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American Zionist Emergency Council, "A", 1948-1949.



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American Red Mogen Dovid for Palestine, Inc.

220 FIFTH AVENUE • NEW YORK 1, N.Y.

Telephone MUrray Hill 4-5416-7-8

The Honorable Harry S. Truman, Honorary Chairman

November 12, 1948

Dr. Rabbi Hillel Silver
Zionist Emergency Council
342 Madison Ave.
New York City

Dear Doctor Silver:

On Monday, November 22nd, the American Red Mogen Dovid for Palestine will hold a banquet at the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel under the chairmanship of my good friend, Mr. John L. Leban, Vice-President of Schenley. Mr. Herbert Bayard Swope will serve as toastmaster. Principal speakers of the evening will include my former chief, former Secretary of War Robert P. Patterson and the Honorable Ellis Arnall, distinguished former Governor of Georgia.

The organization we shall honor that evening is entirely non-political and non-sectarian. Its mission is to aid the work of the Red Mogen Dovid for Palestine, an agency that corresponds to our own American Red Cross and serves both Jews and Arabs in the Holy Land. This agency is presently the major factor in humanitarian endeavor in Palestine and it is contributing greatly to amity and understanding between Palestine's Jewish and Arab inhabitants.

As Chairman of the Distinguished Guests Committee, it is my privilege to invite you to be our guest at the Dinner honoring this great cause. I know you will find the evening highly rewarding. I should appreciate it deeply if you will forward your acceptance to me at the offices of the American Red Mogen Dovid for Palestine, 220 Fifth Avenue, New York 1, N. Y.

With kindest personal regards,

Julius Klein

November 18, 1948

Mr. Julius Klein
American Red Mogen Dovid
220 Fifth Avenue
New York 1, New York

My dear Mr. Klein:

Thank you for your kind letter of November 12th inviting me to attend the dinner of the American Red Mogen Dovid for Palestine on November 22nd. Unfortunately, it is not possible for me to leave Cleveland on that day. However, I am deeply appreciative of your thoughtfulness in inviting me to be a guest, and I send you all my good wishes.

Most cordially yours,

ABBA HILLEL SILVER

AHS:er

November 29, 1948

Dr. David Petegorsky
American Jewish Congress
1834 Broadway, New York 23, N.Y.

Dear David:

Thanks for the copy of your letter to Harry Shapiro, with your covering note.

Without attempting to go into the matter, the comment which I would like to make is that there is obviously need for coordination as between the American Zionist Emergency Council and all other organizations interested in strengthening the position of Israel. Hitherto the American Jewish Conference was supposed to serve that purpose. Now that it is going out of existence it strikes me that the Emergency Council should take the initiative in creating an obviously needed substitute in one form or another.

As a matter of fact it was suggested at one of the recent meetings of the Interim Committee of the AJC that the Emergency Council form a Council of cooperating organizations which would embrace at least the most important organizations affiliated with the AJC. It is an idea worth exploring. Obviously such organizations - e.g. the Bnai Brith - should neither be precluded from an active participation in whatever needs to be done, nor should they go off entirely on their own, in an uncoordinated fashion.

I will try to discuss the matter with our friends in the Emergency Council.

As ever,

Faithfully yours,

EN:BW

Emanuel Neumann

ST. LOUIS COUNCIL American Jewish Congress

(REPRESENTING 122 CONSTITUENT ORGANIZATIONS)

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December 14, 1948

Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver
Chairman, American Section, Jewish Agency
16 E. 66th Street,
New York, 21, New York.

Dear Rabbi Silver:

At the last meeting of the St. Louis Council-American Jewish Congress, representing one hundred and twenty-two affiliated organizations in the St. Louis area, I reported on the negotiations of the St. Louis Council with the White House with reference to the Palestine situation. I pointed out that President Truman, in my judgment, rendered great service to the Jewish people, even though he has not always done everything that Zionist leaders have asked him to do.

After my report, it was unanimously decided by the leaders of the local Jewry to do the following:

1. To inscribe the name of Harry S. Truman in the Golden Book of the Jewish National Fund
2. To recommend to the Jewish Agency to establish a community in ISRAEL in honor of President Truman

I am writing this letter to you in the hope that you will submit this recommendation to the Jewish Agency, and endeavor to have it implemented. If this special project will require financial assistance from St. Louis, I am certain that that could also be arranged.

It is the consensus of opinion locally amongst Jews and non-Jews that such an undertaking would have great public relations value, and would undoubtedly influence the President to continue his assistance in this great cause.

Recently, one of the powerful leaders of the Democratic party

ST. LOUIS COUNCIL American Jewish Congress

(REPRESENTING 122 CONSTITUENT ORGANIZATIONS)

1001 HOLLAND BUILDING
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December 14, 1948

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Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver

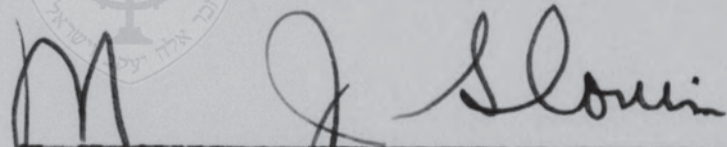
-Page 2-

of Missouri visited the White House on the invitation of the President. He spent considerable time with President Truman, as well as with Clark Clifford, the Counselor to the President, and brought the President a message from the St. Louis Council-American Jewish Congress, a copy of which I attach herewith for your perusal when you have a few spare moments.

Counting on your cooperation in the above-mentioned matter, and with kindest personal regards, I remain

Yours very cordially and sincerely,

ST. LOUIS COUNCIL - AMERICAN JEWISH CONGRESS


M. J. SLONIM, President

MJS:ms
Encl.

December 20, 1948

Mr. M. J. Slonim, President
St. Louis Council
American Jewish Congress
211 North 7th Street
St. Louis 1, Missouri

My dear Friend:

Thank you so much for your letter of December 14th and for conveying to me the resolutions which were adopted by the St. Louis Council, American Jewish Congress, With reference to recommending to the Jewish Agency to establish a community in Israel in honor of President Truman.

I shall be very happy to bring up the subject for consideration at the earliest opportunity.

With all good wishes, I remain

Most cordially yours,

ABBA HILLEL SILVER

AHS:er

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January 4, 1949

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
The Temple
E. 105 St. at Ansel Rd.
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Dr. Silver:

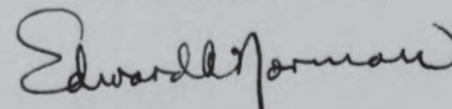
As you no doubt know, the disturbed conditions in Israel made it necessary to delay our Budget Advisory Board meeting at which the American Fund's 1949 budget is to be determined.

We have just completed arrangements to hold the BAB meeting in your city, at the Hollenden Hotel, on February 26, 27, and 28. I hasten to call this to your attention now, so that you will enter these dates in your calendar and plan to attend. We are eager to have your active participation and leadership.

This is a crucial year in the life of our institutions in Israel, and every effort will have to be mobilized to plan for their needs and secure adequate support for them so that they may continue to serve Israel's growing population. Final budget analyses are now in preparation by our Palestine Advisory Board, with the assistance of Itzhak Norman, our Executive Director, who is now in Israel. He will bring the material back with him on his return to this country during the first week in February, in time for detailed presentation and analysis at the Cleveland meeting.

No program details have been worked out as yet. This is therefore only a preliminary notice. As soon as we begin to formulate tentative program plans, we shall consult you, in order to have the benefit of your advice, and to determine in what way your own participation can be made most effective.

Cordially yours,



Edward A. Norman
President

P.S. Please sign the enclosed card and return it to us as soon as possible.

AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL

342 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK 17, N. Y.
MUrray Hill 2-1160

Constituent Organizations

Hadassah, Women's Zionist Organization of America
Mizrachi Organization of America
Poale Zion-Zeire Zion of America
Zionist Organization of America

January 7, 1949

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

Dear Dr. Silver:

Enclosed please find a memorandum which I have prepared at Mr. Tuvim's request in connection with yesterday's meeting of the AZEC Committee on Future Activities. Since Rabbi Miller may be in touch with you regarding future procedure, I would like you to have an exact picture of what has happened.

I would like to add that Mrs. Epstein took an eminently fair and correct attitude regarding the entire proceedings. She was very much in favor of the committee drafting the necessary changes for reform within the AZEC and, after the meeting, told me that she was going to start working out suggestions for a revision on her own. *framework*

Sincerely yours,

Bakzin

Benjamin Akzin

BA:AF
encl.

MEMORANDUM

To Files

Date January 7, 1949

From Benjamin Akzin

RE: Second meeting of the Future Activities Committee of AZEC, January 6, 1949.

There were present: Rabbi Irving Miller (Chairman), Mrs. Judith Epstein, Mr. B. Epstein, Mr. Gellman, Mr. Kusselevitz, Mr. Segal and Mr. Tyber, as well as myself.

Mr. Segal explained on behalf of the Poale-Zion that his party believes there is need for an instrument for joint action of American Zionists, but that AZEC cannot be that instrument and should be liquidated within six months. During that interval efforts should be made to establish another organization to take its place. When this matter is taken up, Poale-Zion will propose an organizational scheme. If the new organization cannot be set up within the time limit indicated above, the lifetime of the AZEC should be extended accordingly.

Mrs. Epstein, on behalf of Hadassah, declared that since the AZEC had assembled a great deal of experience and valuable contacts, it would be harmful to make a break in its continuity. There was need, however, for changes in its constitution and for a revision of the scope of its activities, and in her view the committee should proceed to consider what changes and revisions it should recommend.

Mr. Gellman, on behalf of the Mizrachi, thought that the AZEC should continue as long as necessary. If Mr. Segal had in the back of his mind to propose a federation, he had to declare that Mizrachi would not join a federation.

Mr. Tyber, on behalf of Achdut Havodah, expressed agreement with Mr. Segal.

Mr. B. Epstein, on behalf of the Revisionists, expressed the fear that should the AZEC be liquidated, it would be difficult to bring about agreement on the creation of a new common body. The Revisionists would not join a federation either. He wondered whether Mr. Segal had in mind to derive organizational advantages for his party in connection with the liquidation of the AZEC and the setting up of an entirely new body.

Mr. Kusselevitz (Hashomer Hatzair) who came late, said that he preferred to refrain from expressing an opinion or voting for the time being.

Rabbi Miller summarized the two views as formulated chiefly by Mr. Segal and Mrs. Epstein. He drew attention to the fact that the revision of the constitution and activities of the AZEC could be as far-reaching as would be found necessary; it could extend to the name, to the leadership, to the staff, to the mode of elections, etc. Similar far-reaching changes have been introduced in this body in the past without disrupting its continuity.

Mr. Segal said that he did indeed prefer a federation, and that, as far as seeking to better the organizational position of his party in connection with the setting up of a new body, perhaps he did have that in mind. At any rate, the time to discuss it would come later. Though in the past he personally was a great patriot of the AZEC, he now considered that organization to be impotent and unable to adjust itself to the new situation, with the Israeli Government and the American Section of the Jewish Agency Executive as new elements in the picture. He thought that the budget of the AZEC, which may have been justified in the past, was very much swollen and exaggerated in the present situation. As an example of the AZEC's impotence, he cited its silence in the course of the last week in connection with the crisis brought forth by the British diplomatic intervention in the Palestine conflict. -- None of the adjustments necessary could be adequately brought about by mere reorganization, but required a clean sweep.

Mr. Akzin explained the extent to which the function of the AZEC has indeed changed in practice since the emergence of Israel and since the establishment in New York of a section of the Agency Executive. This new situation was very much reflected in the role presently played by the AZEC, which is no longer a fairly autonomous policy-making body on the American scene and in a way pushing the Jewish Agency Executive in Palestine toward greater activity, but has become an agency mainly for coordinated executive action in consultation with the two other bodies. This more limited role would have to be played also by any other organization that might be created, whether it is a reorganized AZEC or an entirely new set-up. If the creation of a new body is discussed, to take the place of the AZEC, its activities will be necessarily limited to the least common denominator on which the parties will be able to agree; a federation will therefore be out of the question. If there is no majority in this committee in favor of liquidation, the committee ought to proceed with its appointed task of recommending to the AZEC organizational and constitutional changes. It may well be that in the course of discussing those changes, most of the desiderata of Messrs. Segal and Tyber would be achieved.

The chairman put the two viewpoints of Mr. Segal and Mrs. Epstein to a vote. Poale-Zion and Achdut Havodah voted for Mr. Segal's viewpoint; General Zionists, Hadassah, Mizrachi and Revisionists voted for Mrs. Epstein's viewpoint. Hashomer Hatzair abstained. The chairman thereupon declared that in his opinion the committee could not do anything else for the time being except to report to the next meeting of the Executive Committee of the AZEC.

As secretary to the AZEC, I thought this ruling by the chairman erroneous in form and harmful in substance. In accordance with Mr. Zucker-
man's motion, the committee was created "to study the question of the further functioning of the Emergency Council." In so far as there was a majority within the committee to approach that issue on the basis of the continued existence of AZEC with some changes, the committee ought at this point to try to frame such changes as would then be recommended in a report to the Executive of the AZEC. It is quite possible that in the course of this formulation, the minority would come to an agreement with the majority.

If this is not the case, the Executive of the AZEC will be confronted with two reports: one suggesting a definite blue-print of changes in the AZEC ; the other advocating the AZEC's liquidation. To report at this point would be merely dilatory since the AZEC would not have before itself a clear alternative to the minority proposal.

I regret to have had to take issue with Rabbi Miller on this question but I thought it my duty to do so. Rabbi Miller then stated that he would discuss the situation with Dr. Silver and ask him for further guidance.



AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL

Constituent Organizations

Hadassah, Women's Zionist Organization of America
Mizrachi Organization of America
Poale Zion-Zeire Zion of America
Zionist Organization of America

342 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK 17, N. Y.
MUrray Hill 2-1160

February 11, 1949

STRICTLY CONFIDENTIAL

Dear Friend:

You will recall that the American Christian Palestine Committee has conducted four annual seminars in which Christian leaders participated as delegates selected by local Zionist communities. The Executive Council of the American Christian Palestine Committee has decided to hold the fifth National Seminar in ISRAEL, and has requested our cooperation in what will be the most significant event yet planned in our nation-wide public relations program.

The assembly date in Tel Aviv for this American Christian Palestine Committee Study Tour to Israel is tentatively planned for April 28th; the tour will close in Israel on May 12th. As many participants as possible will leave on the S.S. Queen Mary from New York on April 20th so as to profit from the round table discussions planned aboard ship. Delegates who find this sailing date inconvenient will take the trip by plane a few days later.

May I urge you to assist this project by arranging for the participation of a carefully selected non-Jewish representative, man or woman, of your community. Please think in terms of a newspaper editor, a college president, an outstanding professor, a prominent churchman or a leader of management or labor. The individual selected should have several of the following qualifications: (1) sympathy with Zionist aspirations, (2) standing in the community, (3) ability as a public speaker or as a writer, and (4) capacity for action. He need not be fully informed on all aspects of the question; the seminar will provide him with all of the facts.

The Executive Council of the American Christian Palestine Committee believes that the American people need firsthand reports of Israel today,--its achievements and its problems, - its economic needs and possibilities for industrial and agricultural development. They submit that while we have gone a long way in educating the public, we are still beset by hostile propaganda groups seeking to undermine the State of Israel by false accusations concerning its politics, its form of government, its intentions towards Arab neighbors and its potentials as a world force for good will and moral advancement. The American Christian Palestine Committee delegates to Israel will be in a position to counteract these hostile influences, after an intensive study of conditions in Israel, under sponsorship of Israeli experts.

I would urge local Zionist Emergency Committees to defray travel, hotel and personal expenses of their delegate for this important and unprecedented public relations project. The cost is estimated at a maximum of \$2,000 from New York to Israel and return, depending on mode of travel. A number of communities are already planning to distribute the costs by joining with one or two nearby cities and thus sponsor a delegate jointly.

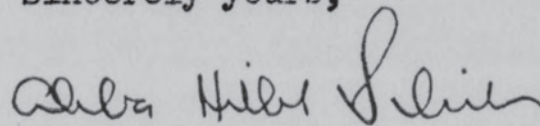
All steamer and transoceanic plane tickets will be reserved through an agency

February 11, 1949

chosen by the American Christian Palestine Committee, which is arranging for a block of plane and steamer reservations. Please forward to us immediately the name, address and profession of your delegate so that an official invitation may be issued by the American Christian Palestine Committee. I know that I can count on you and your Zionist colleagues to cooperate in this important undertaking.

Your early action and reply are requested.

Sincerely yours,



Abba Hillel Silver
Chairman, Executive Committee

AHS:SHK

P. S. Under no circumstances is money to be sent to the Emergency Council or to the American Christian Palestine Committee. You will receive a directive as to the travel agency which is handling this matter.



The Jewish Community

I. Should Zionist Organizations
Be Dissolved?

II. A Proposal for Progress



By

DAVID W. PETEGORSKY

AMERICAN JEWISH CONGRESS

1834 Broadway, New York 23, N. Y.

This pamphlet contains the text of two articles on "The Jewish Community," by Dr. David W. Petegorsky, published in CONGRESS WEEKLY on December 6 and 20, 1948. They represent the personal viewpoint of Dr. Petegorsky but are being distributed by the American Jewish Congress as a contribution to the discussion of fundamental issues now confronting the American Jewish community.

December 24, 1948.



THE JEWISH COMMUNITY

By DAVID W. PETEGORSKY

I. Should Zionist Organizations Be Dissolved?

FEW processes are more difficult than that of adapting social institutions to changing social needs and circumstances. And nowhere is that process of deliberate adaptation more formidable than in Jewish communal life. For Jewish institutions are wholly voluntary in their nature; and no authority, save the common sense of their members and leaders, can decree transformations which events have rendered essential. Because of the voluntary character of Jewish organizations, leadership and participation in them become important elements in social status and prestige. Vested interests—psychological more often than material—habit, inertia, tradition, all tend to develop an even greater resistance to change in Jewish organizational life than in other areas. That is why changes in the organizational structure of the Jewish

community have almost invariably come about as the result of crisis and catastrophe and seldom as the product of deliberate and prescient planning.

Serious discussion of fundamental change encounters resistances hardly less stubborn than opposition to the changes themselves. Thus for example, some weeks ago in the city of Chicago I argued affirmatively in a public forum on the subject "Should the Zionist Organizations Be Dissolved?" Persons who heard only of the topic or read an inadequate press account of my remarks have since charged me with everything from naivete to knavery. Leading Zionists have even told me that I rendered the Zionist movement a disservice by even permitting the question to be discussed publicly.

Yet it should be apparent that the establishment of a Jewish state

has drastically and fundamentally transformed the conditions of Jewish life throughout the world. Jewish institutions and the pattern of organizational life will either have to be adapted or will ultimately adapt themselves to these new conditions. The question is not shall there be change. It is rather, shall that change be deliberate or planless? Shall it be imposed by limited groups armed with the power of purse and prestige or shall it be achieved through the democratic action of the Jewish community itself?

FOR several decades, the organized Zionist movement in all its phases has been the most extensive and dominant in American Jewish life. By that I do not mean to suggest that its influence has been all-pervasive or embracing. Indeed, one of the tragic errors of American Zionists was the manner in which they ceded control of vital areas of American Jewish concern to minority groups with a negative or, at best, indifferent attitude toward Jewish values and survival. But the Zionist movement enlisted more persons, inspired more enthusiasm and created more organizations than any other movement in contemporary Jewish history. Thus the *Palestine Year Book* for 1947-48 lists over 90 organizations in the United States concerned with some phase of Zionism and Palestine; and many additional ones have come into existence since the proclama-

tion of Israel. They include the Zionist political parties of every ideological persuasion; their female and youth offshoots; educational and cultural organizations; philanthropic ventures; projects and committees in support of various activities in Israel. It is my contention that, indispensable as some of these groups have been in the creation of the Jewish state, they are today impairing the functions they were created to serve; and any intelligent and effective reorganization of the Jewish communal structure in this country must begin with a drastic revision of the pattern of Zionist activity.

Let me make it clear that I do not believe that the political struggle for Israel has ended. American Jews for some time to come will have to continue to mobilize public opinion and action in support of the legitimate political demands and security of the Jewish state. Vast financial resources will have to be made available from this country for the tremendous tasks of immigration, resettlement and development in Israel. Effective channels will have to be developed through which the cultural and spiritual influence of Israel will reach the Jews of this country and through which, in turn, the creative achievements of American Jewry will be made familiar to Israel. If therefore I suggest the dissolution of the present structure of Zionist organizations in the United States, it is not because I believe that American

Jewry has already fully discharged its responsibilities to Israel. It is rather because of my conviction that that structure is today thwarting the full mobilization of American Jewish effort in that task. Nor am I for a moment concerned with the bogey of the dual loyalty accusation that has led some Jews to call for the disappearance of the Zionist groups in America. That ghost has long been laid; and none but the timorous or the treacherous will invoke its spectre as a guide to action or policy.

The various Zionist political parties originally had their roots in sharp ideological differences; and in the case of the General Zionists, the absence of an ideology was made the basis of party organization. So long as the World Zionist Organization, through the instruments it created, bore responsibility for the development of Palestine, it was wholly proper for the various political parties in the Zionist movement to attempt to influence the political, social and religious institutions of the country. That party conflict, despite the intensity and bitterness with which it was frequently waged, introduced a genuine element of democratic participation and control in Jewish life.

With the establishment of the Jewish state, however, responsibility for the manner in which that state shall develop has passed to the Government and citizens of Israel. And none but those who dwell within its boundaries may

claim the right to influence or determine the nature of its institutions and policies. Freedom from interference by others in its domestic affairs, no matter how benevolent or well-intentioned that interference may be, is one of the privileges of statehood. Jews everywhere must not only demand the full guarantee of that freedom for Israel; they must be scrupulous in refraining from violating that freedom themselves. The existence of Zionist parties, outside of Israel, based on ideological or political differences, can no longer be justified and, for Israel's sake, even permitted.

Fact no less than logic decrees their abolition. For whatever reality these differences may have had in the past, they have largely ceased, except in Palestine, to have any genuine significance except at the extremes. Anyone who has participated in Zionist affairs in recent years knows full well that ideological differences no longer play any constructive or meaningful role. Certainly, sharp conflict has continued to exist in Zionist ranks. But those conflicts have borne only the most peripheral relationship to ideological viewpoint. Overwhelmingly, they have stemmed from differences in the evaluation of political developments and the formulation of political strategy and tactics; and those differences have cut across all ideological lines. Indeed, as the party structures and organizations have been maintained despite the de-

cline in ideological conflict, personal rivalry and the struggle for prestige and power have had to be enlisted in order to provide the basis for the continuing party strife.

WHAT is of greater immediate significance is the fact that the structure these groups have created today seriously thwarts the full mobilization of American Jewry for the political struggles which must currently be waged and those which lie ahead. For years the membership of the various Zionist organizations embraced by far the largest portion of American Jews dedicated to the establishment of a Jewish state. These groups were therefore the only ones who could have and should have organized the American Jewish effort on behalf of Palestine. Had they not led and mobilized that effort, it is unlikely that the Jewish state would today be a reality.

Their very success, however, has created the conditions which make their disappearance essential. Today the vast majority of American Jews are united in their support of the Jewish state. Only a portion of them are formally enrolled in the Zionist movement or accept its discipline. That fact has bred the irresponsibility which has plagued Jewish life in this country in the past few years and fostered the growth of undisciplined and irresponsible movements concerned with Palestine. It has also severely limited the ability of the present

Zionist movement to achieve the total mobilization of American Jewry on behalf of Israel.

Thus, for example, the American Zionist Emergency Council was created several years ago in order to formulate American Jewish policy in Zionist affairs and to organize the Jewish community in support of the establishment of the Jewish state. Its constituents are the Zionist political parties in this country affiliated with the World Zionist Organization. Increasingly, however, the Emergency Council has been unable to exercise effective control over Zionist politics and public action largely because its constituents now represent only a fraction of those actively concerned with the fate and security of Israel.

The ability of the ZEC to achieve full mobilization in support of Israel has become similarly limited. Nor has this limitation extended only to the groups which refuse to accept the political discipline of the Zionist movement and the Jewish Agency. There are in the country major Jewish organizations, such as the American Jewish Congress, which from their inception have been dedicated to the Zionists ideal and have loyally and consistently accepted the political guidance of the Zionist movement and the Jewish Agency. Some of these organizations embrace a larger constituency and command far more extensive technical facilities than several of the constituent members of the Emer-

gency Council. Yet the former have never been included in the structure of the Emergency Council nor permitted to participate in its deliberations. Their cooperation has never been sought, except in the most perfunctory manner. Attempts by these groups to play a more vital role in an integrated program of Zionist action have been largely ignored and rebuffed, and frequently with hostility.

To the degree to which Israel is today supported by virtually the entire American Jewish community, the Zionist movement has become less able to organize that total support effectively; for it speaks for and evokes the disciplined loyalty of a proportionately decreasing section of American Jewry. The full and effective mobilization of political action for Israel in this country can today be achieved only by a much more inclusive and all-embracing body than the Zionist organizations. The Zionist Emergency Council and the formal Zionist groups, by continuing to claim sole responsibility for that effort, are seriously jeopardizing its maximum effectiveness and success.

THE economic argument for the revision of the pattern of American Zionist activity is no less compelling than the political. For years to come Israel will require financial resources far vaster than the country itself can provide, and most of this aid will have to come from American Jewry. But hardly less impor-

tant than the funds themselves is the manner in which they will be used. The successful and healthy development of Israel will call for centralized social and economic planning to a degree as great as, if not greater than, that which obtains in any modern state. The tremendous number—both relatively and absolutely—of immigrants to be settled and adjusted, the development of industry and commerce, the creation and expansion of social institutions, the search for natural resources, will all place heavy burdens on the new state. And it will be able to carry those burdens only if its economic life and policy are very carefully and thoroughly planned and guided. This means close direction of all funds and resources made available for investment and development in Israel. The decisions as to how those funds shall be spent must be made in Israel itself in relation to the country's most pressing needs and requirements.

To a considerable degree such economic planning has already been rendered possible because the bulk of American funds for Israel are transmitted through the two major funds, the Keren Hayesod and the Keren Kayemeth. But there still remain scores of institutions and projects—and their number is multiplying—which seek to raise funds in this country for Israel and its institutions. Since the establishment of the state, many investment and development corporations have come into being.

The sums these institutions and projects raise and transmit as often as not bear little relationship to the need in Israel for the particular institution or project; they reflect instead the fund-raising and public relations skills enlisted by those projects for their campaigns in this country. If this process continues, there is grave danger that a considerable portion of the social and economic development of Israel will be determined not by the objective needs of the country but by the abilities of public relations experts in the United States. The need therefore for the integration of all fund-raising activities relating to Israel and the centralized control of the employment of those funds in Israel itself is urgent.

In this area, as in the political, the fact that the Zionist movement now speaks for a relatively decreasing section of American Jewry limits its ability to mobilize total assistance for the Jewish state. And here again, history provides argument more powerful than logic. The once indispensable role of the Zionist organizations as fund-raising agencies has withered away. Funds for Israel, as for all major Jewish purposes, are today raised through the machinery of the United Jewish Appeal and the local welfare funds and federations throughout the country. The propaganda-making functions of the Zionist groups in the fund-raising area have become equally insignificant. The most effective

propaganda agencies for Israel today are the newspaper headlines and the events in and involving Israel itself; and they require little assistance from the artificial respiratory methods of the Zionist bodies.

THE overhauling of the structure of Zionist activity as it bears on cultural relationships between Israel and American Jewry may superficiality appear less important; and the type of integration required in other spheres, inflexibly applied in the cultural area, may have positive dangers. But the need for drastic revision of the present pattern is no less acute. The multiplicity of groups functioning in this area parallels that in the political and economic fields. Certainly, no one will deny that cultural fertility is largely a product of diversity and multiple activity. The more groups within the American Jewish community which will draw on various phases of Israel life for their cultural inspiration and guidance, and which in turn will seek to interpret American Jewish achievement to Israel, the richer Jewish cultural life in America will be. But in this area the Zionist groups have not only become inadequate for the job that must be done because of the limited segment they can reach and influence; they have at no time discharged their responsibility effectively. Partly that failure has been due to the over-preoccupation, first, with fund-raising and, later,

with political activity. More fundamentally, however, it was rooted in the inarticulate major premise of American Zionism that the responsibilities it bore were *to and for Palestine* rather than to and for the Jewish people as a whole.

A single example of the failure will suffice. Future chroniclers of this era in American Jewish life will certainly find it incredible that, apart from the *Jewish Frontier*, a distinguished Labor Zionist magazine of limited circulation, not a single journal of genuine substance or merit is today being published by any of the other Zionist bodies in this country. Vast sums are spent on publications, propaganda, house organs and "education." Yet none of the Zionist periodicals currently being issued in this country is anything but a faithfully executed exercise in personal glorification or a routine job of colorless and uninspiring reporting.

A generation of failure to evolve a point-of-view and techniques through which to give it meaningful expression is too grave a handicap to be overcome by convention resolutions, even when supplemented by a somewhat enlarged budget. New channels, new techniques, new approaches, and above all, a new philosophy must be developed; and the history and practices of the American Zionist groups do not inspire one with the confidence that they will be able to perform that task.

I have been arguing that the

Zionist institutions and parties of America, historic though the role they performed has been, are today inadequate for the responsibilities which American Jewry must discharge. They cannot achieve the mobilization of the full political and economic strength of American Jewry because they represent today only a limited portion of those concerned with the fate of Israel. Their political divisions outside of Israel have no justification in principle and little meaning in fact. These scores of organizations and institutions breed confusion and misunderstanding; and they involve the maintenance of large and unnecessary administrative machines. As their *raison d'être* begin to disappear, personal and factional rivalries are raised through rationalization to the status of major issues. Thus vital work on behalf of Israel is being impaired while the texture of Jewish communal life is being debased.

I have already emphasized that the functions these groups are performing have become more crucial than ever before and that it is the inadequacy of the present structure to perform them effectively which makes fundamental reorganization necessary. How shall those functions be performed? Who shall assume responsibility for them?

Suggestions have been made in some quarters that the various Zionist parties in America merge into a single organization. I do

not intend to examine these suggestions at length. But it is clear that the total of the Zionist movement in this country today is no greater than the sum of its parts; and it is precisely that sum which falls far short of what the Jewish community requires.

THERE is, however, another consideration, and a far more fundamental one, which renders the idea of "one big Zionist union" unsatisfactory, and that is the need for reorganizing the Jewish community in this country for the development of a positive and creative Jewish life. The greatest affliction from which the American Jewish community has suffered has been its fragmentation. At all times the number of Jews actively concerned with Jewish affairs has been limited; and these persons have almost invariably dedicated themselves, exclusively and single-mindedly, to partial aspects of the Jewish problem. Their energies were concentrated either on Palestine, or overseas relief, or philanthropy, or community center and synagogue work, or the fight against anti-Semitism. Such intensive preoccupation with a single phase of Jewish life bred a narrow and limited approach to the problem of Jewish existence. Rarely was the attempt made, and even more rarely, successfully, to see Jewish life steadily and to see it whole, to develop an overall and integrated philosophy of Jewish living and Jewish survival.

The most serious consequences of this development were in the actual organization of Jewish activity itself. Special groups established a monopoly of concern and control over major areas of Jewish life in which the entire community had a vital stake. Thus overseas relief, philanthropy, the fight against anti-Semitism and other problems, each became the private preserve of limited — and frequently self-appointed — groups who acted in behalf of the Jewish community in matters which gravely affected Jews both here and abroad, but who bore no public responsibility to the Jewish community as a whole. As their monopolies of control became more securely established, they became bolder in resisting attempts to impose on them some form of communal control. And although in some instances the forms of democratic control have been established, the substance of democracy is sadly lacking.

For this state of affairs, American Zionists must bear the major share of blame. For Zionists, more than any other group, were deeply concerned with Jewish survival and positive Jewish living. Their understanding of Jewish life should have made them keenly aware of the need for participation in all its forms. By force of numbers they could easily have established their preeminence in all matters of concern to the Jewish community. Their failure is writ large in the present state of general disor-

ganization in the Jewish community, on the one hand, and the series of monopoly controls on the other.

Within the past few years, the number of American Jews concerned with the fact of their Jewishness has greatly increased. The impact of the Nazi catastrophe, an awareness of discrimination and inequality in this country, the positive motivation inspired by the events leading to and emerging out of the establishment of Palestine, have imparted to them a new awareness of their being and problems as Jews. Today they are groping both for a philosophy of Jewish life and an organizational pattern through which that philosophy can be given direct and tangible meaning for them. But they seek neither fragmentized thinking nor fragmentized activity. They seek a focus for their total relationships as Jews: their relationship to Israel, to their fellow-Jews in other lands, to the non-Jewish community, to American democracy and the world society, to Jewish values and culture. Above all, they seek meaningful and self-respecting participation in activities through which as integrated persons all their relationships as Jews find expression. Unless that philosophy and organizational

framework can be developed, these persons will revert to the state of Jewish indifference and confusion out of which they only recently emerged. Such a reversion would gravely jeopardize Jewish survival not only in America but throughout the world.

The Zionist organizations, neither severally nor together, can provide that framework or that philosophy. For they represent, both in their thinking and activity, only a segment—however significant that segment may be—of the totality of Jewish life with which the community must be concerned.

The American Zionist groups have rendered truly historic service to the Jewish people and Jewish destiny. Today, however, their role in American Jewish life is becoming less creative. They are inadequate both for the specific tasks they are now performing and for the larger and long-term needs of American Jewry.

Those functions and needs must today become the responsibility of the entire Jewish community, democratically organized and democratically administered. What are the means through which such a community may be brought into being?

II. A Proposal for Progress

EVERY attempt to achieve effective and democratic organization of the American Jewish community has ended in failure. Whether the particular attempt sought to embrace comprehensive and significant areas of Jewish life, as in the case of the American Jewish Congress in the first World War and the American Jewish Conference in the second, or whether it was limited to narrower objectives, such as the General Jewish Council or the National Community Relations Advisory Council (NCRAC), none can really be said to have succeeded in its purpose. No doubt all of them have significant accomplishments to their credit. Each introduced a measure of coordination and common consultation which represented a genuine service to the community. Some of these attempts undoubtedly have helped as well in the development of a general communal consciousness which must precede the democratization of the Jewish community itself. But none has succeeded in any enduring fashion in establishing those forms of democratic control through which the Jewish community as a whole can share

in shaping the policies by which it must live.

That failure is reflected in many directions. There is, as I indicated earlier in these pages, the virtually unchallenged control by minority groups over areas of vital concern to the entire community, as in the field of overseas relief. There is, as in the area of fighting anti-Semitism, excessive duplication of effort, rationalized as "constructive supplementation," with no authority capable of putting an end to such waste of energy and resources. There is, as in the case of the Zionist groups, an increasing inability to mobilize the maximum resources of the community for purposes which are widely and commonly shared, largely because responsibility is limited to only a segment of those who are concerned. There is, as in Jewish education and culture, the failure to develop imaginative and comprehensive programs because adequate means have not been provided. In all areas, policies and programs vitally affecting the welfare of the community as a whole are shaped and determined by only a small

portion of the community. And above all else, there is the utter failure to relate every single phase of Jewish survival so as to provide American Jews with an integrated approach to their living as Jews.

Can these failures be overcome? Can such a program be developed? Can the necessary organizational forms be fashioned? I am profoundly convinced that developments during the past few years have created more favorable conditions for those tasks than at any time in the past. If that effort is to succeed, however, it will have to be based on foundations other than those which have already been built or which are being currently proposed.

Two methods have been attempted to achieve the democratization of the Jewish community. One was that represented by the first American Jewish Congress and later by the American Jewish Conference, namely the creation of an organization of organizations, buttressed by local community representation. The other has been the effort to build local democracy through the formation of community councils and federations. The first method, as I shall seek to indicate, has failed and must once and for all be abandoned. The second holds promise for the future; but cannot meet the needs and problems we presently confront.

The failures of the first method, that of creating a super-organiza-

tion to coordinate the work of its affiliated bodies, are a matter of record both past and present. The American Jewish Congress at the end of the first war and the American Jewish Conference during the second were seriously impaired from the outset by the concessions and compromises exacted by recalcitrant groups as the price of their affiliation, by their withdrawal when they dissented from the decision of the majority, and the unwillingness of functional organizations such as the Joint Distribution Committee to accept the democratic discipline of the overall body.

As the organizations affiliated with the coordinating body developed large-scale programs of their own, they begot vested interests and prides and increasing unwillingness to recognize the authority of the central agency. The American Jewish Congress functioned for many years effectively as a coordinator of organizations. Today, however, its strength is almost wholly derived from its character as a mass movement with members and chapters throughout the country; its affiliated organizations, as such, play a comparatively minor role. The American Jewish Conference died primarily because of the refusal of certain groups, chief among them the B'nai B'rith, to clothe its proposed successor with even a modicum of effective initiatory authority. The NCRAC, operating in a limited

field, may be able to record some minor achievements in consultation and common action. But it is significant that duplication of effort in the defense area has grown sharply since its inception; and the NCRAC has thus far proved unable to cope with this development.

The growth in the number of organizations, the jealousy with which they guard their prerogatives and "sovereignty," the unyielding reluctance of certain groups, limited in size but unlimited in resources, to accept the democratic process, all render it extremely unlikely that a third major attempt to create a representative American Jewish body based on the coordination of existing and independent organizations will prove any more successful than the earlier ill-fated ventures.

FOR several years many persons have rested their hopes on the development of local federations and community councils. And they have been advocating the creation of a national assembly based on these councils and federations to supercede the present structure of national membership organizations on the one hand and of technical and functional bodies on the other.

No one can question the fact that democracy in the Jewish community as a whole will have to rest solidly on democratic institutions and foundations in the local communities. But few persons familiar with the operations of fed-

erations and councils throughout the country will dispute the assertion that conditions in the local communities present virtually the same picture as the national scene; and the reformation of both are interrelated aspects of a single problem.

For while the community councils and federations have begun to develop the forms of democracy, they have failed, with certain notable exceptions, to incorporate its substance. Thus they have been unable, for example, effectively to establish their authority in important areas of communal concern and over a large segment of organizational life. They have rarely contributed to the development of a philosophy of Jewish life in their communities and indeed, have tended to discourage the play of ideological cross-currents. In some instances they have sought to prevent the entry of varying points-of-view into their communities by irrelevantly claiming that the council or federation as the guardian of the community's welfare was adequately equipped to take care of all communal needs. They have on the whole been more concerned with developing techniques for balancing opposing forces than in giving democratic expression to the wishes of the majority of the community. With some exceptions, the financial support the federations and welfare funds extend to national movements and organizations far too frequently reflects

the pressure and influence of the substantial local contributors and is seldom based on the judgment of the community itself or an objective evaluation of need and achievement. Anyone who has had any experience of the habits of allocations committees will regard with some pardonable skepticism the suggestion that the local federations or councils are today the democratic instruments of the Jewish community.

More important, however, is the fact that the local councils and federations have as yet not developed a genuine national and international perspective. Their viewpoints tend to be limited and provincial. Their horizons on world Jewish affairs — Israel in recent years apart—are largely limited by the perspective of relief and philanthropy. No doubt their concepts in these areas are broadening; but they are at the present by no means adequate or mature. The community councils ultimately will certainly have to provide the framework for democracy in Jewish affairs, but it is unlikely that they can furnish its substance. A national assembly of the federations and councils today superseding existing national movements would give the Jewish community a body but would leave it without a soul.

The path to the democratic organization and communal maturity of American Jewry, in my view, therefore lies neither through the

imposition of a super-coordinating agency nor through an assemblage of the local federations as presently constituted. It lies rather in another and relatively uncharted direction, namely that of creating a mass movement representing the views of the majority of American Jews and exercising, through its numbers, comprehensiveness and program, a decisive and creative influence on all aspects and institutions of American Jewish life. Such a movement would have clear views on all phases of Jewish life but it would not function directly in every field. But it would provide its members with an integrated approach to Jewish life to be applied to all problems by which as Jews they may be confronted.

That approach, I have indicated, has been relatively untried. For it is significant that though there have been large Jewish membership organizations in this country, as well as powerful organizations, they have rarely been dedicated to a comprehensive approach to the problems of Jewish living. Thus the Zionist organizations which attracted a fairly large membership have been concerned almost exclusively with the rebuilding of Palestine rather than with Zionism in its broadest sense and its meaning for Jews who will continue to live outside Palestine. Hadassah has based its appeal on a specific phase of Palestine rebuilding. B'nai B'rith achieved its

present numbers by serving as a Jewish version of the Kiwanis or Rotarians. Other groups, such as the American Jewish Committee, prided themselves throughout most of their history on the fact that they were limited and exclusive corporations, and built their influence on the strength of their social position and financial resources. Alone among Jewish organizations in this country, the American Jewish Congress has sought both to base itself on a mass membership as well as to concern itself with the totality of Jewish interests.

That so few attempts were made to develop a comprehensive Jewish mass movement or that those attempts succeeded in embracing but a small portion of the Jews in this country was due almost entirely to the fragmented thinking that has characterized our community. A series of partial approaches emphasized single aspects of our problem; but those aspects were seldom related to any central theme or perspective. I am firmly convinced, however, that there exists today a wider area of agreement on fundamentals within the American Jewish community than at any time in the past. By that I do not intend to suggest that such agreement is by any means unanimous. But I do believe that it today embraces the largest majority of American Jews both organized and unorganized. That creates the first significant oppor-

tunity for the development of a genuine mass movement concerned with every phase of Jewish existence.

WHAT are the principles on which such agreement now exists? They are, I suggest, the following:

1. The survival of the Jewish people is inseverably bound up with the maintenance of peace and the expansion of the frontiers of democracy and human welfare.
2. The development and security of the State of Israel must be supported and safeguarded not merely because Israel provides a "haven for refugees" or because of our "fraternal sympathies" with its people, but because it constitutes the keystone in the arch of Jewish survival.
3. The Jewish communities of Israel and America are the focal points of the Jewish future. Adequate channels must therefore be created through which the inspiration and culture of Israel can be brought to American Jewry, and American Jewish life and achievements in turn interpreted to Israel.
4. Jews throughout the world, as a people, share common hopes, common problems and common values as Jews. They therefore have not only the right but the responsibility of

maintaining that unity through the voluntary and democratic association of Jewish communities in all lands through which, *as equals*, they can share in the solution of their common problems and the promotion of their common values.

5. The cultural and spiritual heritage of the Jewish people must be preserved in order to enrich both Jewish life and American and world culture. Each cultural, religious and ideological orientation within the Jewish community must have the freedom and be encouraged to interpret, apply and develop that heritage and its values in its own way and through its own institutions.
6. The full rights of Jews, here and abroad, and their claims to full equality in a free society can be realized only through self-respecting programs of social and political action on the one hand and dignified Jewish affirmation on the other, rather than through self-abasing pleas for tolerance or understanding or good will. In many instances, those rights can be won only by joining with other groups in common struggle for the rights of all men.
7. These and all other problems affecting the Jewish people are matters in whose formulation and implementation all members of the community have a right to share equally.

These principles now command widespread agreement among Jews throughout the country. They are subscribed to by groups such as the American Jewish Congress, probably the largest majority of the members of the various Zionist organizations, a large section of the religious groups, considerable portions of the B'nai B'rith membership, some of the fraternal orders and above all, by very large numbers of Jews who, though organizationally unaffiliated, have become affirmatively conscious of their Jewish identity and relationships during the past few years. Inter-related in a comprehensive program, these principles constitute the basis for creative Jewish survival and adjustment in democratic society.

But this heightened agreement, unfortunately, is not finding effective expression today in organizational or communal action. Most Jews affiliated with any organization, can give but partial expression to their Jewish credo unless they happen to be blessed with the superhuman energy and endurance which permits them to enjoy active, rather than nominal, participation in a half-dozen organizations. The large number of unaffiliated Jews are bewildered by the multiplicity of groups competing for their allegiance; and they are unable to discover a single focus on which their lives as Jews can be centered.

I am therefore suggesting the

simple and obvious conclusion: that the most far-reaching, yet at the same time the easiest step that could be taken towards the democratic and creative organization of the Jewish community is the merging of all persons who share these agreements into a single and comprehensive mass movement. Such a movement could be launched in the first instance *by an integral merger of the memberships and facilities of the groups who share the principles I have set forth*. Such a movement should function directly only in the areas in which those groups who would merge to form it are today functioning, but it would formulate policies and programs for all areas of Jewish life.

Uniting the facilities and functions of the groups I have mentioned, it would operate directly over a vast area of Jewish life: all phases of activity relating to Israel, the fight for Jewish status and equality, the struggle for the rehabilitation of Jewish rights and culture the world over, Jewish culture and information, scientific research and experimentation. The facilities such a merger would create in all fields would vastly exceed in effectiveness and scope anything which has ever existed in the Jewish community. The numbers such a movement could call on in support of its common purposes would assure a maximum mobilization of effort and resources. The projects such facilities and numbers would make possible

would greatly enrich Jewish life in this country. The comprehensiveness of its purposes and program would attract to its ranks large numbers of Jews who have refrained from organizational affiliation. Above all, such a program would impart to all who identified themselves with it a genuine sense of the wholeness of Jewish life and the interrelatedness of its problems.

As a simple and elementary example of what such a movement would render possible, persons need but think of the incalculable service that could be rendered Jewish life in America by a journal which would combine the circulations, budgets and some of the staffs of the *Hadassah Newsletter*, the *New Palestine*, the *Jewish Frontier* and *Congress Weekly*.

Such a movement should not seek to take over direct functioning in areas of work in which the groups which create it are not at present operating. It should not, for example, take over the functions of the Joint Distribution Committee or social welfare agencies and similar bodies. Indeed, there would be no need for it to do so. For its membership would represent overwhelmingly the largest organized force in American Jewry. It could thus beyond question decisively influence the policies and operations of all communal institutions, provided only that the thinking and program of the movement was comprehensive

and not fragmentized. Such a movement could achieve the genuine democratization of the community, locally and nationally, for it could pour creative substance into institutions today democratic in form but not in content.

WHAT I propose—let me make it clear—is not a body coordinating the activities of independent agencies but the merger into a unitary mass movement of the memberships, facilities and functions of all like-minded groups. The simplest analogy is probably that of a political party in a democratic society. Where governmental institutions function in the absence of political parties, those institutions inevitably become bureaucratic and tyrannical. Where dynamic political parties exist, those institutions become increasingly democratic in their policies and operation, for they begin to reflect the will of the people as expressed through the parties. I am suggesting, in effect, the formation of a popular and articulate movement in the Jewish community based on a positive and dynamic program of Jewish survival.

The organization of such a movement poses fewer real difficulties than any of the other projects which have yet been attempted or which are currently being proposed. It would appeal only to the like-minded and not to those who disagree on any of its funda-

mental principles. It would therefore not stultify itself at the outset by having to compromise on essentials in order to retain the doubtful cooperation of minority groups. Quite the contrary, by isolating those minorities, it would reduce them to their rightful status in the Jewish community. Because its members would share general agreement on fundamentals, there would be no need for installing the right of veto; and democratic processes could prevail in all its affairs. Because such a movement would not seek to destroy the technical functions of specialized bodies, it would not run afoul of those who so jealously guard their "sovereignities" and vested interests.

I know that I shall be told that my proposal is unrealistic and naive. Yet I should like to submit that the only persons who are unrealistic are those who think that the organization of such a movement today is not a practical possibility, and only those are naive who fail to realize that such a movement will inevitably emerge, if necessary despite them. The agreement on fundamentals has largely emerged among the majority of Jews in the community. The search for a central theme in Jewish life is widening. The need for a greater measure of democratic control in the community is urgent. The facilities are at hand. And most of the people are ready. The organized are

growing uneasy over the limitations of the framework within which they are confined and the unorganized seek a comprehensive program with which to identify themselves. What is needed to crystallize these elements into the kind of movement I have suggested are statesmanship and common sense on the part of those who have been vested with the responsibilities and privileges of leadership in the great—and some not-so-great—Jewish organizations.

In Israel, our people have demonstrated both in war and in peace that they could meet herculean challenges. Here, the obstacles are far less formidable. Our goals are much more modest. Our resources are far greater. Shall we then fail in the communal challenge by which we are confronted, or shall we instead, inspired by the example of our brothers in Israel, demonstrate that we too have reached, in our own way, our maturity as a Jewish community?



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Rev. Karl Baehr

March 31, 1949

Dr. Stephen B.L. Penrose, President
American University of Beirut
Beirut, Lebanon

Dear Dr. Penrose:

Many thanks for your letter.

I am heartened by the fact that you have recognized "the factual existence of the State of Israel" and that you "will do everything in (your) power to ensure the preservation of peace and the development of friendly relations in the Near East." There is cause for hope if men such as you in positions of responsibility in the Arab States help lead Arab statesmen to accept a similar attitude. So far, to my knowledge, none of the Arab statesmen have made conciliatory statements such as those made by the Israeli leaders. I have in mind such statements as made by Prime Minister David Ben-Gurion, May 12, 1947, before the United Nations:

"We have no conflict with the Arab people. On the contrary, it is our deep conviction that historically the interests and aspirations of the Jewish and Arab peoples are compatible and complementary. What we are doing in our country, in Palestine, is reclaiming the land, increasing the yield of the soil, developing modern agriculture and industry, science, and art, raising the dignity of labor, insuring women's status of equality, increasing men's mastery over nature, and working out a new civilization based on human equality, freedom and cooperation in a world which we believe is as necessary and beneficial for our Arab neighbors as for ourselves."

In the "Proclamation of the New Jewish State," May 14, 1948, are to be found these words which express the goal of the State of Israel in its relationship with the Arab peoples and states:

"In the midst of wanton aggression we call upon the Arab inhabitants of the State of Israel to return to the ways of peace and play their part in the development of that state, with full and equal citizenship and due representation in all its bodies and institutions, provisional and permanent.

"We offer peace and amity to all neighboring states and their peoples, and invite them to cooperate with the independent Jewish nation for the common good of all. The State of Israel is ready to contribute its full share to the peaceful progress and reconstruction of the Middle East."

Before partition was voted by the United Nations, Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver declared to the Ad Hoc Committee on Palestine, October 2, 1947:

"We mean to be good neighbors, not only to the Arab State of Palestine, but to the Arab States throughout the Middle East. And certainly we mean scrupulously to respect the equal rights of the Arab population in the free and democratic Jewish State. With the removal of political friction and bitterness which we hope will eventually result from the setting up of these two independent states, each people master in its own home, it should be possible to usher in an era of progress and regeneration which would be a boon to all the peoples in that important part of the world. What the Jewish people have already achieved in Palestine in a short time and in the face of enormous obstacles is indicative of what it hopes to do in the future along with, and in fullest cooperation with, all of its neighbors."

Now that elections have been held in Israel and a provisional government has been established it can no longer be claimed that the above statements were mere "campaign oratory." For the Arab population went freely to the polls and voted. Even Arab women cast their ballots--which is something unique in Arab history. Three Arab representatives were elected and now sit in the Provisional Assembly (Knesseth) of Israel and play their role in the development of the land.

In a special to the New York Times, March 3, Gene Currivan describes what Israel has been doing for its Arab peoples:

"Mosques have been restored, religious courts are again operating and their archives reassembled under a special committee working for the restoration of the holy places. There is a sub-committee for Arab food control, which gives preference to Arab merchants serving Arab areas....Ten consumer cooperatives have been organized in towns as Jaffa, Acre and Lydda. Wages of \$4.50 daily are being paid to Arab workers, against the previous scale of \$1.60. There are social welfare programs operating now, and hospital clinics set aside for Arabs with Arab and Israeli doctors working side by side. There is an ambulance service to remote Arab sections, and mobile

clinics that reach every distant Arab farm. Six thousand Arab children are attending schools under a budget of almost \$250,000. Jaffa has its own Arabic newspaper and the Israeli radio station transmits Arab news items and programs daily."

There is every reason to believe that the Israeli government will pursue the same enlightened policy in dealing with surrounding Arab nations and that their pledge of friendship is sincere and will be kept. The great question is, will the Arab leadership accept this offer of friendship and cooperate on the great task of rebuilding the Near East for the benefit of all of its inhabitants?

You express the belief that you can do little at this juncture to bring peace to the Near East because, you say, "it is upon the actions and intentions of this country (Israel), now given wide diplomatic recognition, that the future development and maintenance of peace will depend." I maintain that the responsibility rests with both parties. The above quotations are but a few to be gleaned from statements made by the governmental officials of Israel as evidence that Israel in good faith is seeking lasting friendship with the Arabs. The fact that a minority party within the government of Israel (Heruth) holds an "expansionist" view does not invalidate that evidence. It only proves that Israel is a democratic nation and gives representation to the various parties in proportion to their strength.

The quotations which I have from the responsible leaders of the Arabs are not so edifying. Perhaps you have forgotten them. When partition was voted by the United Nations, Jamal Husseini of the Palestine Arab Higher Committee had this to say: "The partition line proposed shall be nothing but a line of blood and fire." Abdul Rahman Azzam Pasha, Secretary General of the Arab League, boldly prophesized: "This war will be a war of extermination and a momentous massacre which will be spoken of like the Mongol Massacres and the Crusades." To date no outspoken statements offering Israel peace and friendship have been made. There has, of necessity, been shown a willingness to conclude armistice agreements, but

the positive expression of friendship and cooperation is still lacking. I still think, therefore, that your responsibilities are great.

I don't like to trade atrocity stories because they scarcely contribute to mutual understanding or to a brotherly solution. But since you list Jewish atrocities, without even hinting that there might have been Arab atrocities, I think it of value to record a few. Have you forgotten the murder of 67 doctors and nurses on Mt. Scopus? Was your Christian conscience sickened by the parade in Gaza where the heads of Jewish boys were proudly carried through the streets? Was it of no importance that Arabs killed at least six United Nations observers?

You fail to recognize that war is itself an atrocity--the major atrocity. If the Arab states had not defied a United Nations decision (or "recommendation," whichever you wish to call it), the subsequent atrocities by either side could not have been committed.

Again you speak of Jews taking over Christian buildings during the course of the fighting. This too is a regrettable part of the nasty business of war. But again you seem to believe that only the Jews did this and that the Arabs fought nicely. If you do not have the facts regarding Arab use of mosques, synagogues, and Christian properties as outposts against the Jews, your investigation of the war situation has not been complete.

But here again you and your colleagues miss the important point. Why did the Arab Legion choose to attack Jerusalem when it was to become an international city (neither Arab nor Jewish)? Was it not because Abdullah wanted the Holy City as his capital and because he wished to drive out (I won't say massacre) the 100,000 Jews vulnerably isolated there? The result of the fighting was the destruction of every synagogue in the Old City (Holy Places to the Jews, it might be noted) and the inevitable damage of Christian properties. But is it right to lay the blame for this at the feet of the Jews when they accepted the compromise United Nations resolution? As you can well understand, the Jews of

Jerusalem could do nothing but defend themselves, isolated from the rest of Israel as they were. The record is clear for those who wish to read it; there would have been no destruction of Christian properties had the Arab Legion not launched its attack against the Holy City. This attack, in my humble estimation, will go down in history as one of the most shameful events of modern times. And it is no credit to the Christians of the Near East that they gave it their tacit approval.

And now a few words about the Arab refugees. It is hardly objective of you to dismiss as a "clever bit of propaganda on the part of the Zionist organization" the statements that the major Arab flight was precipitated by the Arab leaders with British connivance. Last fall The London Economist printed the account of a British eye witness of the flight of the Arabs from Haifa:

"During the subsequent days the Israeli authorities who were now in complete control of Haifa...urged all Arabs to remain in Haifa, and guaranteed them protection and security. So far as I know, most of the British civilian residents whose advice was asked by Arab friends told the latter that they would be wise to stay.

"Various factors influenced their decision to seek safety in flight. There is but little doubt that by far the most potent of these factors was the announcement made over the air by the Arab Higher Executive, urging all Arabs in Haifa to quit. The reason given was that upon the final withdrawal of the British the combined armies of the Arab States would invade Palestine and drive the Jews into the sea, and it was clearly intimated that those Arabs who remained in Haifa and accepted Israeli protection would be regarded as renegades."

We do have a program for the refugees, both Jewish and Arab. Our "half-hearted" statements, as you choose to call them, calling for relief of the Arab refugees have been sincere. Our appeals for relief for Jews and Arabs could have been stronger only if we were a relief organization (which we are not). But we do suggest a possible program for relief and rehabilitation which will not use one group of refugees as a political weapon against the other, and which will not concern itself exclusively with one refugee group. Insufficient attention has been given by you and others interested in relief to the

fact that Jews in Arab lands also face most critical conditions. Most of them would be "refugees" today were it not for the fact that the governments of those countries deny them even the opportunity to escape. Jews have been murdered in surrounding Arab states for alleged support of Zionism. The news on March 15 again brought news that seven more Iraqi Jews have been sentenced to death for supporting Zionism. Fourteen more are to be "tried" soon. A minimum of 160 million dollars has been extorted from Jews in Egypt and Iraq alone. Jews in Yemen and Aden have been subjected to pogroms and are in fear of violent outbreaks at this very moment. This situation, which is not new in Moslem lands, must in all humanity also be solved. Accordingly, we recommend:

a) That adequate relief for the needy, both Jews and Arabs, be supplied speedily. We note with satisfaction that the United States Congress has voted \$16,000,000 for this purpose.

b) That some form of population exchange be developed and just financial adjustments be made to dispossessed Arabs and dispossessed Jews. It may be recalled that the British Labor Party for years called for this action in the party platforms. Our own former President Hoover has advocated a similar course of action.

c) That a program to redevelop the Near East be undertaken so that the refugees as well as the poverty-stricken Arab peasants (which include fully 80 percent or more of the population) can be absorbed into a productive and expanding economy. This is the constructive, the human, the long-range approach to the problem. It deals with basic factors and lays the foundations for peace and plenty for all. Dr. Walter Clay Lowdermilk, a sensitive Christian spirit, told me that Iraq alone could support ten times its present population if the agricultural, industrial, and mineral potentials of the Tigris

and Euphrates valleys were to be developed. There is no population problem in this part of the world. With constructive valley programs all the present Arab refugees and thousands of other peoples could be absorbed and reap the rewards of a decent standard of living. Perhaps President Truman's "bold new program" will take hold of this vital area and bring it out of misery into the light of relative plenty. Such a program will bring peace to the Near East. It will demonstrate that both Jews and Arabs are needed to win this larger battle for civilization and progress. Of significance also is the fact that, according to the New York Times of March 31, 1949, the British Government is considering this as the best and most realistic approach to the problem.

I must say that I was shocked by your statement, "I think of Jesus as the Son of God, not as a Son of Israel...although I am fully aware of his historical derivation from Judaism." This is precisely the line Rosenberg took in Nazi Germany. You go on to say, "I have always believed that a sharp break occurred when His own people refused to accept His teachings and crucified Him." You speak of this as "a fact" which must be considered. Do you mean that because of the crucifixion, Jews in the 20th century are not to be given consideration by the Christian world and should not be permitted to return to Palestine? To put the crucifixion to use as an excuse for revenge is unhistoric, unchristian, and unjust. It is at the root of anti-Semitism which flowered in Europe and resulted in the virtual destruction of Christian civilization there and will destroy it in every other land as well if its growth is fostered. Your attitude on this vital issue makes me wonder whether a spirit of anti-Semitism distorts your view of the Palestine problem. I sincerely hope my impression is wrong. The fact that your school permits Jews to attend and that you hope no harm will befall them can hardly be admitted as sufficient evidence to the contrary.

Your accusation that our organization is not Christian' because we are not interested in a "Christian Palestine" and because we have not sought information from you or your colleagues is based on strange reasoning indeed. By the same reasoning you could be accused of supporting a Moslem Near East.

Is it inconsistent with Christian principles for us to support a just and righteous cause which two international organizations have decreed as fair to both peoples involved? I am sure you will agree that Christianity is more than institutionalism, though, I fear in the Near East institutional Christianity rather than prophetic Christianity has been making the decisions and calling the tune. I am not suggesting that you and your colleagues are not doing a great amount of good; I am suggesting that your views in this controversy are in no small degree due to your vulnerable position in the midst of a sea of Moslem nationalism of whose fanatical overtones you are well aware.

You must know that not all Christians in the Near East share your point of view. P. V. D. Prince, a Britisher representing a Swedish missionary organization in Jerusalem, describes the betrayal of Jerusalem in an unsolicited letter which we later published. In his opening paragraph he says: "I believe that I can honestly claim to have been an unprejudiced observer of the events which I record." It is a story worth reading. Concerning British responsibility for the destruction in Jerusalem he has the following to say:

"...Such, in brief, are the facts about the Arab Legion. It is formed, equipped and armed by the British Government; it is trained and directed by British Officers; and it is paid for by the British taxpayer. There is an old and a true saying that 'he who pays the piper calls the tune.' So entirely does the British Government pay for the piping of the Arab Legion that it must in all fairness be accorded the sole right to call the tune which is piped. The Arab Legion is a military instrument of British policy in the Middle East. The British Government dictates the policy; the Arab Legion carries it out. The present bombardment of Jerusalem is no exception. The responsibility for it and for its consequences rests upon the British Government."

The Rev. Robert L. Lindsey, minister of the Jerusalem Baptist Church, who has both Jews and Arabs in his congregation and, therefore, must attempt

to view the Palestine problem objectively, wrote the following in a letter to the New York Times which was published August 11, 1948:

"...I attended most of the public hearings in Jerusalem, and the majority of the members gave every indication of sincerely attempting to get the truth of the whole problem....

"Basically, two important facts were recognized by the whole committee: the first, that both the Jews and the Arabs had a good case, and the second, that neither group would agree to anything short of some real measure of sovereignty. These two facts seem to be generally overlooked by much of the American public. Stated in another way, the first fact is simply that both Jews and Arabs are right. (I do not want in this letter to enter into the reasons for this statement.) That being true, some compromise was necessary....

"That (the partition) plan was rejected by one of the to-be partners is a matter of history now. But that does not mean that the plan was not the best under the circumstances. Partition is, of course, a fact today by virtue of a war which has seen hard fighting on both sides."

Bringing in by inuendo the communist issue is a technique used by irresponsible elements, but one which I did not think you would use. Surely, you know very well that communist influence in Israel is slight and that her policy regarding Arab refugees, or any other issues, has not been formulated by Moscow. The recent election in Israel should furnish adequate proof. I think you will find it to be a fact that communism has a stronger hold on Arab peoples than it has on Jews. This is understandable because the Jews have democratic forms with which to deal with their social and economic problems. The Arabs do not. In Israel there is debate, hope, progress; in the Arab world there is want, feudal oppression, despair.

It is not surprising to me that communism is getting a strong foothold in many areas where Christian missions and educational institutions have existed for decades. This is due, in no small degree, to the fact that Christian institutions have for one reason or another played along with feudal reaction, so that the miserable social and economic conditions of the masses has been left largely unchanged. Consequently, when a new ideology appeared on the

scene which was more aggressive in its promises and in its determination to divide the field of power, both economic and social, the masses accepted it. The missionaries had, out of the very best of motives, created in the people an unsatisfied hunger for the abundant life. To fill that need, imperial powers, feudal regimes, and western companies doled out the good things of life only in tantalizing amounts. Then came revolt and revolution, but not the democratic form we all want. The same will happen in the Arab world if we pursue the course of supporting the corrupt Arab feudal regimes and forget the masses or do too little to advance their lot.

A bit of evidence that the American University of Beirut is not supporting a program which runs counter to that desired by oil companies was printed last fall in your own bulletin. It stated that Standard Oil of New Jersey was contributing \$50,000 to the American University of Beirut "because of peculiar service rendered to our investments in that area."

In Israel progress is for all the people--Jew and Arab, whether Moslem or Christian. The presence of Israel in the Near East is a victory for democracy and may serve to point the way for the Arab nations--a way which, if followed, will not be totalitarian.

Along with others, you exaggerate the "secular" character of Israel. You say Israeli "leaders have denied the existence of religious influences in their purely secular government." I am quite confident that if you had read the provisional constitution of the State of Israel, you would not make so categorical a statement. Israel has not created a theocracy. It has fashioned a state wherein there is freedom of religion (a principle scarcely understood in Moslem lands). The official status of religion in Israel is certainly no more secular than in the United States with its separation of church and state.

It would seem to me that such a development should elicit praise from Christian educators and missionaries. Even if we granted that Israel is largely secular, should that not provide an opportunity for Christians by faith, work and teaching to demonstrate that Christianity is the creative alternative to secularism? Isn't it poor grace and destructive of Christian goals in such a hostile manner to condemn a people for the fact that many may not be affiliated with any religious institutions? I think it of value at this point to recall that a vital reason for that condition is that "religion" has been the apparent cause of so much conflict and persecution that many Jews have begun to feel that brotherhood and justice (goals of high religion) may more readily be achieved outside the divisive folds of sectarian religion. Christians must bear a large share of the blame for the development of this philosophy. A change will hardly be effected by a display of malice on the part of Christian groups or by the use of the existence of an element of secularism in Israel as a reason for opposing the establishment of the State and for supporting Arab claims.

Very sincerely yours,

Karl Baehr
Executive Secretary

KB:AF

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Rev. Karl Baehr

April 4, 1949

Dr. Henry Smith Leiper
Associate General Secretary
World Council of Churches
297 Fourth Avenue
New York 10, N. Y.

Dear Dr. Leiper:

May I answer your letter of February 25. I have always been a supporter of the World Council of Churches and I will continue to give that support. I cannot, however, accept the implication of your letter that the World Council has dealt fairly or courageously with the question of the Christian responsibility to the Jews.

The Amsterdam statement was shocking to the overwhelming majority of Jews who read it. The issue of Christian responsibility for anti-Semitism which all but destroyed Jewish (and, for that matter, Christian) civilization in Europe was sidestepped by the Assembly. To intimate, as the Amsterdam statement did, that the only solution to the Jewish problem is conversion and the virtual destruction of Judaism is of little comfort to our Jewish brothers.

The World Council might, at least, have emphasized that freedom of religion is a basic human right. Judaism certainly has the right to exist as much as any other religion. Surely, the victory for brotherhood does not hinge upon the universal acceptance of a single religion.

I like to think of the World Council as a cooperative fellowship of the diverse units within the Christian tradition. Somehow, without wiping out the right to carry on missionary activities, some type of cooperative fellowship must be extended to include other religions. There is a likelihood that such a spirit of cooperation will play a part in bringing the world together; antagonistic competition certainly will not.

That your attitude and accusations on the Zionist question have resulted in antagonisms and hostility must be apparent to you. The reasons for this reaction are not difficult to find.

For instance, I never cease to be amazed by the almost naive (if not prejudiced) way in which you and your colleagues from the Near East implicitly rely on every report of "frightful violence employed against Arabs by certain extremist elements of the Jewish people" but never take account of Arab atrocities.

You speak of "whole villages" having been wiped out. The Irgun did wipe out one village, "Deir Yassin," a deplorable action which was vigorously condemned by the vast majority of Jews. But can you list another such instance? You use the plural "villages!" Please name them. Isn't that irresponsible reporting? Such selection of facts cannot build the brotherhood we all want to see established and prevail in the Near East.

I don't like to trade atrocity stories because they scarcely contribute to mutual understanding or to a brotherly solution. But since you mention Jewish atrocities without even hinting that there might have been Arab atrocities, I think it of value to record a few. Have you forgotten the murder of 67 doctors and nurses on Mt. Scopus? Was your Christian conscience sickened by the parade in Gaza where the heads of Jewish boys were proudly carried through the streets? Was it of no importance that Arabs killed six United Nations observers?

You fail to recognize that war itself is an atrocity -- the major atrocity. If the Arab states had not defied a United Nations decision (or "recommendation," whichever you wish to call it) the subsequent atrocities by either side would not have been committed.

In the Federal Council Bulletin for March, 1949, it is stated that the Executive Committee of the World Council of Churches heard "well-documented reports of persecution and ruthless extermination of Christian Arabs by Jewish extremists in Palestine -- not old time residents but newcomers who were not long ago themselves the victims of Nazi methods which now they employ against the former inhabitants of the Holy Land."

I wonder whether these reports were investigated. They conflict completely with other reports from Israel, namely:

In a letter to Trygve Lie, dated March 21, Msgr. Thomas McMahon, of the Catholic Near East Welfare Association, wrote: "On August 20, 1948, we asked you to make an inquiry regarding criminal acts against Christian persons and places during the progress of the Palestinian warfare. The undersigned is happy to report that he personally, after an extended journey in the area, can testify to the genuine desire of the government of Israel to repair the damage done and to maintain proper relations with the religious institutes within its boundaries."

The Rev. H. R. A. Jones, British missionary in Palestine, reported in a letter to Jewish Missionary News, Church Mission to the Jews, October 1948:

"In Jaffa and Tel-Aviv life is now becoming more normal. All but 4000 of the 70,000 Arabs of Jaffa fled just before the Mandate ended, and it is now controlled by the Jews. Miss Brooke, writing from Jaffa says they now have a service every Sunday, and the Jewish authorities know and allow it to go on. It seems the Jews don't mind the missionary work going on, even by British people, as long as they think the workers are their friends and not against them. This in spite of the strong and widespread feeling against Britain in Palestine among the Jews. It now seems that the discrimination shown against the Hebrew Christians in recent months was political rather than religious, and they were suspect not so much because of their faith, but their being connected with the British."

On January 30, 1949, the American Friends Service Committee issued a press release on the report of Dr. Moses Bailey (of Hartford Theological Seminary) who had just returned from a relief work assignment in Israel. It states:

"Dr. Bailey said in his short stay in Israel he had observed many acts of cooperation between the Jews and the Arabs. For instance in Acre a group of Jewish women volunteer to sort the bales of clothing which are given to Arabs, and a Jewish soap manufacturer contributed 3000 pounds of soap to be used by the Committee for Arabs.

"Dr. Bailey commended the Israeli Government for its cooperation. He said the Israeli army provides free truck transportation for Quaker supplies and storage space for supplies is made available whenever possible. He was allowed complete freedom in visiting refugee areas, Dr. Bailey said, and was greeted with great cordiality by all Israeli government officials with whom he came in contact."

Why is it that such reports never come to the attention of either the Federal Council or the World Council of Churches? I trust it is not because the men in responsible positions do not want to hear them.

This week I spoke with a young Christian missionary to the Jews in Israel, the Rev. Robert Lindsey, who is now returning to take up his work in Jerusalem. I was interested to note how his attitudes differ entirely from those harbored by other Near East missionaries and educators. He did not point the finger of scorn at the Jews of Israel, as does the Christian Century, for the fact that a considerable section of their people were secularists. He condemned Arab atrocities along with the Jewish atrocities. He felt, however, that the U.N. decision was a fair and realistic attempt at compromise. He has both Jews and Arabs as members in his congregation. He views the social upheaval within the Jewish world (as evidenced, in part, by this measure of secularism) as an opportunity for the Christian witness to demonstrate that Christianity holds the answers and will reward the believer with a "full life." He believes that Jewish culture can and will be retained by the people even after embracing Christianity. They will thus become another ethnic Christian group.

Many of us may not agree that the disturbance within Judaism is great enough to precipitate a pronounced movement toward Christianity, yet Mr. Lindsey's spirit and his approach are, it seems to me, sociologically and spiritually sound.

How the Christian witness of the World Council can be carried to the Jews when our Christian leaders in Arab areas so completely involve themselves in a conflict on the side of a decadent Arab feudalism and criticize the Israelis because there are secularists in their midst, is beyond me! Such partisanship, even though gladly accepted by the Moslems to serve their ends, is not likely to impress them and cause them to rush to the banners of Christianity. Nor will it win friends among the Jews. Perhaps the World Council ought to ask the very serious question whether Christian institutions in the Near East have not become so involved in compromises with Arab feudalism, with oil politics, possibly even with power politics, that they have lost their real mission.

I wish you would visit Israel, see the work that is being carried on for D.P. Jews, local Arabs and all its citizens. I think you would not be so ready

to "raise your eyebrows" about our statement that Israel "is reflecting the high ethical and moral ideas expressed by the Hebrew prophets."

I am aware that your views are shared to some extent by the American Council for Judaism. I do not believe, though, that this support is a proof of their soundness. As you know, the American Council represents a small group of wealthy Jews who are badly frightened. They feel that they will be safer from the evils of anti-Semitism if they shout long and loud that Jews are simply members of a religious group -- a denomination -- and that Judaism's spiritual mission cannot be lived out if the Jews develop a national state. I know of no reputable sociologist who would agree with them in denying that the Jews represent a distinctive ethnic and cultural as well as a religious group. Nor did the United Nations, or, for that matter, our government, agree with that stand. The existence of the State of Israel will make no difference in their status as citizens of this country owing allegiance only to the United States, and their interest in Israel is to help it to receive and provide a good life for thousands of destitute people, and to found in it a spiritual and cultural center for Jewish life. Nevertheless, the Council for Judaism continues to harp on the false dilemma of dual loyalty, thereby actually serving to stimulate the anti-Semitism they seek to eliminate. I can discover no constructive and brotherly role to be played by Christians in echoing these fears and charges of the Council for Judaism.

To further the cause of understanding, brotherhood and peace, both here and in Israel, I would like to suggest that a meeting be arranged between top Federal Council and World Council leaders who reside in New York, and outstanding Zionist leaders. I am confident such a conference would clarify many issues which today are causing misunderstanding and friction. May I hear from you or your associates at your early convenience concerning such a meeting.

Cordially yours,

Karl Baehr
Executive Secretary

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Rev. Karl Baehr

Dear Friend,

I know you will be interested in the enclosed letters to Dr. Stephen B. L. Penrose, President of the American University of Beirut, and Dr. Henry Smith Leiper, Associate General Secretary of the World Council of Churches.

We had hoped that a spirit of reconciliation concerning the birth of Israel would awaken in our leading Protestant circles, and are sorry to see that such has not happened. The attitude of The Christian Century as expressed in recent editorials, and the recent article by Dr. Harry Sloane Coffin, in Christianity and Crisis, are further testimony to the fact that a most hostile point of view prevails. I trust that the enclosed letters will make a contribution to the creation of understanding and goodwill.

Cordially yours,

Karl Baehr

Karl Baehr
Executive Secretary

KB:M
Enc

AMERICAN CHRISTIAN PALESTINE COMMITTEE

41 EAST 42nd STREET

NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

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EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

Rev. Karl Baehr

April 7, 1949

Dear Friend:

Unfair editorials continue to be printed in The Christian Century. The editorial in the issue of March 16, a copy of which is enclosed, was particularly unjust.

Again we appeal to you to write pointed letters in reply. One of the best answers we have seen appeared in the April 1st issue of The Reconstructionist, a paper "dedicated to the advance of Judaism as a religious civilization, to the up-building of Eretz Yisroel, and to the furtherance of universal freedom, justice and peace."

Please take time to send your message to The Christian Century, 407 S. Dearborn Street, Chicago 5, Ill., and remember also to send us a carbon copy.

Cordially yours,

KB:AF
encl.

Karl Baehr
Executive Secretary

THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY'S CONCERN OVER ISRAEL

The establishment and early achievements of the State of Israel have been hailed with enthusiasm by most of the American press, both secular and religious. A notable exception is the Christian Century. In an editorial in its issue of March 16th, it gives grudging recognition to the military and political achievements of Israel, but views with alarm the spiritual effects of the establishment of the Jewish state. Nowhere does the editorial contain any expression of gratification that, at last, a true home has been established for the homeless remnant of European Jewry, the pitiful few that remain after the slaughter of six million of their brothers by professed Christians in this Christian century, the twentieth century since Christ is supposed to have redeemed mankind. Nowhere is there any note of humility and repentance for the heartless denial to the Jews of an asylum from persecution and annihilation, until they were compelled to fight for their very right to exist. Surely one might at least expect some joy that Israel was victorious in the desperate struggle for life which the sins of Christendom forced upon it. Instead, the editorial writer finds occasion only to indulge in carping criticism and malicious distortion of facts, to justify his own hostility to the aspirations of the Jewish people for a national home.

We cannot expect in this editorial to overcome the prejudice of the Christian Century, but we can expose some of its misstatements of fact and correct its biased interpretations.

The editorial, for example, minimizes the heroism which won victory for the Israeli army over vastly superior numbers. It therefore stresses "the large sums contributed by Zionists in America and Britain, together with the readiness of Russia to make available arms from the Czech munition factories." That the Arab League states had been supplied with ample arms before the outbreak of hostilities, that Great Britain continued to finance the Transjordan government and army even during the war and during the truce, and that every effort was made by Great Britain and the United States to prevent any arms from reaching Israel--these facts are not mentioned.

The editorial's comments on the elections are equally biased and misleading. It tries to point up the political ineptitude of the Israeli population by calling attention to the number of parties in the field, "26--count 'em!--26 parties represented in the balloting for the first parliament!" Actually the number of parties was 21, and the number whose candidates won seats in Parliament was only 12. There was apparently no excessive difficulty experienced by the plurality party, Mapai, in establishing a working coalition which won a vote of confidence for its program by a substantial majority.

But even more significant than what the editorial says about the Israeli elections is what it fails to say. It maintains a sullen silence about the remarkable political maturity shown by the electorate despite the newness of the state. Here was a population of whom a great percentage had never previously participated in any election, a population of mixed race and religion, a population mostly composed of Jews who, according to the editorial writer, "seem prone to bitter internal feuds," and yet, at this first election,

in a time of tension and strife, there were no untoward incidents, and the entire population accepted without question the verdict of the ballot.

The editorial also views with alarm the Marxist "materialism" which is being introduced into Israel by the "'new immigration' now pouring in at a rate of about 250,000 a year--frankly agnostic in its attitude toward all religion, permeated by that absorption in material issues which, whether or not Marxist in name, is Marxist in inheritance, and scornful of the ultra-ritualistic, tradition-bound and backward-looking practices of the religious minority." The distortions of fact contained in this statement reveal all the characteristics of the smear tactic. The fact that most of these immigrants come from lands now under the domination of the Soviet Union, no more means that they are Marxists (a euphemism for Communists) than the fact that Professor Einstein escaped from a Nazi-dominated Germany makes him a Nazi. True, many of these new immigrants are socialists. So is the whole British Labor Party. So are many good Protestant readers of the Christian Century. But does not the Christian Century know that Zionism is proscribed in Russia as a bourgeois movement? True it is, also, that many of the new immigrants (and of the old as well) are "scornful of the ultra-ritualistic, tradition-bound and backward-looking practices of the 'religious' minority." So what? Does that make them atheists?

As a matter of fact, the dominant faith of the entire Yishuv, and especially of its socialistic element, is a profound challenge to materialism. All the material factors seemed arrayed against the fulfilment of the Zionist dreams. That it was nevertheless in great measure fulfilled is due to Israeli faith in the triumph of the spirit, a faith expressed in the popular slogan, "Af al pi ken velamrot hakol" (Nevertheless, despite everything). It is a mistake to say, as does the Christian Century, that "a fanatical confidence in the ability of science and technics to achieve almost any goal the human mind can set," is responsible for the achievements of the Israelis. What is responsible is their spirit of fraternal cooperation, their zeal for freedom and justice, their tender compassion for the suffering of their brothers, their will to live Jewish life at its fullest and best.

We recommend that the editorial writer of the Christian Century read the draft of the Israeli constitution. Let him note the purposes of the State as conceived by the Israelis, their determination to carry on the prophetic tradition of social justice, their concern for the needs of non-Jewish minorities, their reverence for the Sabbath and the holy days of all faiths, their care for the social welfare of all the people.

There remains but one more point on which we must set the editors right and that is in respect to the charge that, after having driven the Arabs out of Israel, the Israelis now refuse to take them in or assume any responsibility for their welfare. The Christian Century says that the Arabs were frightened by statements of radical party leaders and of Premier David Ben-Gurion "that any settlement which gives less than all Palestine to the new state will be regarded as only temporary." That charge against the State of Israel is libelous. That some irresponsible radical leaders have at times spoken in such terms is true, but we challenge the Christian Century to quote the exact words of Premier Ben-Gurion to that effect and to state their source. Perhaps before he was at the head of the Provisional government, he may have claimed all of Palestine for Israel on valid historic grounds, but he certainly made no such claim as Premier.

The proof that the Arabs were not forced to flee in such numbers as claimed is provided by Falujah. Every assurance was given in the armistice terms that the Arabs of Falujah might, if they wished, remain and be unmolested in the possession of their property and the enjoyment of their rights. Nevertheless, although the Conciliation Commission was on the spot and was well aware of the equitable treatment accorded to the Arabs who had remained in Israel, no attempt was made by the Commission to assure the Arabs that it was safe for them to stay, and so they left in a body. Were the men of Falujah driven into exile, as were the Jews whom Hitler had marked for slaughter and who were denied access to their promised national home by Christian Britain?

Not a word of appreciation from the Christian Century for the fact that Israel has offered to compensate Arabs for property they left behind, or for the fact that Arab Israelis enjoy the same civil and political rights as Jews. Not a word about how the Israeli government has shouldered the burden of providing for the education of all Arab children in Arabic-speaking schools, or for the health and other social services rendered to them, and that at a time when the Arab states have not yet made peace with Israel. Compare the treatment of the Arabs in Israel by the Israeli state with the treatment accorded to Japanese in the United States during the war. Yet the Christian Century dares ask: "Will the new Israel serve and spread these spiritual truths (the teachings of the Prophets) or will it smother them under an arrogant nationalism, which despises, when it does not deny, spiritual values?"

Of course, the State of Israel has its problems. Not everything is perfection in Israel, nor will it be. We have not hesitated to criticize aspects of Jewish life there. But we are privileged to do so, because we identify ourselves spiritually with its people and our criticism is self-criticism. The Christian Century has not earned that privilege. It has shown no sympathy with Israel. Let it remove the beam from its own eyes before seeking to remove the mote from the eyes of its brother-faith, for the future of which it expresses such sanctimonious concern.

* * *

ISRAEL AND JUDAISM

Zionist armies have won a surprising and overwhelming victory, and the new state of Israel stands triumphant on the map of the Near East. Weeks or months may be required to settle all the issues still being negotiated with the various members of the Arab League, but the political decision has been reached. Those who contend that war never settles anything may be right if a sufficiently long vista of history is taken into account. But war can bring short-range decisions. It has done so in the Near East. The Zionist nation is a fact and its Arab neighbors are acknowledging it to be such.

This paper has been frankly surprised by the speed and ease of the Zionist victory. When the fighting started, we did not believe that it would be possible for the Zionists to put a well armed force with necessary reserves of munitions in the field for a long time to come, if ever. However, the large sums contributed by Zionists in America and Britain, together with the readiness of Russia to make available arms from the Czech munitions factories, completely changed this side of the picture. At the same time, the Arab states proved to be in a far more advanced stage of inner disintegration than we had realized. The Arab League turned out to be as hollow a simulation as the Zionists contended. When fighting started, the rhetorical zeal for war of Lebanon, Syria, Irak and Saudi Arabia soon showed it had no substance behind it. After his British-led legion occupied the old city of Jerusalem, Abdullah of Transjordan lost interest in further fighting; he never lifted a finger while his Egyptian allies were getting walloped. And the Egyptian army, which looked impressive on paper with its thousands of dandified officers and its superior equipment, proved in action to be like the Rumanian army under the corrupted monarchy.

I.

There is not much point in trying to analyze the causes of Zionist victory. It is the fact that the Zionist state has been established which counts. What is the outlook for this new Israel? What part will it play in the affairs of the Near and Middle East? How will its existence affect the struggle for control of the eastern Mediterranean? And what will its influence be on Judaism? On none of these issues is anything more than a tentative answer possible at this juncture. But all of them deserve to be thought about.

First of all, the whole world needs to realize that a powerful new force has been released in the Semitic world. (It is often forgotten, when Zionism is being discussed, that the Arabs too are Semites. They are, in fact, purer Semites, after these centuries of Jewish dispersion, than the Jews.) This new force which the Zionist victory has turned loose among the Semites is the force of enthusiasm. It is the belief that Kismet can be challenged, the whole aspect of life changed and that there are few impossibles. This enthusiasm expresses itself in a fanatical confidence in the ability of science and technics to achieve almost any goal the human mind can set.

On matters of politics, Israel starts its national career sadly divided. There were 26 -- count 'em -- 26 parties represented in the balloting for the first parliament. If the dialectical proclivities of the youthful immigrants are not curbed, there may be twice that many the next time the nation goes to the polls. But on the wonder-working power of science and technology, and on the will to use this power to the utmost, all but the most rigidly orthodox of the new nation's inhabitants are agreed. This may bring some astonishing material developments in what for centuries has been a poverty-stricken land. The youthful Israelis know that technology will either produce these developments or that their state will be at the mercy of the philanthropic impulses of rich Jews in America, Britain and France. They have no stomach for any such prospect. Hence their enthusiasm for science and its products.

The combination of technological expansion in the towns and cities with the spread of scientific farming in the kibutzim -- the cooperative farming colonies -- will, if it achieves the aims Zionists avow, have even more effect in the surrounding Arab lands than in Israel itself. That is one of the things most feared by the Arab rulers and landlords. They fear that what happened in Turkey may soon, under the impulse of a revived Palestine, happen in these other countries which have stagnated under the dead weight of Islamic tradition. Moreover, they fear that Israel will have a profound cultural influence in all that part of the East. The Zionists can be counted on to stress the importance of universal education, to foster all forms of artistic expression, and to push the emancipation of women as far as it is pushed anywhere else on earth. (So far, in fact, that there will be a minority in Israel who will find that probably the most disquieting aspect of the new state.)

II.

However, it must be borne in mind that the new nation starts its career surrounded by the fear and hatred of its neighbors. American Zionists tend to brush this aside as an unreasonable attitude on the part of the Arabs and to take comfort in a belief that the wise and friendly course of the new government will banish all such feelings. But this fear and hatred are serious factors in the problem faced by the new state, and they should not be left out of account. The fear grows out of the declaration by radical parties in Israel, and by Premier David Ben Gurion, that any settlement which gives less than all Palestine to the new state will be regarded as only temporary. The radical parties go farther; they make the annexation of Transjordan a major plank in their platform. The hatred festers in the hearts of the Arabs who have fled for refuge to the surrounding states.

How many of these Arab refugees are there? God only knows. Estimates vary from 500,000 to 750,000. Here in the office of The Christian Century we are receiving numbers of letters and reports from Christian relief workers among these refugees. We are incapable of conveying any adequate sense of the cumulative effect of these reports. They reflect one of the most terrible human tragedies in

this brutal period. Israel refuses to acknowledge any responsibility for these refugees. It argues that there was no reason for the Arab flight; that it was organized by Arab leaders to clear the fighting areas for an expected massacre of Jews; that those who fled expected to return in the wake of victorious Arab armies and possess themselves of the loot from Jewish homes.

But this is not the tale these refugees tell the Christian workers in their pitiful camps. Without exception, they say they fled in terror, especially after the massacre at Deir Yassin. That was a horror worse than Lidice, for in Lidice only the men and boys were slaughtered. The Israeli attitude seems to be: "It is of course too bad that so many Arabs have suffered so needlessly. But they suffered by their own choice, and having once left this country they cannot come back. The Arab states must look after them from this point on. We regard their departure as a lucky break in helping to solve our immigration problem." Dr. Aubrey S. Eban, Israel's representative at the United Nations, took this position in speaking before the Chicago Council on Foreign Relations the other day. He said that Israel would settle the question of Arab return by giving "priority to the principle of demographic consistency." Which moved the Chicago Daily News to comment editorially: "The 'principle of demographic consistency' was applauded by an audience in which almost every member would have been shocked if it had been called racial and religious discrimination."

It is going to take a long time indeed, with very great wisdom and many proofs of active friendship, for Israel to overcome this surrounding fear and hatred.

III.

Something should be said about the political outlook within the new state. How will a government function when it starts with 26 parties for a population smaller than that of Maine? It is hard to tell. Already there are deep internal cleavages, although these are naturally covered up as much as possible from outside eyes. But the rift between Dr. Weizmann and Premier Ben Gurion has been out in the open for years. For some reason which we have never understood, Jewish organizations seem prone to bitter internal feuds. (Witness the rows which periodically rock the Zionist organizations in this country; one of them is at the height of its fury right now.) As the government of Israel tries to carry out a policy of neutrality in world affairs, and in domestic affairs a policy of compromise between a capitalistic development of industry and a socialistic development of agriculture, what will happen? We don't know. But the pathway will not be smooth.

IV.

We have a deeper concern, however, with regard to the effect which the victory of the new state will have on Judaism. We regard Judaism as one of the main sources of man's spiritual illumination, its lawgivers and prophets as the lineal forerunners of Jesus the Christ, and its scriptures as the rich soil in which was nurtured that harvest

of eternal truth which is garnered in the New Testament. The ethical insight of the great Hebrew prophets is as applicable to the needs of men in this century as it was to the needs of men in the eighth century B.C. Will this new Israel serve and spread these spiritual truths, or will it smother them under an arrogant nationalism which despises, when it does not deny, spiritual values?

There is a fateful problem here which only a few great Jewish leaders, such as the late Judah Magnes, have perceived. Unfortunately, in Palestine itself the coming struggle for control is going to find the most aggressive and productive citizenship -- particularly the "new immigration" now pouring in at a rate of about 250,000 a year -- frankly agnostic in its attitudes toward all religion, permeated by that absorption in material issues which, whether or not Marxist in name, is Marxist by inheritance, and scornful of the ultra-ritualistic, tradition-bound and backward-looking practices of the "religious" minority. Aside from the influence of the Hebrew University and possibly of a handful of congregations in Tel Aviv and in the new city of Jerusalem, Judaism in Israel will be largely represented by the most belated and anti-progressive forces in the population.

The result may prove unfortunate for Judaism, the faith of the prophets, in two ways. In Palestine it may confirm the vigorous and (in the main) youthful portion of the population in its belief that the highest destiny of the Jew is to establish another nationalism in a world already cursed by too many and too self-assertive nationalisms. At the present moment, the general feeling in Jewish circles in western Europe and the western hemisphere is of rejoicing that Judaism now has a state of its own to which any Jew who feels in peril or barred from opportunity can go and demand security and a satisfying livelihood as his right. But if the immigrant finds himself in a community where the achievement of nationhood is exalted as the supreme good and worship is shunted aside as a curious or even unwelcome hangover from a discarded past, how long will this transplanted being retain the one element in his life which gives it distinctive meaning?

But there is another thing this triumph of Jewish nationalism may do to Judaism outside Palestine. It may further emasculate the religious contribution of the universal religion of Judaism to the spiritual purification and strengthening of Western society. This is too big a subject to be treated here as it deserves. Yet it cannot be allowed to go without mention. Worship in Jewish congregations in this country has frequently tended in recent years to oscillate between ritualistic forms with debatable constructive influence and synagogical "sermons" that were preoccupied either with the ill-treatment suffered by Jews or with the passing political and cultural parade. Aside from the high holy days, a reader of temple sermon topics gets the impression that many congregations hear less about Isaiah than about Tennessee Williams, Louis Bromfield and Bertrand Russell. To the extent to which the members and rabbis of such congregations now become absorbed in the support of a national state which is neutral toward, and largely indifferent to, the fate of Judaism as a faith, to that extent the remarkable triumph now culminating in the emergence on history's stage of the new Israel may turn out to be one of the darkest tragedies in the record of Judaism.

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PRESS RELEASE

AMERICAN CHRISTIAN PALESTINE COMMITTEE

41 EAST 42nd STREET

NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

• MURRAY HILL 2-4917 •

This organization combines the American Palestine Committee and the Christian Council on Palestine, and continues the work of both organizations.

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

AMERICAN CHRISTIAN PALESTINE COMMITTEE

IS SPONSORING STUDY TOUR IN ISRAEL

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OUTSTANDING CHRISTIAN CLERGYMEN, EDITORS AND PUBLIC FIGURES
HAVE BEEN INVITED TO PARTICIPATE IN TWO WEEKS' SEMINAR WHICH BEGINS ON MAY 1ST

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New York, April 12 -- Rev. Karl Baehr, executive secretary of the American Christian Palestine Committee, announced that an outstanding group of distinguished American Christians have been invited to participate in a two weeks' Study Tour in Israel. The group will depart for the Jewish State on April 20th via the "Queen Mary". After short stop-overs in Paris and Rome, they will convene in Tel Aviv on May 1st for an unprecedented Study Tour that will include every point of interest in the Holy Land.

It has been learned from Rev. Baehr that the Study Tour of Israel has been made available to a carefully selected group of prominent educators, editors, churchmen and public figures who have been long interested in the Palestine problem and the growth of Israel. The American Christian Palestine Committee, the sponsoring agency of the Tour, comprises a membership of several thousand leading Christians in the United States. It is headed by U. S. Senator Owen Brewster of Maine and U. S. Senator Robert F. Wagner of New York.

According to the announcement of the American Christian Palestine Committee, the study group will be given an opportunity to view at first hand the various problems now facing Israel, and to appraise the future prospects of the Jewish

(more)

State as an independent nation among the nations of the world.

It was announced that special arrangements have been made with the Israeli Government to place all of its facilities at the disposal of American members of the study group. The two weeks' Study Tour throughout Israel will give the American visitors a maximum opportunity to seek and visit those places in which they evince a personal interest. It will not be a guided tour, Rev. Baehr disclosed. Participants in the Study seminar will be free to travel wherever they choose during the several days available to them on their tour agenda.

Particular points of study will include visits at government agencies, farm settlements, holy places, educational institutions, theaters and military encampments, and appointments with highly placed government officials.

On April 19th, the American Christian Palestine Committee official pointed out, a "get-together" luncheon will be held in the Hotel Barbizon of New York City to introduce all the participants to their colleagues and to orient them with the numerous features of their Study Tour.

Participants in the Israel seminar will include: Hon. Stanley W. Church, mayor of New Rochelle, New York; Marshall N. Dana, editor of the Oregon Journal of Portland, Oregon; Mrs. Louise S. Freese, feature writer for the Sioux City Journal Tribune of Sioux City, Iowa; Judge George E. Holt, Circuit Judge for the 11th Judicial Circuit of Florida; Spencer D. Irwin, associate editor of the Cleveland Plain Dealer; Dr. John Paul Jones, minister of the Union Church of Brooklyn, New York; Dean Thomas C. Pollock of New York University, dean of the Washington Square College of Arts and Sciences; Rev. Reuben K. Youngdahl, prominent clergyman from Minneapolis, Minnesota; and Rev. Karl Baehr, executive secretary of the American Christian Palestine Committee.

April 13, 1949

Reverend Karl Baehr
Executive Secretary, American Christian
Palestine Committee
41 East 42nd Street
New York 17, New York

My dear Reverend Baehr:

I have just finished reading the two letters which you
addressed to Dr. Penrose and to Dr. Leiper. They are
splendid.

Most cordially yours,

ABBA HILLEL SILVER

AHS:rlh

'TRUTH' GOAL SET FOR ISRAEL TOUR

**Dr. C. H. Voss Asks Study Group
to Get Facts to Dispel
'Misinformation' Here**

Eleven persons who will visit Israel and neighboring areas on a "study tour" under the sponsorship of the American Christian Palestine Committee were urged yesterday to bring back the truths that would dispel "misinformation and untruths about Israel."

Dr. Carl Hermann Voss, chairman of the group's executive council, spoke at a luncheon at the Barbizon Hotel for the delegates, who will sail today on the Queen Mary.

The delegates, to whose expenses local affiliates of the committee have contributed, include the following:

The Rev. Karl Baehr, executive secretary of the committee; Mayor Stanley W. Church of New Rochelle, N. Y.; Marshall N. Dana, editor of The Oregon Journal, Portland; Mrs. Louise S. Freese, columnist on The Sioux City (Iowa) Journal-Tribune; Judge George E. Holt of Florida's Eleventh Judicial Circuit; Spencer D. Irwin, associ-

ate editor of The Cleveland Plain Dealer; Dean Thomas Clark Pollock of the Washington Square College of Arts and Sciences, New York University, and the Rev. Reuben K. Youngdahl, pastor of Mount Olivet Lutheran Church, Minneapolis.

Three others who will make the trip were unable to attend yesterday's "bon voyage luncheon." They are W. W. Edel, president of Dickinson College; the Rev. Harvey W. Hollis, executive secretary of the Albany Council of Churches, and the Rev. Dr. John Paul Jones, minister of the Union Church of Bay Ridge, Brooklyn.

"You are going with open minds and sensitive spirits, but with no preconceived notions or pre-established conclusions," Dr. Voss said. "We ask you to return with only one requirement fulfilled: come with facts and established truths so that misinformation and untruths about Israel may be dispelled."

"Too often is Israel inaccurately and inadequately interpreted; too many times is Israel unjustly accused of wrong-doing and unfairly described to the general public. By your reports you can right the balance."

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CHICAGO EDUCATOR
DENIES RED CHARGEPresident of Roosevelt College
Testifies He Knows of No
Faculty CommunistsBy GEORGE ECKEL
Special to The New York Times

SPRINGFIELD, Ill., April 22—Dr. Edward J. Sparling, President of Roosevelt College, Chicago, today told the Illinois Seditious Activities Investigation Commission that there were no Communists on the Roosevelt College faculty so far as he knew.

The commission is investigating alleged subversive activities at the college and at the University of Chicago.

Yesterday Chancellor Robert M. Hutchins of the University of Chicago said there were no subversive activities at his institution. The hearings of the commission, which opened yesterday, are scheduled to end tomorrow.

Today's only other witness, the Rev. Dr. John B. Thompson, dean of Rockefeller Memorial Chapel at the University of Chicago, said he was not, and never had been a Communist, and that he opposed communism.

Questioning of Dr. Thompson dealt largely with his chairmanship of the American Peace Mobilization in 1940 and 1941, and its change of policy after Hitler's attack on Russia on June 28, 1941. Dr. Thompson denied that Communists dictated this change.

Dies Aide Interrogates
The fifteen-man commission is headed by State Senator Paul Broyles, Republican, of Mt. Vernon. Dr. J. B. Matthews of New York, chief investigator of the commission, and former research director of the Dies (House Un-American Activities) Committee, is questioning the witnesses.

There was evidence today, following similar indications last night, that at least three members of the commission disagree with some of their colleagues as to the conduct of the hearings. They are Senators Roland V. Libonati and Norman Barry, Democrats, of Chicago, and State Representative Charles J. Jenkins, Republican, of Chicago.

Last night Senator Libonati advised Senator Broyles, in the chair, to rule that a student witness not be required to answer a question on whether he would fight for the United States in the event of a war with Russia. A commission vote upheld this position.

Today Mr. Jenkins objected to some of Dr. Matthews' questions to Dr. Sparling as "confusing," and asked that no reflections be cast on college personnel not in the witness stand.

Einstein, Mann Cited
The names of Nobel Prize winners Albert Einstein and Thomas Mann were brought into the hearings today by Dr. Matthews.

Both scholars are members of the Roosevelt College advisory board. As refugees from a totalitarian slave state, he asked, did they not show "abuse of their citizenship to turn around and sponsor almost endlessly the organizations of another form of totalitarianism," namely organizations linked by the Attorney General as Communist fronts?

Dr. Sparling replied: "They have the right to join, as their conscience dictates, organizations the purpose of which their understanding leads them to accept."

Dr. Sparling said both the faculty and the student body at Roosevelt College represented "many shades of political opinion," as political opinions were not a criterion for engagement or admission, nor were race, creed or color.

The books studied in the social sciences include a few of the literary products of communism and fascism, but this is standard procedure in all American colleges, and no more indicates indoctrination than does the fact that the Chemistry Department studies poisons," he said.

Dr. Sparling said that the university allowed Gerhart Eisler, the so-called "No. 1 United States Communist," to address a student body on two occasions and that the college's policy of airing all views was vindicated by the drastic drop in attendance from the first to second appearance. Dr. Matthews asked:

"Does freedom of speech mean you must provide a man with a platform or a radio microphone?"

"Not necessarily," replied Dr. Sparling, "but freedom of students to hear all sides does."

Questioning of Dr. Thompson, a Presbyterian minister, touched on twenty-four-hour picketing of the White House from May 6 to June 21, 1941, by the American Peace Mobilization.

Dr. Thompson said that it had been arranged in advance between Frederick Vanderbilt Field, executive secretary of the APM, and Stephen S. Early, White House secretary, to end the picketing on June 21. The coincidence of the date with the Hitler attack on Russia was "an amazing coincidence," he said.

Dr. Thompson said, "nobody made any bones about the fact that there were Communists" in the APM, but that he accepted the chairmanship only after a test vote showed they were not "dominant" in the group.

2 Crime Hangings Postponed

FRANKFORT, Germany, April 22 (AP)—Army headquarters said today that a stay of execution had been granted to two convicted war criminals who were scheduled to hang today at Landsberg prison. No reason was given. They were George Schallmaier, master sergeant convicted of having beaten to death several inmates of Dachau concentration camp, and Hermann Dammann, member of the Home Guard, who was sentenced for his part in slaying a United States pilot who parachuted near Neu Wulmendorf, Germany, on June 20, 1944.

THE ILL-EQUIPPED DANISH ARMY MAKES IMPROVISATIONS



Men moving timber from the forests to construct an assault bridge during maneuvers

RED INVASION PLAN
REPORTED AT TRIAL

Continued From Page 1

chief instrument of "imperialism," against which war would be justified.

He said this teaching was based on a post-war "outline" that included readings in the Comintern program and in the writings of Communist leaders. Besides Marx and Lenin, these included Premier Joseph Stalin of the Soviet Union and the Americans, William Z. Foster and Eugene Dennis.

Mr. Foster is national chairman and Mr. Dennis general secretary of the Communist party in this country. Mr. Dennis is one of the eleven members of the American Politburo, or ruling group, being tried for conspiracy to teach and advocate overthrow and destruction of the United States Government by force and violence.

Mr. Nicodemus quoted Albert Lannon, a member of the party's national committee and director of the party for Maryland and Washington, D. C., and Arthur Schusterman, a Cumberland Communist, on plans for timing a revolution to fit Russian preparedness. He said they made these statements at a secret party meeting in Cumberland in the summer of 1945.

"Invasion" Is Explained

The witness said he asked how the Russians could invade the United States without a navy.

"Lannon said," the witness continued, "the Red Army had 500,000 men in Siberia and the Russians were strengthening their forces there. He said they had a good air force and were building air strips. When the time came, he said, they could invade the United States through Alaska and Canada and destroy Detroit."

"Lannon said the boys in the Pentagon Building, by which he later said he meant the American general staff, had already planned war with Russia and all they had to do was iron out the details. In the event of war, Lannon said the party would have to adopt a policy of sabotage not only for war industry but for all industry."

Mr. Nicodemus said this would demoralize the population so they couldn't support a war.

The witness said sabotage was discussed at other party meetings he attended.

Mr. Nicodemus said he quit the party in 1946 because of "abuse" he had to take for opposing the party line on seniority in his union, when the Communists insisted that recently hired Negroes should be retained in the plant after the war regardless of seniority.

Later, the witness said, he received a letter instructing him to appear at a special committee meeting on the seniority question, but did not attend this or any other party trial.

Judge Rebukes Defendants
Federal Judge Harold R. Medina rebuked the defendants for smiling derisively in the presence of the jury when Mr. Nicodemus testified about Communist plans for a Russian invasion.

"All the defendants are smiling broadly," the judge said. "This may seem very funny to them; they seem to enjoy it. But I'm not going to have any country-club atmosphere in this court."

Richard Gladstein of defense counsel said the defendants had a right to "smile their contempt" at such "ludicrous" testimony.

John Gates, editor of The Daily Worker and one of the defendants, got up and asked:

"Does your honor forbid us to smile? It's bad enough to forbid us to think."

"You are evidently a very bold man; you get up and have your say," the judge replied. "But I'm not going to have any hilarity in this court. I'm going to insist on order in the court."

Defense counsel charged the judge with judicial misconduct for this and other comments, as they do almost daily. At one point, in an argument after the judge had overruled the defense on the admissibility of evidence, the judge said:

"I can't stop you lawyers from calling me names and saying I'm prejudiced and you can keep on doing that until the cows come home, but I'm going to continue to make my rulings in the interests of justice."

A few minutes later the judge ruled in favor of the defense by striking out testimony given by Mr. Nicodemus Tuesday on Communist orders to map the Celanese plant at the time of the Hitler-Stalin pact. The judge found the prosecution had failed to link this with the defendants.

On cross-examination by Harry Sacher of defense counsel, Mr. Nicodemus admitted he had been arrested in Pittsburgh in January, 1948, on a charge of carrying concealed weapons. He said he had



A reconnaissance scout uses an improvised raft

Loyalty Rallies to Rival May Day March Set
In 5 Cities, With 100,000 Likely in Event Here

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, April 22—Loyalty Day parades and other ceremonies to rival the traditional Communist May Day demonstrations were being arranged in at least five cities, leaders of a new country-wide movement announced here today.

The New York parade on Saturday, April 30, will rally about 100,000 marchers, sponsors predict. Demonstrations in other cities will be held on May 1. There will be parades in Boston, Trenton, N. J., and Los Angeles, and possibly in Chicago, Philadelphia and Pittsburgh. In Buffalo special ceremonies are planned.

The national parade committee chairman is Maurice J. Tobin, Secretary of Labor, who also will be grand marshal of the New York parade.

The director of the movement is Peter W. Hogue, New York lawyer.

Frank King, secretary, said marchers would be drawn primarily from labor and veterans organizations. Governors are being asked

first pleaded guilty, but at a hearing in May had been allowed to withdraw the plea and was found not guilty, though he had to pay the costs of the prosecution.

He said he signed statements about Communist activities for an agent of the Federal Bureau of Investigation between the time of his arrest and the court appearance, but denied the agent made any representations about getting the Pittsburgh charge dismissed.

"Brazen" Counsel Warned
In the course of cross-examination Judge Medina rebuked defense counsel for trying to induce the jury to disregard the judge's instructions as to the meaning of the evidence.

"Maybe the jury will forget what I tell them as a result of what you say," the judge said, "but not while I have my breath. I've never known of a case where counsel were so brazen in doing this sort of thing. As I've warned you before, you are now treading on very dangerous ground."

Mr. Herron, who lives in Little Rock, Ark., said he was working in the Douglas aircraft plant in Chicago and was a member of the United Automobile Workers, CIO, when he began reading The Daily Worker and later joined the Communist party. While still a party member, he said, he transferred to the Stewart Warner plant, and the United Electrical Workers, CIO.

Before he joined the party, he said, FBI agents visited him. Thereafter, he said, he conferred regularly with the FBI and turned in regular reports until he left the party by stopping payment of dues in 1947.

He identified Gilbert Green, the party's Illinois chairman, and one of the defendants, as having arranged his transfer from one party club to another. It was at the new club, he said, that he studied the "outline" on Marxist-Leninist revolutionary teachings in a six-week lecture and discussion course in 1946. He said the "outline" was issued by the party's Illinois committee.

He said he had been arrested in Pittsburgh in January, 1948, on a charge of carrying concealed weapons. He said he had

STOP WORLD DRIVE,
ISRAEL IS WARNEDL. J. Rosenwald Tells Judaism
Council Nationalists Would
Control Jews Here

Special to The New York Times

CHICAGO, April 22—A warning that "Israel must cease and desist in its efforts to establish itself on a world-wide 'Jewish' nationalism that is shattering the basis of our American national integration" was voiced here today by Lessing J. Rosenwald of Jenkintown, Pa., president of the American Council for Judaism.

In support of his demand he described these developments in Palestine as fulfillment "in the garb of deep tragedy" predictions of the council for which he said had been "villified and ridiculed."

"The creation and recognition of a sovereign state of Israel has, with alarming speed, tremendously intensified the Jewish nationalists' desire to control our lives and to advance their claim that all Jews possess a 'Jewish' nationality such as has been achieved already in Israel and imposed upon Jews in Arab lands."

"A million Jews [in Arab lands] are today so oppressed that they form a potential of new displaced persons and refugees."

Mr. Rosenwald, who is serving his fifth term as council president, said that the organization had "repeatedly implored our fellow Jews and our own Government to recognize the possibilities of that tragedy as an inevitable consequence of the 'Jewish' nationalists' definition of Jews."

Outline of Goals Planned
"In America, we are Jews by religion, Americans by nationality, and our American national integration must not be impeded by any rights in or responsibilities to a separate 'Jewish' nationalism," Mr. Rosenwald said in restating the "essential American principles" for which the Council "alone has stood steadfast" during "six difficult years."

Mr. Rosenwald's charges were contained in his annual report, delivered to the Council at the opening session of its three-day annual conference. The 200 delegates, rabbis and laymen, representing chapters in twenty-five states and forty cities, are to draft a new statement of the group's objectives in the light of the emergency of the Israeli state.

Members of the Council, Mr. Rosenwald told the delegates, "always knew that a so-called 'Jewish' state was not an end in itself, but only a step in the realization of a total program designed by 'Jewish' nationalism in Palestine."

"As Americans," he said, "we cannot afford to be stumped into losing the continuing struggle with 'Jewish' nationalism in the United States, in our national homeland."

Mr. Rosenwald charged that "the political representatives of Israel have persistently spoken of 'Jews' rather than of 'Israelis'."

"They have continued to involve Jews in Israel's territorial and political problems," he said, "Emissaries of the Israeli state are in every nation of the world, mobilizing the financial resources of Jews to support the 'national home of the Jewish people'."

'Line of Control' Traced
Mr. Rosenwald charged further that the Jerusalem section of the Jewish Agency, of which Eliezer Kaplan, Israel Minister of Finance, is a member, had imposed its "solution" upon "both the United Jewish Appeal and the United Palestine Appeal."

"The line of control now runs directly from the Israeli Government to the Jewish Agency to the United Palestine Appeal," he said. "Many organizations of Jews have moved closer to the position of the council during the past year, Mr. Rosenwald declared."

"Even the Zionist organizations have in some instances urged political separation," he said, "but all of them, however, admit and encourage a mutuality of national rights and responsibilities between Israel and Jews who are nationals of other countries."

"They all participate in efforts to mobilize emigration from America; in the organization of youth training camps; on the indoctrination of our youth and adults with Jewish nationalism; in insisting that American Jews are 'obligated' to finance the establishment of the State of Israel, a process which they believe will require from ten to twenty years."

"Zionism can no longer be excused as humanitarian. It will be recognized as the active participation in a foreign nationalism which it is."

Rabbi Elmer Berger of New York, national executive director of the council, spoke in similar vein, urging American Jews not to link their religion with nationalism.

"Jewish nationalism is mechanistic philosophy founded on the thesis of the inevitability and determinism of anti-Semitism," he said. "Where that determinism does not exist, Jewish nationalism is committed to create it by molding minds and conditions of separation which support their thesis."

He described as short-sighted and disastrous the concept that "to be a Jew one must now sacrifice freedom of political decisions and join a pro-Israel, pro-Zionist bloc."

Russians in Anti-Franco Rallies
Special to The New York Times
MOSCOW, April 22—The press reported today a series of mass meetings in factory plants in support of the Women's Anti-Fascist Committee appeal to the United Nations against Generalissimo Francisco Franco of Spain. The meetings demanded that the United States, Britain and France break all diplomatic and economic ties with Spain.Iran Sentences Tudeh Members
TEHRAN, Iran, April 22 (AP)—Military courts have sentenced twenty members of the leftist Tudeh party to terms of from one to ten years in prison. It was announced today. The defendants were charged with activities against the constitutional monarchy and the "diffusion of Marxist ideology."2 U. S. DESTROYERS CRASH
One Man Is Injured in Accident
50 Miles Southeast of Oahu

HONOLULU, April 22 (AP)—Two American destroyers were in collision fifty miles southeast of Oahu today during routine tactical exercises. The Navy said that one man suffered minor injuries in the crash.

The Fechteler had a ten-foot hole ripped in the port side aft, the Navy said, while the Leonard Mason had one forward tank flooded. Both vessels proceeded to Pearl Harbor Navy Base under their own power, it added.

Arab League Crisis Held Result
Of Zayim's Recent Coup in SyriaMoves Toward Close Cooperation Arouse
Suspicion—Recognition of New Regime
by U. S., Britain and France Seen NearBy SAM POPE BREWER
Special to The New York Times

BEIRUT, Lebanon, April 22—The Arab League faces a major crisis as a result of the Syrian coup, a reliable Arab source here declared tonight.

The Arab states have been working hard to patch up the unity they had achieved momentarily at the beginning of the war with Israel, but lost again through conflicts of national and dynastic ambitions. The coup of Gen. Husni Zayim would appear at first glance to be a move toward unity as one of its immediate results was closer Syrian relations not only with Iraq and Transjordan but also with Turkey.

Lebanon was nervous about it from the first, and there have been daily editorials in the press here on the dangers of a "greater Syria" or a "fertile crescent" project involving the union of Syria with her neighbors, Iraq and Transjordan.

King Farouk of Egypt also has always vehemently opposed any such move as giving to the Hashemite family a too predominant position in the Middle East.

General Zayim has formally disclaimed any intention of carrying out a greater Syria or "fertile crescent" project. However, he has taken concrete steps toward strengthening his ties with Iraq. The visit of the Iraqi Premier Nuri-Said to Damascus last week-end produced the statement Syria and Iraq would stand together against aggression. It is widely reported here that a military alliance is imminent.

In Damascus a commission is also studying an economic convention with Iraq.

The paradoxical result of all these moves toward closer cooperation has been to arouse the suspicion and hostility of other neighbors. General Zayim's surprise visit to Farouk in Cairo yesterday is believed to have been for the purpose of reassuring the Egyptian King that the Syrian Premier did not intend to precipitate matters.

Iraq in turn has reacted to that visit, it is understood, and therein lies the possibility of a crisis in the Arab League. The report in Arab circles here tonight is that if the other Arab League countries attempted to use pressure against General Zayim's efforts to strengthen his relations with Iraq and Transjordan, Iraq would refuse to take part in any further activities of the League.

The Arab press has been reporting for some time that Iraq intended to ask a meeting of the Arab League's political council to revise the League's statutes. This is believed to bear chiefly on the League's hostility to bilateral treaties between its members. The League was formed in 1945, and an article forbidding such treaties was dropped after much discussion. The League has always opposed such treaties.

It appears evident from here that sentiment for the union of the "fertile crescent" countries, Syria, Iraq and Transjordan, is growing. However, simultaneously and because of that growth, opposition is crystallizing. What has been a dream is approaching the status of a possibility, and those opposed to it are becoming correspondingly more vigorous.

Though union would be a great element of strength for the countries concerned, it would not suit Egypt's or Saudi Arabia's national ambitions nor the personal ambitions of some of the politicians who would be affected.

The Lebanese meanwhile are continuing a series of visits to cement their own relations both with the new Syrian regime and with other League states. Premier Riad es-Soh is going to Damascus and Baghdad in the near future. Camille Chamoun, former Lebanese Foreign Minister, also has been invited to Damascus this week-end as General Zayim's guest, according to a Damascus report. Mohammed Ali Chamde, heading the political department of the Lebanese Foreign Office, visited Cairo only last week for consultations.

Farouk Promises Support
DAMASCUS, Syria, April 22 (AP)—King Farouk has promised material and moral support for the new Syrian regime, it was announced officially today. Recognition by Egypt and other Arab nations was regarded here as imminent.

King Farouk's aide, Mohamed Hilmi Bey, accompanied General Zayim on his flight back to Damascus. Egyptian Spitfires flew along as an escort.

French Recognition Expected
Special to The New York Times
PARIS, April 22—Confirming earlier unofficial reports, French Foreign Minister Robert Schuman told a news conference here today that France would recognize General Zayim's regime some time next week when similar action is expected from Britain and the United States.

The new rate is to apply to all permissible foreign trade and exchange transactions, including those for which the military conversion rate is now applicable, according to the announcement issued by the National Military Establishment here tonight.

The military establishment described the move as "a major step" in the nine-point economic stabilization program for Japan outlined by General MacArthur on Dec. 19.

"The establishment of a rate has been eagerly awaited by both private and Government circles," said the Military Establishment, "and its announcement at this time reflects progress made by the Japanese towards economic stabilization, including recent Diet action on the Japanese fiscal year 1949-50 budget."

It is expected, according to the announcement, that the new exchange rate will not only help restore normal foreign trade but also speed the program to nationalize Japanese industries.

Exchange rates of the yen with other currencies will be based on the official United States dollar values of those currencies as registered with the International Monetary Fund. The action does not change existing restrictions on conversion of yen to foreign currencies or on the holding of foreign currencies.

REYNAUD SAYS REDS
THREATEN ALL EAST
Special to The New York Times
WASHINGTON, April 22—Paul Reynaud, the French war-time Premier who is now on a visit to this country, discussed today the recent incursion of Chinese Communist troops into Indo-China, and their repulse by French troops.

The Chinese "poured" across the frontier to help the natives in their fight against French authority, he stated. The Chinese forces included at least some regular Communist troops, he added, and, although they were repulsed, "this is still a danger for the future."

In fact, he declared, the Communist victories in China have created a "very dangerous" situation for French Indo-China and also for Siam, British Malaya, Burma, India and the Dutch East Indies.

M. Reynaud, who has come to the United States to address the International Chamber of Commerce in New York next Wednesday and make other addresses, called today upon Secretary of State Dean Acheson and Secretary of the Treasury John W. Snyder. He will be received on Monday by President Truman and by Paul G. Hoffman, European Cooperation Administrator.

Israel Frees Arab Prisoners
JERUSALEM, April 22 (Reuters)—The Israeli Army here today turned over to the Arab Legion about 350 Arab prisoners of war who had been held in Israeli camps.ISRAEL TO LAUNCH
AUSTERITY PROJECTPremier Ben-Gurion, Leaving
Defense Post, Expected to
Head Economic BoardBy GENE CURRIVAN
Special to The New York Times

TEL AVIV, Israel, April 22—Israel is about to launch an austerity program in connection with her four-year reconstruction plan. There is little doubt that Premier David Ben-Gurion, who is relinquishing his post as Minister of Defense, will head the economic board that has been proposed.

The board will consist of representatives of the Ministries of Finance, Trade, Industry, Labor and Supply and Rationing. It will be its duty to coordinate economic processes for the ultimate purpose of reducing the high cost of living, combating inflation and making the four-year export program possible. At the moment costs and wages are so exorbitantly high that this country cannot compete in the export field.

In the face of limited foreign exchange and local resources, it is difficult for this country, approaching its first anniversary, to develop the trade needed for internal rehabilitation unless all its potentialities are correlated.

Up to now there has been little control and much overlapping of departments and ministries. It has been recognized that costs must be cut and expenses reduced to a minimum if the comprehensive four-year plan is to be successful. Arterial highways are to be built, extensive housing programs to be carried out and an extremely ambitious irrigation plan to be realized in four years.

It is an absorption and development program such as few countries have ever faced. It means bringing in another 800,000 Jews during the next four years and providing adequate living conditions for them. This is, of course, in addition to the 800,000 or more now in the country trying to adjust themselves.

It is felt that such a general campaign as was necessary for the prosecution of the war and for that reason it is believed that Mr. Ben-Gurion has been selected to carry it out. It is expected that complete plans for the austerity program will be presented to the Knesset (Assembly) for confirmation within a week.

New Norway Envoy to U.S.S.R.
Special to The New York Times
OSLO, Norway, April 22—C. J. Helgeby has been appointed Norwegian Ambassador to Moscow. The new envoy, who is 54, had been head of the Norwegian military mission to Berlin. He succeeds H. C. Berg.

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PRESS RELEASE

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This organization combines the American Palestine Committee and the Christian Council on Palestine, and continues the work of both organizations.

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

U.S. CHRISTIAN STUDY GROUP, ON TOUR OF PALESTINE,

UNABLE TO GAIN ENTRY TO OLD CITY OF JERUSALEM

- - - - -

GROUP INCLUDES 3 JOURNALISTS, MAYOR, JUDGE,

2 UNIVERSITY OFFICIALS AND CHRISTIAN RELIGIOUS LEADERS

- - - - -

New York -- An American group of educators, clergymen, editors and public figures -- on a Study Tour in Israel -- were prevented from visiting the Old City of Jerusalem, despite strong appeals made to members of the American Consular Service and UN representatives. This information was received today in a wire from the Reverend Karl Baehr, Executive Secretary of the American Christian Palestine Committee and himself a member of the study group. The American Christian Palestine Committee is the sponsoring organization of the two-week Study Tour which was just completed in Israel.

Among the group seeking to visit and report on conditions in the Old City (now under the control of the Transjordan Arab Legion) were three American journalists: Marshall N. Dana, editor of the Oregon Journal of Portland, Oregon; Spencer D. Irwin, associate editor of the Cleveland Plain Dealer of Cleveland, Ohio; and Mrs. Louise S. Freese, special feature writer for the Sioux City Journal-Tribune of Sioux City, Iowa. Other members of the study seminar barred from the historic Old City, where many of the Christian shrines and holy places are located, were: Hon. Stanley W. Church, mayor of New Rochelle, New York; Dr. William W. Edel, president of Dickinson College, Carlisle, Pennsylvania; Rev.

(more)

Harvey W. Hollis, executive secretary of the Albany Council of Churches, Albany, New York; Judge George E. Holt, Circuit Judge for the 11th Judicial Circuit of Florida; Dr. John Paul Jones, minister of the Union Church of Brooklyn, New York; Dean Thomas C. Pollock of New York University, dean of the Washington Square College of Arts and Sciences; Rev. Reuben K. Youngdahl, prominent clergyman from Minneapolis, Minnesota; and Rev. Karl Baehr, executive secretary of the American Christian Palestine Committee.

The seminar group, which left the United States on April 20th, was given the full cooperation of the Israeli Government in seeking out those places in which it evinced an interest, Mr. Baehr disclosed in his wire.

Cities visited by the Christian study participants included Jaffa, Nazareth, Tel Aviv, Haifa, the New City of Jerusalem, Tiberias, and Safed. The American group also toured through Galilee, the Jordan Valley, the Negev, and various Israeli settlements and cultural institutions.

Mr. Baehr revealed that his group had made it a point to meet with Christian clergymen, wherever possible, and visited a number of Christian educational institutions, orphanages and monasteries.

It was learned that the Study Tour group had been received by James G. McDonald, American Ambassador to Israel, and by a number of Israeli Government officials. The American tourists also visited the Arab village of Abugosh and the Druse village of Asfia. In each instance they were entertained by the Arab Mukhtar (chieftain) of these communities.