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### **MS-4787: Abba Hillel Silver Papers, 1902-1989.**

Series I: General Correspondence, 1914-1969, undated.

Sub-series A: Alphabetical, 1914-1965, undated.

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American Zionist Council, 1951-1952.

# AMERICAN ZIONIST COUNCIL

342 MADISON AVENUE

• TELEPHONE MURRAY HILL 2-1160 •

NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

Cable Address: AMZIONIST

September 14, 1951

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver  
The Temple  
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Dr. Silver:

Attached is a copy of a letter which I have just sent to Dr. Marcus in Cincinnati. I have also sent similar letters to the following:

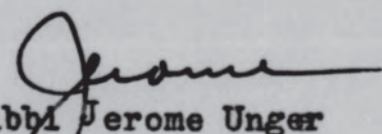
Dr. David de Sola Pool  
Dr. Joshua Bloch  
Dr. Abram V. Goodman  
Dr. Abram L. Sachar  
Dr. Nelson Glueck  
Rabbi Bertram Korn  
Mr. Philip Goodman.

I thought you would be interested in this whole matter. Maybe you would even be interested in preparing an article for the Society if they agree to the suggestion which I ask Dr. Marcus and the others to make. In any case, let me have your opinion on the whole business.

With warm good wishes for the New Year, I am

Sincerely yours,

JU:SR  
Enc

  
Rabbi Jerome Unger  
Executive Director

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## CONSTITUENT ORGANIZATIONS

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Hadassah, Women's Zionist Organization of America • Hashomer Hatzair • Labor Zionist Organization of America-Poale Zion  
Mizrachi Organization of America • United Zionist Labor Party (Achdut Avodah-Poale Zion) • Zionist Organization of America  
Zionists-Revisionists of America



American Zionist Council  
342 Madison Avenue  
New York 17, N. Y.

C O P Y

September 14, 1951

Rabbi Jacob Rader Marcus  
Hebrew Union College  
401 McAlpin Avenue  
Cincinnati, Ohio

Dear Dr. Marcus:

I was very happy to speak to you on Wednesday not only because you gave me some information and help, but because it was good just to say Hello. Bertram Korn gave me all the information that I required yesterday. It appears that I was referring to an article by Naomi Wiener Cohen in the June, 1951 issue, No. XL Part 4, of the Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society, entitled "The Reaction of the Reform Judaism in America to Political Zionism (1897-1922)", which I have since read.

Bert tells me that the poll was on the question as to whether or not the Society should publish this article as a reprint, to be distributed by the American Council for Judaism. He assured me that the stipulation had been made that the American Council for Judaism was to engage in no propaganda in this matter.

A second call from Bert yesterday afternoon informed me that the poll had resulted in an affirmative vote, but that because the opinions against were so serious and weighty it was decided to defer decision and leave that in the hands of the Executive Council which is to meet in about a month. Bert expressed the thought that it would do no harm to publish this reprint and have the American Council for Judaism distribute it because it would stimulate discussion. He further suggested that the Zionist Organization of America or some other such organization be invited to engage a student of history to write an article dealing with the same material or with a history of Zionism in America which could later be similarly reprinted and distributed.

On reading the article, one readily sees that scholarly as it is, the first 33½ pages deal with the period up to 1922. The last half page deals with the period since 1922 which (I am quoting from the article) "saw major changes in the Reform attitude towards Zionism."



Rabbi Jacob Rader Marcus  
Hebrew Union College  
401 McAlpin College  
Cincinnati, Ohio

September 14, 1951

While Miss Cohen may be utterly unbiased, this dichotomy is important and her space allocation in her article is significant. Furthermore, as a member of the Society, I am rather concerned to have its good name misused by partisans in this controversy over Zionism, which it most certainly will be.

I have a suggestion to make. In order to avoid all the unpleasantness that may result in many quarters I think it would be useful if you and others who might be minded that way would make the suggestion that instead of reprinting this article now, a suitable individual be invited to write the kind of article referred to above by Bert Korn -- or that appropriate organizations be invited to have such an individual write such an article -- and the two articles then be reprinted together in a brochure. At that time perhaps not only the American Council for Judaism will be anxious to distribute the brochure, but other organizations might wish to do so also. What do you think of this idea?

Do let me have your opinions and advice.

With warm personal regards and greetings for the New Year, I am,  
as ever

Sincerely yours,

Rabbi Jerome Unger  
Executive Director

JU:eh



# AMERICAN ZIONIST COUNCIL

342 MADISON AVENUE

• TELEPHONE MURRAY HILL 2-1160 •

NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

Cable Address: AMZIONIST

AIR MAIL

September 20, 1951

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver  
The Temple  
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Dr. Silver:

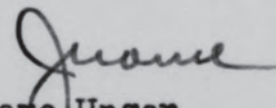
I felt that if you had not seen this attached clipping of William Zukerman's letter to the editor of the New York Herald-Tribune of September 19th, you would like to have it.

Aside from talking to some of our friends over at the Tribune in an effort to make them understand the kind of person Zukerman is, which we are doing, have you any suggestions as to what might be done with this?

Again, with warm Rosh Hashonah greetings, I am

Sincerely yours,

JU:SR  
Enc

  
Jerome Unger  
Executive Director

*P.S. Lipsky is planning to draft a letter in reply. Just decided. JU*

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## CONSTITUENT ORGANIZATIONS

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Hadassah, Women's Zionist Organization of America • Hashomer Hatzair • Labor Zionist Organization of America-Poale Zion  
Mizrachi Organization of America • United Zionist Labor Party (Achdut Avodah-Poale Zion) • Zionist Organization of America  
Zionists-Revisionists of America



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TO THE New York Herald Tribune:  
It was symptomatic that the first Zionist Congress to meet in Israel after the establishment of the state should have been dominated by an American issue and that American Zionists and Jews should have played the most important role in it. It is true, the role was a sad, almost pathetic, one, the role of a former admirer and friend whose affections were publicly repudiated and who was treated as a hated adversary. But whatever the role, the fact is that this crucial gathering which was to decide the future of the World Zionist movement was largely taken up with an attack on American Zionists and with an ideological struggle on the meaning and aim of Zionism and the establishment of the state.

This fact is probably of greater importance than the Congress itself, which, according to the best observers, was one of the least inspiring and successful gatherings of the historic movement. For it has disclosed that the generally accepted theory that the emergence of a state of Israel would serve to unify and cement the Jewish people has turned out to be wrong. On the contrary, the Congress has dramatically demonstrated that the creation of a Jewish political state after 2,000 years has introduced a new and potent distinction which Jews as a group have not known in centuries and that Israel is likely to separate, rather than unite, Jews in the future.

The new separation is between the Jews who live in Israel (Israelis) and those who live outside it (in the Diaspora) and the force which works for separation is the new and strong feeling of nationalism which the emergence of Israel has awakened among Jews in Israel and in certain European and Moslem countries. The new nationalism, natural in itself, has already created a number of political problems in the Middle East. But it is also creating some psychological and ideological problems among Jews outside Israel, primarily in the United States, which may be of greater importance than the political and diplomatic ones. One of these problems was the chief issue at the last Zionist Congress in Jerusalem.

A fundamental nationalist theory of early Zionism which has been accentuated since the establishment of Israel, is that the Jewish state is not an ordinary, secular, political state, like most other states which have arisen during the twentieth century. It is a unique political structure unlike anything known before—a state which is the physical home of 1,250,000 of its Jewish citizens and at the same time the potential home and center of all the Jews in whatever country they live and call their homeland. In some mystical manner, Israel is supposed to have a unique jurisdiction over the 10,000,000 to 12,000,000 Jews who live in every country of the world outside it. The mission of the new state is thus not accomplished with its establishment. It must continue to grow by bringing in Jews from all over the world, no matter how happily they live in their present homes, and settle them in their ancient homeland. The entire process has a kind of religious-nationalistic overtone which goes under the Hebrew name of "Kibutz-Galuyot" (ingathering of the exiles). Jews who live and have lived in the United States, England, France and other countries for generations and centuries, must according to this theory be "redeemed" from "exile" and brought to Israel through a process of mass immigration similar to the Exodus from Egypt. Not until that larger aim is accomplished and the whole, or at least the majority, of all Jews

are settled within the borders of the new state can Israel be considered a finished product. It follows from this that the new principal aim of Zionism, now that Israel has been established, is to "ingather the Jewish exiles" from the rest of the world.

Unreal and fantastic as this mystical theme may seem to the average person, it is in fact the basis of this country's political philosophy.

al. repeated the "secret" that "Kibutz Galuyot" and reminded the American Zionist delegates present that they had, in essence, welched on their promise and, therefore, were practically traitors to the cause of nationalism, despite all the money they had given and efforts they had made to establish Israel. This is how a leading American Zionist, Dr. Samuel Margoshes, a member of the Zionist executive committee and editor of a Zionist daily newspaper in New York, described the almost weird situation ("Tog" Aug. 30):

Speaker after speaker rose to denounce American Jewry in general and American Zionists in particular. We are a bunch of no-gooders: we talk a lot and do little; we have reneged on our promises and failed in our obligations. We have contributed money, but not enough. The worst thing about us is our complete failure to send our children as Chalutzin (pioneers) to share in the hardships attending the upbuilding of the Jewish homeland. Our Zionism is a lip service for most part. Our Jewishness is tenuous and disingenuous. In short, we are second-rate.

The position of the American delegates was a most painful one. They were in a dilemma. On one hand, they could not subscribe to the principle that Jews in the United States consider themselves as living in an exile country like Poland, Rumania or Yemen, and that their ultimate aim is to be redeemed by settling in Israel. To do so would have meant not only to have uttered a lie which would have been thunderously denied by millions of American Jews, but it would also have undermined their own position and the position of the Jewish community in the United States.

On the other hand, these same American Zionists have for years been repeating these nationalistic slogans as part of their program and very angrily attacked every American non-Zionist and anti-Zionist Jew who accused them of playing a double-loyalty game. The truth is that to a certain extent, the Israelis are consistent in their present demands, American Zionism which began its career fifty years ago as a purely

humanitarian and philanthropic movement to aid those Jews in Europe who were persecuted and had no home of their own, has gradually adopted more and more nationalistic principles of Zionism during the last decade under the stress of the Jewish tragedy in Germany. No one else is probably more responsible for the fanning of the present nationalistic flames than Rabbi Silver with his "militant" Zionism. Now these

that they were undermining the Israeli relief and fund-raising program in America.

On the whole, the Jerusalem congress marked officially the end of the glory of American Zionism and the ushering in of a period of intense Middle Eastern nationalism, a Zionism not modeled after the early idealistic pioneers of Palestine, not after the liberal Weizmann, and not even after the militant Silver, but fashioned after the pattern of the late Revisionist Vladimir Jabotinsky, who dreamed of a big Jewish state on both sides of the Jordan to take in all the Jews and to become the largest military power in the Near East. Zionism has traveled a long way from the days of its first congress at Basle to its present (and probably last) congress in Jerusalem.

WILLIAM ZUKERMAN.  
New York, Sept. 10, 1951.



same time scrupulously careful not to exclude her from participation if she wishes. One of several means through which the new grouping of free nations functions was the meeting at Washington last week of Ministers of the United States, Britain and France. That meeting, in a communique made public at the conclusion, made plain that they will be willing to exchange views with the representatives of Communist Russia in the United Nations.

"The three Ministers . . . express the hope that the forthcoming meeting of the General Assembly of the United Nations in Paris will afford an opportunity for constructive exchange of views."

economic strength of the free nations, individually and as a group. The objective is to create such an aggregate of strength that Communist Russia will be reluctant to commit aggression upon free nations. The hope is that within a year from now the free nations will have reached this degree of strength.

The inherent apprehension is, of course, that Communist Russia may strike before the free nations achieve their goal. To make a rough map of the free nations and find a rough pattern in what they are doing, and hope to do, is easy enough.

# Hurley Takes Corporation Counsel Oath

## Brooklyn Attorney and 3 Others Are Inducted Into Offices by Impellitteri

Denis M. Hurley was sworn yesterday as City Corporation Counsel by Mayor Vincent R. Impellitteri at City Hall. He succeeds John P. McGrath, recently resigned, to the \$25,000 post.

Mr. Hurley's wife, the former Alvina Arnold, and their three sons and three daughters were present as the Brooklyn lawyer took the oath. The Hurleys live at 1215 E. 28th St., Brooklyn. Mr. Hurley, fifty-three, was backed by the Brooklyn Democratic organization. He has been senior member of the law firm of Hurley, Gray & Kearney, 32 Court St., Brooklyn, which serves as counsel for the Brooklyn Roman Catholic diocese.

The Mayor also inducted three other men into office, all sponsored by the Democratic leaders.

George E. Ostermann, fifty-one, of 21 Furman Ave., Brooklyn, was named a Deputy Commissioner of Health at \$9,500, succeeding Matthew A. Byrne, deceased. A career man in the department since 1910, he was promoted from director of the bureau of personnel and budget.

Charles D. Gilbert, fifty-three, of 1-01 Alley Pond Parkway, Douglaston, Queens, was named Deputy Commissioner of Commerce to take the place of Michael C. Crotty, killed in an automobile

## VISION

By JOHN CROSBY

### We Don't Want No Trouble?

"The big story about TV today is no longer one of irresistible power. It lies rather in the unexpectedly strong bargaining position of TV's competitors, heretofore given up for lost, and in the equally unexpected weakness of the new medium. For television in 1951 is an amorphous mass given over to fantastic complications and vulnerable only as the very young (of whatever size) can be," says the most trenchant passage in an article on television in the August issue of "Fortune."

In "Variety," Darryl Zanuck boasts that television is no menace either to films or radio, that television is losing its impact due to low quality of programs. In



John Crosby

what is hardly pure business is pessimistic assertion—was murdering my," is actually

ents indicating are it may very has yet man—that he can the suspicion that the enormous program is not he is reaching. in which could

little signs to o listen if he e any one who "I never turn ot for sports." met the man the block who tion of getting n other folks'

osing—or may support of the an community. opinion in the oo many tired five years TV attempt which

it took radio twenty years to win—if that's the word for it.

Inside the industry the mutterings of complaint from the actors, the writers, the producers are getting louder and louder. Television is breaking the hearts of its own most able and imaginative creators—those who got into TV early, those who saw it as the greatest mass communications medium ever devised. It's only five years old, this greatest of mass communications mediums; but already a new idea is treated with the utmost suspicion.

It has to have a gimmick. It has to resemble, in the closest possible degree, "This Is Show Business." It has to have Eddie Cantor. It needs Martin Kane, private eye, or an approximation of him. It must hew to the "Suspense" formula. Are there any other alternatives? A few, but not many. Those are the big ones. The freeze in ideas is even more paralyzing than the F. C. C. freeze on the building of new stations. This doesn't mean there aren't any new ideas. Every agency, the program departments of every network are bulging with them, their very newness and strangeness automatically excluding them.

If you see a well known TV entertainer walking down the street, talking to himself, chances are he's just had a bout with the agency boys. The box of Mixo was cut off the screen three seconds too early and heads were rolling all over Madison Avenue. The minute preoccupations of the ad agency people have been thrust on the actors, who should be more properly concerned with how to handle their lines.

It has been thrust even more vehemently on the writers. Broadcasting has always been more afflicted with taboos than any other medium. Today the timidity has reached an all-time high. Virtually everything from pregnancy to freedom of religion is considered a controversial subject, leaving almost nothing except homicide as a fit topic to enter our homes. You can't hire a controversial figure, either, meaning any one whose name has appeared in Red Channels. No one in broadcasting from the network heads to the elevator operators will defend these taboos; all scrupulously observe them.

The motto of the industry could easily be: "We just don't want no trouble around here." If it continues that way, they won't have no audience left except children.



AMERICAN ZIONIST COUNCIL

Minutes of Meeting of Executive Committee

January 15, 1952

A meeting of the Executive Committee of the American Zionist Council was held on Tuesday, January 15, 1952 at 3:00 P.M. at 342 Madison Avenue, New York City.

PRESENT:

Mrs. Moses P. Epstein (presiding), Charles Bick, Pinchas Cruso, Beinesh Epstein, Paul Goldman, Mrs. David B. Greenberg, Dr. Zvi Neuman, Abraham A. Redelheim, Mrs. Samuel J. Rosensohn, Avraham Schenker, Louis Segal, Mrs. Chaya Surchin, Harry Torczyner.

Dr. Nahum Goldmann.

Rabbi Jerome Unger.

- - - -

GERMAN REPARATIONS

Mrs. Epstein recalled that at the last meeting of the Executive Committee, it had been decided to postpone consideration of the Council's ratification of its sponsorship of the Conference on Jewish Claims Against Germany until after the Knesseth vote had taken place.

Presentation by Dr. Goldmann (See Appendix for Text)

Discussion (Full Details on File)

Mr. Torczyner was of the opinion that, in view of the parties' failure to consult their membership, the Council should not participate in the Conference and thereby avoid the necessity of taking a stand on the actual question of direct negotiations with Germany on which the parties were divided, and its concomitant recognition of Adenauer as the Chancellor of a sovereign state. However, he would not look with disfavor on negotiations by a third party.

Mr. Torczyner made it clear that Mr. Browdy, whom he was representing, favors direct negotiations; therefore, in view of his own opposition, he would abstain from voting.

Mr. Segal felt that failing to participate in the Conference would be a direct negative action. Therefore, in his judgment the Council should 1) ratify its sponsorship of the Conference; and 2) vote there in favor of direct negotiations.



Dr. Neuman stated that Mizrachi had not consulted its membership but he was aware of a division of opinion within his organization. He believed that the Council should refrain from attending the Conference on the grounds that it could not commit its constituents which had not consulted their membership. However, if attendance were voted by the majority, he would favor a vote there by the Council against negotiations.

Mrs. Rosensohn felt that negotiations by a third party, rather than direct negotiations, would not be successful because no one would zealously pursue our cause for us. Moreover, she believed that direct negotiations do not necessarily mean giving absolution for the Germans' sins. She was in favor of attending the Conference and carrying on direct negotiations with Germany.

Mr. Goldman was of the opinion that it would be wrong to abstain from attending the Conference. Rather, he felt we should attend and register our opposition to direct negotiations. Moreover, Mr. Goldman expressed the belief that this was an issue of great enough moral value to have justified the convening of the Actions Committee.

Mr. Epstein regretted that this moral question was being treated, he felt, in an "immoral" manner. He cited in this connection the press reports of the disturbances in the Knesseth during the Israel vote, which he felt had been censored by the Israel Government. Negotiating for reparations, he remarked, involves the establishment of official relations with Germany. Since the American Zionist Movement had not been consulted on this issue, he felt that the Council had no right to take a decision. Mr. Epstein was opposed to attending the Conference, and stated that his party would not consider itself bound by a decision. Thereupon, Mr. Epstein moved that the Council should not send a representative to the Conference.

At this point some supplementary remarks were made by Dr. Goldmann.  
(For text, see Appendix).

Mr. Cruso observed that since Council delegates were sent to the first Conference in October, there had been ample time for each party to consult its membership in anticipation of the necessity to take a position on the matter sooner or later. The Labor Zionist Movement was in favor of attending the Conference and supporting the proposal for direct negotiations with Germany, particularly in view of the assurances by the Jewish Agency and the Government of Israel that negotiations would not necessarily entail recognition of Germany.

Mr. Bick favored attendance at the Conference, but opposed direct negotiations. He felt that a method could be devised for winning our case against Germany short of direct negotiations.

Mr. Schenker also favored participation at the Conference while opposing direct negotiations.

Attention was called by Mrs. Greenberg to the fact that before consideration could be given to Mr. Epstein's motion, the question laid over from the previous Executive Committee meeting had to be acted upon. Accordingly, she moved, and it was seconded, that a vote be taken on the question of ratification of our sponsorship of the Conference.



(8 in favor: Mmes. Epstein, Greenberg, Rosensohn and Surchin;  
Messrs. Redelheim, Cruso, Segal and Bick.  
3 opposed: Dr. Neuman, Messrs. Epstein and Schenker.  
2 abstaining: Messrs. Torczyner and Goldman).

Mr. Goldman moved, and it was seconded, that our delegate be instructed to vote against direct negotiations.

(5 in favor: Dr. Neuman, Messrs. Bick, Epstein, Goldman and Schenker.  
6 opposed: Mmes. Epstein, Greenberg, Rosensohn and Surchin;  
Messrs. Cruso and Segal.  
2 abstaining: Messrs. Redelheim and Torczyner).

It was suggested by Mrs. Epstein, and unanimously agreed thereto, that Mr. Cruso act as the Council's representative at the Conference on January 20.

With regard to the expression of opposition to direct negotiations with Germany, Mrs. Epstein observed that there had been picketing of the Consulate by Betar, as well as rumors of an advertisement by the Revisionists to appear in the metropolitan press shortly. The Chairman stated that such opposition -- involving readers of the general press in an internal matter -- should not be permitted in the Zionist Movement.

Mr. Epstein replied that the opposition is free to express its opinion wherever it wishes.

Upon the motion of Mr. Goldman, the meeting adjourned at 5:30 P.M.

J.U.



APPENDIX

Gist of Presentation by Dr. Goldmann

It took about four years before the Jewish organizations reached this point. When the Conference took place, we invited the American Zionist Council only out of respect for American Zionism; there was no necessity to invite you because the World Zionist Congress represents you and we invited no other Zionist organization. Because of our invitation to you we had some trouble -- protests from the Canadian Zionist Organization, etc. We told them that numbers mean something in life. The United States is the largest territorial community; furthermore, the Conference took place here in this country. So far as the position of the World Zionist Movement is concerned, every party and individual has the right to take another position. But its position, in a formal way, is fixed by the Jewish Agency Executive.

We have had at the Conference and successive meetings long discussions, and authorized the chairman to sound out German willingness to pay because both Israel and we, as the Executive of the Conference, felt that it wouldn't be worthwhile to have a controversy in Jewish life for only a few million marks. This decision was voted by the Executive Committee of the Conference with only two votes against, and then was confirmed by a decision of the Government of Israel. You may remember that in November I flew to Israel because I told the Government I would not do anything unless at every step there was full formal agreement with the Government of Israel -- because we naturally want to be in accord with them. All kinds of soundings took place, which I am not at liberty to discuss.

The result of this sounding out was a formal declaration, conveyed to the Government of Israel on behalf of the Chancellor of Western Germany: first, that they want to negotiate; second, that they invite the Israel Government and the Conference on Jewish Claims (the two recognized partners); and third, that they will accept the claims of Israel as the basis for negotiation. That means \$1,000,000,000. Once the Government of Israel received this information they decided that the matter could now be considered as serious and thus brought it to the Knesseth. You know the result in the Knesseth; and the Conference, on January 20, will decide formally whether to accept or reject the decision to be party to the negotiations.

I foresee a very large majority accepting a decision similar to the Knesseth's. Maybe one or two organizations will abstain but all the leading Jewish organizations in this country are definitely in favor of negotiations, especially in view of Israel's decision. If the Knesseth had decided against negotiations, I would have convened the Conference and asked it to dissolve. Therefore, we postponed the calling of the Policy Committee to January 20.

Now I want to raise some points which you as a participating organization should know. Once there will be a decision on negotiating, the negotiating will be in a neutral country. Neither the Israelis nor we will go to Bonn. The Germans will refuse to go to an Allied capital because their main purpose is to show that they are not acting under Allied pressure. That has a certain advantage, of course.



The idea that Americans should negotiate for the Jews is naive. The American Government, which will formally support us, if they are worried at all are worried that the Germans shouldn't pay too much. They are pouring hundreds of millions of dollars into Germany; they feel that whatever Germany gives Israel comes indirectly from the American taxpayer. Therefore, the theory that Americans should be the intermediary is naive.

The negotiations will probably begin in March in a neutral country. The Israel demand is very clear. They will send a delegation and ask for a billion dollars. For us it is much more complicated because we are not a State.

The first question will be: Shall we send a special delegation or will it be one delegation? It will have to be two delegations formally. The Germans would prefer one because for them it is one picture and they are interested in what their total cost will be. But for various reasons one delegation is impractical. Israel would be very reluctant as a sovereign state to sit in one delegation with private organizations. So formally it will be two delegations but after a while, I am convinced they will merge de facto.

The second question will be: What do we claim, as Jews, separate from Israel? I don't want to go into this matter in detail here because it requires expert opinion. Legally we could claim more than Israel, which has only a moral but no legal basis. Israel didn't even exist at the time. Furthermore, Israel was never authorized by the Jews to speak on their behalf. Therefore, legally, we could claim much more than Israel because if there is some compensation for the destroyed Jewish property in all occupied Europe, then there are billions involved. Adenauer's statement was in those terms. But I don't take that seriously. It is a colossal amount. If the Jewish organizations asked for payment of 10%, it might be more than the entire Israel claim.

Israel's claim is on the basis of their rehabilitation of the survivors, and it is a simple mathematical problem. On that basis the Joint Distribution Committee might say, "We have spent so much for rehabilitation. Pay us that back." All the others could say the same. Even local Jewish communities could say that they took in so many Jews. Every organization will have a claim.

Israel's position is that the Jews, as represented by the Conference, should not claim anything like what Israel claims. They want a priority in figures left to Israel. They say that the money must go to Israel anyway because Germany would not pay in currency, but in goods, which could not be given to the Conference, of course, unless the latter were to become an agent to sell German goods all over the world. But Israel can use the goods. Therefore, Israel says: "What is the point of your making up such bills?" and would prefer us to ask for something much less than Israel is asking -- two or three hundred million dollars possibly.

I will move on Sunday that the Conference should not decide that. It is too complicated for 40 people to decide. Furthermore, an agreement can be reached only after consultation with Israel officials. My proposal to Israel was two-fold: the Conference should tell the Germans that we demand that the legal situation existing in the German states be extended with regard to the German Reich. In the states there is legislation, imposed by the Americans when they were in a position to do so, that all identifiable Jewish property be given to the Jewish Restitution Successor Organization.



A year and a half ago we found ourselves suddenly as proprietors in the American zone of many buildings and factories, so I went to High Commissioner McCloy and asked him to get the three states in the American zone to buy this from us. What would we have out of it if we have to stay in Germany for 20 years and operate the real estate, get interest from it, etc.?

He agreed so we will already get about 50 million marks -- some in notes, etc. What will we do with it? Should we become a big investor in German industry? Therefore, I asked McCloy for permission to buy goods and transfer them to Israel, to which he agreed. It then took six months for the State Department to agree to transfer these marks to Israel, even with McCloy's support. After that it took still more time for the British Government to agree. Only in September was the matter cleared.

In this respect it will now be easier because Germany will become a sovereign state and their export will be free.

So my proposal to the Israel Government was: The Conference will claim the identifiable property of which the Reich was the beneficiary, amounting to two or three hundred million dollars. Then we might tell Germany that we could claim much more but we would be satisfied with that if Germany would reach a satisfactory agreement with Israel. Israel agrees that of what it gets, two-thirds will be for the Government and one-third for the Jewish organizations, but for use in Israel, which means that the Agency and the JDC will have up to one-third of what the Israel Government will have, thereby making it easier for the organizations to reduce their claims. These two proposals are acceptable to Israel.

A last word as to the character of the delegation: I am not in favor of the Conference sending a top level delegation to negotiate, such as chairmen of organizations. It would be undignified. Secondly, if the negotiations were in Bonn, Adenauer himself would be there, but they will be in some neutral spot and therefore, the Germans will send officials. The sessions will last for weeks and the chairmen of our organizations will not have time. Therefore, we should send an expert delegation with one or two people of high standing. If you send only officials you diminish the value of the negotiations in the eyes of the Germans. I was thinking of someone like Judge Rifkind to be engaged in a professional capacity as head of the delegation, as well as a great economist. But I don't think the responsible leaders of the organizations should be in the Negotiating Committee. On the other hand, there will probably be a proposal to appoint a small committee to direct the negotiations.

On Sunday I don't expect a long discussion on the question of whether or not we should negotiate, but rather on the problems of the character of the delegation; the size of our claims in relation to Israel's; and handing over the authority to a small committee to pick out the negotiators, etc.

#### Supplementary Remarks by Dr. Goldmann

(Dr. Goldmann here referred to a comment about a meeting of the Executive Committee on October 24, '51.-Ed.) I never told Mr. Lipsky that there would be no negotiations. When Mr. Lipsky telephoned me and told me the difficulties at your meeting, I replied that you could decide what you want. If you decide not to go, the Conference will nevertheless take place but I think the matter



is so important that the Council of American Zionist organizations should be in it. In answer to Mr. Lipsky's question whether there would be a vote on direct negotiations at the October 25-26 Conference, I said, Not yet.

The Council was invited because it represents the strongest Zionist Movement in the world and also because I felt that it could play an active role in this matter. A great public relations program and political activity will be needed, which work the Jewish Agency does not engage in here. I personally believe that Adenauer, Heuss, etc. have a feeling of guilt and want to do something about it but, nevertheless, it will not be an easy job; much influencing of public opinion in Washington will be required. On Sunday a public relations machinery will be decided upon. Thus, from a practical point of view it would be very desirable to have the Zionist Movement cooperate in this work.

The question arose of why the Zionist Movement was not consulted. The Jewish Agency Executive represents all the parties except Heruth, so they all knew what was going on. Is the Agency supposed to see that the parties are all called together? This issue was thrashed out in Israel public opinion as no other issue has been thrashed out. As for the Actions Committee, we know that it will decide exactly the same thing. So what was not thrashed out? The minority did not even ask for a meeting of the Actions Committee. Therefore, I say that our Executive acted within its natural prerogatives. The debates was a public debate. If there had been an upsurge in Hadassah or in the ZOA, it would have made itself felt. It wasn't our duty to call in your parties for an expression of their opinion. That was your concern.

With reference to the remarks made about doing away with the distinction between the moral and financial problems, there is a great difference. If the Germans would say in negotiations: "We are ready to pay a bill but Israel must establish diplomatic relations and the Conference must make a statement that the historical account is settled," then I would advocate immediately breaking off negotiations. I would even say that we first make sure that this problem will not be on the agenda before we go. Adenauer knew about my statement in London in which I deplored the American policy of rearmament of Germany. One, though, has nothing to do with the other. The World Jewish Congress and others will continue to protest against that rearmament. Other organizations may be in favor of it, but it makes no difference as far as negotiations are concerned. Therefore, I say that there is still a distinction. One should not say this is moral forgiveness for Germany. What is true is that these negotiations require permanent de facto contact with the German Government. Suppose the International Court at the Hague decides the issue and the Germans agree. Who will decide what to do with the goods, what goods to choose, etc.? It means that an Israel trade delegation will have to sit in Germany. Who also will do this?

If you don't want contact with the Germans, don't ask for anything. Furthermore, we have been negotiating with the Germans for four years. Where have you been all these years? Did we not negotiate with the German States for the Jewish Restitution Successor Organization? Has Israel not a Consulate de facto in Munich? A Jewish Agency representative has been sitting there for years and dealing with them on prefabricated houses. In quality and character it is the same thing, even if they don't deal with Adenauer. If that is a loss of dignity, we lost it four years ago.



Up until now the stakes have been insignificant compared to what they are now. Therefore, I say that we would be derelict in our duty. It would have been an immoral act of the Government of Israel if it had had a chance to get hundreds of millions and had not done it only because they would have had to sit with the Germans. That is not morality. It is very uncomfortable to sit with the Germans. But in public life you very often have to do things that you would not do as a private individual. It is no pleasure to sit with the Germans but it is our duty not to leave in Germany what belongs to us. A year ago they were not ready to negotiate; now they are. I see no violation of Jewish dignity to get back what is rightfully ours. It does not include a general pardon for Germany. Israel can continue, as it does now, voting against Germany in every meeting of the United Nations. This agreement will not necessitate any political agreement between Israel or Germany, or the Jews and Germany. If it does, I will be the first to say No.

It is up to you to decide now. I am ready to be the "Shabbas Goy" without your being in it but it is your duty to take a position and not evade the issue. You have the right to agitate against it and call for a meeting of the Actions Committee, etc. But as long as we negotiate, we do so for the whole Movement.

You are perfectly in order to go to the Conference and vote against negotiations but it is incorrect to say that I gave assurance that at no stage would there be negotiations.





AMERICAN ZIONIST COUNCIL

Minutes of Meeting of Executive Committee

January 17, 1952

A meeting of the Executive Committee of the American Zionist Council was held on Thursday, January 17, 1952 at 8:15 P.M. at the home of Mr. Louis Lipsky, 302 West 86 Street, New York City.

PRESENT:

Mrs. Moses P. Epstein (presiding), Charles Bick, Pinchas Cruso, Mrs. Benjamin Gottesman, Rabbi Max Kirshblum, Mrs. Siegfried Kramarsky, Louis Lipsky, Dr. Zvi Neuman, Abraham A. Redelheim, Avraham Schenker, Louis Segal, Mrs. Chaya Surchin.

Rabbi Jerome Unger.

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The following telegram from Mr. Beinesh Epstein to Mr. Louis Lipsky was read by Mrs. Epstein:

"PROFOUNDLY REGRET UNMOTIVATED REFUSAL OUR JUSTIFIED REQUEST BRIEF  
POSTPONEMENT MEETING CALLED SIX HOURS NOTICE PREVENTING OUR  
PRESENCE. ANY DECISION IN OUR ABSENCE IN DISREGARD OF OUR  
ELEMENTARY RIGHT TO BE HEARD IS UNFAIR AND INADMISSIBLE."

Mrs. Epstein explained that the meeting had been convened on very short notice as a result of an advertisement by the Zionists-Revisionists of America in the New York Times on January 16, 1952, containing an attack on the State of Israel. There was a feeling among the parties that this statement must be answered in the press lest it appear as though the Zionist Movement accepted it. Therefore, a decision must be reached as to the form of the answer and what measures should be taken respecting a party that breaches the discipline of the Council.

Mr. Redelheim stated that he and Mr. Browdy were in complete accord that the Council should issue a statement disavowing association with the Revisionists' statement.

Rabbi Kirshblum agreed that there should be a disavowal of association and stated moreover that they be condemned for their irresponsibility.

Mr. Cruso felt that a statement of disavowal was insufficient. Not only should they be condemned for their action, but their statement should be challenged and its falsity exposed. In addition, he felt, suspension from the Council was indicated.



It was feared by Mr. Schenker that going into details of the text of the advertisement would only serve to provide an issue upon which they could play. Although dissociation would be too weak an expression, neither should the Council talk in terms of suspension. Mr. Schenker hoped that the Zionist organizations could still express their feelings on any issue, whether their opinion was in agreement with the majority of the Council or not. He suggested that our statement should emphasize the basically democratic nature of the State of Israel.

Mr. Segal observed that the American Zionist Council is a voluntary combination of various Zionist organizations for the purpose of cultivating public opinion in this country in favor of Israel. By their action, the Revisionists have destroyed the purposes for which they have joined this organization. They should decide to remove themselves but if they do not, then they must be suspended, having first been given an opportunity to rectify their behavior.

Mr. Lipsky agreed that a voluntary withdrawal from the Council by the Revisionists was called for. Our entire public relations front is being thrown into confusion and our effectiveness destroyed as a result of their act. As a basis for action, Mr. Lipsky proposed that 1) the Executive Committee dissociate itself from, and condemn the action of the Revisionists; 2) regard their action as a breach of the articles of agreement under which the Council was formed for purposes of public relations; and 3) vote to suspend the Revisionists from representation on the Council, pending further action by the Plenum in February.

Rabbi Kirshblum cautioned against suspension. He believed that our purpose could be achieved by a statement of condemnation, with an explanation that no single party in either America or Israel is united on the issue of German reparations. What the Revisionists did was what we try to prevent hostile groups from doing; when the latter do things like this, we condemn them. Secondly, a statement should be prepared requiring the signature of each party to a pledge of adherence to discipline.

Mrs. Epstein suggested that the next meeting of the Executive Committee concern itself with recommendations to the Plenum on the whole question of discipline in the Zionist Movement. As for the statement, she agreed that condemnation rather than dissociation be emphasized.

Mr. Bick stated that the division within each party on the question of German reparations should be stressed; that it was not a case of one party standing up against others. He further suggested that the entire Revisionists' statement could be discredited by citing three basic facts: 1) the statement by the mayor of Jerusalem; 2) that of Rabbi Maimon who strongly opposed German negotiations, but much more strongly condemned the action of Beigin and the Heruth; and 3) Beigin's statement that he would not hesitate to urge his followers to use force and fight it out. Insofar as suspension is concerned, he suggested rather that the Revisionists be informed of our statement and the fact that their action destroys the possibility of our mutual cooperation.

Mrs. Gottesman believed that concrete action should be taken at this meeting, and suggested that unless a public apology were forthcoming, steps should be taken for their suspension.

A vote was taken and it was unanimously agreed that an appropriate statement of condemnation should be issued.



With regard to the contemplated letter to the Revisionists, Mrs. Epstein suggested that they be informed of the necessity for a reconsideration of their continuance as part of the Council, their having destroyed the accord with which we have worked.

Mr. Lipsky proposed that they merely be informed that the whole question of discipline in the Zionist Movement will be raised at the next meeting of the Executive Committee and the Plenum.

It was Rabbi Kirshblum's opinion that they could be placed in a position whereby they would have to expel themselves. At the next meeting of the Executive Committee the Chairman could request each party to sign a pledge of cooperation, with which the Revisionists would have to comply or automatically rule themselves out of the Council.

Mr. Segal felt that a moral issue was involved and that we could not continue to sit around the table with them and accord them fair and comradely treatment, as before. Therefore, he believed that notice should be given that the question of their further representation would be placed before the Plenum for consideration.

Mr. Schenker agreed with Rabbi Kirshblum that threats of expulsion should be omitted from the letter and that Rabbi Kirshblum's suggestion be followed instead to the end that they rule themselves out.

If the Revisionists were present at this meeting, Mr. Cruso stated he would move for immediate suspension; however, lest he afford them the pretext of acting as martyrs, he would favor postponing such action until the next meeting of the Executive Committee.

Mr. Bick made a motion, and it was seconded, that a letter be written advising the Revisionists that their statement was false; that their action was treasonable; and that it destroyed the possibility of their continuing to work in the American Zionist Council which is a voluntary public relations organization to further the cause of the State of Israel and the American Zionist Movement.

There was unanimous agreement that such a letter be sent to the Revisionists.

Mr. Lipsky suggested that in the future before action in the general press is contemplated by a constituent of the Council, the proposed action be submitted to the officers for consideration, and withheld until the Council permits release.

Mrs. Epstein expressed the Committee's pleasure at Mr. Lipsky's speedy convalescence from his recent illness.

It was decided to hold the next meeting of the Executive Committee, Tuesday, January 29, 1952 at 3:00 P.M.

The meeting adjourned at 10:05 P.M.

J.U.



AMERICAN ZIONIST COUNCIL

Minutes of Meeting of Executive Committee

January 29, 1952

A meeting of the Executive Committee of the American Zionist Council was held on Tuesday, January 29, 1952 at 3:00 P.M. at 342 Madison Avenue, New York City.

PRESENT:

Louis Lipsky (presiding), Benjamin G. Browdy, Pinchas Cruso, Beinesh Epstein, Paul Goldman, Mrs. David B. Greenberg, Rabbi Max Kirshblum, Dr. Zvi Neuman, Abraham A. Redelheim, Avraham Schenker, Louis Segal.

Dr. Berl Frymer, Mrs. Elliot F. Glassberg, Rabbi Isaac B. Rose, Mrs. Samuel J. Rosensohn.

Rabbi Jerome Unger.

FINANCE COMMITTEE REPORT

Rabbi Unger reported for the Finance Committee that it had been recommended that the Council make a contribution of \$250 to the Blanche J. Shepard Memorial Fund to establish a scholarship for a deserving Christian student to attend the Technion or Hebrew University for a year. There was unanimous approval.

In the case of Miss Sulamith Schwartz, it was recommended that, although not officially entitled to severance because she left voluntarily, the Council award her a grant of \$3,000. This proposal was adopted with one abstention and one opposing vote.

Rabbi Unger reported outlining the state of negotiations between the staff and management. The position taken by the Finance Committee with regard to the various requests of the Union for adjustments in the contract were confirmed. Mr. Cruso introduced a minority report asking that the proposed wage increase for the clerical staff be not extended to the members of the Executive staff. This minority report was rejected.

The Finance Committee stated that it was unable to reach a decision concerning the renewal of arrangements with Mr. Elihu D. Stone, expiring on January 31, because it felt that this matter was one rightly of policy rather than of finance, and was, therefore, within the province of the Executive Committee primarily.

Mr. Lipsky pointed out that in the coming year Mr. Stone's services would not be required except for possibly four or five months. It would be an extravagance on our part, he averred, to continue the present arrangement which is on a yearly basis. Mr. Beinesh Epstein pointed out that there was need for a permanent representative in Washington to carry on our work. Mr. Goldman asked Mr. Lipsky



what he has in mind for Washington, stating that this would be a prerequisite for consideration. Mr. Lipsky, in reply, stated that the Embassy would probably ask us to continue the same arrangement with Mr. Kenen as last year, but that they had not yet made that request.

After discussion, in which there was general participation and several proposals made, it was finally decided to offer Mr. Stone the following proposition: Taking into consideration all the present circumstances, he is to continue cooperation in our work with a retainer of \$7,500 payable at \$1,250 per month, beginning February 1, 1952. In return for this retainer, the Council is to be free to call upon his services and advice for a period of six months, it being understood that the situation will be reviewed at the end of that period. The previous arrangement with regard to expenses is to be continued and this new arrangement is to come into effect on February 1, 1952.

This proposal was adopted with one abstention and one opposing vote.

#### RESOLUTION ON DISCIPLINE

Mr. Lipsky read a proposed resolution on the question of Zionist discipline. After a lengthy discussion, two revisions of the original resolution emerged. It was agreed to refer these revisions to the members of the Council for consideration pending the next meeting of the Executive Committee.

(In view of the fact that the complete texts of both resolutions were circulated to the members of the Executive Committee and are on file in the full record of the Minutes, they are not included at this point.)

#### SUPPLEMENT TO MINUTES

Mr. Lipsky reported that Mr. Torczyner had objected to the Minutes of the Executive Committee meeting of January 15, 1952 because they contained Dr. Goldmann's remarks on the question of German reparations, but not the opposing remarks. Mr. Lipsky, therefore, suggested that the latter be included in the next Minutes and circulated. There was unanimous agreement.

#### CELEBRATION OF 300 YEARS OF AMERICAN-JEWISH LIFE

Mr. Segal felt that the Council should interest itself in the question of forthcoming celebrations of 300 years of Jewish life in the United States, with a view to emphasizing the place of Zionism in the history of the Jewish people of the United States, and suggested that the matter be placed on the agenda of the next Executive Committee meeting.

The meeting adjourned at 5:30 P.M.

J.U.



# AMERICAN ZIONIST COUNCIL

342 MADISON AVENUE

• TELEPHONE MURRAY HILL 2-1160 •

NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

Cable Address: AMZIONIST

AIR MAIL

February 19, 1952

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver  
The Temple  
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Dr. Silver:

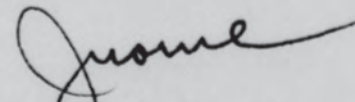
The attached "tentative proposal on discipline" grows out of the controversy which arose over the advertisement which the Revisionists placed in the New York Times some weeks ago. The meeting of our Executive on March 4th is likely to be the final one on this subject prior to the meeting of a plenary session some time in March (as soon as those members of ours who are also members of the Jewish Agency Executive will have returned from their meeting in Jerusalem.).

We are preparing to begin activities in connection with the new grant-in-aid campaign very soon. Of course some things have already been done. Kenen will again be down in Washington, as will Stone.

I hope you can make the next meeting of our Executive Committee on March 4th.

With kindest personal regards, I am

Sincerely yours,



Rabbi Jerome Unger  
Executive Director

JU:SR  
Encs

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## CONSTITUENT ORGANIZATIONS

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Hadassah, Women's Zionist Organization of America • Hapoel Hamizrachi • Labor Zionist Organization of America-Poale Zion  
• Mizrachi Organization of America • Progressive Zionist League-Hashomer Hatzair • United Zionist Labor Party (Achdut  
Avodah-Poale Zion) • Zionist Organization of America • Zionists-Revisionists of America



# AMERICAN ZIONIST COUNCIL

342 MADISON AVENUE

• TELEPHONE MURRAY HILL 2-1160 •

NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

Cable Address: AMZIONIST

February 19, 1952

Mr. Abraham A. Redelheim  
Zionist Organization of America  
41 East 42 Street  
New York 17, N. Y.

Dear Abe:

I am enclosing the proposal on discipline which was adopted at the meeting of the Executive Committee on February 18 with the understanding that it be submitted to the various parties for further consideration at our next meeting. I am also enclosing the Minutes of our meeting on January 29.

The next meeting of our Executive Committee will take place on Tuesday, March 4 at 3:00 P.M. in the offices of the Council. You are urged to attend this meeting with full instructions from your organization for the final vote on the proposal concerning discipline.

With Zionist greetings, I am

Sincerely yours,

JU:SR  
Encs.

Rabbi Jerome Unger  
Executive Director

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## CONSTITUENT ORGANIZATIONS

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Hadassah, Women's Zionist Organization of America • Hashomer Hatzair • Labor Zionist Organization of America-Poale Zion  
Mizrachi Organization of America • United Zionist Labor Party (Achdut Avodah-Poale Zion) • Zionist Organization of America  
Zionists-Revisionists of America



### TENTATIVE PROPOSAL ON DISCIPLINE

Whereas, the American Zionist Council is a voluntary association of American Zionist groups dedicated to the task of cooperative action in the field of public relations in the United States on behalf of the Zionist Movement and the State of Israel;

It is, therefore, agreed that the member organizations of the Council will give it their loyal cooperation by refraining from public actions which may be detrimental to the welfare of the State of Israel and have the effect of weakening the Zionist position vis-a-vis the general public;

And it is further agreed, in the event of a breach of such agreement, the Executive of the Council may: 1) suspend from membership any member guilty of such a breach by a 2/3 vote of its membership; or 2) recommend to the Plenum its expulsion from the Council by a 2/3 vote of the Plenum; or 3) take any other suitable action in the circumstances.

2/19/52



AMERICAN ZIONIST COUNCIL

Minutes of Meeting of Executive Committee

April 1, 1952

A meeting of the Executive Committee of the American Zionist Council was held on Tuesday, April 1, 1952 at 3:00 P.M. at 342 Madison Avenue, New York City.

PRESENT:

Louis Lipsky (presiding), Charles Bick, Benjamin G. Browdy, Mrs. Moses P. Epstein, Paul Goldman, Mrs. David B. Greenberg, Dr. Zvi Neuman, Mrs. Samuel J. Rosensohn, Avraham Schenker, Louis Segal, Mrs. Chaya Surchin.

Dr. Berl Frymer, Dr. Judith Lieberman.

Mrs. Benjamin Gottesman, Mrs. Raphael Tourover (guests).

Mrs. Golda Meyerson.

Rabbi Jerome Unger.

REPORT OF ACTIVITIES -- RABBI UNGER

A report of the activities of the American Zionist Council for the period March 4 - 31 was submitted by the Executive Director and has already been circulated.

GRANT-IN-AID

Progress Report No. 2 (March 17, 1952) dealing with the grant-in-aid campaign, previously circulated, is officially part of these Minutes.

Progress Report No. 3 (April 1, 1952) dealing with the grant-in-aid campaign, also part of these Minutes, has already been circulated.

INTRODUCTION BY MR. LIPSKY

Mr. Lipsky: We want to express our gratitude to Mrs. Meyerson for having so readily accepted our invitation, knowing as we do that she is very busily engaged on all fronts in the United States. This meeting is representative of all the recognized Zionist parties in the United States. Hapoel Hamizrachi and the Revisionists are absent but may arrive later.

The matter under discussion arose in our Committee because many of the members feel that we want to take notice of the difficulties that are arising in many of the communities between the campaigns that are being held for the UJA and for Bonds. These difficulties reflect themselves in the work of the various Zionist organizations throughout the country. First we thought it was



none of our business because there is a Jewish Agency; there is the Government of Israel here; the Bonds have an organization, the UJA has an organization. However, we are engaged in public relations and some of the things that are happening affect our relations in a direct way because we have the support in what we are doing not only among Zionists but non-Zionists.

Before undertaking any discussion of the matter, it was felt that it would be desirable to have you, Mrs. Meyerson, explain what is the situation and to answer such relevant questions as may be asked.

MRS. GOLDA MEYERSON

(Summarized text of remarks appended).

DISCUSSION

Mrs. Epstein felt that Mrs. Meyerson was oversimplifying the problem. First, no one was asking the bond machinery to fold up for three to six months while the welfare fund drive is on, but there is a vast difference between working in low and in high gear. The many pressures in small communities cannot be ignored.

Second, the problem of dictation from a national organization is deeply resented by the communities.

Third, a method must be found to work so that the timing of campaigns is accepted by all concerned.

Mrs. Rosensohn stated that if she felt that the means employed in Indianapolis would achieve our objective of getting the most money for Israel she would be in favor of them. However, she believed that Indianapolis represented only a pyrrhic victory. If there is ill will in a community the Bonds won't gain in the long run. Everyone realizes that there must be Bonds as well as gift dollars; therefore, the leadership must get together and work out the problem, which means that the Bond people will have to make sacrifices that up until now they have been unwilling to make.

Mrs. Rosensohn stressed that never before in history has a community been as generous as the American Jewish community.

Mr. Segal expressed the opinion that there is no competition whatsoever between Bonds and gift dollars, and that his theory had been tested and proven true in a community where he had made appeals for both in one evening successfully.

Like Mrs. Meyerson, Mr. Segal believed that whenever a community would take responsibility for both drives it should be permitted to work out its own plans and operations. However, he feared that vested interests for local community needs in the various communities he had visited throughout the country would undermine the success of the Bond drive. Perhaps a solution could be arrived at, he suggested, by the Zionist Movement sitting down with Henry Montor, discussing matters and possibly thereby controlling some of his methods.

Mr. Bick remarked that the man on the street now is very much aware of the conflict between the Bond drive and the UJA -- a situation which hurts both



causes. The feeling is that in the entire conflict the Government of Israel has always backed Henry Montor in the effort to coordinate the UJA and Bonds, and that fact accounts for Mr. Montor's intransigence.

He suggested that a small body of people who have the confidence of both groups be set up by the Zionist Movement to sit down and iron out the problems of timing, etc.

Mr. Goldman stated that although he is not a defender of the Jewish communities, nevertheless he felt that a monster had been created in Jewish life. The man in the street knows that the Bond drive is the aggressor -- an agency of professionals with tremendous power -- and that the UJA is the victim. Unless a Coordinating Committee of both drives is established, Mr. Goldman averred, there could be no solution of the problem.

Dr. Frymer believed that Zionists have lost influence in the UJA and are beginning to lose influence in the Bond drive because they are beginning to take sides. He also stated that an important element in the situation was the question of whether Israel and the forces supporting it are free in America or restricted. He would not want to permit a situation where the communities should be consulted as to whether a representative of the Government of Israel could come into a city. Dr. Frymer added that Mrs. Meyerson should call her Government's attention to the necessity of a National Coordinating Committee.

Mr. Schenker noted that on many of the points raised he was in agreement with Mrs. Meyerson. However, the question in his mind was how the Zionist Movement could be utilized to solve these diverse problems. Insofar as the rejection of the New York proposal, referred to by Mrs. Meyerson, was concerned, what is the next step of the Government of Israel and how will it affect the situation, he asked.

Dr. Lieberman stated that if, from the beginning, the Bond drive was intended to appeal to the individual and not just to the business man, a conflict between that drive and the UJA was inherent in that very situation.

Mr. Lipsky recalled that at the Jerusalem conference in 1950, when the four-point program was promulgated, the feeling was prevalent that the Bond drive would have to acquire a different technique from that of the UJA. There seemed to be no contradiction between the two. The simple idea was that if giving money was a hardship, it could be loaned. Everyone promised to support that idea. However, now the Bonds have assumed an aspect of competition, not only with respect to the method of selling them, but even with regard to the very spirit of the Bonds and gifts -- as if the Bonds were worthier than the UJA. The UJA was created by the Zionist Movement and cannot be brought into disrepute now, as the Bond people seem to be attempting.

It was the business of the Government of Israel, Mr. Lipsky felt, to see to it that peace and harmony prevail in the United States communities over this question because otherwise it would be impossible to get the money needed.

He added that Bond sales seem to be controlled or influenced not by the community, but by an agent of the Government of Israel. The Government of Israel has no right to try to reform the American-Jewish community. It must take that community as it is and leave it to the Zionists to influence the community in



any given direction. Representatives of the Government of Israel should not become involved in U. S. community controversies.

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Following the discussion above, Mrs. Meyerson made some supplementary remarks which are summarized in the Appendix.

The American Zionist Council, grieved over the death of Elihu D. Stone, who had been associated with the American Zionist Council when it was the Emergency Council and during the past two years served as legal counsel in Washington on political matters, adopted the following resolution:

"We sorrowfully record the death of a beloved colleague, Elihu David Stone, and express to his family our deepest sympathy. His whole career was one of devoted and consecrated service to his people, marked by an indefatigable enthusiasm for Zion."

The meeting adjourned at 6:15 P.M.

J.U.





APPENDIX

A - SUMMARY OF REMARKS BY MRS. MEYERSON

I am grateful for having been asked to come and naturally I avail myself of the opportunity to participate in any discussion on a problem which is very poignant to all of us -- you Americans and to us at home. Maybe because my way of thinking is primitive it is difficult for me to understand why a thing that is simple in nature should become complicated. But I know from experience that it is the simple things, when complicated, that can cause the greatest trouble.

In 1950 when the conference was called in Jerusalem, I was talking and saying to friends that Bonds hold nothing holy for me and that if we could get sufficient dollars any other way I would be perfectly willing to accept it because the vital matter is to get what we need; Ben-Gurion however did not agree. He did not want to accept dollars as a gift. He wanted our people to be burdened with a loan, to have to produce and repay. But I said often, we were never put to the test of whether we should get it all in free dollars or as a loan! If the question had been presented to us seriously -- which way do we want the \$500,000,000 we need, there would be discussions at home and differences of opinion.

But we are talking here in a small group. To a very fine degree we have become shlemazalim that we do not succeed in telling our nearest friends what the situation is.

The fact remains that the State of Israel is here; it can also not be here! The State of Israel is full of faults but besides the faults there is something else. Governments can be changed like everything else but no one has ever thought of how we can produce dollars in Israel and without dollars we can't make it. In 1949 when I was sent here I asked permission of the Cabinet to try to sound out possibilities of a loan. I thought the Jewish banks here would help finance it. I was sent to Maurice Wertheim who said there would be a great deal of sentiment for a loan and he could probably pick up \$10,000,000. I told him I am talking finances and he is talking sentiment and therefore nothing would come of it. I had conferences with the Jewish Agency and others. A very small minority was with me. The greatest optimists here said that we could have the same dollars but instead of getting them free we would have to repay them. When the people at home decided to go ahead with the Bond Drive it became evident that without additional sums of large amounts of dollars we could not do it. The vast majority thought we could go on with both drives and were convinced that the UJA would not hurt the Bond Drive. Now we have had a year of experience. I am prepared to say more than the responsible people in the UJA said -- suppose we lost \$5,000,000. Through the Bond Drive to the end of 1951 we got about \$50,000,000 from the Bonds and \$37,000,000 in loans on the strength of the Bond Drive.

I imagine that our financial situation at home is not all a secret to you here. Can you imagine what would have happened in 1951 without this money, if in 1952 with this money we are in such a position.

Joseph Schwartz suggested something that made a lot of sense to me. I wish we had accepted his suggestion. He said, one body at one and the same time. He would say to a Jew, this money is tax exempt and this money is from capital. But we did not accept his advice. A year passed and the UJA was not hurt, and



we got the extra money. I am not giving into an analysis of why it developed as it did. That, after all, is only a matter of my opinion.

But you cannot have an organization alive and effective working a few months a year, folding up the rest of the year and then starting all over again. I have been to various cities and said: Wherever the welfare board will say: "We of the Welfare Board make ourselves responsible for UJA and Bonds. We will do it. It is our responsibility." On their promise no one will interfere as to how and where they will carry on their business. It is only when a Welfare will say: "You cannot do Bonds" that I feel we cannot accept it.

I am convinced it brings no harm whatsoever to the UJA. I have been to three communities here —two that were good and one where the big battle took place, Pittsburgh. There they finally came to an arrangement where both Falk and Rosenblum chaired the meeting. Falk had a dinner meeting at his home with 40-50 leading members of the communities where I explained what Bonds are. There was a public meeting later where I spoke on UJA and Bonds, chaired by both Falk and Rosenblum. Falk promised that there will be a dinner meeting for bond sales at the end of April. No blood was shed in Pittsburgh and the community is peaceful and happy. In Cleveland the meeting was sponsored by the Welfare Board. No money was asked for either. But it was under the sponsorship of the Welfare Board that I was to explain both drives to the audience.

The United States Government has a UJA and a Bond Drive as far as Israel is concerned. They realize that there are two kinds of money that Israel needs: an export-import loan and a grant-in-aid. And everyone here understands it. Why Jews cannot understand the same thing I do not know.

In Indianapolis last year when the big drive for bonds was going on all they could do was call in 22 people with Eliezer Kaplan. After that I saw many letters why in April they cannot do anything; why in May they cannot; in August and November, etc., etc. they cannot do anything. There are good results in Indianapolis although very little was done. Despite little activity, a lot was done. The cash payments in Indianapolis are terrible. We got Sunday night in cash more than in the last six months. From January to last Sunday cash payment came up to less than \$5,000 and we got Sunday night in cash \$6,500 and we sold \$165,000 in bonds. When I came in February and March, I heard the situation about Indianapolis. The most miserable meeting I had in 1949 was in Indianapolis. Instead of calling together a meeting that would mean something for UJA they called together a luncheon meeting that meant nothing; and it was so planned. I asked that a meeting be called in Indianapolis for bonds. I take all the responsibility. I said that I want to go to that meeting.

The Welfare Board in Indianapolis reports that they wanted me to come for a Welfare meeting. The first I heard of their wanting me was a week or ten days ago. But a week before that I was in North Carolina and Eban called me and said: Would you consent that I suggest to Indianapolis that the same thing be done in Indianapolis as in Pittsburgh? I said "Absolutely." Freeman sent a wire to Eban saying that if I insist on going into Indianapolis, he would not be responsible for the consequences. Rabbi Greenfield called me. I told him Golda Meyerson is not the right person to be afraid. I told Rabbi Greenfield that the Pittsburgh arrangement still stands, if you want to accept it. The answer of the spiritual leader of Indianapolis was: Do you think it would be right that we should have to go to the Governor and Mayor and tell them not to go to this meeting? I said, if you think that is in the best interests of Israel and the Jewish community, do so.



They did this twice. They approached the Governor and the Mayor and a Professor of the University and the editor of the paper and asked them to remove their names as sponsors. But the Governor came. However, the pressure of these people on the gentile community was not to come.

Until that meeting it was a fight of opinion. The minute that goyim were brought into this picture, as far as I was concerned, I was through. But Eban still carried on and asked them to accept a compromise proposal; but they would not accept.

Only those in the community knew what a reign of terror was conducted in Indianapolis in the last few weeks, so as to keep them away from the meeting. But I told Rabbi Greenfield that I had a visa from the State Department to go into every city in the United States and any Jew who wanted to listen to me could do so. There were 750 Jews at that meeting and all the important goyim. (I happen to be one of those who do not like the idea of a goy speaking to a Jewish audience, but that is the pattern in the United States). We sold a lot of bonds. It was one of the finest meetings I have had in this country. What will happen afterwards I do not know. I don't say that the Indianapolis business gives me a lot of joy. But I think it was wonderful for the country and for Israel that we went through with this thing. Indianapolis might have become a pattern for the entire United States: that someone would say: You cannot come in here and talk to our Jews here.

I have had the experience before that pressure had been brought on someone not to have me speak before a group of Jews in a businessman's home. In that community we have not been able to sell bonds. This is an impossible situation. In Indianapolis, in Chicago last night, and in other places I had no conflict with my conscience when I tell the people why UJA and Bonds, and why they should work for both. I think Jews understand.

I don't see this as a struggle between the UJA and Bonds although I don't want to make believe that there is no tension. The struggle is welfare funds and bonds -- hospitals, homes for the aged, centers, etc. and Israel. Very important institutions have been carried on the back of Palestine, and now Israel, in the communities. We have all spoken for the UJA. Who ever became enthusiastic about a hospital?

The Welfare people know it. And then I understand. It is legitimate. I am prepared to fight against it but I understand it. But I do not understand the conflict between UJA and Bonds.

The New York situation is probably the most serious situation. It is serious because it is New York. Ben-Gurion called in Schwartz, Henry Bernstein and Henry Montor and said: "If New York would find some pattern it will hold for the whole country. Bonds are supposed to be the Government of Israel. I am preparing a list of men that you will make up now. We will make this committee responsible for UJA and Bonds in New York. Let them do whatever is right. We the Government in Israel are prepared to forego our rights as far as Bonds are concerned if this group will say: 'We are responsible for UJA and Bonds.'" The Bond Drive approved this but the New York UJA did not accept it. What else can we do?

As to the situation in Indianapolis, concretely they said: Until the middle of June, no Bonds. Only a person who lives on Mars can believe that on June 15 you can get yourself in line to work for Bonds. You don't do it in July or August.



Therefore you begin in September. Last November a very important man in the Welfare Board said "November was Brandeis month." Somebody else said in a certain month it is Hadassah; that means no Bonds. Everybody complains and talks about the high expenses in Bonds. You cannot have an organization for six months of the year and then tell the people to go home and for four months do nothing. Therefore I think we will have no alternative but to say to our friends that these activities must go on. If they come to an understanding that both activities must go on, then many things will be straightened out.

If the Welfare Board is honestly interested, everything can be arranged. If not, the Government of Israel has no alternative but to go out and get it because the failure of the Government of the State of Israel is more important even than peace in Indianapolis. Peace is an extremely important thing but life is more important and to the State of Israel, without any exaggeration, it is a question of life and death whether we get these enormous amounts of money or we don't. We know that UJA, Bonds, Grant-in-Aid don't begin to meet our needs. We have \$45,000,000 outstanding in Bond pledges that people have signed and committed themselves. Instead of going out to collect this money we are going out and asking for a loan for six months, for a year, etc.

Even this group is too large for me to tell you what the shortage of dollars means to us. It is too serious. If anyone has a suggestion for dollars, I would like to hear it.

Anyone who tells me to go for Bonds or UJA, I will do it. But when they say, Don't go, I won't accept that advice. By not going you don't get anyone to send you in checks. My local hospital is the State of Israel. Before the people of Israel default we will put up a very stiff fight for the life and the State of Israel.

One more point: A fight I can stand. At least it is clean. You fight against a person and it is a match of strength and arguments. But what worries me more than anything else is that in connection with this there is so much bitterness.

Until one week ago there was not one demand on me for UJA speaking engagements. About ten days ago Dr. and Mrs. Mayer asked me to speak for UJA. I haven't turned down one single speaking engagement for UJA. I just wasn't asked.

#### B - SUMMARY OF MRS. MEYERSON'S REPLY TO DISCUSSION

We allow everything in Israel. You could go into any community in Israel. The Government of Israel has never and does not and will not say that anybody or any organization must follow it. But you people say the Government of Israel must make decisions so that there is peace in the communities. So I said to you: there is a concrete example in New York. No one listened to it. But the powers that be in Indianapolis did not accept the decision of the Government of Israel. So today the Government of Israel has already made several decisions as far as UJA and Bonds are concerned that were not accepted. They will go on making them. The Government can use the militia to enforce its decision in Israel but not here.

Bonds is an agency for Israel. It is impossible that the Government of Israel



would take any position on anything that has to do with Bonds and the Bond people here will say "We will not accept." The UJA is not a Government of Israel agency. It is an American agency for Israel partly but not entirely. Many organizations here are beneficiaries of the UJA. No Welfare Board will accept the decision of the Government of Israel. If Hadassah says it will not accept the decision, certainly a Welfare Fund will not. Welfare Boards have no loyalty to Israel as a body or to the Government of Israel. All the Government can do vis-a-vis the UJA is to suggest but towards the Bonds we can make decisions. We can stop Bonds whenever we wish.

Something has been said about the ways and means and methods of Bonds. I am the last one to say that everything is perfect. Many things I don't like. I don't like how the appeal is made. But we have sold up to date about \$125 million worth of Bonds; 50% of them are purchases of \$1000 and below. It would have been much easier to sell \$125 million in this country of Bonds of \$1000 and above. There would have been less expense and no need to advertise. It has its positive and negative sides. This is the first time I think in the United States where a mass movement of direct contact with Israel is carried on on such a scale. I wanted mass meetings but they said "you don't get anything at mass meetings. At a dinner meeting of 100, you can get more than at a mass meeting of 1000." They had to go to the masses. We cannot learn from past experience of selling Bonds. No foreign government has sold Bonds like that. When I went to see Jewish banking houses and Mr. Wertheim called in all the Jewish bankers to his home, they wouldn't touch it. They didn't believe we could sell more than \$10 million. Before the Washington Planning Conference, 13 top economists in this country were called in with Mr. Kaplan. Only one believed we could get it.

About Mr. Montor: when I first met him in 1948 and went through the country I must confess I didn't hear very many complimentary remarks about him. He fought with Welfare Boards on pre-campaign budgeting. He makes life miserable for someone who gives only \$25,000 whom he thinks should give \$50,000.

Nobody has said a word about assuming I was 100% wrong in Indianapolis. As long as it remained within the Jewish family, it was all right -- but the minute the Governor was approached and asked "Don't go to this meeting" ---. That you are not outraged I can't understand. As far as the Governor of Indiana is concerned, there is no Bond, no UJA. A member of the Government of Israel is coming to his state. He thought, if a member of a foreign government comes, he should receive her. To have Jews approach him and tell him to stay away is disgraceful. 750 people were there. I have about 30 telegrams protesting against my going. I would be the last to deny the generosity of the United States. But I am going to say something I have said before.

The great aim of Israel is to reach the day when we are not in need any more of generosity. I can tell you on behalf of everybody in Israel: austerity for twenty years. With all the generosity, you feel differently and I feel differently. When you go to a UJA meeting, you go as Americans and you have made your contributions and you ask others. I go as a recipient.

Mr. Lipsky: That is one of your fallacies. The Jews of the United States have the responsibility.

Mrs. Rosensohn: We resent that you say we give charity.

Mrs. Meyerson: Did I use the word "charity"? I used the word you used -- generosity. If it is really sharing it would be a different story altogether.



On the part of some, yes. But not the majority. But despite that I say there has been no example in history of such giving. Without the American-Jewish community we could not have won the war.

This is an agency which is working for Israel and on behalf of the Israel Government. There is a meeting of the Board of Governors. I would be very happy if at that meeting people will speak up, and changes will be made; nothing is holy. As to the aggression of the Bond organization, that is true. That is mainly because it is a new organization; also because the undertaking was so immense that it could not have been done otherwise. We can't say "Give us the maximum amount of money" and at the same time say "Be gentle." Mrs. Rosensohn said logically "this is not the last year." Please do not be angry with me.

I don't know a more devoted group of men and women than in this room -- devoted to Israel. Yet not one of you is worrying today whether there were rations handed out for March. Pesach is coming. I must be shortsighted. I can't console myself <sup>that</sup> erev Pesach 1953 we will not need matzoths. We need them now. For many years I haven't seen the ZOA, the Mizrachi, the Labor Zionists so devoted and working so hard as in this business of Bonds. This has something that attracts. If we bring out the masses, it helps the Zionist Organization. Mr. Lipsky, you fought a man whose stature is of no comparison to the stature of Mr. Freeman. You fought him and you were right. Freeman means nothing to me as I mean nothing to him. Why Indianapolis? I should have done it in Denver last year. Denver has done nothing -- only \$50,000. Why is Indianapolis so important this year? Because Indianapolis is not just Indianapolis. First in Indianapolis the President of the Welfare Board of Indianapolis is the President of the Welfare Federation. And I was afraid that Indianapolis would become the pattern everywhere here in the United States. I agree the Israel Government has no right in reforming or not reforming the Jewish communities here. We don't intend to do it. We have enough to reform at home without taking upon ourselves this too but this is a fight for life and death for the State of Israel -- whether we will be afraid to talk to Jews the world over not only now when we need money. We are not going to become an isolated island in the Jewish world. The American Jewish community cannot say "Don't think we are 'golah'." To cut out our right to speak to Jews the world over, as Jew to Jew, is a terrible thing. Now we need money. Suppose there are other Jewish problems. The last thing we want is to fight. We don't want to fight anybody -- the American Jewish community, Welfare Boards. I have enough to do without that, but for the right of the State of Israel to be heard by Jews -- on that we have a right to fight. I don't think there was any difference of opinion between us on Zionism. This is a much more serious problem than a squabble in Indianapolis with Mr. Freeman.

Mr. Lipsky: The way you put it, it is; but it is not the way you put it.

Mrs. Meyerson: This is the way it is: Mr. Freeman said "Paid representatives of the State of Israel cannot go into Indianapolis without the consent of the people of Indianapolis." Mr. Eban said "I am also a paid representative and I am going to Indianapolis." But he was called by the State Department and could not go. I decided because the President of the Council sits there, this will become a test question. I think I have done a great service for the community of Indianapolis, for the State of Israel and maybe for Zionism too. I will report to my Government and if I will be censured, I will let you know.



CONFIDENTIAL

TO: Mr. Louis Lipsky, Chairman, and  
Members of the Executive Committee,  
American Zionist Council

FROM: I.L. Kenen

I. THE CUT IN THE SENATE COMMITTEE

The Senate Foreign Relations Committee, on Monday, April 28, voted to cut a billion dollars from the Mutual Security Program. The Senate will begin its debate on Monday, May 5, and will vote later in the week. The Senate itself is expected to cut further. It did last year. It has done so with every authorization and appropriation this year. Senator Bridges, Republican Floor leader, has already announced that his party will try to chop another \$900 million from the Bill.

The cut voted by the Senate Committee is across-the-board, amounting to about 12.6%.

Military aid for the Near East is cut to \$529,614,000. Technical and economic assistance for the Near East is cut from \$55,000,000 to \$48,038,000. The new allocation for the Arab refugees is \$56,772,000 and the allocation for the refugees in Israel is \$66,380,000.

The Committee stressed that the President will have authority to transfer 10% of the funds from any one area or use to another.

Two questions divided the Foreign Relations Committee: (1) The amount of the cut and (2) How it should be applied.

1. The Amount of the Cut.

Senators McMahon and Green, Administration Democrats, were opposed to any cuts but were in a hopeless minority. Neither was present at the meeting and their negative votes were recorded by proxy (McMahon is ill). Senator Smith favored a flat 10% cut. Senators George and Hickenlooper were for a larger cut. It is reported that Senator George argued that if the Committee limited itself to a 10% reduction, it would be certain to provoke deeper cuts on the Floor. He urged that the Committee compromise on a billion and that it then unite on the Floor to defend the Committee's report from further reduction. This view appealed to nine of the thirteen members of the Committee: Senators Connally, George, Sparkman, Gillette, Wiley, Tobey, Smith, Hickenlooper and Brewster (by proxy). Fulbright voted against the billion dollar flat cut because he wanted selective cutting. The thirteenth member, Lodge, was absent and not recorded.

After this cut was adopted, the Committee then reported out the bill 8-0. Hickenlooper dropped away from the nine because he offered a proposal to change all Point Four grants to loans but was defeated. He will try this again on the Floor. It is also reported that he urged



the Committee to cut the allocation for Israel and the Arab refugees another \$10 million each. He received no support. He voted "present" when the Bill was reported.

I was told today by Hickenlooper's Legislative Assistant that the Senator's proposal, not yet drafted, applies to Point Four and not to the refugee programs. I urged that he not inadvertently cut the refugee programs since these are under TCA even though they may not be Point Four projects as such. He assured me that he did not believe the Senator was aiming at Israel and that he would take it up with him. Hickenlooper is already receiving a number of inquiries about this proposal.

## 2. Selective Cutting.

The practice of making across-the-board cuts has prevailed within Senate Committees. There was some hope that the Committee this year might be selective. Sparkman expressed this view to me just one week ago, and Gillette, two weeks ago, was pushing a proposal to cut Europe's military authorization by 15%, Europe's economic aid by 10% and the Near East and Far East by 5%. However, Gillette told me yesterday that he had abandoned his proposal because it was too complex. There were two other advocates of selective cutting inside the Committee, Fulbright and Hickenlooper, and if they had prevailed, Israel would have been hurt rather than helped. Thus, more than two weeks ago, we were warned by Senator Smith and a representative of Senator Wiley that a flat across-the-board cut was in our interest rather than to our disadvantage; that if there was selection, Israel would be cut more than the average.

Senator Fulbright is a leading advocate of Point Four. Last week we received a disturbing report that he wanted to make a sharp cut in the amount for Israel. It was difficult to confirm this report and two of Fulbright's aides denied it to his constituents and to myself. They insisted that Fulbright's chief purpose was to cut the military appropriations and to transfer these sums to economic aid and to Point Four. Notwithstanding the denial, it was evident that he was perturbed about the amount given to Israel in the Near East program. We talked with his constituents in Little Rock and one of them called to urge him not to take any discriminatory action against Israel. We have since learned that, on Monday, inside the Committee, Fulbright did express the view that a disproportionate amount of economic aid to the Near East was going for refugees. However, he did not offer any motion. He stated that it was apparently difficult for the Committee to depart from the "across-the-board" position.

## II. OUR CAMPAIGN IN WASHINGTON

1. Within the last two weeks the community leaders of the Zionist Council have carried on a strong campaign to urge the members of the Committee to support the full allocation for the Near East. We have been informed that many letters are coming in to Senate offices from their home states. In Washington, during this period, we have sent our memorandum and personal letters to every member of the Senate. However, it was quite evident from the replies that there was virtually no support for the idea that Israel should be excluded from the economy drive.



(See Appendix A). On the contrary, we were told that Israel had received preferred treatment last year. One Senator told his constituents that Israel was favored last year when it maneuvered to escape a cut and that it must take its cut this year.

2. To Senators who told us that a flat cut was inevitable, we made the plea that such a cut be limited to the totals for areas and that it not be applied to the two refugee items. This was not popular in the light of Fulbright's complaint that too much money was going for refugees and not enough for Point Four.

3. Last week, when it became clear that a flat percentage cut became inescapable, we were concerned lest such a cut be automatically applied to all figures in the bill including the cumulative two-year totals for Israel and the Arab refugees. Obviously, the intention was not to cut these totals but mechanical application of the cut could result in a retroactive slash taking an additional \$5 million from Israel and the Arab refugees. I called this to Sparkman's attention, who urged me to take it up with Smith. Smith had not been aware of this possibility and his staff took steps to make certain that the Foreign Relations Committee would not make this blunder. I also called this to the attention of Senators Green, Gillette and Wiley, and Monday, after the Committee broke up, I was assured by the Senate Foreign Relations Committee that the cut would not be retroactive.

As the bill was reported out of Committee today, the cut was applied only to the 1953 figures. The bill eliminates the carry-over from 1952 funds for both Israel and the Arab refugees which means that if these funds are not committed by June 30, they will lapse. The totals in the bill are no longer cumulative. I believe this amendment was drawn by Senator Fulbright.

### III. THE PROSPECTS FOR RESTORATION

On the basis of the experience through which we have passed, I believe that it would be impossible to persuade the Senate to restore this cut for the Near East as was done last year. Such a move would be damned as special pleading and I question whether we could mobilize more than a small handful in favor of it. Certainly, the Senate Foreign Relations Committee membership would react indignantly and I believe that any such move would provoke violent opposition from many people who are against us in the Senate but who are disposed to remain passive at this time.

Senator Green, who last year led a last-ditch fight on the Floor of the Senate to restore all the cuts and was joined by only a handful, decided today to make no such effort this year. His Legislative Assistant told me that he considered the fight hopeless and that they would expend all their efforts to prevent further cuts.

The only chance of restoring any of this money might develop if the House cuts less than the Senate and presents an opportunity to compromise on a higher figure in a conference committee. I do not believe the House will cut less than the Senate. On the contrary. In the House they are talking of a cut to \$6 billion. Further, since the House is expected to make selective cuts, there is a very strong possibility that the amount budgeted for Israel would be reduced to achieve parity with the amount for the Arab refugees. This is the real danger in the selective approach.



Attached is Appendix A which recites some of the responses on the Near East from the members of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee to their constituents. It will be seen that the majority were friendly and apparently ready to defend Israel from attack but that no one was prepared to lead a crusade on Israel's behalf.

#### IV. THE HOUSE

The House Foreign Affairs Committee is expected to conclude this week and to start writing the bill up at that time. We are told that the testimony has been friendly and favorable and that Israel's military strength has been praised by high officials who have also testified to Israel's political reliability. However, two points have been raised against us. Some of the Congressmen have expressed criticism inside the Committee over the fact that no progress has been made towards the release of blocked Arab accounts. Congressmen Chatham (N.C.), Chipperfield (Ill.), Burleson (Texas) and Smith (Wisc.) have all indicated antagonism. No one of these was friendly last year. Mrs. Kelly of New York responded to the criticism and pointed out that Iraq had frozen all Jewish property. It will be recalled that Mrs. Kelly last year urged that Israel do something about the blocked accounts and she asked me this week to raise this question anew with the Israel Government.

A second unfortunate development of the pettiest kind has been the anti-Israel propaganda carried on by Crawford of Michigan who, it develops, had Israel pounds in his possession when he was in Israel last October. He has protested on the Floor of the House that Israel would not accept its own currency from him but insisted on payment in dollars, the impression being that Israel was interested only in American greenbacks. It has been reported that Congressmen Keating and O'Toole also had an unpleasant experience at the King David Hotel, although Keating today dismissed it as of no consequence. The story is being peddled in the cloak room and the Foreign Affairs Committee, and is doing us no good. There seems little we can do about an issue so petty.

#### V. MISCELLANEOUS

1. Our brief has been sent, with a covering letter, to the members of the House Foreign Affairs Committee and to 160 other members of the House who were friendly last year.

2. The ACPC has written to all Christian leaders who have visited Israel, requesting them to write to their Congressmen.

3. We met with non-Zionist representatives in New York last week. We will meet with their representatives in Washington next week.

4. Congressman Multer arranged for a special order saluting Israel's Fourth Anniversary on the Floor of the House today, and we have requested Congressmen McCormack and Martin, Jr., to make appropriate statements.



APPENDIX A

Reactions of members of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee to their constituents:

DEMOCRATS:

Connally (Texas):

To a constituent: "I cannot forecast what the Committee will do, but I assure you that your views will receive earnest attention."

\*

George (Georgia):

To a Christian Minister: "I have supported the Mutual Aid Program. I am convinced that a course of reasoned moderation is clearly indicated at this time. We cannot withdraw all foreign aid, but we must extend the helping hand with judgment and in moderation. Our own needs are great and probably will be much greater in the immediate future."

To a Jewish constituent: "I do not think we can withdraw from the world and you are assured that the program for the Middle East will be carefully considered."

\*

Sparkman (Alabama):

In letter to Christian Minister states that he is in complete agreement with every point he made.

met me four times and was most cooperative throughout.

\*

Gillette (Iowa):

In letter to Christian Minister, promises careful attention to this aspect of the Mutual Security Bill and assures him of his strong feeling that we cannot fail to do our part in preserving that strategic area from Communist conquest.

Gillette and his staff were helpful.

\*

Green (Rhode Island):

To a Jewish constituent: he is interested in continuance of the program, and to a Christian constituent: "thanks for your views which I share to a great extent."

\*



McMahon (Connecticut):

In letter to Jewish constituent: "deeply concerned about many problems in this area and you may be sure I will do my best to see to it that sufficient funds are made available to fulfill our responsibilities."

\*

Fulbright (Arkansas):

Last year wrote me that he thought this program was one of the most important in the foreign field. This year his letters were extremely non-committal.

\* \* \*

REPUBLICANS:

Wiley (Wisconsin):

In letter to Jewish constituent promises careful consideration and says that he is aware of the tremendous humanitarian needs for refugee aid in the Near East and he appreciates various folks' interest in that particular phase.

In letter to Christian constituent says that the program will be cut and trusts it will be reasonable and modest.

\*

Smith (New Jersey):

Wrote many letters to constituents stating that he intended to support the Israel and Arab refugee programs, but that in the light of the fiscal situation, it may be necessary to make some cuts across the board. However, he would oppose any cuts that would not be uniformly applied to all the titles of the Mutual Security Act.

However, in letter to Christian Minister, pointed out that he did not think that Arab states were getting consideration and he hoped that more could be done for them in the future.

\*

Hickenlooper (Iowa):

No reaction.

\*

Tobey (New Hampshire):

A Jewish constituent was assured by him over the telephone that he would support the full program.

\*



Brewster (Maine):

No letters. He met with us once but he was in Maine most of the time campaigning.

\*

Lodge (Massachusetts):

His Administrative Assistant wrote constituents and pointed out that Lodge was away, but recalled that Lodge was a sponsor of the proposal giving economic assistance to the Near East last year and that he has publicly stated that he will support the measure this year.

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