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Series I: General Correspondence, 1914-1969, undated. Sub-series A: Alphabetical, 1914-1965, undated.

Reel Box Folder 3 1 76

American Zionist Council, 1952-1953.

The Republican Party has consistently advocated a national homeland for the Jewish people since a Republican Congress declared its support of that objective thirty years ago.

In providing a sanctuary for Jewish people rendered homeless by persecution, the State of Israel appeals to our deepest humanitarian instincts and arouses our strong commendation. We shall continue our friendly interest in this constructive, heart-warming and inspiring undertaking. We shall put our influence at the service of the peace (peoples?) between Israel and the Arab states and we shall cooperate to bring economic and social stability to that area.

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AMERICAN ZIONIST COUNCIL . WASHINGTON BUREAU

SUITE 305 RING BUILDING
1200 EIGHTEENTH STREET, N. W.
WASHINGTON 6, D. C.
EXECUTIVE 1060

June 17, 1952

Dear Dr. Silver:

I am enclosing a copy of the draft which I have given to Taft, and which he approves. He has agreed to transmit it to Senator Millikin, chairman of the Resolutions Committee. It is an overall regional plank and this is in consonance with the Mutual Security Program.

A copy of this plank has also gone to Lodge and it has also been shown to Nat Goldstein for submission to Dewey and Dulles. Javits, who has been a tower of strength in the House Foreign Affairs Committee this year, has gone over this draft very carefully and made some of the changes that he thought were necessary to win its acceptance by the party.

I do not think we will have any trouble.

My conversation with Taft was very brief. He read my note and read the plank and said he approved it and volunteered to pass it on. Then I asked him whether he wanted to publicize his position, although I did not think it would mean much in terms of delegates' votes before the convention and it was then he said that he expected to see you in the next day or two and he would take it up with you. I assumed he meant you were coming here and I, therefore, called to suggest that you, Eban and I get together. (Eban knew I was calling you).

I shall look forward to seeing you in Chicago and if we get into trouble I will certainly not hesitate to call on you. We plan no formal presentation at the convention since we will be quite satisfied if this plank originates with the candidates and with the party, and is not the product of an outside influence.

Sincerely

I. N. Kenen

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver, 19810 Shaker Boulevard, Cleveland, Ohio

ILK: mp

PROPOSED 1952 REPUBLICAN NEAR EAST FLANK

The Republican Party has consistently advocated the reconstitution of a national home for the Jewish people since a Republican Congress declared its support for that objective thirty years ago.

We pledge continued support to the State of Israel to enable it to carry out its historic and humanitarian undertaking to provide sanctuary for Jewish people rendered homeless by persecution and to strengthen its economy and improve its means of defense as part of the defense of the free world against aggression.

We urge Israel and the Arab States to enter into direct negotiations for the achievement of permanent peace in the Near East.

We express our deep sympathy with the unhappy plight of the Palestine-Arab refugees and pledge continued support to facilitate their permanent resettlement in the Arab countries.

We sympathize with the aspirations of the Arab peoples of the Near East for political and economic independence, consistent with international responsibility and the policy of good neighbors, and we will support measures for the promotion of peace and economic stability and development in the whole region.

THE PRIME MINSTER

Jerusalem, 31 August, 1952

My dear Lipsky:

I am glad to send you our warmest congratulations on the completion of another task. I refer to the Council's successful effort
to secure the adoption of pro-Israel planks in the platforms of both
political parties. We know how much the Council has done to win public
opinion in support of this program, how steadfastly and earnestly the
hundreds and thousands of Zionist workers throughout the country have
carried this work forward.

I wrote both to express my personal feelings and to convey to you and to your colleagues on the Council the appreciation of the Government itself.

In some respects, I hesitate to write this letter, for it seems strange to be writing thanks to a great American Jew whose devotion to Zionism goes back more than half a century of dedicated service. I know how much joy you must derive from this record of vital achievement.

We pray that you will continue your inspiring leadership for many years to come.

Yours sincerely,

(Signed) D. Ben-Gurion

David Ben-Gurion

Mr. Louis Lipsky American Zionist Council New York REPORT OF ACTIVITIES OF AMERICAN ZIONIST COUNCIL

By Rabbi Jerome Unger, Executive Director

August 19 - September 8, 1952

I. Grant-in-Aid Activities

approved. Memorandum #27B was sent to our community contacts. The eight parties were asked to reinforce this by sending directives to their local groups. The ZOA, LZOA, Farband and Hapoel Hamizrachi reported that this was done. Certain non-Zionist groups were also asked to do this. Eighteen communities reported that letters of thanks had been sent to Senators and Congressmen. Several communities reported that they had already begun making approaches to candidates. Miss Sulamith Schwartz (in Israel) is preparing material on the use of grantin-aid for our future effort.

II. Political Campaign

Rabbi Unger reported that he attended a ZOA Convention in Dallas, Texas and also visited Georgia and had established contacts with communities in Arkansas, Louisiana, New Mexico, Oklahoma, Texas and Georgia. He had discussed with them the reorganization of local councils and approaches to candidates. Mr. I. L. Kenen, our Washington representative, has undertaken this same task during his visits to North Dakota, South Dakota, Minnesota, Wisconsin, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Chicago and Buffalo. Mr. Harry Steinberg has done the same thing while in St. Louis and Kansas City.

A luncheon with General Eisenhower and Jewish leaders on September 9, including Zionist leaders, was reported as non-productive. Rosh Hashanah greetings by General Eisenhower and Governor Stevenson, to be released on September 16, included non-committal statements on Israel.

A letter was received by Mr. Lipsky from Prime Minister Ben-Gurion thanking the American Zionist Council for its work in connection with the political platforms of both parties. (The text of this letter has already been circulated to the Executive Committee and a copy is attached hereto.)

III. Military Aid

State Acheson; the reply received from Mr. Byroade was non-committal. The eight parties were requested to send similar letters regarding military aid to Secretary Acheson. From the ZOA and 12 communities we have had letters adivising that letters have been sent. As a result of local contacts, favorable editorial comment has been in a number of newspapers on the matter of military aid to Israel.

Senator Sparkman has approached the State Department regarding this question and our contact with Senator Sparkman has urged the Senator to continue his efforts in this matter.

IV. Jerusalem

Several communities have inquired about our position. Minister Goitein has advised us not to raise the issue as it is still hoped that it will not appear on the agenda of the UN 7th General Assembly. Enlargement of the issue by us might create difficulties. Where errors are published, however, it is suggested that we might prepare effective replies.

V. Community Contacts

Reorganization and reactivation are taking place in many communities as a result of personal visits, telephone calls, letters and directives of the parties, including liami, New Orleans, Portland, (Oregon), Philadelphia, St. Louis, Kansas City and Atlanta.

Letters to editors and editorials have been drafted and published in several communities, including Richmond, Washington, D. C., Schenectady, Atlanta, Chicago, Dayton, Buffalc, San Antonio, Detroit, Macon, dealing with various matters concerning Israel.

Assistance has been given to individuals and local councils in Niami, Ohio, Georgia, Louisiana, New Hampshire, Nebraska, North Carolina and other places to make our work more effective.

Special requests for special speakers in cities presenting problems have been filled.

A tour of 34 cities by Embassy and Consulate speakers has begun and is having good effect.

Material to students, writers and speakers has been supplied in increasing amount.

The promotion of the Schechtman and De Gaury books has been meeting with success. Reviews of the books have appeared in many places and copies of the books have been sent to libraries and key individuals. 500 copies of the Schechtman book and 150 copies of the De Gaury books have thus been placed.

VI. Special Group Activities

The U. S. State Department Book Project has made preliminary organizational progress. The budgetary matters are now before the Jewish Agency.

A new Inwood library in uptown New York opened with a special exhibit shelf of books placed by the American Zionist Council in cooperation with the local ZOA district and Hadassah Chapter. Librarian reports that in first ten days 71 of the 75 books are in circulation.

The ZOA Commission on Israel and the Middle East is cooperating with us in stimulating local areas to more effective work.

An ambitious project of using Israel students on U. S. campuses in public relations activities is in the planning stage.

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There is continuing reaction by local Zionists to our policy of using non-Zionists as well as Zionists in our work. This requires discussion by the Executive Committee and a fixed policy established.

The usual relationship with specialized groups continues.

VII. Zionist Youth Council

The members returning from Israel report an enthusiastic group will undertake increased activities.

A new secretary, Mrs. Goldowitz, has been appointed, replacing Miss Bienenfeld, who has gone to Israel as a Chalutzah.

VIII. American Christian Palestine Committee

During the period under report, not a usually active time of year, five speakers were placed at 12 meetings in 5 communities.

The Blanche J. Shepard Memorial Fund remains at \$3,465.50, including one \$100 Israel Bond.

We are continuing contacts with important organizations, such as the American Political Science Association.

Excellent contacts have been established with friendly members of the faculty in several colleges, which will be helpful in combatting the insidious and growing impact of the American Friends of the Middle East (Dorothy Thompson group).

The AZC was successful in diverting the Town Meeting of the Air program on Middle East on August 19 from touching Israel, despite the unfriendly Arab who was on the program.

Arrangements have been made with certain important individuals now touring the Middle East for speaking engagements on return. Former Study Tour members will have large speaking programs when the Fall season gets under way. Each one is getting careful briefing to avoid any untoward incidents.

We were able to transform an American Council for Judaism program planned at a New York metropolitan college Hillel center into a pro-Israel occasion.

IX. Miscellaneous

A reply is in preparation to an unfavorable article by an American Council for Judaism member, Nr. Lilienthal, in the September issue of the American Legion magazine.

The Reader's Digest has postponed the inclusion of Dr. James G. MacDonald's article on Israel.

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AMERICAN ZIONIST COUNCIL

Minutes of Meeting of the Executive Committee

September 9, 1952

A meeting of the Executive Committee of the American Zionist Council was held on Tuesday, September 9, 1952 at 3:00 P.M. at 342 Madison Avenue, New York City.

PRESENT:

Louis Lipsky (presiding), Charles Bick, Pinchas Cruso, Beinish Epstein, Berl Frymer, Mrs. David Greenberg, Mrs. Samuel W. Halprin, Rabbi Hax Kirshblum, Rabbi Irving Miller, Dr. Zvi Neuman, Mrs. Samuel J. Rosensohn, Avraham Schenker, Louis Segal and Harry Torczyner.

Rabbi Jerome Unger.

I. REPORTS:

A report of the general activities of the American Zionist Council for the period August 19 - September 8, 1952 is submitted to the Executive Committee as part of this record and is appended hereto.

II. ORGANIZATION:

IIr. Lipsky announced the appointment of Nr. Harry Torczyner as Chairman of the Finance Committe and as therefore one of the six signers of our checks. This was ratified unanimously.

A resolution was adopted naming the following as the six signers of our checks, any two of whom may sign: Pinchas Cruso, Ers. Elliot F. Glassberg, Paul Goldman, Rabbi Max Kirshblum, Harry Torcyzner, Rabbi Jerome Unger.

The Chairman called attention to the fact that the resolution on discipline is still on the agenda and has not been disposed of. It was agreed that in view of the fact that the entire matter of the structure and activities of the Council will shortly come under discussion, the question of discipline be discussed at that time also.

III. POLITICAL PROGRAM:

The Chairman reported that a small, informal luncheon meeting has been arranged by friends of General Eisenhower for him to meet Jewish leaders. General Eisenhower may at that time make a statement on Israel. In addition he will release to the press a message to the Jews of America, for Rosh Hashanah. Governor Stevenson will probably follow the same procedure. The question has been raised whether the representatives of the Zionist organizations, and more particularly, the American Zionist Council, should go to this luncheon.

A long discussion ensued, in which all the members of the Executive Committee participated, pointing out the possible interpretation of attendance or non-attendance at this luncheon by representatives of the Zionist organizations. (A full report of this discussion is on file). It was emphasized that in all matters relating to the presidential campaign, it is important that the bi-partisanship of our organization be maintained. It was agreed that representatives of the Council who had been invited to the Eisenhower luncheon should attend, and that if a similar luncheon is held for Stevenson, the same procedure should be followed.

It was brought to our attention that Bonds for Israel was planning a dinner for Senator Ives to which General Eisenhower had been invited. It was pointed out that this dinner had been planned a long time ago with the idea of selling large numbers of bonds. After much discussion, it was the consensus that we must impress upon our people that it is not desirable to identify the organization as such with any one party. They should do their best to try to balance the situation and to see to it that in any city in which the candidates appear, emphasis should be placed upon the fact that there are Jews in both parties.

In connection with the efforts of the AZC in enlisting the aid of the American Jewish Committee, Bnai Brith, etc., it was felt that a modification of our procedure may be necessary. In the future instead of sending directives to other organizations than our own local Councils, the American Zionist Council will contact our local people directly. They may in their turn bring into work such local groups as in their judgment would be useful. We should not place our own organizations in a secondary position. It is important for us to establish the power and the identity of the Zionist groups. Our influence was strongly felt in connection with grant-in-aid and the Mutual Security Act and we should exercise our power in other channels as well. We want to strenghten our position as Zionists vis-a-vis the public.

In this connection, iir. Lipsky noted that it is important that we have more powerful people on our side. The principal strength of the Council is its apparatus of influence throughout the country. The more power that we have in that apparatus the better for us. We cannot sacrifice the function for the sake of the authority. We encourage the ZOA to be as active as possible because through that activity there will be created local people who are competent to take part in local affairs. Similarly we seek the effective cooperation of other organizations.

Rabbi Unger called attention to the fact that two years ago, when the grantin-aid effort began, Nr. Eban called two meetings, one in Washington and one in
New York. He invited non-Zionist Jewish representatives and implored their aid
and it was freely given. Mr. Kenen was originally supposed to organize a committee outside the Zionist group. That fell through and we worked through the
Zionist Council. ADL people said they would do anything we asked them to do and
did so. There is bound to be a certain amount of difficulty and confusion, Rabbi
Unger pointed out, as long as we use in addition to our own local Councils certain
national non-Zionist Jewish organizations. Since, however, these organizations
can be useful and are willing to cooperate to a degree, we must find the procedure best adapted to achieve this result. He recommended that we give our
attention to this matter as he is doing in order to find such a satisfactory
procedure.

Mr. Lipsky added that until the Zionist organizations work out their own structure and forms as a movement and come to agreements, they cannot expect to

have the organizations' troubles interfere with the functions of the Zionist movement. We can organize the Zionists in this country if we have the will to do it.

iirs. Halprin was of the opinion that there are large groups of people we will never get within the organized Zionist movement who can be stirred to help Israel. It is important that we work out a method by which our people will use the services of these people.

IV. GERMAN REPARATIONS:

lir. Lipsky announced that the Council had received an invitation to attend a meeting of the Policy Committee of the Conference on Jewish Material Claims Against Germany, scheduled for September 17. He stated that he and Mrs. Epstein had been designated to represent the Council at these meetings. Mrs. Epstein had been unable to attend one session of the previous meeting and Mr. Cruso took her place. At the meeting held in London during the summer Mr. Segal represented the Council.

After much discussion, it was decided that the meeting scheduled for September 17 should be attended by Mr. Lipsky, Mrs. Epstein and Mr. Segal, as an alternate.

Inasmuch as no report has been made officially to the Council regarding the work of the Policy Committee and its findings, it was requested that the Jewish Agency invite the members of the Executive Committee of the Council to hear a report from Dr. Goldmann prior to the meeting of the Reparations Conference called for September 17. The Executive Director was instructed to communicate with the Agency and if possible to arrange for a meeting of the AZC Executive Committee at the Agency office on Tuesday, September 16.

The next regular meeting of the Executive Committee is scheduled to take place on Tuesday, September 23, at 3:00 P.M. at the office of the Council.

The meeting was adjourned at 5:00 P.M.

AMERICAN ZIONIST COUNCIL

342 MADISON AVENUE

TELEPHONE MURRAY HILL 2-1160

NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

Cable Address: AMZIONIST

September 15, 1952

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver The Temple Cleveland. Ohio

Dear Dr. Silver:

Confirming our telephone message delivered to you on September 10, the next regular meeting of the Executive Committee of the American Zionist Council will be held on Tuesday, September 23, at 3:00 P.M. in the office of the Council, 342 Madison Avenue.

Dr. Nahum Goldmann, Chairman of the Jewish Agency, has been invited to meet with us in order to render a report on the German reparations matter. Please make every effort to attend.

In order that there be a clear understanding of our meeting dates, we shall adhere to the policy now two years old of meeting regularly on the second and fourth Tuesdays of each month at 3:00 P.M. This schedule will obtain unless modified by the Executive itself.

You will be interested in the attached copy of a letter which Mr. Lipsky has just received from the Prime Minister of Israel.

Looking forward to greeting you at our meeting. I am

Sincerely yours,

JU:nes Enclosure Rabbi Jerome Unger Executive Director

AMBASSADOR EBAN'S REMARKS

Mr. Lipsky, ladies and gentlemen: I think I might contribute to the formal discussion if I remain seated. I come here as a result of an invitation stimulated by myself because I felt for some time, as I think you must feel, that the area of close cooperation between the Embassy of Israel and the American Zionist Council has become wider and wider each month and the area cannot be covered without periodical meetings.

Before I embark upon a discussion of the many tasks which we have in common, I cannot possibly avoid one ceremonial duty, which is to reiterate in public what I have said to Mr. Lipsky in writing, namely, that the Government of Israel and especially the Embassy in Washington are both profoundly moved and impressed by the degree and character of the assistance which Israel has received in its most essential political tasks from the American Zionist Council in the most recent past. Our experiences show that the American Zionist Council rose to the level of its tasks. If I were called upon to make an historic appreciation, which happily is not amongst my tasks, I would say that the American Zionist Council in the last year and a half fully maintained the level of its work and the glories of 1947 and 1948.

I wish to express my appreciation for all the work that has been done under the leadership of Mr. Lipsky and the direction of Rabbi Unger. Another duty is to report here the advantage which we have had from the achievements of Mr. I.L. Kenen. I am sure he understands the nature of our problems sufficiently to feel inspired by the opportunities he has had and seized of bringing advantage to Israel at the most crucial point of its national life.

My chief message is that we are in the midst of one struggle and at the beginning of another. I should like to deal, if I may, individually with the various problems which have concerned us and new ones which arise at this stage. I have been trying to summarize in my own mind recently the milestones in American Israel friendship and they are manifold. Unless we consolidate them in a single appreciation, we lose the picture as a whole,

In the sphere of international relations, the habits of American policy in the past two years have been those of general cooperation with Israel in our struggle with the Arab states. I apply those to our difficulties in the UN and also in other areas where established hostility impinges upon the Arab world. There is, of course, no complete identification between Israel and the United States in larger international policies in relation to the Arab world. It is because the U.S. is a world power with Moslem and Arab interests.

The differences between us and the U.S. in matters of international policy are differences in degree; between the U.S. and the Arabs there are profound divergencies of opinion. If you look at the policy of the U.S. in the past two years on the pursuit of peace, refugees, ettempts to separate Jerusalem from Israel, you will reach the conclusion that American policy and Israel policy belong to the same category; American policy and Arab policy do not live in the same world. In the last two or three years, the United States, after many vacillations arising from its ambivalent position in the world, has reached solutions corresponding to our own.

is something peculiarly unique and utterly dissociated in its proportion to the grant-in-aid program. These are very special acts of alliance between us, falling outside the general framework of those programs. This year, during which Israel will benefit to the extent of \$73 million, the countries of India, Indonesia, whose population is 500 million, are to receive 362 million.

The same is true in the execution of these programs. On three occasions, to my regret, as a result of the failure of voluntary Jewish organizations to reach their goals, we have stood on the verge of collapse. Involved is an interruption of our vital supplies, including food. We face dangers. Faced with the choice between a weakening and a stable Israel, the United States considers it is to American interest to have a solvent Israel rather than a collapsing Israel. I make the plea that we do not exploit that too far. I think we have reached the limits of special dispensations which we can expect under the Mutual Security program. If word got around that Israel was getting \$65 million, a long queue of foreign ambassadors would appear at the door of the State Department.

Let us not underestimate the inhibitions which America had to overcome. In the sphere of American relations, in the sphere of Jewish life, there are disquieting failures -- the fact that three times Israel faced the possibility of collapse and had to be rescued by a foreign government.

The sooner we reverse the balance of responsibility, the better. The main responsibility must come from the Jewish people. Whatever we secure from others should be regarded as supplemental to the main effort, because I fear we have already reached our limit from these external sources of aid. The spheres of our economic relationships were extended this year. There must be many people who entirely regretted the emergence of Israel; once the emergence was accepted as a fact, we had better make it a solid concern not on the brink of disaster, requiring emergency aid.

You cannot approach this question without a feeling of deep tension and suspense. It is for that reason that when the question arose as to the imminent elections in the United States I felt that if there was ever value in the vast multiplication of commitments by both parties towards Israel, never is it greater than nowe

I don't think the freedom of an American party to live up to its platform is equal to the freedom which the British had. I believe that there is more to the party platform than there is to the resolutions of a party Congress in Britain. If an administration wishes to be against Israel, the fact that there is a party platform in our favor need not

Apart from the question of the Presidency, you must be concerned with the public support which the cause of Israel receives and especially our relations with Congress as a result of the Mutual Security Act. As a result of the Mutual Security Act the Congress of the United States became an important factor in deciding the destiny of Israel.

Our foreign policy, which at one period concerned nobody in the U.S. except the Administration, has become increasingly a matter of public concern. Israel and Congress relations are something of permanent importance whether there is to be legislation or not. I hope that the American Zionist Council does not regard this marriage between Israel and the Congress, in which you have been the felicitous wedding ring, as addressed to some particular emergency. It is part of the permanent structure of American-Israel relations.

The prospect therefore is that an administration will come into power which according to its own platform will be committed to the maintenance and continuance of this policy. It doesn't solve the situation. There is going to be a tremendous change of personnel in Washington. My colleagues feel on this like the professor encountering a new class.

I would suggest that you devote as much consideration as you can to the necessity of keeping Israel in the fore both on radio and television. It is, of course, part of the issue of the foreign policy. There is an unparalleled interest in the election process, and people are more tied to their television and radio than ever.

So much for American-Israel relations, which I think in general can be described as being in good shape but which can be maintained in that shape only with constant vigilance.

Military aid is making very slow progress. There is a wistful hope that something will happen in the Arab world which will enable American aid to Israel to be counterbalanced or appear to be counterbalanced by something else that is done by the United States in its self-defense policy in the Middle East,

The U.S. Government is no longer placing its confidence in some token regional organization. I don't think aid to Israel is being held up for that; it is being held up until something develops between the United States and perhaps Egypt. We are certainly very appreciative of everything that you are doing in that connection. I think the publication of our request was a matter of great importance. Our people in Washington made a summary of the position before and after the official publication by the American Zionist Council of the fact that this claim existed. We hope that a volume of support will develop.

I mention the German reparations question, on which I presume you have had a detailed report from Dr. Goldmann, who took such a courageous and dynamic part in every phase of this endeavor. The American attitude to the German reparations began, I would say, as one of incredulity. We were looked upon with compassion but there was no indication that it was taken seriously. When its seriousness became manifest and we talked to the Germans, a marked improvement took place and there was a disposition on the part of the United States discreetly but persistently to help us. When Secretary Acheson made his representations to Adenauer - those who were present say he, Acheson, never spoke with such fervor.

I think essentially this is an act by the German Government. The margin of those who opposed it and those who advocated it was so close that we must attach importance to the fact that the Western powers exercised their powers for good. It is quite certain to me from Mr. Acheson's attitude yesterday that we can expect more unqualified support from the ratification than we got at the beginning. I think there will be no trouble as regards the implementation of the ratification. Refusal to ratify would make the position far worse than if the venture had never been undertaken.

The United States does not think there is a danger. They promise vigilance. All in all, when we say that we need a continuance of American support we mean something very tangible now.

My last remarks concern a new field which has opened up before us from the unexpected and undesirable renewal of the annual festival which takes place each autumn. Arabs refuse any discussion throughout the year, but in the autumn when the voice of the UN is heard in the land, an indignant cry goes forth. We are faced again with this item on the agenda.

We don't shirk the debate; we haven't always lost. Either the General Assembly declined to accept the Arab arguments or they have accepted them in such an extreme form as to disregard them in the very acceptance of their arguments. We did hear a few verbal notes of moderation in the Arab world which are likely to be overrun by the new steam-rollers. It seemed to me that the desire of Naguib was meant to present a buffer zone of silence.

I suggest that it is not merely the consequence of raising the problem but the intention. When Jordan used to show a disposition to moderation, the other Arab countries would look for an opportunity to counteract it. In order to launch this festival of abuse against Israel, they had to do it themselves. They could find no Shabbos goy to do it, not even an Asian state. Asian states are associated with the Arab states on the question of human rights. On the question of Israel, the other states of Asia are not.

What do we want from the U.S. and from the U.N.? We want a policy of returning these complaints, preferably with a vigorous demand of the parties that they should settle their questions by direct negotiations. We want them to be more positive and assertive in making demands of the Arab states

down. It means loss of a certain formal control, but I think that Israel's interests are paramount. If you want effectiveness and speed and rapidity you should favor and advocate and support Mr. Kenen's activities. It has always had the formal sanction of your Chairman, and it is in accord with the policy of the Government of Israel.

The factual situation makes us go beyond the statement of Israel's demands and deal sometimes with questions of the whole Middle East because that is the framework in which the United States thinks about Israel. It might seem illogical to you that there are so many Zionist documents which advocate the support of Arab refugees. We believe in the maintenance and continuance of these programs as of vital interest to the State of Israel. We advocate the continuance of Arab support because the interests of Israel's regional security demand such a policy; especially should we be the active advocates of relief for the Arab states.

On the other hand, I don't think that there is any profit in our opposing the regional concept if that is the manner in which the United States chooses to express its concern in that area. If there is a question on aid to an Arab state of a military character, its relationship to Israel must be given consideration.

As a second line of defense, you say that if Egypt is first in the queue, we have been in the queue for eight months. It looks now as if the question of whether the United States should give military assistance to Egypt is likely to arise within the next few months; all impulses have been to give that aid.

DISCUSSION

MR. LIPSKY: The Ambassador informs me that he may have to leave in ten or fifteen minutes, but will answer questions now.

MR. TORCZYNER: I am very happy that you found time to come here because this gives us an occasion to discuss very briefly some of your endorsements of projects and some of your policies which are not the policies of the Council. I would like to take exception to two specific points: (1) You did deal with the American elections; (2) You also said that whatever Mr. Kenen has said or has done has been done with your approval. There are certain activities which I believe had better be conducted from the AZC than from the Embassy. You have correctly said that whatever is being done in the Embassy deals with Israel. Whatever we do here affects not only Israel but the status of American Jews. The Jews of the United States are in the unique position of having set themselves apart from all other Americans in claiming specific economic and military aid for a specific country, not the United States. Sooner or later, whether we like it or not, we will be affected by that kind of attitude. We Zionists certainly are not against it, but we believe that we should be first consulted when these problems are being dealt with. It has happened in the Arab refugee problem that this has been done, as you have said, very bluntly and plainly, at your request.

MR. EBAN: I have said that Mr. Kenen consulted me on a matter where the Government of Israel's position would be furthered or not furthered, and what he has said is in accordance with our policy.

MR. TORCZYNER: I have no problem before me of Kenen or not Kenen. The problem is a different one. There are elections going on. Certain statements have been initiated not by the AZC but, I understand, by the Israel Embassy.

MR. LIPSKY: Not at all.

MR. TORCZYNER: Or the Israel Embassy has consulted with certain persons who are not Zionists concerning certain statements to be delivered during the electoral campaign by certain of the candidates, and certain of these statements have never been seen by anyone in the AZC

MR. EBAN: These are internal matters.

MR. TORCZYNER: One statement was not seen and one was seen.

MR. IIPSKY! You are using an equivocal word; don't you mean considered by the Executive Committee?

MR. TORCZYNER: I mean not seen. One of them you must have seen and one you have not seen at all. I will be more specific in view of the fact that you know definitely what I am referring to. Two statements have been forwarded to General Eisenhower from Jewish quarters to be inserted in his next foreign policy speech.

MR. LIPSKY: There may have been three. Are you sure?

MR. TORCZYNER: There have been two.

MR. LIPSKY: There has been one statement seen by me, submitted to me by Mr. Kenen, which has passed through and presumably and ultimately reached the hands of General Eisenhower. There is another statement prepared by somebody else and also going through channels and reaching ultimately presumably General Eisenhower. But these statements are not statements on behalf of the Council, are not official statements on the part of anybody, but are things which have been conducted by regional Zionists with the regional candidates. You cannot say that that is an official statement that has anything to do with the Council.

MR. TORCZYNER: You speak about one statement. I refer to two documents. My objection is that these statements were not cleared with the Zionist Council, were not cleared with the people whom it affects and who have the greatest interest in them, and I wish to express the hope that when this marvelous system of consultation is put into application where Israel is concerned, there should be a two-way passage. When the Embassy of Israel is approached, we should be consulted about these statements and not have, for instance, the unpleasant surprise when we read one of the letters sent by Mr. Lipsky to every member of the Council to ask for military aid -- to see that this request is being submitted on the highest level of one of the political parties by one of the non-Zionists, who makes the statement that a commitment for arms for Israel follows the Communist line. No Zionist would have to a pologize if there were the proper clearance both ways. Mr. Ambassador, I hope that you will see fit, whenever such consultations take place, to consult with the Zionists. I know that it is very difficult because of the distance from Washington. It is in the interest of Israel and it is in the interest of our common work.

MRS. ROSENSOHN: What I am going to say may be an internal question but since the Ambassador brought it up, I must make a statement. Mr. Eban said that enything that Mr. Kenen had brought to us had been gone over by him and had met with his approval. He also said that after he and Mr. Kenen went over a statement and went over it with Mr. Lipsky, he thought that that was sufficient and that statements should be sent out under the name of the Zionist Council with the approval of the chairman. Our chairman has devoted himself in a marvelous way in the last three years to the AZC, but I think that things would be hastened and not slowed up if the chairman would not take it upon himself to approve any statement without calling in his Executive Committee. We have told Mr. Lipsky that we are at his disposal on a day's notice; that we would be here, or the representatives of our organization, with full power, before anything goes out. I think that since you were calling not upon these people here but upon the thousands of the US to give body to what you ask, that it would be infinitely more favorable to have it criticized and finally adopted by the Council,

MR. EBAN: Mr. Kenen does not conjure things out of the empty air.

MR. LIPSKY: What Mr. Torczyner is referring to is rather vague because there were any number of documents that were submitted in many cases to the officers of the Council and in many cases to the members of the Council itself. This matter of military aid dates back to over a year ago and there was a certain formula that we had maintained through all the conversations in connection with the grant-in-aid, When it came to presenting more intimate accounts of this matter, our letter was based upon a pamphlet which was circulated in thousands of copies. In that

case it was not necessary to have the matter of the pamphlet submitted to the Executive Committee for approval. I don't know whether we were making any offensive move that was disrespectful to the Executive Committee — that has no relation to what is occurring today. Some of them occurred during the summer and we made some explanation as to why we had no meetings during the summer. We have maintained in the last two years a relationship with the Embassy which was well understood by the members of the Executive Committee. There was an arrangement for a Washington representative who was in consultation not only with the Embassy but also with representatives of many large Jewish organizations; also, of course, with the Council. None of the moves taken by Mr. Kenen in any way were taken without my knowledge and without my agreement.

MR. TORCZYNER: There is no Kenen problem.

MRS. EPSTEIN: Does Mr. Torczyner mean that certain statements were sent on to General Eisenhower's headquarters through a non-Zionist approach to the General?

MR. TORCZYNER: Yes.

MR. LIPSKY: We had a meeting of the Executive Committee where we undertook to influence the action at the Republican Convention, not through any direct pressure by the AZC but through the delegates to the Convention. Therefore, there were certain things submitted to the Republican Convention not by the Council but by Mr. Javits, Senator Sparkman and Mr. Perlman. They submitted these matters to the committee within the convention. They had the advice of Mr. Kenen, who had the advice of the Ambassador and myself. The same thing took place in the Democratic Convention. There, the whole Platform Committee personally was committed to do something for our cause, and they embodied what they thought was proper in the platform of the Democratic Party. The speech of Mr. Eisenhower and the letter written by Mr. Eisenhower on the New Year are two different things. The letter which appeared in the newspapers was written by somebody else and had nothing to do with us. So far as the speech was concerned, there was a form submitted by Mr. Kenen to Mr. Javits. I saw the form and I thought it was all right. I asked him if it was all right in Washington and he said it was. When it was passed by Mr. Javits to somebody else, Mr. Javits himself changed it; then somebody else changed it. Finally, it was in the hands of Mr. Sam Hausman, who also submitted it to headquarters. Then Mr. Katzen came into the business and said he didn't know anything about it. The fact of the matter is that everything was passed through and ultimately reached Mr. Eisenhower. No one knows what is going to be in that speech. I understand that his speech is delayed because of Mr. Nixon, and we are not responsible for Mr. Nixon in any way. The idea that the Executive Committee of the Council should pass upon the form of a document submitted to the Republican Party is, in my opinion, a piece of childish play. We are not responsible for the ultimate result at all. Mr. Eisenhower and Mr. Stevenson are going to make their own speeches with whatever advice they are going to receive from whoever are friends of theirs.

MR. EPSTEIN: At the last meeting of the Executive Committee we criticized the procedure and the procedure is that Mr. Kenen, without consultation with the Executive, went out to see individuals -- Zionists and non-Zionists -- and peddled around for support of Israel without us here in the Council deciding on a line of policy. The result was that he spoke to people who are not informed, who tried to make political capital for themselves, and, as Mr. Torczyner told you, this actually happened. I understand Mr. Torczyner's remark, and I know most of us feel that this is a lack of consultation. Consultation means two ways, not only to hear what the Embassy wants but also for the Embassy to hear our opinion. We believe that we have a right that our opinion should be heard. In this question of aid to Arab refugees, we have been told that this line has been taken upon the advice of the Ambassador without us being consulted or expressing an opinion. It is true that the majority of the Executive approved it, but they approved it practically without debate.

MR. LIPSKY: There was an active debate.

MRS. EPSTEIN: I took part in it and thought it was a wonderful idea. We were told it was on the advice of the Ambassador.

MR. LIPSKY: The Ambassador approved it.

MR. EPSTEIN: I remember well that at this meeting you said the Ambassador approved it.

MR. EBAN: My advice is to support the Government of Israel.

MR. EPSTEIN: The Embassy should find some way where we will be consulted. In connection with the drive of the Arab states to get arms from America and support, isn't it advisable that the AZC start a kind of campaign, of clarification of American public opinion and Congress, as to the actual situation in the Arab countries, militarily, economically and politically so as to show America it is not in the interest of America to give arms to unreliable countries? The line in many American circles is that support of Israel antagonizes the Arabs, etc. We must, in my opinion, show the American people and the Government that it is in the interests of America to do the best for America, which means support Israel and stay away from giving arms to the Arabs.

MR. EBAN: If any machinery could be devised whereby I have a more constant knowledge of current opinion in the AZC, I would certainly support it. You have an office in Washington, and any views which I think ought to reach you I assume that your representative in Washington is the medium. I think it would be well for us to know what are the views of the members of the AZC, or any other machinery -- more frequent meetings at which we could discuss our mutual objectives. I would suggest that your representative in Washington be in a position not merely to transmit what are the views of the Government of Israel but to transmit what are the views of the AZC. In addition, such meetings should be more frequent between the Government of Israel and yourselves. I will also be open to accepting that idea. -- With regard to the political question of aid for the Arab states, there is a possibility of a different emphasis in the Government of Israel's response to that situation and the American Zionists'. -- When we consider the problem of arms for the Arab states, we must remember that they are in a state of "non-peace" with Israel, and that we would be first in the queue. America thinks of Israel's interests -- security and right to priority consideration. The AZC can be far more vehement than we can. We are in a position to resist arms for the Arab states where it will impinge on Israel's interest.

MR. LIPSKY: We want to express our thanks to the Ambassador and hope that he will come here more often.





AMERICAN ZIONIST COUNCIL 342 MADISON AVENUE NEW YORK 17, N. Y. OFFICE OF THE CHAIRMAN LOUIS LIPSKY

November 28, 1952

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver The Temple Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Dr. Silver:

On Wednesday evening, December 10th, New York Jewry will pay tribute to the late President Chaim Weizmann at a Memorial Meeting to be held at Carnegie Hall. Prominent American and Israeli personalities will deliver brief addresses. Appropriate selections will be rendered by Cantor Moshe Kusevitsky.

I should like very much to have you join us on the Platform that evening. Please let me know whether you are able to attend and I shall see to it that a Platform Ticket is sent to you for your use.

Very sincerely yours,

Louis Lipsky

Chairman

LL:QDK

AMERICAN ZIONIST COUNCIL

342 MADISON AVENUE

TELEPHONE MURRAY HILL 2-1160

NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

Cable Address: AMZIONIST

December 9, 1952

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver The Temple Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Dr. Silver:

I am attaching herewith the first page of the <u>Freiheit</u> issue of December 9th, which carries a report of an alleged discussion of the Prague Trials which you were supposed to have made in Philadelphia on December 2nd.

The <u>Freiheit</u> has made a habit of carrying reports on your addresses in Cleveland and throughout the country in which they claim you pat on the back Communists and the Soviet Union. The <u>Forward</u> had many times discussed these assertions of the <u>Freiheit</u> puzzled as to their veracity.

Some of the members of our Council have requested me to communicate with you and to find out whether you wouldn't refute the attached statment of the <u>Freiheit</u>. You are an honorary president of our Council and they felt that your international political attitudes are rather important for us.

It is a long time since I have seen you and I have been wanting to meet with you on the book I am writing and on some other matters. I hope you will give me an opportunity in the near future to have a talk with you.

Awaiting your reply, I am as ever

Very cordially yours

Arnold K. Isreeli

AKI:CS Enc. December 10, 1952

Mr. Arnold K. Isreeli American Zionist Council 342 Madison Avenue New York 17, New York

My dear Mr. Isreeli:

Permit me to acknowledge the receipt of your kind letter of December 9th and the clipping which you enclosed from the Freiheit containing a report of what I was supposed to have said with reference to the Prague trials at the dinner of the Zionists of Philadelphia on December 2nd. My address, I understand, was taken down on a tape recorder and was broadcast. A full record of the address is probably available, and I would suggest that those who are interested in it should obtain it and read it exactly as I delivered it.

I have made it a practice not to reply to distortions of my opinions and statements which appear from time to time either in the Freiheit, the Jewish Forwards, the Jewish Post, or any other newspaper or magazine. Life is too short for it. The Freiheit has consistently twisted and editorialized, by a cunning process of selection, what I said from time to time. The journalistic tramps of the Forwards have, as you know, forwears carried on a campaign of misrepresentation and lies, never taking the trouble to go to first-hand sources to find out the facts.

As far as the scandal sheet, the Jewish Post, is concerned, you probably saw in the last issue a prominently displayed article originating with the American Council for Judaism, to the effect that I failed to pay tribute to the memory of the late Chaim Weizmann. You may be interested to know that upon learning of the death of Dr. Weizmann, I immediately cabled my condolences to his widow and I arranged for a special service at The Temple at which time I spoke in memorial tribute to Dr. Weizmann. A similar service was arranged for the children of my Religious School. At the very meeting to which you refer in Philadelphia, I devoted half of my address in tribute to Dr. Weizmann. I mention these facts to indicate that it is clearly impossible for me to keep up a running battle in the public press with all those who are bent upon distorting my view or villifying me, as was recently the case with my exchange of letter, with General Eisenhower.

I have not seen the report in the Philadelphia Jewish Times, so I do not know just how that paper reported my address in which I expressed shock that a government which was four years ago so friendly to us at the United Nations has now become so hostile. I spoke of the necessity on the part of Zionists to keep their ranks intact and to remain fully mobilized and alerted because,

Arnold K. Isreeli -2-December 10, 1952 along with the Arab clock which has been working against us, we now seem to have another powerful block - that of the Soviet Union - politically arrayed against us. When I am next in New York, I shall be very happy to see you. With warmest regards, I remain Most cordially yours, ABBA HILLEL SILVER AHS:er

AMERICAN ZIONIST COUNCIL

342 MADISON AVENUE

TELEPHONE MURRAY HILL 2-1160

NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

Cable Address: AMZIONIST

December 24, 1952

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver The Temple Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Dr. Silver:

Immediate reactions to the notorious Prague trials have now given way to thoughtful evaluation. The impact on Jews everywhere has been serious and we here in the United States wish, in consultation with all segments of organized Jewish life, to formulate an educational program to meet the issues raised.

To that end the American Zionist Council is calling a Conference of the heads of various Jewish organizations. I am therefore inviting you to attend this national Conference on Tuesday, January 6, 1953 at 3:00 P.M. at the Hotel Shelton, Lexington Avenue and 49th Street. In addition to yourself, I have invited Rabbi Irving Miller, Mr. Harry Torczyner and Dr. Sidney Marks from your organization.

I shall appreciate a reply on the card enclosed for that purpose.

Cordially yours.

LL:nes Enclosure Louis Lipsky

AMERICAN ZIONIST COUNCIL

342 MADISON AVENUE

TELEPHONE MURRAY HILL 2-1160

NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

Cable Address: AMZIONIST

December 26, 1952

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver The Temple Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Dr. Silver:

The attached notice of our special meeting of the Executive Committee for Tuesday, December 30th, is quite clear. I do want to add this note however just for you. If you possibly could come to this meeting I think it would be important for your point of view to be expressed.

The only subject to be discussed, as the invitation states, is the meeting on January 6th which will deal with the Prague trials question. I understand that at a meeting of the Jewish Agency Executive held last week the decision was reached to advise our people not to hold any mass meeting or other public meeting on the Prague trials anywhere but in New York and -- this is the most important part about it -- that the keynote of such a meeting should stress the anti-Zionist aspects of the Czech trials rather than introduce any note referring to their anti-Semitism.

For more reasons than one I should personally like to have you come to our Executive Committee meeting but this one reason I think is most compelling.

With fondest good wishes, as ever, I am

Sincerely yours,

Rabbi Jerome Unger Executive Director

JU:JK (Enc.)



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DR ABBA HILLEL SILVER=THE TEMPLE=

*URGE YOUR ACCEPANCE MY INVITATION JANUARY SIXTH 300PM CONFERENCE OF ORGANIZATIONS HOTEL SHELTON LEXINGTON AVENUE AND 49 STREET NEW YORK CITY DISCUSS ISSUES RAISED BY PRAGUE TRIALS CORDIALLY-

=LOUIS LIPSKY AMERICAN EIONIST COUNCIL=

December 31, 1952

Mr. Louis Lipsky American Zionist Council 342 Madison Avenue New York 17, New York

My dear Mr. Lipsky:

I wish to acknowledge the receipt of your telegram urging my attendance at the Conference of Organizations on January 16th. I wish I were free to come as I should have been very happy to participate in its deliberations. Unfortunately, an important earlier engagement makes it impossible for me to leave Cleveland.

The Prague trials make a sharp reversal of the attitude of the Soviet bloc towards Zionism and the State of Israel which was taken at the United Nations beginning with the famous Gromyko statement in May 1947 and maintained quite consistently until the recent vote in the Assembly of the United Nations on the subject of direct negotiations between the State of Israel and its Arab neighbors. The attitude of the Soviet government prior to May 1947 was, of course, always anti-Zionist based on its conception of our Movement as a bourgeois movement, too friendly in those days with Great Britain. It has now returned to the position which it occupied then. I assume that the reasons now are similar to those of five years ago - namely, self-interest, a consideration which determines the shifting political positions of many other governments besides the Soviet Union. As the State of I srael moved more and more in its identification with the West, it was quite inevitable that the Soviet bloc would come to include it in the same category with the United States, Great Britain and other countries whom it regards as potential adversaries.

The violent attacks which were made upon the Zionist Movement and the State of Israel during the Prague trials have been and should be vigorously repudiated by Jews throughout the world. They are outrageous fabrications. Our Movement is an historic movement of national renaissance and freedom, not of sabotage or subversive activities anywhere in the world. The State of Israel is the enemy of no country in the world and is eager to live on terms of friendship with all countries well disposed to it. These facts were well known to the Soviet bloc when they favored the establishment of Israel and voted for its inclusion in the United Nations, and they are well known to it today.

I believe that protests on the slanderous attacks which were made are entirely in order. I feel, however, that simultaneously every effort should be made if possible, by responsible people in key positions, to disabuse the leaders of the Soviet Union of their present false obsessions and to restore the friendly relationship which existed during the past five years. It is not a comfortable thought to entertain that in the future we shall have to be facing not alone an Arab bloc at the United Nations and elsewhere, but also a hostile Soviet bloc. The combination of these two blocs, plus the defection of a few Latin American countries, as a result of a shocking blunder into which I need not go at the moment, was responsible for our first major diplomatic defeat in the United Nations.

I do not believe that it is wise to whip up an anti-Semitic case against the Soviet bloc. There may have been some anti-Semitic overtones in the trials although the Czechoslovakian government has officially denied it. The Communist position, as you well know, has consistently been opposed to anti-Semitism and has looked upon anti-Semitic manifestations as counter-revolutionary. There is, as yet, not, sufficient evidence to indicate that there has been a reversal of attitude on this subject. I think we ought to approach with great caution the subject of publicly branding and denouncing the Communist governments of Russia and its satellites, where 3,000,000 Jews reside, as anti-Semitic. It might prove a tragic boomerang and might bring about that which we want least and fear most. Let us be deliberate in judgment.

I know that there are forces, organizations and newspapers in the Jewish world which would like to use anti-Semitism as an additional weapon in their fight against Communism and represent Communism to the world as only another version of Hitlerism. I cannot go along with them. I do not believe that it would be wise for the Jews of the world to be maneuvered into such a position. Communism is vulnerable on many other scores and should be attacked on the basis of those premises.

With kindest regards, I am

Most cordially yours,

ABBA HILLEL SILVER

AHS:er

Arabs see eye to eye, should continue to preoccupy Life Magazine, as indicated in its editorial of February 9, 1953,

Jordan, which is the only part of the Arab world directly concerned, is just as implacably hostile to the internationalization of the old city of Jerusalem as Israel is to that of the new city. All proposals to internationalize Jerusalem are unrealistic, not merely because they go against the deepest feelings of the newly born Jewish State and the historic Jawish nostalgia with regard to Jerusalem, but because they are fundamentally based on nothing substantial whatsoever. Jerusalem as a city has never been internationalized in its history: it is incomprehensible why the question should be regarded as having taken on any urgency since the establishment of Israel.

The flimsiness of the case for internationalizing Jerusalem has misled your editorialist into making some curious misstatements. The Israel part of Jerusalem, for instance, is far from "stagnant." The city is growing unflaggingly and its general economy is uncontestably improving.

Nor is it correct to say that the only real opponents of the internationalizing plans are Israel and Jordan. At the last General Assembly of the United Nations it proved impossible to collect the required 2/3 majority in order to reaffirm the principle of internationalization.

It is, indeed, particularly senseless to blame this on the United States, which in this case found itself at one with the majority of world opinion. It is not Truman's policy that was reflected in the proposed U.N. resolution to induce Arabs and Israel to negotiate peace -it is Eisenhower's policy as well, and has been so expressed for the record. The reason the Soviet Bloc voted against this resolution is precisely because they knew that peace between Arabs and Jews will help to cement a Middle East defense organization, which is the last thing the Soviet regime would like to see. The Kremlin understands, as apparently your editorialist does not, that it is only in the context of Arab-Israel peace that a strong Middle Fast Regional Defense Organization is possible.

Mr. Henry R. Luce -20 February 10, 1953 It is significant that the only Arab States in favor of internationalizing Jerusalem are those that have no direct stake in it. It should be obvious by this time that the Arab spokesmen are merely utilizing the internationalization theory not because of any belief in it -- why indeed, as Muslims, should they have any interest in it? -but because they regard this as a handy method of attracting sympathy for their own intransigence on all major issues. As to the question of freedom of worship, why does your editorialist fail to mention that Israel has offered to place all the Holy Places in its part of Jerusalem under international control and has granted free access to these Holy Places to people of all religions? If Life is seriously concerned with these Holy Places why does it not point out that in this respect it is Jordan that is making difficulties and not Israel? Your editorialist's concluding remark that the internationalization of Jerusalem "would not settle all the intricate problems of the explosive Middle East" is a masterpiece of understatement. Those problems would be limitlessly more complicated if internationalization were permitted to introduce a new source of festering, which aside from anything else would give the Soviet Union its first officially sanctioned foothold in the Middle East. In this respect it would be wiser to let sleeping dogs lie. Yours sincerely, Louis Lipsky LL:JK Chairman

Memo of phone conversation of James H. Sheldon and Garland Evens Hopkins, 3:50 to 4:12 PM, Monday, February 9, 1953

After writing a first draft of an article for the American Hebrew, dealing with American Friends of the Middle East, I decided to telephone Dr. Garland Evans Hopkins, Vice-President of AFME, to secure any additional information on several points, which might be useful in completing my draft.

I prepared a list of topics to discuss, viz:

Why no Israeli point of view at AFME Conference? Why no effective Jewish participation in organization? What is size of staff? Use of AFME by Arabs? Anti-Zionist attitude of AFME.

After introducing myself to Mr. Hopkins, we exchanged a few words of mutual identification and he said he would be glad to provide any information, and to have me come to visit the AFME offices.

I said I was writing an article on AFME and was distrubed especially by one point -- why there was no Israel representation and no effective Jewish participation. I observed that AFME's brochure indicated that it was an organization building better relations with the whole Middle East and that the map on the brochure includes Israel in a prominent place.

Mr. Hopkins said that the fact that Israel was not on the program meant nothing more than the fact that eight or ten other countries including Turkey were not on the program. He said that these countries had adequate representatic anyway in other ways and that, in fact, although Israel had not been invited or any Zionist group, JDC and the ORT had been invited (he implied in connection with the technical panels) but had not accepted.

Discussing the attitude of individuals on his board, in response to my query (in which I mentioned especially Miss Thompson), he said that, "Our purpose is admittedly not to push Israel, which already has good representation here, and the United States has good representation there." He added that most of his board were anti-Zionists and, of course, anti-Partition. They mostly say Israel exists and the conditions under which she would cease to exist are unthinkable, but they feel the Arabs have not been represented or their interests presented.

When I asked why Israel had not been represented, Hopkins said, "You cannot invite Israel and the Arabs to the same affairs, just as during the war you could not invite the British along with the Germans or the Japanese. They are at war."

When I said something indicating that in America we ought to have all points of view represented if one purports to be building friendship with the entire Middle East, Hopkins said that it should be a major concern of the Zionists to have groups like AFME exist, implying that otherwise more intransigent groups would grow up. He seemed to become angered as I pressed the point of Jewish participation, and from this point in the conversation he

took a definitely anti-Israel and also a personally antipathetic position, and said: "If the American people ever find themselves losing in another war in the Middle East and begin to ask why and discover what the cause has been, you will find the same thing happening here /to the Jews/ as happened in Germany. I hesitate to think what might happen in New York." These are exact quotations.

When I seemed to argue. Hopkins said. "We'll tell the truth -- fire will be met with fire. If they want a fight we will fight. The new Administration will not be led around by the nose /by you people/ as the Truman Administration was."

I referred to the need of having Israel represented in any Middle Eastern discussion, and Hopkins accused me of "naively accepting propaganda handouts." "You don't know what you're talking about," he said.

Then becoming somewhat calmer, he said, "We think the Zionists have a great stake in us."

- 1. Many people not pro-Zionists have a stand together here. They say that they are not anti-Zionist and the Zionist organizations have a great stake in acting so that they will not become actively anti-Zionist.
- 2. It is much better to have us favorable rather than antagonistic. If they want an all-out war they can have it."

Hopkins added that in case of an "all-out war" we would not be dealing with any little organization or crackpots like Freedman, but with a well prepared and organized group.

At one point in the conversation Hopkins said that AFME is intentionally a membership organization so that it could exclude people like Freedman. At another point he said that there were two Jews on the AFME board, and when I said they are representatives of only a very tiny and non-representative group, he became irritated and said that they were well regarded by him as Editor of the Christian Century and by many other Protestant theological figures. He said that in opposing him we would be opposing the Christian Century also. I said I doubted this. (NOTE: This last statement was made somewhat obviously in anger and I think did not reflect Hopkins' real belief regarding the Christian Century).

In conclusion, I thanked Hopkins and he seemed a little more agreeable as we rang off.

February 13, 1953

Memo of a luncheon conference of Dr. Garland Evans Hopkins. Dr. S. Margoshes and James H. Sheldon, Tuesday. February 10, 1953.

At about noon on Tuesday, February 10, Mr. Hopkins phoned me and said that he had had some telephone discussion with Dr. Margoshes whom he had invited to join him for luncheon today, and he wanted to invite me to join them, after which we would all look at the AFME offices. I said I would be glad to come, and we agreed to meet at the Town Hall Club at 1 o'clock. I said that I might be five minutes late because of some work I had to finish before leaving the office, and we exchanged descriptions of each other so as to find each other in the Town Hall Lounge.

When I arrived, Dr. Hopkins and Dr. Margoshes were already there. We entered the dining room together and had lunch, during most of which we engaged in general discussion on our respective kinds of work, the recent election campaign, etc. Hopkins said that he was a Methodist Minister in Virginia in which state he is a citizen, had lived in Chicago for two years as an editor of the Christian Century, had previously spent four years in Washington as Director of an international church relief activity, and continues now to be a member of the Virginia Methodist Conference "assigned" to AFME.

Dr. Hopkins then undertook a general presentation of the work of his organization. Afterward, Dr. Margoshes and I each stated our respective points of view. The following is a summary of the discussion, related items being grouped together rather than put in the exact order of their appearance in the discussion. This is dictated from longhand notes which I made shortly after our discussion. No notes were kept during the talk itself.

In opening my statement I said that the general trend of an organization could be determined from the names of the active people on its board or letterhead, and observed that I assumed some of his board were relatively inactive people or political figures who would go on most any apparently worthy cause, plus some active people. We mentioned as active Dorothy Thompson, Professor Hocking, Mr. Bliss?, Professor Hitti, Rabbi Berger, Professor Lazaron, Mr. Sado and Mr. Sheean. I said that anyone with political experience would realize that these were the people with driving voice that would determine the direction of movement. Hopkins did not dispute this analysis but said that there were some people on his board that felt much more strongly anti-Zionist than others and that he had, in fact, to contend with a right and left wing. For example, he said that there had been great pressure to get the AFLE to bring about a congressional investigation of American funds sent to Israel by UJA, etc.. Margoshes and I said we would, of course, welcome such an investigation, and I said we were, in fact, anxious to see an investigation of funds in the Middle East because it would reveal that most of the funds were ARAMCO and other Arab oil interests. Hopkins said that two of his board members had resigned because their policy was not strongly enough pro-Arab.

In discussing the conference, Hopkins said that AFME had not taken an anti-Zionist position in any of its statements, but that the material had come only from invited speakers. We discussed statements by Zeineddine, Malik and Bakr. He said they had tried to get Zeineddine's manuscript but had not yet received it. He tried to avoid responsibility of what had been said by these

and certain other people. We pointed out that we would have no objection had the other side been represented also. He said that in that case the Arabs would not have come, and reported a case where AFME was sending a tourist group to the Middle East and had invited the Israeli's Council to help see off the group, with the result that all the Arabs refused to go and AFME got bad publicity in Arab newspapers. He said he was now thankful that AFME was getting much favorable publicity in these papers in the Middle East, and he considered that this was helpful to the United States. I said it was not helpful since it was publicity for points of view contrary to that of our government.

In discussing Dr. Bakr, Hopkins said he had not heard Bakr's speech. I said, "I have a stenographic report of part of it here," which I read. He admitted that it was very extreme, but became angry when I said that this was the same point of view as Gerald Smith.

He said that if the Zionists took such an opposite position, the result would be that people like those following AFME and most Americans would, in event of war in the Middle East, blame the Zionists and this would lead to terrible things in New York. (His language on this was almost identical with that used by him on the telephone).

At another point he repeated his remarks about the Zionists not being able to lead the new Administration around the way they did the Truman Administration, using language almost exactly like that reported in my memo of our phone conversation.

Hopkins said toward the beginning that the difficulties coming from the conference arose only from the guest speakers and the fact that they had Rabbi Berger on the program. He tried to show, however, that a great thing had been accomplished in getting the Arabs to attend the conference with two Jews, Berger and Lazaron. Margoshes started to explain that these two men were not representative of Jews, and I said that this was a matter I would like to explain as one Methodist to another. I said Berger and Lazaron were learned people, but that the situation which he had brought about was analogous to that which would follow if a Catholic organization in New York decided to invite some representatives of Protestantism and chose two men from the Witnesses of Jehovah or a man like Dr. MacIntyre of the tiny opposition group called American Council of Churches -- in which case responsible Protestants would be very irritated and feel that they had been insulted. Hopkins tried to demonstrate that Berger's organization represents an increasing number of Jews, and charged that the Zionist point of view is losing ground among Jews and elsewhere.

Some of this discussion with me tended to make Hopkins feel that he was not accomplishing anything, so he said, "I am not interested in you, anyway. I am interested in Margoshes' organization because it represents more people, and they, being responsible for creating attitudes towards Jews, should be careful not to drive off people like AFME with influence." Dr. Margoshes said he was not a man to be frightened by any such prospects, and we both reminded Hopkins that it was the business of good Americans to try to get other people to try to follow their views rather than merging their own groups with evilminded interests.

At several times during the conversation, Hopkins tried to drive a wedge between Margoshes and myself, in the very obvious manner just indicated — either by appealing to me as a fellow Methodist or by appealing to Margoshes as representative of a larger organization.

Hopkins argued that if America does not go along with the Arabs, the Arabs will turn communist. I said this is a ridiculous submission to political blackmail, since the Arabs are feudal countries whose overlords are wealthy because of oil business, and they would be the last people to turn to a communist regime -- and that we should try to build up democratic sentiments in these countries. I quoted an early message to Congress by President Monroe on this. Afterward Hopkins changed the subject.

Referring to the conference, Hopkins said that Dr. Karl Baehr "of the Christian Palestine Committee, a paid propagandist of UJA," had attended the conference and said he could agree with 90% of it. Dr. Margoshes and I vigorously challenged Hopkins' reference to Baehr as a propagandist, and Dr. Hopkins clarified this by saying that he assumed that Baehr, like himself, was sincere, but he used the word "propagandist" as meaning one professionally engaged in pushing a viewpoint as, for example, Hopkins himself. I observed that from my reports of the conference, I also could probably agree with 90% of it, because so much of the time was spent on purely technical or social service questions, but said that the important part was that which had to do with contrary political issues and it was only these parts about which we were really concerned.

Hopkins spoke vigorously about the Arab refugee problem and the injustice of having 100,000 Arab refugees excluded from Palestine. Margoshes and I said we were equally concerned about Arab refugees but felt that he should be concerned about Jewish refugees if his organization lived up to its name. I pointed out that at least 100,000 Jewish refugees had already been admitted from Arab lands in which they had been persecuted, especially Yemen, and that with respect to the 100,000 Arabs about whom he was concerned, that was really an exchange of population, although we were, of course, deeply concerned about the plight of refugees, both Arab and Jewish.

We talked about financing of AFME and he said that they would definitely accept ARAMCO money if offered, but had not yet received any. I said I hope you will tell me when you do. Hopkins said he would not.

Hopkins complained about press treatment of his conference, and said that the only space it got at all in the major press came from a Zionist paper, the New York Times, and was therefore unfavorable. Margoshes showed amazement at this characterization of the Times as Zionist, and informed Hopkins that Mr. Sulzberger is considered not particularly friendly to the Zionists. Hopkins said it was the same way with the press associations, which were afraid to tell the truth about Arab matters. I expressed amazement at Hopkins taking such an attitude, and Hopkins told a long story about how the owner of a small Virginia radio station had supposedly been "forced" after visiting the Middle East, to discontinue a series of broadcasts favorable to the Arabs. I said, "You talk like Gerald Smith when you think the Jews have that much power."

At an earlier stage when Hopkins mentioned possible pogroms in New York, Margoshes had said, "That is Nazi talk." These were the two points during the discussion when relations got most tense.

Hopkins mentioned the fact that Israel is inviting a possible 2 million refugees from Russian communistic persecution which, he said, has greatly alarmed the entire Arab world. I said that the United States, Israel, the Arabs and all other decent countries ought to invite these refugees, and it was an honor to Israel if she had been the first to act. Hopkins indicated that he did not think the other countries would do much inviting.

After these matters had been discussed, Dr. Margoshes excused himself to return to his office, and I continued to AFAE heedquarters with Hopkins (139 East 57th Street). Hopkins showed me about their offices, which are impressive and seemed to contain about 25 people. He showed me a good deal of new duplicating and addressing equipment, and invited me to attend their 4 o'clock coffee hour. I demurred because I had not planned to be away from my office so long.

We discussed the question of the Mufti and Freedman in Hopkins' office. He said that his Arab friends were against the Mufti, and that I should not charge the Arabs in general with having been pro-Hitler because they were merely fighting in their own interests. I said I was not concerned with why, but only with what side they were on. He said that Freedman was not accepted by him or the Arabs, and never had been. I said that there was plenty of evidence brought out in court that Freedman had worked very closely with the official Arab groups, and I left a copy of our brochure about Arab propaganda with Hopkins. He said he would like to put it in the AFTE library. He seemed to have been unaware of the background of the Institute of Arab American Affairs and of the Arab National League.

Hopkins said that he knew Hourani and Nashashibi and that they were really very nice people who would not have attacked American Jews. I said that he would find in our brochure correspondence showing that Nashashibi spoke to violently anti-semitic meetings, knowing their nature. After looking at the correspondence, Hopkins said, "Well, if you had been in a strange country you would have talked to anybody who invited you, and you would have done the same thing." I said, "That's the difference. I would not have done the same thing."

Hopkins said the Arab League people never had any money to spend for propaganda. I said I had investigated their reports with the Attorney General's office, and found that they had spent vast sums and retained some of the most expensive public relations counsel.

Hopkins showed me a newspaper column he had written about Germany in which he felt that we were blaming the Germans too much for the recurrence of neo-Nazism there, and indicated that he felt that this was in large part our fault.

At the end of the tour about the office, I started to leave, and Hopkins said, "I hope someday you will see our point of view and join AFME." I said, "I am heartily for making friends with everybody in the Middle East, which I understand is the stated purpose of AFME, and when it really works along that line - including everybody in the Middle East - I shall certainly be glad to work with it. Meanwhile, I have drafted an article on this matter, and feel that I should leave it about as already drafted, in the light of our discussion today."

TO: Chairman and Members
of the Executive of the
American Zionist Council

Dear Fellow Member:
Yesterday's demarche of the countries was masterminded at the

STRICTLY CONFIDENTIAL

February 18, 1953

Yesterday's demarche of the diplomatic representatives of the Arab countries was masterminded at the headquarters of the American Friends of the Middle East.

The activities of the American Friends of the Middle East, for the last two years, have been intensified, and what their future plans are is indicated by the contents of the attached strictly confidential summary of two conversations had by Dr. James Sheldon (2 conversations) and Dr. Margoshes (1 conversation) with Garland Evans Hopkins, the Executive of the aforementioned organization.

The attached memorandums are stenographers' drafts only, so please overlook the numerous corrections of grammar, etc., which should be made; but the memorandums are accurate as to content.

In view of the nature of this communication and the personalities involved, I take the liberty of repeating and insisting that the contents of this note and of the attached material be considered as strictly confidential. I felt that it was of the utmost importance that it be communicated to you so that you may be able to reflect on the proper action that should be taken.

Cordially yours,

Harry Torczyner

HT:MK

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אונזער פאליטיק אין מיטל־מזרח-אַ געפאַר פאַר ישראל

אויף דער קאַנפערענץ פון נאציאָנאלע אידישע פירער, וואָם איז אפגעהאלמען געוואַרען אין וואשינגמאן פאריגען זונמאָג, האָם סעי נשטאר מעפט געהאלטען א רעדע, וואס איז געווען כדאי צו הערען. ער האט אין זיין רעדע ארויסגעכראכט פאלגענדע פאקטען: אמעריקע זויל פארזיכערען א פאראייניגטען פראנט אין מימעל-

מזרח קעגען סאָוועמישער אַגרעסיע".

"די קאַנסאַלידאַציע פון ישראל׳ם עקאַנאַמישע סמרוקמור קאַן

נים שעדיגען די אראַבער; עס קאַן זיי בלויז העלפען".

"געמענדיג אין באַמראַכם, אַז ישראל האַלט זיך פעסט ביי אירע

דעמאַקראַמישע פּרינציפען, איז קיין וואונדער ניט, וואָס דער אַגרע
דעמאַקראַמישע פּרינציפען, איז קיין וואונדער ניט, וואָס דער אַגרע
סיווער קאָמוניזם טוט אָן ישראל דעם כבוד און גיסט אויף אים אוים זיין גאנצען האס". סענאמאר מעפמ האם אויסגעפירט, אז צוליב די אלע מעמים, דארף אמעריקע נים אפשמעלען איר הילף צו ישראל.

מיר גלויבען, אז עם איז געקומען די ציים צו ריידען אפענע ווער-מער, און זאגען אונזערע חשוב'ע סענאמארן, און דורך זיי דער נייער אדמיניסטראציע אין וואשינגמאן, אז סתם ווערמער וועגען "הילף פאר ישראל" קלינגען איצם גאנץ באנאל, און דערמאנען אונז אן יענע פרייוויליגע פייערלעשער, וואם שמייען אין מימען א שרפה און שרייען, אז "מען דארף לעשען", און רירען זיך נים פון ארם. אוא ספרם "לעשען" העלפם בלויו צו פונאנדערפלאקערן די שרפה.

מיר ווייםען, אז מענאטאר מעפט איז א פריינט פון, ושראל און ער האט עס באוויזען ביי פילע געלעגענהיימען. זוען ער וואלט ניט געווען קיין פריינט פון ישראל, וואלט ער זיך ניט געפונען אויף דער אידישער קאנפערענץ אין וואשינגטאן, פאריגען זונטאג, וואס איז גערופען געוואָרען לטובת דעם באנדידרייוו פאר ישראל.

אַבער סענאטאר מעפט איז איינער פון די וויכמינסטע

אין דער אייזענהאוער ארמיניסטראציע, און אפשר אומכאוואוסטזי ניג פאר אים אליין, אכטר גאוט ראייטיראיייי ניג פאר אים אליין, אבער גאנין באוואוסטזיניג פאר אונזער סטיים דעפארטטענט, האט ער איבערגעגעבען די נייע שטעלונג פון אונזער רעגירונג צום טיטעלימזרח, וואס איז פול מיט קאנטראדיקציעס.

רעגירונג צום מיםעליטורון, וופט פין פול מים קפנטר אויקניעם.

ווען אידישע פירער רעדען איצט מים הויכע בפצמטע פון סטיים
דעפצרטמענט און דריקען אוים זייער זפרג וועגען ישראל, שטעלען
די בפצמטע אוים צ פפר פצרוואונדערטע אויגען, און זפגען:

- ווען הצבען מיר געביטען אונזער פּצליסי צו ישראל? האבען
מיר דען צפגעשטעלט אונזער הילף פצר ישראל? פון וואנען נעמט
איר, צז מיר קלייבען זיך צו עגדערען אונזער פּצליטיק צו ישראל?
עס הויבט זיך ניט צו! מיר זיינען זעהר פריינטליך צו ישראל, און
די נייע אדמיניסטראציע וועט אויף ווייטער צנהאלטען די דאזיגע

אין דער דאויגער דערקלערונג איז נימא קיין איינציג זוארמ, וואס איר זאלט קאנען זאגען, אז ס'איז ניט אמת. און דאך איז זי פאלש פון אנהויב ביז'ן סוף, ניט די זוער-טער זיינען פאלשע, נאר די פאליטיק איז א פאלשע, און די אמת'ע ווערטער פארדעקען די פאלשע פאליטיק. עס גילט דא דער אלמער כלל, אז אין דיפלאמאטיע ווערען באנוצט ווערטער, כדי צו פארדעקען

עם איז אמת, אז דער סטיים דעפארטמענט האט גים געביטען זיין פּאַליטיק צו ישראל. עם איז אבער אויך אמת, אז דער סטיים דעי פארטמענט האָט יאָ געכיטען זיין פּאָליטיק צו די אַראַבער. און שזוי לשנג ווי עם איז נימש קיין שלום צווישען ישראל מים די שרשבער, איז, – צי מען וויל שדער נים, – יעדע ענדערונג אין די שרשבער, איז אונזער פשלימים צו די שרשבער אויך שן ענדערונג אין אונזער פשראונזער פשר

ליטיק צו ישראל.

אונזער רעגירוגג, אז זי זוכם א פאראייניגטען פראגם אין מיטעל-מזרח. וואָס איז די שטערונג צו א פאראייניגטן פראַנט אין מיטעל-מזרח ישראל איז נים קעגען א פאראייניגמען פראנם אין מימעל-מזרח, ישראל איז נים קעגען א פאראייניגמען פראנם אין מימעלימזרה, אויך נים קעגען אמעריקאנער געווער צו די אראבישע מלוכות אלם א מייל פון דער פארמיידיגונג פון מימעלימזרח. די איינגעשפארמקיים פון די אראבער נים צו שליסען קיין שלום מים ישראל; די כסדר'דיגע אינפילמראציעס פון די אראבישע שכנים אין די גרעניצען פון ישראל, וואס מראגם כמעם דעם כאראקמער פון א שמילער מלחמה; די האפענונג פון די אראבער, אז אמעריקע וועם מיד ווערען צו שמיצען ישראל, און דעמאלם וועלען זיי קאנען צום

סענאמאר מעפם האם ריכטיג איבערגעגעבען די פאליסי פון

צווייטען מאל אטאקירען אירע גרעניצען און "באפרייען פאלעסטינע״ דאָס זיינען דו שטערונגען צום פאראייניגטען פראַנט אין מיטעל מאַראַליש איז די אידישע מדינה גענוג שמאַרק אין כוחות או היכון ביינו. דער שנדער כוח, וואס קאן אויפהאלמען און האלם אויף די דעי מאָקראטישע אידישע מדינה אין מימעל־מזרח, איז די פריינמשאפנ פון אמעריקע, און די זיכערקיים, אז אמעריקע שמיים אויף איר זיים עקאנאמיש און מיליטעריש אין פאל פון א נוים.

עקאנאמיש און מוליטעריש אין פאל פון א נוים.
איצט, ווען אין מאמענט פון גרעסטען פאליטישען קריזים אין
ישראל, גיט זיך אמעריקע א קער צו די אראבער, פארזיכערט עגיפטן
מיט וואפען און מיט עקאנאמישע חילף, אן שום באדינגונגען און
מיט וואפען און מיט עקאנאמישע חילף, אן שום באדינגונגען און
אראבער, ווי קאן דאס אנדערש אויפגענומען ווערען פון דער אראבישער ליגע, אויב ניט אלס צייכען צו פארשטארקען איר קעגנערי
בישער ליגע, אויב ניט שלס צייכען או פארשטארקען איר קעגנערי
שאפט צו שלום מיט ישראל, און אדס צייכען, אז די שמונדע פון נקמה
האט געשלאגן, און אז עס איז גאענט דער טאג, ווען די אראבער וועלן
זיך ווידער קאנען פארמעסטען מיט ישראל.
מען פראנט אין מיטעל־מזרח, וואס דריקט ויך אוים אין מיליטערישער
און עקאנאמישער הילף צו די אראבער, קאן ניט פירען צו א פאראייי
גינטען פראנט קעגען קאמוניזם, נאר צו א זיג פון קאמוניזם אין
גינטען פראנט קעגען קאמוניזם, נאר צו א זיג פון קאמוניזם אין
גינטען פראנט קעגען האמוניזם, נאר צו א זיג פון קאמוניזם אין

מיטעק־מזרה.

מיםעליטורה.
די קאמוניסטען וועלען נים געפינען קיין שטערונג מצד די אראבער אריינצודרינגען אין מיטעל-מזרח, אזוי ווי די דייטשען האבען נים
געפונען קיין שטעהונג פון זייער זייט אין זייער מארש אויף עגיפטן.
ישראל קאן זיך געפינען אין א לאגע צו דארפען קעמפען קעגען
אמעריקאנער געווער, וואס ווערט איצט צונעשטעלט די אראבער,
בדי צו פארטיידיגען די דעמאקראטישע אינטערעסען און איר אייגענע אומאפהענגיגקייט אין מיטעלימזרח. שמעריקשנער אידען קשנען שבער נים צחען גלייכגילטיג, ווי

שמעריקשגער אידען קשגען שבער נים צוזען גלייכגיזמיג, זוי אזוי עקשגשמישע הילף און מילימערישע וושפען ווערם געגעכען צו מלוכות, וושם שסייען אין קריג מים ישראל, און וושס קשגען בשנוי צען שמידי וושפען פשר ש נייער מלחמה קעגען ישראל, וושס קשן אויס־ברעכען מים דער הילף פון קשמוניסטישע העצעס.
אין דער איצטיגער קריטישער ציים, ווען דער מימעלימזרה איז צעטיילם צווישען דער דעמשקרשמישער מדינה, ישראל, פון איין זיים, און דיקטשטשרישע פעשדשלע הערשער אין די שרשבישע לענדער פון דער צווייטער, און מדינת ישראל איז געדרשעט פון שרשבישען השם דער צווייטער, און מדינת ישראל איז געדרשעט פון שמעריקע צו שמיין און קשמוניסטישע אינטריגעס, איז די פליכט פון שמעריקע צו שמיין מים ביידע פים און מים׳ן פולען וושג אויפ׳ן צד פון דער דעמשקרש־מיש מישראל, און נים זוכען קיין נייע פרינט, וושס קשנען גיכער זיין א שמערונג, ווי א הילף צום דעמשקראמישען פרשנם, אווי לשנג זיין א שמערונג, ווי א הילף צום דעמשקראמישען פרשנם, אווי לשנג זיין א שמערונג, ווי א הילף צום דעמשקראמישען פרשנם, אווי לפנג זיין א שמערונג, ווי א הילף צום דעמשקראמישען פרשנם, אווי לפנג זיין א שמערונג, ווי א הילף צום דעמשקראמישען פרשנם, אווי לפנג זיין א שמערונג, ווי א הילף צום דעמשקראםישען פרשנם.

ווי די אראכער זיינען קעגען שליסען שלום מים ישראל. אמעריקעים אינמערעסען זיינען פאר שלום צווישען ישראל מים די אראבער.

אמעריקע'ם נייע פאליטיק צו די אראכער שטימט ניט מיט די אמעריקאנער אינטערעסען אין מיטעלימזרח.

AMERICAN ZIONIST COUNCIL

342 MADISON AVENUE

TELEPHONE MURRAY HILL 2-1160

NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

Cable Address: AMZIONIST

March 10, 1953

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver The Temple Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Dr. Silver:

An important editorial appeared to-day in the <u>Day-Jewish Journal</u>, in which you may be interested. I send you herewith the Yiddish original, and a translation into English I made from it, which you may want to use.

Cordially yours,

A. K. Isreeli

AKI:hr Encs. (Translation of an editorial in the DAY-JEWISH JOURNAL, Tuesday, March 10, 1953) OUR POLICIES IN THE MIDDLE EAST- A DANGER FOR ISRAEL At the Conference of the National Jewish Leaders, which took place last Sunday in Washington, Senator Taft made a speech that was worthwhile hearing. In his speech he brought out the following facts: "America wishes to secure a united front in the Middle East against Soviet aggression. " "The consolidation of Israel's economic structure cannot harm the Arabs; it can only help them. " "Taking into consideration that Israel keeps fast to her democratic principles, there is no wonder that aggressive Communism does honor to Israel by pouring on her its whole wrath." Senator Taft concluded that for all these reasons America should not stop its aid to Israel.

. . .

We believe that the time has come to talk frankly and say to our dear Senators, and through them to the new Administration in Washington, that mere words about "Aid for Israel" sound now quite as a banality and remind us of those volunteer firemen who stand in the midst of a fire and shout that "it must be extinguished", but do not move to do a thing.

That sort of "extinguishing" serves merely to spread the conflagration.

Eisenhower Administration, and perhaps unconscious to himself, but quite understood by the State Department, he revealed the new stand of our Govern-

When Jewish leaders speak now to high officials of the State Department and express their worry about Israel, those officials open wide surprising eyes and say:

"When did we change our policy toward Israel? Did we stop our aid to Israel? Where do you get it that we intend changing our policies toward Israel? There is nothing to it! We are very friendly to Israel and the new Administration will continue that friendship."

In this statement there is not a single word about which you can say that it is not true.

And yet, it is false from the beginning to the end. Not the words are false, but the policies are false, and the true words cover up the false policies. Here an old maxim is valid, that in diplomacy words are used to cover up thoughts.

It is true, that the State Department has not changed its policy on Israel. It is, however, true, that the State Department has changed its policy on the Arabs.

AMERICAN ZIONIST COUNCIL

342 MADISON AVENUE

TELEPHONE MURRAY HILL 2-1160

NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

March 12, 1953

Cable Address: AMZIONIST

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver The Temple Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Dr. Silver:

You will remember that some time ago we discussed the attitudes of President Milton Eisenhower of Penn State College. Nothing actually appears in our files revealing his previous attitudes although there had been, particularly among our friends of the American Christian Palestine Committee, a general opinion that he was not friendly in his disposition to Israel.

Pierre van Paassen, after conversations with Karl Baehr, visited Dr. Eisenhower on February 5th at Penn State College where he had an interview with him and an opportunity at various times in between radio broadcasts, faculty dinners, etc. to have a long talk with him. He writes some interesting observations about which I think you will want to know.

Dr. Eisenhower is deeply interested particularly in the agricultural and industrial problems of Israel. Three years ago he was at the American College in Beirut on behalf of the United States Department of Agriculture and visited throughout Lebanon and other points. He said that he was unable to cross the border into Israel because of the disturbed condition of the frontier region.

van Paassen proceeds to report that Dr. Eisenhower stated that he has several friends in Israel with whom he corresponds regularly and who keep him abreast on developments. He characterized these friends as "real Israelis".

Dr. Eisenhower stated that he knew nothing about the composition of the Economic Commission his brother is reported to be considering sending to Egypt. Asked what his brother's views on Israel are, he replied that the President does not seem to have given Israel much "separate thought yet." He did state however that President Esenhower looked upon the Near East, as Milton himself does, rather as a single geographical unit "from the point of view of our industrial civilization" and expressed regret that the various states in the Near East "are still so far apart" in view of the fact that collaboration "is the only insurance of prosperity for that region."

Milton Eisenhower thought well of the Point Four Program.

He felt that one of the major impediments in arriving at a modus vivendi

- 2 -Dr. Abba Hillel Silver March 12, 1953 is the Arab refugee question. van Paassen asked if America should not in her own interests take the lead in bringing about peace in the Near East, and whether or not in any Economic Commission to the Near East some experts on Israel industry and agriculture should be included. Milton Eisenhower, van Paassen reports, nodded his head and told his secretary to make a note of this question. Milton Eisenhower asked van Paassen to get Dutch and Israeli boys and girls to come and study at Penn State and added that he should send more speakers on "such subjects as you discuss". van Paassen reports further that "everybody at the University" -he does not specify who the everybody is -- agrees that Milton has more influence on his brother than Dulles. van Paassen concludes by saying "My impression: he is a liberal with an open mind on Israel" and adds as a final note that some of the professors at Penn State believe that the American Friends of the Middle East will soon start their activities at Penn State College. For what the foregoing is worth, I send it to you. I wish I could hear you tonight when you speak to the UJA but for my own personal economic reasons I naturally am not included among the "big givers".

I read with delight of the fine reception you received in Mexico. I rather suspect that you are happy that the sixtieth anniversary celebrations are concluded. You seem however to bear them well as one who has reached the halfway mark should.

I hope I am around to enjoy your guidance and leadership during the next sixty years.

Mrs. Unger joins me in fond regards to Mrs. Silver, yourself and the boys.

Affectionately yours,

Rabbi Jerome Unger Executive Director

P. S. Important ominion: date of v. P's interview is 7eb. 5/53 CLASS OF SERVICE

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DR EBBA HILLEL SILVER= 19810 SHAKER BLVD SHAKER HEIGHTS=

1953 MAR 19 PM 6

I TAKE GREAT PLEASURE IN INFORMING YOU THAT THE COMMITTEE ON ADMINISTRATION OF THE AMERICAN ZIONIST COUNCIL HAS UNANIMOUSLY AGREED TO INVITE YOU TO ACCOMPANY US AS HONORARY CHAIRMAN TO PAY A COURTESY CALL ON PRESIDENT DWIGHT D EISENHOWER ON MONDAY MARCH TWENTYTHIRD AT TWELVEFIFTEEN PM WE ARE PREPARING IN ADVANCE A STATEMENT TO BE PRESENTED. WE SHALL HAVE TO HOLD A MEETING TOGETHER IN ADVANCE OF THE WHITE HOUSE APPOINTMENT ON MONDAY MORNING MARCH TWENTY THIRD AT OUR OFFICE IN WASHINGTON 1737 H STREET NW AT TEN AM WE SHALL APPRECIATE YOUR INFORMING USAS SOON AS POSSIBLE OF YOUR INTENTION TO JOIN US CORDIALLY YOURS= LOUIS LIPSKY CHAIRMAN=

LOUIS LIPSKY
AMERICAN ZIONIST COUNCIL
342 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK, NEW YORK

I APPRECIATE VERY MUCH YOUR INVITATION TO ACCOMPANY DELECATION
OF AMERICAN ZIONIST COUNCIL ON COURTESY CALL ON PRESIDENT
EISENHOWER THIS COMING MONDAY. AS I EXPLAINED TO RABBI UNGER,
I AM UTTERLY UNABLE TO LEAVE CLEVELAND ON MONDAY AND DEEPLY
regret my inability to be with you. i suggested to Rabbi Unger
THAT IN DRAFTING THE STATEMENT AND IN THE PRESENTATION YOU
CONSULT OUR FRIEND IN WASHINGTON TO WHOM I REPORTED ON MY
CONVERSATION WITH MR. DULLES LAST TUESDAY. THE APPROACH SHOULD
BE ONE OF CONFIDENCE AND FRIENDSHIP AND SHOULD SUGGEST CONCRETELY
WAYS IN WHICH OUR GOVERNMENT CAN TAKE THE LEAD FOR PEACE IN THE
NEAR EAST AND FOR ECONOMIC MFASURES WHICH WILL BE OF BENEFIT
BOTH TO THE ARAB STATES AND TO ISRAEL. SHOULD YOU WISH TO READ
ME THE DRAFT OF YOUR STATEMENT BEFORE IT IS PRESENTED I SHOULD
BE VERY HAPPY TO GIVE YOU MY REACTIONS TO IT. WARMEST REGARDS
ABBA HILLEL SILVER

PRESS RELEASE

from AMERICAN ZIONIST COUNCIL

342 Madison Avenue

New York 17, N. Y.

MUrray Hill 2-1160

Constituent Organizations

Zionist Organization of America
Hadassah
Hapoel Hamizrachi
Mizrachi Organization of America
Labor Zionist Organization of America-Poale Zion
Zionists-Revisionists of America
Progressive Zionist League (Hashomer Hatzair)
United Zionist Labor Party

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE MARCH 23, 1953

ZIONIST COUNCIL LEADERS VISIT EISENHOWER URGE U.S. GIVE HIGHEST PRIORITY TO ARAB-ISRAEL PEACE PRESIDENT SAYS U.S. HAS FRIENDLIEST OF FEELINGS FOR ISRAEL AND ARAB STATES

Washington, D.C. - A delegation representing the American Zionist

Council, consisting of Louis Lipsky, Chairman; Mrs. Samuel W. Halprin, ViceChairman; Rabbi James G. Heller, President of the Labor Zionist

Organization of America; Rabbi Mordecai Kirshblum, President of the Mizrachi

Organization of America; Rabbi Irving Miller, President of the Zionist

Organization of America; Rabbi Jerome Unger, Executive Director of the

American Zionist Council, and Mr. I.L. Kenen, Washington Representative of

the American Zionist Council, met today with President Eisenhower.

Following the meeting with the President, Mr. Louis Lipsky seid:

We paid our respects to the President and expressed the hope that

consistent with the highest interests of the United States and world peace,

he could take action which would re-affirm American friendship for both

Israel and the Arab states and contribute to the peace of the Middle East.

We suggested to the President that these purposes can be achieved by a direct indication on the part of the United States Government that it accords the highest priority to the conclusion of an Arab-Israel peace delayed now for some five years, that it is prepared to give impartial assistance to all the peoples of the Middle East in accordance with their needs and that it will not send arms to any state which persists in maintaining a state of belligerency against any one of its neighbors.

We urged continued economic aid to Israel on the level of the past
two years, as part of our government's policy of strengthening friendly
democratic nations and in order to enable Israel to complete its humanitarian
refugee resettlement program.

The President said that our government has only the friendliest feeling for Israel and the Arab states, and intends to use its best offices to bring about peace in the Middle East.

-30-

#448 - 3/23/53



AMERICAN ZIONIST COUNCIL

342 MADISON AVENUE

TELEPHONE MURRAY HILL 2-1160

NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

Cable Address: AMZIONIST

March 24, 1953

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver The Temple Cleveland, Ohio

My dear Dr. Silver:

Thank you very much for your cordial telegram in which you explain why it was not possible for you to come along with us to see the President.

I am enclosing a copy of the memorandum which was agreed upon unanimously by the delegation and read to the President. The memorandum represents a composite of the views of the members of the delegation and includes I think some of the views you expressed to Mr. Kenen over the telephone.

I also enclose a copy of our press release which the President agreed to allow us to issue. It was sent out after consulting with Mr. Hagerty. I do not know what the other members of the delegation think but it was my impression that the President had basic ideas from an American angle which are very strong and which he stands for honestly and is determined to have these views represent American policy. Although some of his views are not good for us, nevertheless being honestly advocated, can be met in argument and I am sure that in a discussion the President will be influenced because fundamentally he desires to do the right thing.

Very cordially yours,

Enis Lyssy

Louis Lipsky Chairman

LL:JK (Enc.)

MR. PRESIDENT:

Speaking for the American Zionist Council, which represents all branches of the American Zionist movement, we desire to express our gratitude to you for your courtesy and kindness in taking time out of a crowded agenda to give us an opportunity to confer with you on a subject which is near to our hearts, and with respect to which you have expressed your personal sympathy.

*

With pride we recall that since the beginnings of the Zionist movement, every American President and Congress have given friendly cooperation to the efforts of the Jewish people to recreate the ancient Jewish Homeland in Palestine, and that the State of Israel finally came into being in 1948 with the generous assistance of the American Government, which was also the first to grant it recognition.

Today, the State of Israel, about to celebrate the Fifth Anniversary of its independence, may be proud of the fact that it has provided sanctuary and security to more than 750,000 Jews fleeing from persecution, and that it has become democracy's newest ally in the Middle East, prepared to give its vigorous and resourceful cooperation to the defense of the free world.

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Your keen vision and discernment, Mr. President, inspired you to say recently that "the free world cannot remain indefinitely in a posture of paralyzed tension." The tension to which you referred in universal terms applies with special force to the Middle East.

We are disquieted by the uncertainties which persist in that region.

We are disturbed by the continuing rejection by the Arab states of every suggestion for a settlement of the Palestine war. We are distressed by

their unchallenged use of threat, blockade and boycott against the State of Israel. Moreover, we are alarmed by the new situation created by the Soviet Union. By breaking off relations with Israel and inciting a new wave of anti-Semitism, the Kremlin has increased pressure against Israel, thus encouraging the Arab states to continue a state of tension in the Middle East.

*

Our profound concern has been heightened by publicized reports from various sources, which we are reluctant to believe, and about which we seek, if we may, enlightenment, that in dealing with this situation the American Government is said to be considering substantial concessions to the Arab states, including the supply of arms, without requiring that they reach a peace settlement with Israel, and without taking into account the effect of such armament upon the peace of the whole region. Such reports, in our view, have led the Arab states to believe that they may count upon a contraction of America's friendly interest in the State of Israel.

It is our hope, Mr. President, that you are in a position, consistent with the highest interests of the United States and world peace, to allay our anxieties in this matter by action which will reaffirm American friendship for both Israel and the Arab states and contribute to the peace of the Middle East.

We venture to suggest, Mr. President, that these purposes can be achieved by a direct indication on the part of the United States Government that it accords the highest priority to the conclusion of an Arab-Israel peace, delayed now for some five years; that it is prepared to give impartial assistance to all the peoples of the Middle East in

accordance with their needs; and that it will not send arms to any state which persists in maintaining a state of belligerency against any one of its neighbors.

*

At the same time, it is our hope, Mr. President, that our Government will continue its economic aid to Israel on the level of the past two years as part of its policy of strengthening friendly democratic nations, and in order to enable Israel to complete its humanitarian refugee resettlement program. This is an end in itself. It is also a means of thwarting the designs of the Kremlin, which seeks the economic collapse of Israel precisely because of the democratic character of its government and people, its industrial strength and its trained military forces which are potential defenders of the region and of the interests of the democratic world.

Mr. President, we are conscious of the heavy responsibilities you have assumed in a difficult and critical time. It is our earnest desire to be helpful in every way possible in your efforts to achieve a just and lasting peace for the United States and all mankind.

We pray for your continuing good health. We are confident that the vision and wisdom which have characterized your historic services to our country in war and in peace will abide with you as you face the heavy burdens of your high office.

PRIME MINISTER SIR WINSTON CHURCHILL

IN THE BRITISH HOUSE OF COMMONS, MAY 11, 1953

Another most important factor in the Middle East is the State of Israel. Ever since the Balfour Declaration of 1917 I have been a faithful supporter of the Zionist cause. I have, of course, had periods of deep pain when shocking crimes were committed against our officers and men by the extreme factions in this intense and complex Jewish community. But when I look back over the work they have done in building up a nation, in reclaiming the desert, in receiving more than half a million refugees hunted by terror from Europe alone, I feel that it is the duty of Britain to see that they get fair play and that the pledges made to them by successive British Governments are fulfilled.

Fortunately for them they have formed the best Army in the Levant and, as the House will remember, they successfully repulsed the combined attack which was made upon them by their neighbors and Egypt four years ago. It is very unfortunate that no peace has been made between them and the Arab States, with whom their fortunes are interwoven. Nothing that we shall do in the supply of aircraft to this part of the world will be allowed to place Israel at an unfair disadvantage.

We earnestly hope that the problem of Arab refugees will receive continuous attention and the unfortunate and, particularly, peculiarly untimely, bickering which has broken out between Israel and Jordan will be brought to an end with mutual advantage to both sides. I had a lot to do with the interests and the formation of both these States more than 30 years ago, and I believe that they have both great services to render each other by living together as good neighbours.

I had hoped very much that King Abdullah and Dr. Weizmann -- two men I knew and honoured greatly -- might have come together, but death has removed one and assassination the other. But perseverance and good neighbourliness is not a policy with which anyone can find fault. Therefore, I hope and trust that the Arab States will come to peace with Israel, and I earnestly pray that the great Zionist conception of a home for this historic people, where they live on the land of their ancestors, may eventually receive its full fruition.

With the Compliments of the American Zionist Council

342 Madison Avenue

NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

AN ANALYSIS OF THE AMERICAN COUNCIL FOR JUDAISM

by

Dr. James G. Heller

President Labor Zionist Organization of America Member Executive Committee American Zionist Council

Various newspapers have given full coverage to the addresses and resolutions delivered or adopted at the convention of the American Council for Judaism at San Francisco from May 7th through the 10th. There may be some misunderstanding as to the strength and character of this organization, and some credence may be lent to its charges against Zionism, wild and irresponsible though they are. It is therefore necessary to consider these things as concisely as possible.

The American Council for Judaism is a small national organization, comprising by its own statement some 15,000 persons. It was originally organized to fight the creation of a Jewish state. When that fight was lost, instead of disbanding, it continued. It proclaims itself now as devoted to combating Jewish "nationalism", espousing an exclusively "religious" interpretation of Jewish life. It is periodically engaged in attacking the religious text-books in use, in rewriting Jewish history, and in striving to create materials in the pattern of its own ideas.

The American Council for Judaism represents an exceedingly small minority of American Jews. But we Jews cannot dismiss minorities solely because they are small. Important ideas are sometimes advanced by very small groups. Our charge against the American Council for Judaism is not chiefly on the score of its size. It is that it is a recalcitrant, irreconcilable group, possessed by a point of view history has already exposed and rejected; motivated not by idealism or religious fervor but by hatred of Israel and Zionism; unscrupulous in its juggling with words, citations,

and beliefs. It is noteworthy that the American Council for Judaism has been repudiated not only by the Cantral Conference of American Rabbis, but also by the American Jewish Committee. It sails its obstinate course alone!

"dual allegiance". It returns to this again and again in diverse forms.

This it does in spite of the countless statements by Zionists, by responsible state-officials in Israel, and in spite of indignant repudiation of its point of view by non-Jewish statesmen here in America. The President of the Council, Mr. Lessing Rosenwald, revealed that his organization has submitted a memorandum to the Department of State on April 8th of this year. This charges that Jews are in a "quasi-legal" position. By which, presumably it is meant that the status of American Jews is not complete or whole as citizens. This is a serious charge, — and one which no responsible organization would have had the effrontery to make.

First, there is a reference to passport difficulties. Jews cannot go into Arab lands, and American passports to Israel remind of this fact. It is unfortunate. It is one of the unfortunate facts that stem from the irreconcilable attitude of Arab governments, their economic boycott, their unwillingness to transform armistice into peace-agreements. But this is not the first time Jews have suffered disabilities similar to this. Jews were not given visas to Russia, — and President Taft abrogated a commercial treaty with Tsarist Russia as a result. The fact is unquestioned. But the interpretation is vicious in the extreme. The diminution of Jews' rights as citizens was not by the United States, or in the United States, but in the latter case by Russia, and in the former by the Arab lands. Some day this too will be changed, for peace is bound to come to the Middle East. But, for the present, rightminded Jews, and right-minded Americans in general, will interpret this as having a bearing on the policy of their country in regard to peace in that part of the world; they will interpret it also as one of the present results

of Israel's superb fight of self-defense in 1947-48, and its willingness. beyond the bounds of possible praise, to take in 750,000 Jews from lands of peril and oppression, many of them Arab lands.

That Jews may come into Israel as of right is one of the central tenets of Zionism, and, through all the economic difficulties its course has entailed, Israel has maintained this right, written it into its "Law of the Return." This is unique in history. It does not diminish nor make doubtful the status of any American citizen, Jewish or otherwise. One of the central rights of men, however little it may be regarded in our fantastic time, is the right of emigration. Americans, remembering the story of the Puritans, of the Huguenots, and even of the Catholic Cavaliers, ought to have no difficulty in understanding this right. That this right is now reserved mainly for Jews may offend the American Council for Judaism, but it is part of the necessities of building up Israel, and also part of the historical necessity of a people which, even in this day of so-called enlightenment, is excluded from almost all lands. Israel is not to be in the end a "city of refuge". But for some years of the immediate past, and perhaps during some years to come, it has had and will have to be just this! But it must be clearly understood: No American Jew need go to Israel. He must first make up his mind that he wishes to leave America. This impairs in no wise his American citizenship. It is simply an opportunity given him outside his citizenship, of which he may never avail himself. To represent this as a diminution of status is a serious distortion and misrepresentation.

None of the cases cited substantiate the charge that Israel, or Zionists, are responsible for a "change of status conferred on American Jews without their permission". (From the New York Times). Facts are taken out of context, and utilized to defend a preconceived point of view.

The whole technique of this organization, exhibited in many ways at this session, is to use highly colored words, to beg the question by their employment.

Instead of a unique and noble adventure, one unprecedented in history, the end-result of unparalleled heroism and pioneering intrepidity, instead of a young nation that has aroused the generous admiration of all who have visited it, Israel becomes a vicious malefactor, a distorter of Jewish history, a denier of the "universal" aspects of the Jewish tradition. All this can arise only out of pathological fixations.

Thus, the ex-provost of the University of California demands that Israel "must cease to lure young Americans" from the United States. The fighting word is "lure"! There is a world of difference between the emotional atmosphere suggested by this word and that which actually obtains. Israel invites those young American-Jews who wish to go, who believe that they can live more integrated Jewish lives there, or that they can give of themselves toward the amazing and inspiriting venture of the rebirth of Israel. No one is compelled. No one is "lured". There is nothing underhand, and there is nothing counter to the whole spirit of America.

The land whose liberty was won by men who fought side by side with Lafayette, with Kosciuszko. with von Steuben; the land that sent many officers and men to fight with San Martin and Bolivar in South America; the land that has sent others to help wherever the cause of human dignity and liberty were imperiled, understands those, Jewish and non-Jewish, who rushed to Israel to help it on land, on the sea, and in the air, in 1947-48. It will also understand that group of young American-Jews who go to Israel with an idealism that is unintelligible to the American Council for Judaism, at great personal sacrifice, leaving a land "of milk and honey", for one that is harsh and poor for the present.

Dr. Deutsch is solicitous about the "Arab refugees". He demands that they be resettled in "the new nation", by which he means Israel. This is not the place to enter into the entire problem of the Arab refugees: how and why they left the country, and what should be done about them. This has already

been handled by a number of impartial commissions, from the UN, and also by others of a non-official character. What is striking is that the solicitude is, characteristically, for the Arab refugees, but not -- by a word -- for the Jewish refugees, who did not start a war, who were forced out in many cases by Arab lands that refuse to care for their own brothers.

Dr. Deutsch also has the effrontery to ask that Israel "liberalize its citizen.laws". The fact is that, under conditions that obtain after a war, no country has treated a minority, sometimes hostile, with as much liberality, political and economic, as has Israel. And most recently it has been taking steps to improve the status of its Arab citizens all along the line. All these are no more than sticks these gentlemen grasp in desperation, the better with which to beat Israel.

We cannot enter here into the effort of the Council to create religious texts which shall emphasize the "universal aspects of Judaism". No one opposes this. On the contrary, examples of ethical and spiritual courage, the understanding and espousel of the "universal" principles of Judaism, are to be found chiefly among the "nationalists", whom it is the pleasure of these men and women to berate. The fallacy lies in a false antithesis, one which Judaism has repudiated again and again in the course of its history. "Universalism" is not diametrically opposed to "nationalism". They are twin poles of one axis, the obverse and reverse of one reality. Judaism has oscillated between them, according to need and bent. But in essence it has always regarded itself as a people with a message, embodied in a way of life. This unitary concept, this record compounded of body and soul, of people and faith, of realism and idealism, seem beyond the scope of mind of our friends. But they are the essence of Judaism, as of the Jewish people.

The Council appears unable to distinguish between an "American Jewish community" based on compulsion, and one that might rest upon consent. Not all human associations are national. Not all result only from the power to

tax or to coerce. This is, to say the least, a point of view unworthy of an organization which asserts that it has a "spiritual" approach. Certainly the rights of minorities should be safeguarded. All of us recognize this as part of the spirit of America, and of all free institutions. But this should not be interpreted as preventing a large majority from speaking in its own name. Whoever dissents may express his dissent, have it recorded, or secede, if he wishes. Nor does it signify that one believes Jews to be a "secular and separate group" to contend that Jews have a right to come together, to discuss their affairs, to come when possible to united points of view and united courses of action. There is no logical or human relation between the right of any group to meet and consider, — and the contention that this is "contrary to the American idea of society". Even a religious fellowship has under a democracy the "right of assembly".

But it has more than the right. It has the duty to find a way toward mutual counsel and unitary life. It is striking that the groups that oppose the notion of an American Jewish community are invariably those that want unfair rights as a minority, who wish their voice to be mistaken for that of the majority, who wish to silence the majority so that outsiders will not be able to tell who is speaking. Why does not the same logic apply to the American Council for Judaism or to others? By what right do they issue resolutions, adopt violent points of view, for their "community". Consistency would require them to be silent, and let every individual speak for himself.

The Council now states that it looks warmly upon the Jews of Israel, because they are "members of our religious fellowship". Outside of the misinterpretation historically of this "religious fellowship", to which we have already adverted, this rings somewhat coldly. None of these "religious" Jews would be in Israel, if it were not for the "nationalism", which the Council deplores. Many of them would be dead or, languishing elsewhere. The real essense of Judaism, brotherhood, love of one's neighbor, fealty to the

freedom for which our fathers fled from Egypt, -- these are in Israel and not in the "religious fellowship" of the blind and the wayward.

One of the more amusing phrases in this record is that ascribed to one of the vice-presidents of the Council, who proclaims that the American Jewish community "reeks with the authoritarianism of medieval times". This will indeed be news to those who know something of the multiform divisions, religious, philanthropic, communal, that divide the American Jewish community. The phrase, and the comparison, are so extreme as to be a superb exposure of the frame of mind out of which they issue.

And finally the high-priest of this group, its executive-director,
Rabbi Elmer Berger, indulges in wild statements and wild accusations, which
strive, in the midst of this ritual, to outdo its most intemperate zealots.

Zionists are trying "to isolate the Department of State from the Eisenhower Administration". He compares this with the iniquitous attempt of British Zionists (during the time of the Macdonald White Paper, and the British blockade of Palestine) "to isolate the British Foreign Office". He issues the ominous statement that Americans know "there are more states in the Middle East than Israel". He accuses the Zionists of tactics not "vastly different" from those "employed by one Joe McCarthy". This pseudo-ominous nonsense is quite typical of the political maturity of this group.

That President after President of the United States, Senator after

Senator, — men not to be intimidated by Zionists or by Rosenwald or Berger —

have understood Zionism and Israel; that they agree with the statement of

Robert Cecil that after the First World War there were only two permanent

gains, — the League of Nations and the proposal to regenerate Israel; that

American policy is fully cognizant of the relative position of the Arab states

and of Israel and of our own (American) interests vis-a-vis all of them; that

there is a profound rapprochement, if not identity, of American with Israeli

interests in the Middle East in its painfully slow and hesitant progress toward democracy and justice; that Israel is at one with the American dream, as a refuge for the harassed and oppressed, as a citadel of liberty, as an outpost of economic and political progress; that Israel stands even closer than formerly to America by reason of the withdrawal of Russian diplomatic relations with it, and by reason of the temporizing, equivocal attitude of the Arab states: all this does not enter into the consciousness of this group or of its political "experts". All is darkness. All is machination and subversion. Zionists cannot act except out of divided motives. Every act is scrutinized, every word weighed, not by a balanced mind, but by those seeking wildly for additional material for a prejudice adopted and never subjected to examination or review.

Such a group is a phenomenon. It is not without precedents in Jewish history. The story of a beleaguered people, one living for the sake of a special and "different" faith, must include such men and women. They are a function of its hard way, a corollary of its difficult thesis. Fortunately, history scorns them. They belong to the eddies of the stream of life. They are among those who, like Mephistopheles in Goethe's Faust, "stets verneint", who "perpetually deny". But life does not move by denial. It deals summarily with those who develop a protective armor that impedes their freedom of movement, who congeal into atavism.

There is little hope of changing them. The answer is in their eventual disappearance. Opposition, however loftily phrased, however clad in "universalism", cannot long endure against the warm, vital creation of Israel and its citizens.

What does need to be done, which I have attempted swiftly in this statement, is to prevent these distortions, misrepresentations, from poisoning
other minds, Jewish or non-Jewish.

* * * * *

108-25 72 Avenue Forest Hills, N.Y. May 31, 1953

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver E. 105 Street and Ansel Road Cleveland 6, Ohio

Dear Dr. Silver:

In connection with the plan to expand the scope and functions of the American Zionist Council Louis Eipsky asked me some months ago whether I would be interested in taking the job of General Secretary or Executive Secretary or whatever the title might be of the organization, since it was agreed that Rabbi Unger is not quite the man for the post, though he ought to be retained on the staff. I consented (in fact I'm very much interested; it's the kind of job that needs doing badly and that I think I can handle effectively) and then I talked it over with Heller and with Irving Miller. They both strongly favored my candidacy and assured me of their support. Noboay else was being considered for the job.

Last week the executive met to récommend or appoint a secretary. Lipsky proposed me, Zuckerman and Miller agreed. Heller concurred that I was a good choice but -- he had a better candidate: Arthur Lelyveld; and he persuaded Miller to go along with him. So no decision was reached: Lelyveld had to be contacted and sounded out.

Lelyveld is not a candidate for this position, for obvious and excellent reasons which I discussed with him not long ago. (And should he have become available for this job just now it would be for reasons that should make the Council extremely wary, particularly in its delicate public relations position.) Why then should Heller have projected his name into the discussion? The suggestion has been made that Heller wants to keep this position open for himself; that he is through with the LZOA job and is stalling the appointment of a secretary of the Council until he can swing it his way. Whether this is so or not I can't say. But it does not seem too unlikely.

A little firmness on the part of Irving Miller, and the approval of Mrs. Rose Halpern, who does not know me personally, would settle the matter without ado.

I thought you might be sufficiently interested in this situation to say a few decisive words to these key people. Or, more correctly and frankly, I hope so.

With best personal regards,

Cordially Tracktering

June 9, 1953 Arsham Brothers 1427 East 45 Street Cleveland, Ohio My dear Friends; Thank you for your contribution of \$100 to the American Zionist Fund. I deeply appreciate your generous and ready cooperation at all times. With warmest regards, I remain Most cordially yours, ABBA HILLEL SILVER AHS:er

June 9, 1953 Dr. Joshua Trachtenberg 108-25 72 Avenue Forest Hills, New York My dear Friend: Thank you for your letter of May 31st and for bringing to my attention the matter of the position of General Secretary of the American Zionist Council. At the first opportunity I shall be very happy to discuss it with the people in the East. With best wishes, I remain Most cordially yours, ABBA HILLEL SILVER AHS:er

PRESS RELEASE

from AMERICAN ZIONIST COUNCIL

342 Madison Avenue • New York 17, N. Y.

MUrray Hill 2-1160

Constituent Organizations

Zionist Organization of America
Hadassah
Hapoel Hamizrachi
Mizrachi Organization of America
Labor Zionist Organization of America-Poale-Zion
Zionists-Revisionists of America
Progressive Zionist League (Hashomer Hatzair)
United Labor Zionist Party

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

ZIONIST COUNCIL TO CONVENE NATIONAL ZIONIST CONFERENCE

New York, June 16 -- The American Zionist Council, meeting in plenary session with representatives of all Zionist organizations present, decided to convene an Assembly of all Zionist groups in the United States to be held in New York beginning December 5, 1953 (during the week of Chanukah).

A new era in the Zionist movement since the establishment of Israel necessitates careful thought and planning for the future. This Assembly will include delegates representing all points of view within the movement and will be based upon the widest geographical distribution. It will consider problems of common interest to the whole movement such as the extension of public relations work, Jewish and Hebrew education, the Youth movement, the deepening of Zionist interest and participation in Jewish community life. The Assembly will seek to achieve common action in all of these areas. Detailed plans are now being drawn to implement this decision and will be announced in the near future.

to'give him the cook. The cook ran, but Saud did get the recipe

plied, cooked and served our food, an arrangement which had certain draw-backs. When we asked for eggs for breakfast, they were merely dipped in boiling water, and served almost raw.

Alger Hiss, as all the world knows, was at Yalta. I saw him often, but never paid any special attention to him. He showed no signs of furtive intent, but appeared busy with his paper work. I was as surprised as any one, later, when he was found guilty of lying about passing secrets to Communists.

A rare event occurred in our party at Yalta: General Watson, ordinarily the friendliest and most genial of men, was aroused to fury by Presidential adviser Harry Hopkins. General Watson and Admiral Brown shared an apartment at Livadia Palace, and were resting in it one afternoon when Hopkins sent them word to turn it over to Prime Minister Churchill so he could have his afternoon nap. They protested, but Hopkins insisted that they get out at once. I don't believe the general ever did really calm down after that incident. Several nights later, after the conference had adjourned, he became ill. He died aboard the Quincy on the way home. Roosevelt felt the loss of "Pa" Watson deeply. It always seemed to me that the President loved his military aide more than he did any other member of his offical family.

After the Yalta meetings we went by air to Great Bitter Lake, midway through the Suez Canal, where the Quincy was waiting at anchor.

Once aboard her, F.D.R. sent Stalin a telegram which indicated that he was pleased with the Yalta agreements and had little premonition that they would someday stir up a controversy—or that our relations with Russia would deteriorate as they have. He said:

"Upon leaving the hospitable shores of the Soviet Union, I wish again to tell you how deeply grateful I am for the many kindnesses which you showed me while I was your guest in the Crimea. I leave greatly heartened as a result of the meeting between you, the Prime Minister and myself. I am sure that the people of the world will regard the achievements of this meeting not only with approval, but as a genuine assurance that our three great nations can work as well in peace as they have in war."

The message was dictated to me, and F.D.R.'s manner indicated that he believed exactly what he told Stalin.

Two Kings and an Emperor

Next day King Farouk called, attended by many officers, and two hours later the Emperor of Ethiopia, Haile Selassie, was piped aboard. The slender, grave little emperor was an impressive man—but the really awe-inspiring visit was yet to come.

On Wednesday, February 14, 1945, we saw the United States destroyer Murphy standing toward us from the south. As she approached, there unfolded the most fantastic pageant I'll ever see—a spectacle out of the ancient past, with a real Arabian king as the central figure.

Seated on a great throne on the foredeck was Ibn-Saud, ruler of Saudi Arabia. A tall, heavy man, he was in long black robes, with red-and-whitechecked head scarf and gold head ropes. The destroyer's decks were covered with gorgeous rugs. Attending the king were numerous members of his court, in long robes with handsome brocaded ornaments. Royal bodyguards were everywhere, armed with long rifles and scimitars, and wearing great, ornamented scabbards. In the background were servants, live sheep and a specially rigged animal-slaughter scaffold.

Besides the sheep, the royal party brought along its own native fruits, its own coffee and large jugs of water from two holy wells—the only water Ibn-Saud would drink. Charcoal-bucket grills were used by the Arab cooks to prepare their meals during the voyage.

Every day just before prayer time, the Murphy's crew told us later, a court official would ask the ship's navigator to give him a bearing on Mecca, so the royal party could face in that direction while offering prayers to Allah.

One Arab custom caused most of the crew real anguish. Arabs oppose the use of tobacco, and in deference to them there was a strict no-smoking order. The order also applied to us on the Quincy, when Ibn-Saud and his remute came aboard. Those of us in the President's party obeyed the order, so far as I know. I'm sure the President did.

That first day, the President gave a state luncheon, and there was much preliminary speculation among the anxious chefs and stewards. "What the hell do A-rabs eat?" one asked another. After carefully surveying the evidence on the Murphy's deck, we decided to serve up rice with curried lamb, and the greatest variety of condiments we could find. First came grapefruit, then the lamb, rice, fried onion rings, and ten condiments: almonds, raisins, green peppers, tomatoes, olives, pickles, egg yolks, whites of eggs, coconut—all chopped except the coconut, which was shredded. Also we had chutney. But there were no wines or liquors, of course: Moslems don't use them.

I confess to a feeling of trepidation as the lunch hour came on. My fears were not eased when Ibn-Saud seemed reluctant to begin, and the others looked cautiously at our food. But soon His Majesty tasted, and after that, all was well. He took several servings, and so did others of his party.

Then he paid us a high, and embarrassing, compliment—he asked President Roosevelt to give him the cook. It is not easy in that part of the world to refuse the request of a guest, especially a royal guest. Word got to the galley of the king's desire and Ordona, the chef, lit out for the depths of the Quincy, shouting, "No! No!"

When the time came for an exchange of gifts, Ordona was not included. But other items were which Ibn-Saud seemed to value greatly. He was somewhat lame from wounds received in desert warfare, and rather old (about seventy, I'd say), and he apparently had difficulty getting around. When he expressed interest in the President's wheel chair, he was presented with a spare we had on board (a second was sent to him later). F.D.R. also gave the Arab king a C-47 airplane, a gold Fourth Term Inauguration Medallion, some other mementos-and the recipe for our curried lamb with rice.

Ibn-Saud, in turn, gave Roosevelt a gold knife, a box of perfume, two leather cases containing Arabian clothing for himself and his sons, and sets of elegant harem attire for Mrs. Roosevelt and Mrs. Boettiger. Every member of the President's party and every officer of the Murphy received an Arabian costume and an inscribed gold watch. Every bluejacket on the Murphy was given ten Egyptian pounds (about \$28), every chief petty officer 15 pounds.

The Murphy presented the king with a pair of binoculars, a submachine gun and two Colt automatic pistols with ammunition; and Admiral McIntire gave the king's physician some penicillin.

Mrs. Boettiger missed this wonderful day, because it is against Arab custom to have women around when men are meeting with men, but she returned to the Quincy immediately after the royal party, and F.D.R. decided to do a little personal shopping. Native curios were brought out for his inspection. He bought several—and borrowed \$39.25 from me to pay for them.

Arab-Zionist Issue Discussed

There was one discussion between Ibn-Saud and President Roosevelt which was the subject of much speculation and angry debate later, at the height of the Palestine controversy. Did the President promise the Saudi Arabian monarch that on the Palestine issue he would exert his influence for the Arabs and against the Zionists? The Arabs claimed as much at the time, and the Zionists hotly denied it. In 1945, a letter from F.D.R. to Ibn-Saud was made public, but I don't believe an extract of the actual understanding between the two chiefs of state has ever been published. Here, in paraphrase, is what was said, as taken from my log.

Ibn-Saud strongly opposed the coming of Jews to Arab country. He proposed that they be given living space in the countries that had oppressed them, and asserted that Arabs and Jews could never co-operate, either in Palestine or elsewhere. F.D.R. replied that he wished to assure the king that he would do nothing to assist the Jews against the Arabs and would make no move hostile to the Arab people. . . . When Ibn-Saud suggested sending an Arab mission to Britain and the U.S., Roosevelt said it was a good idea because he thought many people in America and England were misinformed regarding the Arab case in Palestine.

Late that afternoon, the Quincy hoisted anchor for Alexandria. Prime Minister Churchill was on hand there next day for lunch with the President. Then, after a stop at Algiers, we headed home. We passed through the Virginia capes at about noon on February 27th, transferred to the train at Newport News and proceeded on to Washington.

Less than two months later, Franklin Roosevelt was dead. I was not with him at Warm Springs when he died. I was with my wife, who was seriously ill at our home. I was sure, after that tragic April 12th, that I never could be happy at the White House again. But I was mistaken. There were still exciting days to come.

Next week, the author tells of President Truman's reaction on learning that the first atom bomb had been dropped, compares F.D.R. and Truman as bosses—and tells what happened to a Filipino steward named Ike after Eisenhower's inauguration

Collier's for June 27, 1953

AMERICAN ZIONIST COUNCIL

342 MADISON AVENUE

TELEPHONE MURRAY HILL 2-1160

NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

Cable Address: AMZIONIST

July 9, 1953

Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver The Temple 105th St. and Ansel Road Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Rabbi Silver:

I thought you might like to know how greatly we appreciate the initiative which you took yesterday with the President in your discussion regarding the prospects for peace between the Arab States and Israel.

We should be most grateful for your guidance on what might be properly said to our friends with discretion concerning your meeting with Mr. Eisenhower beyond the brief reports which have appeared in the press.

With best wishes,

Yours sincerely,

Jack Winocour

Director of Information

Jack Winocour

JW: SE Cc: Mr. L. Lipsky

AMERICAN ZIONIST COUNCIL

342 MADISON AVENUE

TELEPHONE MURRAY HILL 2-1160

NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

Cable Address: AMZIONIST

July 27, 1953

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
The Temple
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Dr. Silvers

I have been saving the enclosed article from Collier's of June 27.

The final paragraphs on the last page are particularly interesting because the author gives a firsthand report on the Roosevelt, Ibn-Saud incident which he says he has taken from his records.

There is nothing particularly new in this report and it is what you are sure had happened at the time but it is valuable coming from one who had direct information. From our standpoint the promises made to Ibn-Saud were worse than many of us had believed. The difficulty, of course, with all this is that we cannot raise any protests because of the possibility of antagonizing Mrs. Roosevelt and the Congressman, both of whom are friendly.

With kindest regards.

Sincerely yours

Adolph Hubbard

AH/hh Enc.

August 4, 1953 Mr. Adolph Hubbard American Zionist Council 342 Madison Avenue Newfork 17, Newfork My dear Friend: Thank you for your kind letter of July 27th and for the article from Collier's which you enclosed. The report given by the author of the Rossvelt - Ibn-Saud conversation does not surprise me at all. As you know, I cautioned the members of the Emergency Council time and time again about the unfavorable attitude of Roosevelt to our cause right along. History has a way often of catching up with propaganda and wishful thinking. With all good wishes, I remain Most cordial ly yours, ABBA HILLEL SILVER AHS:er

AMERICAN ZIONIST COUNCIL

42 MADISON AVENUE

TELEPHONE MURRAY HILL 2-1160

NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

Cable Address: AMZIONIST

August 20, 1953

Mr. Saul S. Danaceau Criminal Courts Bldg. 1560 East 21st Street Cleveland 14, Ohio

Dear Mr. Danaceaus

On July 10th, I sent you a memorandum on a projected Mayors' Tour to the Middle East and Israel, under the unofficial sponsorship of the American Christian Palestine Committee. The tour is now definite, the group leaving New York by Pan American on Sunday, October 18th.

Enclosed is a copy of the brochure which Mayor Hartsfield of Atlanta has sent out to a number of mayors across the country.

We have high hopes for this project, and are confident that you will do all in your power to sward a place on this tour to your mayor. The cost of the entire trip (New York to New York) is \$1350. Won't you get behind this project and give it the real push it deserves?

The Mayors' Group will be accompanied by Mr. Spencer Irwin, Associate Editor and Foreign Correspondent of the CLEVELAND PLAIN DEALER. Mr. Irwin has twice been to Israel, and is a real friend.

We advise against making a big publicity affair out of this venture so as not to excite the opposition of Arab governments. For the same reason, please do not highlight the ACPG's connection with the project. The major publicity effort should come after the Mayor's return when he gives his report. It would, of course, be highly desirable also to secure Christian support for the award of this trip to the Mayor.

Should your Mayor not be in a position to go, or should you feel that the City Manager, or president of the City Council is a better candidate, don't hesitate to make such a recommendation.

Let us hear from you soon. Time is already short.

Sincerely yours,

Lines Enclosure Louis Lipsky

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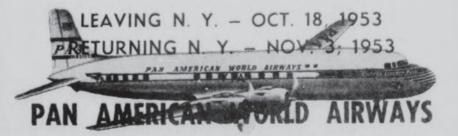


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Wed.		ATHENS TO ISTANBUL	BE 130 Dep. 7:35 P.M. Arr. ISTANBUL 9:25 P.M.	moo	gn	Jerusalem, old and new City then tou	
Thur.	22	ISTANBUL			Nov.	through Israel	
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Sat.	24	BEIRUT	Dep. ANKARA 10 A.M. Arr. BEIRUT 1:00 P.M.	Mon. Tues.	1 2 3	ROME ROME TO NEW YORK NEW YORK	Arr. 8:10 A.M. PA 063. Dep. 7:00 P.M. Arr. IDLEWILD 1:25 P.M.

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