copies of your statement and that they are being widely distributed. On top of that, George Bender has put it into the Congressional Record. This is quite remarkable, since it does contain such a sharp attack on Mrs. Bolton. Bender did this at the request of our office here. It was pointed out to him that the speech did contain an attack on his Cleveland colleague. I enclose a memorandum which we have drawn up which contains all of Mrs. Bolton's anti-Israel statements during the course of the hearings. I am sure that you will want this should some of her supporters claim that you have treated her unfairly. Best regards. Dr. Abba Hillel Silver The Temple Ansel Road and 105th Street Cleveland 6, Ohio Enclosure

# AMERICAN ZIONIST COMMITTEE FOR PUBLIC AFFAIRS

1737 H STREET N. W. . WASHINGTON 6, D. C. . EXecutive 3-1060

Louis Lipsky, Chairman

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I. L. KENEN, Executive Director

October 14, 1954

# MEMORANDUM FOR ACTION #10

Dear Friend:

URGENT

It is the unanimous view of the leaders of all American Zionist bodies that immediate action be taken throughout the country to give vigorous expression to the mounting concern of American friends of Israel on current developments in the Middle East.

Decisions on the crucial question of arms to the Arab states may be made within the next few weeks in Washington. The sending of arms to Iraq is imminent. Egypt's military strength is to be increased. These developments have fortified Arab intransigence, and within the last few days Arab leaders have brushed aside Israel's renewed offer of non-aggression pacts at the UN. They have seized an Israel ship going through the Suez Canal; they have stepped up the attacks on Israel's frontiers and they have delivered violent anti-Israel speeches at the UN.

Accordingly, we urge you to convene public meetings in your community to protest against the proposed grant of arms to the Arab states and to challenge the State Department's apparent intention to exclude Israel from any consideration in plans for the defense of the Middle East.

Such meetings should be held as quickly as possible. Preferably, they should have broad community sponsorship, but may be convened under Zionist auspices. Under no circumstances should they be permitted to deteriorate into political rallies or partisan attacks on the Eisenhower Administration, since we are determined that support for Israel should remain bipartisan as it has always been in the past.

In your choice of speakers, please be careful to make certain that:

- 1. If any candidates for office are invited, both political parties are properly represented and that
- 2. All the speakers are prepared to make statements opposing the arms program to the Arab states.

Your meeting should adopt a resolution challenging the arms program both from the standpoint of America's national interest as well as Israel's security.

If it is impossible to arrange for the type of meeting we suggest, we urge you to use other meetings to bring this issue to the forefront. You might consider securing the adoption of resolutions by local Jewish Community Councils or by ad hoc conferences of representative Jewish organizations.

\*

We again emphasize the importance of securing statements from all candidates for Congress in accordance with our letter of September 16. If you have not already done so, please act at once to see that all Congressional candidates are asked to sign the declaration which we have previously sent you, or to make statements along similar lines. You should arrange to have such statements publicized locally, but in any event you should send them to us as soon as possible, since it is our desire to publish a substantial number of these statements simultaneously in Washington.

Please let us know at once whether you are in a position to arrange for the meetings that we have suggested and any other steps you are taking in this connection.

Lonis Lipsky

Louis Lipsky Chairman

# Text of Eisenhower's Talk at Jewish Tercentenary Dinner Here

The text of President Eisenhower's address here last night, as prepared for delivery at the American Jewish Tercentenary dinner, follows:

Fellow Americans-

We have come together in memory of an inspring moment in history-that moment, 300 years ago, when a small band of follow: Jewish people arrived on the ship Saint Charles in what was then the Dutch coloney of New Amsterdam. It was an event meaningful not only the Jews of America, but to all Americans -of all faiths, of all national origins.

On that day there came to these shores twenty-three people whose distant ancestors had, trough the Old Testament, given new dimensions of meaning to the concepts of freedom and justice, mercy and righteousness, kindness and understandingideas and ideals which were to flower on this continent. They were of a people who had done much to give to Western civilization the principle of human dignity; they came to a land which would flourish—beyond all seventeenth century dreams-because it fostered that dignity among its citizens.

Of all religious concepts, this belief in the infinite worth of the individual is beyond doubt among the most important. On this faith our forefathers constructed the framework of our Republic.

In this faith in human dignity is the major difference between our own concept of life and that of enemies of freedom. The chief of these enemies a decade and more ago were Nazi and Fascist forces which destroyed so many of our fellow men. Today, the Communist conspiracy is the principal influence that derides the truth of human worth and, with atheistic ruthlessness, seeks to destroy the free institutions established on the foundation of that truth.

Asher Levy and his party came to this land on that longago day because even then they had to find a country where they could safely put into prac-tice their belief in the dignity

of man. In this respect—as in so many others-they were no different from scores of other groups that landed on our shores. Only thirty-four years earlier another party had landed at Plymouth Rock. That group, too, came here in the hope of escaping persecution-of gaining religious of settling the wilderness to build their homes and rear their families.

And there was another noble concept of our common Judeo-Christian civilization shared by these two groups and by all others who have come to this land: the ideal of peace.

I recall that wonderful prophecy of Isaiah: "And the work of righteousness shall be peace; and the effect of righteousness, quietness and assurance for-

## Peace in Freedom Our Ideal

The pursuit of peace is at once our religious obligation and our national policy. Peace in freedom-where all men dwell in security-is the ideal toward which our foreign policy is di-

I know that I am speaking to people who deeply love peace. I know that, with all other Americans, you share a profound thanksgiving that, for the first time in twenty years, there is no active battlefield anywhere in the world.

Moreover, while fighting has been brought to a halt during the past twenty-one months, still other developments favorable to the maintenance of peace have been brought about through understanding and through persistent and patient work, in which your Government has been a helpful participant. Some of these developments have commanded our headlines - Korea, Indochina, Egypt, Trieste, Iran, Guate-

Our people and their Government are dedicated to making this a just and lasting peace.

In the years immediately ahead the advancement of peace will demand much of usour strength, our patience, our wisdom, our will. It will demand, above all, a realistic comprehension of the world and of its challenging problems. Some of the factors in these problems

are new, some old. The principal and continuing factor is the persistenity aggressive design of Moscow and Peiping, which shows no evidence of genuine change despite their professed desire to relax tensions and to preserve peace. Continuing, also, is the breadth and scope of the Communist attack; no weapon is absent from their arsenal, whether intended for destruction of cities and people or for the destruction of truth, integrity, loyalty.

The major new fatcor in the world today, beside the absence President's Talk and College Citation

Special to The New York Times. The texts of President Eisenhower's address at Trinity College, and of the college's citation young minds are exposed to of him for an honorary degree,

#### Address by Eisenhower

President Jacobs, trustees, the faculty, the student body, he friends of Trinity's family

It would be indeed difficult for me to find the words in which to express the deep sense of pride I have in accepting the honorary doctorate of this college, and my pride does not spring solely from the fact that this is a venerable institution of learning, one with a great standing among the colleges of our country, its academic excellence, not merely because your president happens to be one of my old and valued friends and associates, but more particularly because of my very deep respect for the always great and now rapidly increasing importance of the institution of learning in the life of our nation and of the world.

Time was when there could be disputes among nations and each could mobilize for itself an army or a fighting force which it could send out, and having met the other fighting force upon the field of battle, a decision was reached, and the nations and their political agencies and institutions obeyed that decision, and presumably the winner derived some advantage from the contest.

Those days have gradually left us. Professional armies, professional navies have given way to the nation in arms; and now we have had, in these modern days, science give to us weapons that mean not only is the whole nation in arms, but the whole nation is constantly exposed to the threat of destruction.

We have arrived at that point, my friends, when war does not present the possibility of victory or defeat. War would present to us only the alternative in degrees of destruction. There could be no truly successful

#### Defines a University Now many individuals through

the ages have attempted in a sentence to define exactly what

With any and all who demon-

strate honesty of purpose, we are happy to confer. But well

we realize that, in the circum-

stances of the moment, America

must remain strong-and the

community of free nations must

likewise remain strong-to dis-

courage the use of force in the

world. In this effort, we must

help to harmonize the divergent

views of the many free, self-

governing nations, and without

encroaching upon rights which

all people cherish. For in the

diversities of freedom are a

tremendous might-a might

which the imposed system of

Outlines Paths to Follow

unmatched productivity and

power, both existing and poten-

tial, holds a prime responsibility

for maintaining peace. How,

then, shall we meet this respon-

sibility? With what policies can

we best pursue our goal of

clear. Our nation does not

covet the territory of any

people. We have no wish to

dominate others. The peace we

seek is a secure and a just

peace, not bought at the ex-

pense of others, of principle,

or of abject surrender of our

vital interests. Peace so bought

would at best be an illusion, and

at worst a permanent loss of

The following avenues must

First, we must tirelessly seek -through the United Nations,

through every other available

means-to establish the condi-

Second, we must promote the

Third, we must maintain

enough military strength to de-

ter aggression and promote

In these thoughts, we Amer-

To examine briefly the first

principal avenue, we stand ready

icans overwhelmingly agree.

unity and collective strength of

tions for honorable peace.

other free peoples.

be trod as we make our way to-

all that we hold most dear.

ward our peaceful goal.

fundamentals

Certain

Our nation, because of its

communism can never match.

peace.

is an institution of learning. HARTFORD, Conn., Oct. 20- One that I think is particularly applicable at this day and time is this: it is a place where great minds.

The reason I think that this particular definition has growing applicability is because education, if it ever could, can certainly no longer discharge its responsibility by mere imposing of fact. There must be an understanding, an understanding of the relationships of one fact to another fact, and one community to another, or one trade to another, of one geographical area to another. And above all, one nation to another.

If we are to achieve such understanding it is not enough that we know the geographical location of a friendly or potentially hostile nation, even that we know its potential strength, even that our intelligence reports on it are accurate to the nth degree. If we are to develop the kind of understanding that will avoid the great catastrophe of war. we must know about the cultures of these countries, the history of them. And above all, why do they react to certain actions, certain considerations and circumstances in this world in a different way from which we do. Will we be able to achieve an understanding that shows why they do it, make allowances for it, and then knowing that, go ahead and in devising and composing those arrangements in the world that will gradually abolish this terrible scourge?

Indeed I think we could put it this way: Our institutions of learning and our churches have become the true mobilization centers of those forces which may now save civilization and preserve those forms of life, those concepts of human dignity and right on which our civilization has been based. Unless there is this understanding developed in our institutions of learning, and unless that understanding is related to the truth, of the essentially spiritual character of man with his spiritual longings and aspirations, we cannot do our duty by ourselves, or to those to whom it is our duty to pass on this civilization and this country of

And so in these halting words,

to make you see what is the great privilege and the great opportunity which is yours today in this great institution of learning. All over this land people-the generation that must very quickly take over-incidentally, let me digress a bit: I most thoroughly believe in young men, and I think it is a very simple proposition, if I am lucky I may own fifteen or twenty years of the United States. If each of you is lucky, you own about sixty years. And I think you ought to take a very great comparative interest on that basis.

But at this very moment you are passing through that stage of your life when you grasp these relationships, an understanding of the relations between a broad comprehension of tensions and stresses in the world and the spiritual values that must always underlie any solution to moral and spiritual values that must be present in any solution that you can devise and propose for the composition

of the world's troubles. I think there is no use laboring the subject. Let me for just a moment, in closing, be a bit more personal. To each of you my warmest thanks for the cordiality of your welcome, for the attention you have paid me. I think I would be remiss also if I did not thank the Proctor for reciting what I deduce to be complimentary passages with respect to myself—in Latin.

Since it was obvious that the tone was friendly, there must have been exaggeration. And the Latin at least had the virtue of concealing these exaggerations from me, and so saving me embarrassment. I assure you I did understand several words, "Dwight David Eisenhowever" and "Ike." And that explains to you how far my own Latin is behind these many

To each of you, good luck—God bless you and be with you.

## Citation by Trinity

Long shall Trinity men, Mr. President, remember the presence here, the words, the fellowship with our college of the President of the United States who, knowing that the founda-

my friends, my purpose is to try tion of the state is the education of its youth, has come into our midst, even as did his predecessor, Theodore Roosevelt, to break the bread of his wisdom with our youth. He has so lived and acted in the crises of our time that his deeds in the service of his country and of the world need no words of This supreme commander,

who in the hedgerows of Nor-

mandy wielded the might thunderbolt of Zeus and now, like a light-giving Prometheus, is giving atoms for peace to make America memorable in the promotion of the good life, has accomplished achievements which have a home in the minds of men; they stir us to fix our eyes on the greatness of America, causing us to remember that it was won by men with courage, with a knowledge of their duty, and with a sense of honor in action. Such an Athenian has come into our midst to inspire us so that we may rear everywhere monuments of virtue and freedom, and thus make our country an education for the world.

Amid the applause of Trinity men I present to you our "Ike" who has won our highest respect for his humility, friendly sincerity and integrity; our love for his tolerance, human understanding and fairness in handling every problem; our admiration for the quickness of perception and penetrating analysis in those sudden crises which admit of littl eor no deliberation; an expert in the humane use of power who amid great responsibilities forgets not the logistics of the heart (as in Africa, when he sent to a bereaved mother the mascot of a pilot lost in action); a well-read general who, because of his love for youth and learning needed no Cicero to instruct him, "Let the sword give way to the gown"-that of your Columbia University—a liberal statesman who is etching our "E Pluribus Unum" into the seal of a free world, extending to all men the blessings that the Bill of Rights has given us.

Honor with the testament of all our good wishes your friend, former colleague, a great American and world leader, the President of the United States, Dwight David Eisenhower.

on Suez. Iran has been helped

in settling its difficult internal

problems and is moving toward

firm and friendly relations with

In the Near East, we are all

regretfully aware that the ma-

jor differences between Israel

and the Arab States remain un-

resolved. Our goal there, as

elsewhere, is a just peace. By

friendship toward both, we

shall continue to contribute to

peaceful relations among these

peoples. And in helping to

strengthen the security of the

entire Near East, we shall make

sure that any arms we provide

are devoted to that purpose, not

to creating local imbalances

which could be used for intimi-

dation of or aggression against

any neighboring nations. In

every such arrangement we

make with any nation, there is

simple assurance that this dis-

tortion of purpose cannot occur.

born problems have been re-

solved with patience and for-

bearance surely justifies our

hope that, by similar efforts,

the nations of the free world

will be able to eliminate other

The fact that so many stub-

the West.

sive military strength; to relieve disasters from flood or famine. Economic relations, however, are not a one-way street. If the common goal is to be reached, free nations must subordinate the selfish to the gen-

eral interest. All must bear their fair share of the common burden. All must do more to liberalzie the exchange of goods among free peoples. Let us be mindful, first of all, of our own responsibility in this field. Bold action could release powerful forces of economic enterprise from which the whole free world would benefit. If there were no other reason

to repair the ravages of war; to ease economic difficulties caused

by vital efforts to build defen-

for national policy being concerned every day and every minute with the nation's economy and with full employment, it would be justified by the need for this kind of economic strength in meeting world prob-

We must continue to explore ways in which nuclear discoveries can be turned to the service of man's peaceful needs. Since our nation's proposal for an international effort toward this end was laid before the United Nations last December, we have taken the initiative in this direction. We would welcome the participation of the Soviet Union. But this great effort for human welfare cannot wait upon their decision.

Our third major road leads us to maintain enough military strength to deter aggression and to help keep peace in the world. This strength is a trust on

which rests the hope of free

#### Armed Might Can't Be Static

Neither in size nor in character can our military establishment remain static. With constantly changing dangers, with rapidly changing developments in the science of warfare, our military forces, too, must change. From atomic submarine to atomic cannon, from new weapon systems to new military organizations, this giant, complex structure must respond to the current needs of our time. Above all, its purpose is to prevent aggression and war. Our forces will never be used to initiate war against any nation; they will be used only for the defense of the

Together with the armed strength of other free nations, our military power-the greatest in our peacetime history-is today a deterrent to war. This awesome power we must and shall maintain, for we are determined that at all times, in today's uncertain world, we shall be able to deal effectively and flexibly with whatever situations may arise.

My friends, in these many ways our nation will continue tirelessly in its quest for yeace based on justice. In recent months, we have come far-and yet we know that the road ahead is long and difficult. But we shall continue to press on toward our goal.

And as we do, we shall keep faith with those of earliest America who, as they came to these shores three centuries and more ago, luanching a venture in freedom unralleled in man's struggl eover the ages, sought peace and freedof and justice, for themselves and for those who were to follow.

Yes, my friends, we know, with the Prophet Isaiah, that the work of righteousness shall be peace.

We know that the Lord will give strength unto all of us as we strive tirelessly, confidently,

Rogers Peet

OUR FIFTH AVENUE STORES ARE OPEN TONIGHT UNTIL 8:30 P. M.



As Makers - and -Merchants - in - one. we're as famous for our Big Stocks as we are for our High Standards of Quality and for our Sensible Scale of Prices

to join all others in removing of fighting, is the rapid developfear among nations. We shall ment in military weaponsweapons that in total war would resolutely adhere to the principles of the United Nations threaten catastrophe. This sin-We shall constantly gle product of science should urge the Communist rulers to do be sufficient to stimulate the the same. We shall keep open genuine efforts of all-including the existing channels for negothe Kremlin-to give to the world a true and permanent tiation and shall use them whenever there is any prospect of positive results. For our part-we shall explore every avenue toward that goal.

At the Berlin and Geneva Conferences, our nation sought serious negotiation on German unity, on a treaty for Austria, and on a political settlement for Korea. Our efforts found no similar response from the Communist side. We will not be misled by proposals intended to divide the free nations and to delay their efforts to build their own defenses. Nevertheless, no matter how discouraging the prospect, not matter how intractable the Communist regimes we shall press on in search for agreement.

## Will Welcome Arms Curb

We will welcome an agreement on a workable system for limiting armaments and controling atomic energy. Moreover, if the armaments burden can be lifted, this Government stands ready to ask the Congress to redeem the pledge made a year ago last April, to help support, from the funds thus saved, a world-wide development pro-

The second road leading toward our peaceful goal concerns our efforts to strengthen and unify other free peoples.

To meet the challenge destiny has laid upon our country, we must strive to help free peoples achieve their own security and well-being; we must encourage regional groupings of these peoples; we must ourselves foster and practice policies that encourage profitable trade and productivity in the free world.

In these areas, there has been heartening progress. We have broadened our alliances. We have helped to remove sources of conflict. We have helped to build firmer foundations for social and economic progress in our quest for peace.

For some years free world nations have sought to associate the Federal Republic of Germany in the Atlantic Community. Rejection of the European Defense Treaty by the French Assembly seven weeks ago was a setback to that hope. Yet, no nation in Western Europe was willing to accept this setback as

final. In the recent meetings at London, the free Western nations reasserted their basic unity and established a new pattern for achieving their common purposes. Secretary of State Dulles has just joined our European allies in Paris in further important negotiations to strengthen European coopera-

In Southeast Asia, we have sought united action to preserve for the free countries of that area the independence accorded them at the end of World War II. Unfortunately, in recent years no foundation was laid for effective united action to prevent Communist gains. Because of their consequent isolation, the governments that bore the burden of the Indo-China war understandably sought its conclusion in the face of the limitless manpower of China.

suceeded in negotiating a treaty with Asian and European countries. This pact symbolizes the desire of these nations to act together against aggression and to consult together on measures against subversion. The Manila Pact, bringing together states of the East and the West, and the related Pacific Charter are a long step toward the peaceful progress to which all Asian peoples aspire, whether or not members of the Pact.

## **Uunderstanding** in Americas

In this Hemisphere, we have strengthened our solid understanding with our American neighbors. At the Caracas Conference earlier this year, the American republics agred that if international communism were to gain control of the political institutions of any one American collective action, Recently such a threat arose in Guatemala, The American states were preparing to act together to meet it when the Guatemalans themselves removed the danger. The Caracas agreement will stand as a bulwark of freedom in the Western Hemisphere.

In a number of areas throughout the free world, dangers to peace have been eliminated. The problem of Trieste, a threat to peace for a decade, has now been satisfactorily solved by and Yugoslavia, with friendly assistance from the United States and Great Britain. Egypt and Britain appear to have reached an amicable adjustment of questions centering

But recently at Manila we

problems. Such efforts themselves tend to bring the freenations closer together. speaking recently of the London Conference, Sir Winston Churchill said of his country and the United States, and friendly comprehension between our kindred nations has rarely reached a higher stand-

When we think of these many encouraging developments over the world, and the patient, helpful work that brought them about-when we contemplate the fact that the seemingly endless war in Korea, with its tragic casualty lists, is a thing of the past-and when we see improvement in area after area, from Suez to Iran, from Trieste to Guatemala, from London to Manila-then we indeed take

#### Aid to the Undeveloped In addition, we must devise

means by which more highly developed countries can assist peoples who face the difficulties of an earlier stage of economic development. As we continue to assist in

these efforts, we shall also contribute much to free world unity by the wise use of our great economic power. We have, in the past, provided indispensable assistance to our partners. We continue to stand ready to help;

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MRS. CHAYA SURCHIN HARRY TORCZYNER NATHANIEL ZELIKOW

I. L. KENEN, Executive Director

October 18, 1954

Dear Dr. Silver:

You will recall that during our conversation, I mentioned the fact that the Arab League does split in its voting at the U.N. and there have been many occasions when Iraq and Israel have been recorded with the West while other Arab countries have abstained. Actually, it is of no great significance except that it does show that Iraq does not need to be won over to our side by the bribe of arms.

I promised to check our records for you and I came across a record of some of the voting at the 7th Session, 1953 or late 1952, which is attached. I suspect that the same pattern was followed last year.

With best regards,

Cordially.

I. L. Kenen

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver The Temple Ansel Road & 105th St. Cleveland 6, Ohio

# ARAB STAND ON EAST-WEST ISSUES

(First	part	of	the	7th	Session	of	the	U.	N.	General	Assembly	)
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1)	Soviet amendment to the Indian resolution on Korea, calling for an immediate cease-fire (1.12.1952)								
	-O#F	[raq )	No						
	Lebanon - Absent								
2)	Soviet amendment to the Indian resolution, establish commission on the Korea question (including the har repatriation of P.O.W.s), in which the Soviet block veto powers. (1.12.1952)	ndling of	•						
	Egypt Syria Saudi Arabia Yemen  Abstain  Abstain  A	Iraq ) Israel )	No						
	Lebanon - Absent								
3)	Soviet resolution condemning the United States for treatment of P.O.W.s (21.12.1952)	alleged bru	tel						
	Egypt Syria Saudi Arabia Yemen  Abstain  Output  Description  Output	Iraq ) Israel ) Lebanon )	No						

AMERICAN ZIONIST COMMITTEE FOR PUBLIC AFFAIRS 1737 H Street, N.W. Washington 6, D. C.

# RESOLUTION ADOPTED AT MASS MEETING HOTEL COMMODORE, NEW YORK CITY OCTOBER 25, 1954

WHEREAS, the Arab states have again rejected the offer of peace tendered by the State of Israel and, as reply thereto, have intensified their economic and political war against Israel; and

WHEREAS, it is the declared intention of the American Government to increase the military strength of the Arab states;

THEREFORE, we protest against the premature and unilateral supply of arms to these states on the ground that such action will not promote the cause of peace or contribute to military defense against aggressive Communism, but will, on the contrary, delay peace, stimulate Arab aggression against the State of Israel, provoke regional conflict and obstruct any effective plan that may be devised for the regional defense of the Middle East; and

THEREFORE, we urge the American Government to reconsider and review its current policy in the Middle East and that it --

FIRST, suspend the sending of military aid to the Arab states pending a declaration of their readiness to join, definitely and without ambiguity, in the defense of the Free World against Communist aggression;

SECOND, utilize the maximum defense potential of Israel, the one present stable democracy in the region, in the planning of the defenses in the Middle East; and

THIRD, use its good offices to persuade the Arab states to cease their boycotts and blockades of Israel, particularly the blockade by Egypt of passage through the Suez Canal to ships carrying goods to and from Israel.

The foregoing program is advocated in the conviction that it will effectively promote the welfare and security of our own country as well as the peace and progress of all the peoples of the Middle East.

\* \* \*

AMERICAN ZIONIST COMMITTEE FOR PUBLIC AFFAIRS 1737 H Street, N. W. Washington 6, D. C.

# ADDRESS BY LOUIS LIPSKY, CHAIRMAN AMERICAN ZIONIST COMMITTEE FOR PUBLIC AFFAIRS DELIVERED AT MASS MEETING, HOTEL COMMODORE, NEW YORK CITY OCTOBER 25, 1954

Two years ago, when the present government in Washington was elected, it was not anticipated that today, close to the second anniversary of the event, we would assemble under the depression of grave anxieties, to face what seems to be a reversal of the traditional American approach to the problems of the Middle East and, more particularly, to witness a sharp change of relations with the State of Israel which threatens its security and peace.

For months we have hesitated, hoping that the suspected trend would turn back to the traditional course. Today it is a fact which can no longer be hidden or explained away. The trend is registered in official statements and action.

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The radical change has not come about, we are convinced, by design to cause injury to Israel or to bring grief to its American friends. It has happened as a consequence of accepting, in haste for reasons of state, rough and ready conceptions in which high-sounding slogans have been given the right of way; and grave risks have been taken which were not thought out or calculated with a proper sense of reality; and little thought in fact was given to the cruel pressures Israel would be subjected to while the political adventures of diplomats were being tested.

The obsession which seems to have captured the imagination of our State Department was to win the so-called friendship of the Arab states by any and all means. For convenience and brevity (and to allay the suspicions of the parties concerned) the slogan adopted was called <u>impartiality</u>.

The winning of Arab friendship - with their internal dissensions and weaknesses, their basic irresponsibility, their congenital disloyalties and their inveterate hatred of Israel - was conceived of as imperative strategy. Without the slightest hesitation, Israel was relegated to the position of subordination to the general plan. So eager was the desire for Arab friendship that the terms of fraternity were not worked out in detail. Abstract intentions were launched as international policy. Our government made the impression that it was begging for the good will of the Arab states no matter how much it would cost and asking them to accept our gifts without conditions - baksheesh from a far-away friend.

In view of the fact that these states were united only in a common hostility to Israel, Israel had to be pushed aside and excluded from the regional fraternity. It would not be brought within hearing or visual distance of the planning comferences - the discussions undertaken, the conclusions arrived at, the contracts made, the regional defenses planned. To show their impartiality, State Department officials thought it proper to appear on public platforms and to issue statements in the press advocating the claims of the Arab states. No matter how blatant an attack on Israel, our ministers of state, restrained by protocol, avoided any comment that might be offensive to those who were being coaxed into the net of friendship. It was not advisable to frighten them away by appearing too friendly to Israel. Israel was being asked in effect to take the other side of the street whenever American and Arab diplomats worked together.

Our government also gave the support of its significant silence to the campaign of slander and libel and mischievous intrigue carried on by Arab representatives in Washington, London, Cairo and the United Nations. Affronts and humilations and disdainful rejections of proferred gifts were accepted with deadpan serenity.

I think we owe no duty to greet with satisfaction the course of abject American diplomacy in this area. It is submitted that such conduct is not beoming the greatest democracy of our time. As American citizens we are not proud of such misrepresentations of the morality and dignity of the state whose ideals and traditions we all cherish.

The policy as it finally emerges is a travesty of American tradition and a breach of American pledges. It reveals an absence of political sagacity. It betrays a misunderstanding of the deeprooted economic and psychological factors that are involved in the creation of a bond of friendship with this backward region. The policy trusts to luck that I srael will not be attacked by the arms we are going to provide the Arab states. It professes to believe that those who proved themselves unfaithful and disloyal in two wars would experience, by mere suggestion on our part, a miracle of conversion to loyalty, courage and understanding of Western ideals. It takes for granted that dictators can overnight become democrats, that feudal landowners will, of their own free will, be concerned with the illiteracy and the disease of their serfs. It clutches the illusion of military strength and avoids pursuing the difficult course of realistic experimentation, of hard work and planning for the future. It adheres to the crass notion that friendship can be won by merely giving arms to people who do not know how to use them except for destructive purposes. By pursuing this line of action, Israel is being pressured out of its equality of status; it is being isolated and ignored; it is being encircled by the arms of Jordan, Iraq, Syria and Egypt.

The policy I have tried to describe briefly is now fairly congealed. It is not impartiality. It is not even fair play. It is certainly not American to make pledges to Israel and not to keep them. It exposes Israel to Arab attack on all sides and provides arms only for aggressors. It isolates the state of Israel from the defense of the region. It leaves Israel without the genuine sponsorship of the Western Powers and beclouds its credentials in the United Nations. By the silence and support of our government, the "cold war" of the Arab states is established as legitimate procedure to which no objection can be raised, and a hot war is being stoked with America's fuel.

Against such a policy we declare our protest as Americans and as Jews. We urge that a reappraisal of political values be undertaken, that peace be restored to first place in our program, that Israel be accorded equal status in the region and its defenses; and that our prevailing policy be reconsidered from its roots upward for the sake of American prestige and American interests, for the sake of peace in the Middle East and in order to maintain the security and sovereignty of the State of Israel, in whose welfare and destiny 5 million American Jews are vitally interested.

AMERICAN ZIONIST COMMITTEE FOR PUBLIC AFFAIRS 1737 H STREET N. W. WASHINGTON 6, D. C. EXecutive 3-1060 Louis Lipsky, Chairman PAUL L. GOLDMAN BEINESH EPSTEIN DR. JUDITH LIEBERMAN LOUIS SEGAL RABBI JAMES G. HELLER MRS. MOSES P. EPSTEIN MRS. BENJAMIN GOTTESMAN RABBI IRVING MILLER HARRY TORCZYNER RABBI MORDECAI KIRSHBLUM DR. SARA FEDER MRS. SAMUEL W. HALPRIN AVRAHAM SCHENKER NATHANIEL ZELIKOW I. L. KENEN, Executive Director October 26, 1954 MEMORANDUM FOR ACTION #13 Dear Friend: I am enclosing for your information and such use as you can make of this material: 1. Memorandum submitted to Secretary of State Dulles yesterday by the heads of 16 national Jewish organizations. 2. Text of resolution adopted at an overflow mass meeting attended by more than 3,000 Greater New York Zionists last night. 3. Address delivered by Mr. Louis Lipsky at the mass meeting last night. Sincerely, I. L. Kenen Encs.

#### MEMORANDUM SUBMITTED TO SECRETARY OF STATE DULLES

#### BY HEADS OF JEWISH ORGANIZATIONS

October 25, 1954

We, the undersigned, heads of sixteen major American Jewish organizations, welcome this opportunity to present our views on our Government's policy in the Middle East. It is our understanding that you personally, Mr. Secretary, are reviewing the problems of this area. Your conclusions, as translated into American foreign policy, are of the utmost importance to American security, the welfare of the peoples of the Middle East and the cause of peace.

In common with all Americans, concerned with the security and welfare of the free and democratic world, we favor all effective measures by our Government to combat the threat of Communist aggression throughout the world.

The peoples of the Middle East can be won for democracy by an improvement of the intolerable economic, social and cultural conditions under which they now exist and by the extension to them of the human rights which are now wholly or partially denied to them. Essential to such an advance in these objectives is the early attainment of peace and economic cooperation among all the states. But we question whether the cause of Middle East peace or stability is served by military assistance to governments which maintain open hostility toward their neighbor.

The grant of arms to the Arab states while they refuse to make peace with Israel may encourage them to believe that our Government no longer requires them to do so, and may even tempt them to employ their augmented military power in new aggression against Israel. Since the United States announced its intention to provide certain Arab countries with arms, there has been no abatement of Arab-Israel tension. On the contrary, there have been increased reckless anti-Israel attacks from many Arab centers and by the Arab League in Washington, in London, as well as in the General Assembly of the United Nations.

Under these circumstances, military aid to the Arab states may well result in armed conflict, rendering the Middle East vulnerable to totalitarian subversion and infiltration.

Against this background of continuing regional tension, we submit that nothing be done to aggravate the present precarious situation.

The unilateral grant of arms to the Arab states and the exclusion of Israel from consideration in our Government's defense planning in the Middle East are neither equitable nor impartial toward the peoples directly concerned and will harm America's own national interests.

Our Government is rightly concerned to increase the capacity of the Middle East to resist Communist aggression. Accordingly, our defense policy should envisage the participation of all countries in the region committed to the defense of the free world. Failure to include Israel, the most stable democracy in the area, in any plans for regional defense, will deprive the Western world of an impressive security potential as well as increase Israel's vulnerability to attack. Hatreds will be incited; a costly arms race will be stimulated. The net effect will be to deepen the already existing feeling of isolation and

depression within Israel, while her emboldened Arab adversaries continue to keep the Middle East in a state of tension and turmoil which impede the effective defense of the region against subversion and external aggression.

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Our Government played a vital role in the settlement of the Anglo-Egyptian conflict over the Suez Canal Zone. British evacuation of the Suez will place this important artery -- with its vast quantity of security equipment and installations -- under the exclusive control of the Egyptian authorities. Their record and their recent public statements indicate a disposition to abuse this new power.

The transfer of the Suez base and the lifting of the arms embargo to Egypt change the balance of strength in the Middle East. Accordingly, there is urgent need to secure from Egypt unqualified guarantees, in conformity with international law, that the freedom of all shipping will be observed, that vessels passing through the Suez Canal will not be molested or detained, and that the installations and equipment accruing to Egypt will not be used for aggressive purposes.

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We respectfully request that our Government refrain from arming the Arab states in the absence of positive guarantees leading to peace; that our Government do nothing to impair the prevailing balance of strength in the Middle East; that it extend to Israel the same agreements already offered the Arab states, and that it invite Israel to join in regional defense planning.

We believe that such steps would best serve the national interests of America and the free world. They would hasten the restoration of peace and expand the regional defense capacity of the Middle East.

We appreciate President Eisenhower's recent reaffirmation of firm friendship towards Israel and all other nations in the area, an objective to which you, Mr. Secretary, have also given warm expression.

But we respectfully submit that actions under the present policy do not serve the attainment of that purpose. We are hopeful that the foregoing observations may contribute constructively to the achievement of our over-all objectives of peace, friendship and defense in the area, serving the highest interests of the security and welfare of the people of the United States.

#### SIGNERS

American Jewish Congress -- Dr. Israel Goldstein American Trade Union Council for Labor Israel - Joseph Breslaw American Zionist Committee for Public Affairs - Louis Lipsky American Zionist Council - Rabbi Irving Miller B'nai B'rith - Philip Klutznick Council of Jewish Federations and Welfare Funds - Julian Freeman Hadassah - Mrs. Herman Shulman Jewish Labor Committee - Adolph Held Jewish War Veterans - Joseph Barr Labor Zionist Organization of America - Dr. Herman Seidel Mizrachi Organization of America - Rabbi Mordecai Kirshblum National Community Relations Advisory Council - Bernard Trager Union of American Hebrew Congregations - Rabbi Maurice Eisendrath Union of Orthodox Jewish Congregations - Max J. Etra United Synagogue of America - Charles Rosengarten Zionist Organization of America - Mortimer May