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American Zionist Emergency Council, "S," "T," "U," "V," "W," "X,"
"Y," and "Z", 1949-1951.

August 8, 1949

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
Hotel Splendide
Aix-les-Bains, France

Dear Dr. Silver:

Harold read to me some pertinent parts of your letter a few minutes ago, and I was glad to get the information. You requested that I see Frisch. I had already written to him several days ago asking for a conference. This morning Unger called me to say that Frisch wants to get together with Schiff and me sometime this week. Schiff, however, is not well and I don't think that he will be in New York for several weeks. I have therefore asked Unger to set up an appointment for me at the earliest possible time.

I am enclosing copy of press release covering Frisch's return. I am very much disturbed about the drive for \$2,000,000 for the specific purposes listed. It is obvious that such an effort will cut across us in many localities and postpone indefinitely many efforts in our behalf. Of course, there is a possibility that the drive will not be held on grounds of multiplicity in the event that the Israeli efforts for a unified campaign in 1950 are successful. This, however, is something we cannot depend on. It is therefore all the more important that I talk to Dan.

At the same time, Abe Goodman is trying to get together with him. Abe is acting President in Schiff's absence.

Things are slow and we are experiencing a most difficult summer in which it is almost impossible to get anything constructive done. We have set up functions at the Regional Convention for Eastern Pennsylvania, where Emanuel Neumann will be speaker. For the Southwestern Region to be held in Houston, I am trying to get Bartley Crum. Both these meetings take place on September 4th. I have my doubts about Crum's availability and the Texas people insist on a big name. You will recall that this was the group which asked you to speak at this meeting.

There is another Regional Convention in St. Paul set up for October, at which I am to be the speaker. I am also covering the Texas Convention and plan to spend a week there in advance of the meeting. Henry Bernfeld of our office will spend a week in Pennsylvania in advance of that meeting. In addition, we are trying to set up meetings in cities in the East which have no fall campaign. Letters in this connection have gone out to thirty-five members of our Council, which now numbers more than three hundred.

Many of these have not yet subscribed and we are waiting for you to return before we approach them. Both Schiff and I feel that a letter on this subject should come from the Chairman of the Council.

I learned from Isreeli, who saw Frisch the evening he came home, that you had referred to the importance of the ICA in relation to the future of the ZOA on numerous occasions, during your conference with Frisch two weeks ago. I was glad to have this substantiated in the letter which Manson read to me.

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There is one matter which came up in which you will be interested. Seeve of PEC called Sidney Marks to request that a letter go from the ZOA to Abe Luntz recommending that Luntz accept an invitation from PEC to join a sponsoring committee for a PEC campaign in Cleveland. Luntz had informed PEC that if "headquarters" would okay it, he would accept. While Marks did not intend to recommend to Luntz that he accept, he was nevertheless in a bad position. He felt it necessary to send a letter to Luntz stating that the PEC is a reputable Zionist organization, etc., but not recommending sponsorship.

Marks advised with me before sending the letter. I called Luntz to explain the situation and to inform him that we were planning, after consultation with you, to have an ICA campaign in Cleveland in early fall and that certainly, under these circumstances, would count on him (Luntz) for his active support. Luntz told me that he was fully aware of that plan and that he would find some way of sending a refusal to the PEC without reflecting on either Zionist or ICA headquarters or leaders.

I am glad that the time for your return is approaching. While I know that you have earned this needed vacation a thousand times over, I cannot help but be a little selfish about our need of your presence in this country. The way I see things shape up, we are going to face some difficult times with my good friend Dan. I hope that I will be proven wrong, but I cannot help but believe that only a hand and a will as strong as yours can hold him in line. Up to now he has failed to evidence any basic sympathy with the ICA. I think he will devote himself and the machinery of the organization primarily to those projects and ideas which reflect his person and planning.

As soon as I have had a talk with him, I will write to you again. I hope it will be better news.

I am not writing to you about the Zionist Council which in a few days will give our friend, L. L., an opportunity to ride a dead horse. Today's temperature of over 90° is sufficiently depressing without inflicting cruel punishment on myself endeavoring to recount the happenings of these last hectic weeks. You have no idea with what relish I look forward to my complete divorce from 342 Madison Avenue. It becomes effective within a few days. The thing we loved and cherished and nurtured doesn't live there any more.

Please give my warmest regards to Virginia.

Cordially,

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AT:H:SW

P.S. I have just returned from meeting with Isreeli. He saw Frisch last night and got the second installment of Dan's reaction to his conference with you. He reiterated your staunch advocacy of the ICA and indicated that he was ready to go along and help the ICA if he were convinced the Corporation would not be a vehicle for the ambitions of a certain gentleman whose name need not be mentioned. Frisch wants to be sure that the ZOA can play a really important role in the future of the ICA, and that the ICA comes closer to reflecting ZOA interests.

Of course, I am sending a copy of this to Mr. Schiff and keeping no copies in the office. Schiff is fully aware of these tendencies. I am quite sure he would offer no objections

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August 9, 1949

to an arrangement which would add some ZOA friends of Mr. Frisch to the Board of the ICA, providing these close friends represented real money and activity instead of just so many votes.

I hope to get my appointment with Dan for tomorrow or the next day. Of course, I shall be exceedingly careful since I am in no position to shape or encourage deals. I am hopeful, however, in the light of Isreeli's last conversation with Frisch that Frisch and Schiff will find a way to get together. Both are sufficiently alive to their respective interests to know that a constructive arrangement is the only way out of the dilemma.

AS



AMERICAN ZIONIST COUNCIL

342 MADISON AVENUE

• TELEPHONE MURRAY HILL 2-1160 •

NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

Cable Address: AMZIONIST

September 16, 1949

Dear Rabbi:

On the very eve of our Holy Days, in the celebrations and prayers of which Jerusalem occupies such an important place, the United Nations Palestine Conciliation Commission has announced its plan for the internationalization of Jerusalem. Writing to you, we do not have to enlarge on the injustice and impracticability of the Conciliation Commission's plan for Jerusalem. We must see to it that the voice of the Jews of America is raised as powerfully as possible in defense of Jewish Jerusalem and in demand for its incorporation in the State of Israel. We are confident that you fully share our sentiments. Accordingly, may we take the liberty of making the following suggestions:

First: That during the Holy Day services in your synagogue - either on Rosh Hashana or on Yom Kippur - you devote one of your sermons to an appraisal of the critical nature of the Jerusalem problem.

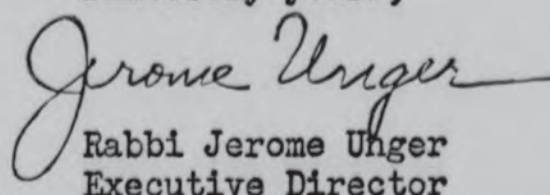
Second: That you utilize your best efforts and invite the cooperation of the President and Officers of your congregation to the end that a telegram or telegrams (in the name of your Temple or Synagogue, Sisterhood, Men's Club, etc.) be sent to the President of the United States, urging him to disavow the recommendations of the United Nations Conciliation Commission to internationalize Jerusalem. Please do not fail us at this juncture.

We herewith enclose for your information and use the following material which you may find helpful in this "Save Jerusalem" campaign. This material contains:

- A. Analytical comments on the Conciliation Commission's plan for Jerusalem, together with a short historical survey of the Jewish character of Jerusalem.
- B. A reprint of an editorial in the New York Herald Tribune which appeared on September 15, 1949.
- C. Suggested texts for telegrams to the President of the United States to be sent during the Holy Days period. Naturally, these texts should not be followed literally, but should be used as a model for your own particular needs.

We feel confident that you will cooperate with us to the utmost in the urgent tasks which we face today, and we hope and wish that this coming year may be the year of our full national redemption. Warmest greetings and earnest wishes for a very good year.

Sincerely yours,


Rabbi Jerome Unger
Executive Director

JU:SR
Encs.

CONSTITUENT ORGANIZATIONS

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

ANALYTICAL COMMENTS ON THE
U.N. PALESTINE CONCILIATION COMMISSION'S PLAN
FOR AN INTERNATIONAL REGIME IN JERUSALEM

What Is Wrong With the Conciliation Commission's Plan?

The plan of the U. N. Palestine Conciliation Commission for an international regime over Jerusalem and its vicinity should be rejected on grounds of injustice and utter impracticability.

The Conciliation Commission's plan treats the problem of Jerusalem out of the context of the entire Palestine issue, and therefore the entire approach of the Commission is purely theoretical, as an analysis of the recommendations will easily show.

The plan totally ignores the fact that only a short time ago a bitter and bloody Arab-Jewish war took place, and that Jerusalem formed one of the main battlefields in this war. It takes no cognizance of the heavy casualties paid by Jerusalem Jewry for the defense of the Holy City, including its internationally revered shrines; the grave danger of total extermination faced by the Jews of Jerusalem; the hunger and thirst they suffered during the many months when the city was incessantly shelled by the Arab invaders, cut off from its hinterland, blockaded and starved.

How can one come now and tell the nearly one hundred thousand Jews of Jerusalem that the many hundreds of young Jewish lives sacrificed in the "break-through" on the Jerusalem-Tel Aviv Road -- at the Kastel, Latrun, etc. -- were in vain; and that in the future their lives and the lives of their children will be cut off from the State of Israel and depend entirely on the same United Nations, which remained totally inactive in the face of the most brutal onslaughts on Jerusalem only one year ago? No community of living men and women can be expected to accept such a plan.

The Life of Jerusalem Jewry Is At Stake

Nor does the plan provide for any real military protection of the Holy City under this international regime. On the contrary, while stipulating the complete demilitarization and disarmament of Jerusalem, the plan envisages a police force of one thousand men, half of whom are to be Jewish and the other half Arab, and therefore both partisan forces who may be confidently expected to be loyal to their respective communities and governments, rather than to the United Nations. The fact of the matter is that the plan wants the United Nations to take nominal charge of Jerusalem, without giving it any real power and strength.

Free Access to the Holy Places

The motivating reason behind this plan is supposedly the desire to provide international protection for the Holy Places and free access to them for members of all religions. It has already been indicated above that the United Nations, as in the case of Jerusalem, will not dispose of a real force capable of any defense. The United Nations will have to depend entirely on the good-will of the two communities. Access to the Holy Places, moreover, is physically impossible without the wholehearted cooperation of Israel and its government. Jerusalem does not lie on the sea. Any pilgrims or visitors would have to land on Israeli territory and pass through Israeli territory in order to reach the Holy Places.

Accordingly, if the repeated assurances and guarantees offered by the Government of Israel for free access to the shrines are not accepted by the international community, the setting up of a United Nations regime in Jerusalem would not solve the problem.

Jerusalem Is a Jewish City

Ninety percent of the Holy Places is contained within the walls of the Old City, and the rest is just outside the walls. It is the Holy Places proper that have to be internationalized and not the whole of Jerusalem. In other words, if we look for a sound, just and practical solution -- the workability of which must depend, under the circumstances, on the wholehearted cooperation of both Israel and Transjordan -- the United Nations should seek administrative power over the Holy Places and not territorial power over the Jerusalem area and its population.

Jerusalem Depends On Israel For Its Economic Survival

If the plan of the Palestine Conciliation Commission is seen from an economic viewpoint, its total impracticability is no less evident. Jerusalem's economy is not self-contained. The Holy City has no developed industries. Its main sources of income in recent years were derived from its having been the administrative center of Palestine. If Jerusalem is severed from the rest of the country, it is condemned to slow but certain economic deterioration.

Jerusalem also depends on Israel for its supplies. Agricultural produce comes to Jerusalem from the countryside, which will be outside the suggested international zone. Industrial products must come to Jerusalem either from the factories of Israel or imported through Israel. Even water must be brought to Jerusalem by pipes from Israel. If, as the Commission suggests, Jerusalem becomes an independent entity and the State of Israel is not allowed to have any of its governmental institutions there, a sizeable proportion of the population of Jerusalem will remain without income and livelihood, and consequently, will have to "emigrate" from Jerusalem into Israel.

From whatever aspect one analyzes the Conciliation Commission's plan, one is bound to arrive at the conclusion that the outcome will be tantamount to a death sentence for the city of Jerusalem and its present inhabitants. Whoever wants to see the Holy City exist and develop in the future must unconditionally reject any plans for its internationalization. Jerusalem and Israel are one and indivisible. The problem of the Holy Places and free access to them can be best solved by international administration of the Holy Places proper. Such an administration could count on the full cooperation of the Israeli Government, which repeatedly offered guarantees of free access to the shrines to members of all religions.

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9/16/49

JERUSALEM -- ETERNAL AND HOLY CITY OF THE JEWISH PEOPLE

From that day some three thousand years ago when David, the warrior king, captured a mountain stronghold of the Jebusites and made it his capital, Jerusalem has been at the very core of Jewish life and Jewish history. To the Biblical chronicler of the reigns of the kings of Judah and Israel, Jerusalem was the city which God "had chosen out of all the tribes of Israel." To Isaiah, prophesying of the end of days, it was clear that in that better time "the word of the Lord" would "come forth from Jerusalem" to all the peoples of the earth. For the exiles of Judah weeping by the rivers of Babylon, the name and memory of Jerusalem summed up all their agony and all their faith: "If I forget thee, O Jerusalem, let my right hand forget her cunning. Let my tongue cleave to the roof of my mouth; if I prefer not Jerusalem above my chief joy."

In the great literary monument of the First Destruction, the Biblical book of "Lamentations", Jerusalem has a unique and central place. Bewailing the misery and captivity of the people of Judah, "Lamentations" can never forget the specific tragedy of the City of Jerusalem -- a city so dear to the writer that he describes it in almost human terms. The very first sentence of the book is characteristic: "How doth the city sit solitary, that was full of people! how is she become as a widow! she that was great among the nations, and princess among the provinces..."

As Jerusalem had sprung first to the mind of the poet lamenting its destruction, so did it spring first to the mind of the prophet rejoicing over the return from the first exile -- "Break forth into joy, sing together ye waste places of Jerusalem: for the Lord hath comforted his people, He hath redeemed Jerusalem." It was, indeed, concern for the welfare of Jerusalem, almost equally with concern for the welfare of the Jewish community in Judah, that moved Nehemiah -- the great founding father of the Second Commonwealth -- to leave the comfort and prestige of his post in the Persian court of the fifth century before the common era. "I was in Shushan the palace, and Hanani, one of my brethren came, he and certain men of Judah, and I asked them concerning the Jews that had escaped, that were left of the captivity, and concerning Jerusalem." When, in answer, he was told of the affliction of the Jews and the burnt gates and broken walls of Jerusalem, Nehemiah became the arch-type of those other great leaders who in the centuries after him were to leave the civilization into which they had become successfully assimilated and devote their ardor and their lives to the rebuilding of Zion. To the Persian King, asking him the cause of his sorrowful appearance, his answer was in epic terms: "Why should not my countenance be sad, when the city, the place of my fathers' sepulchres, lieth waste, and the gates thereof are consumed with fire?" It was to be under Nehemiah's leadership that the city, its walls and its gates were rebuilt.

In the days of the Second Commonwealth, Jerusalem was the cherished center not only of the Jews in the Land, but of the multitudes scattered in the diaspora of Egypt and other nearby lands. The Second Destruction of Jewish national life at the hands of Rome in the year 70 is mirrored in legend and tradition largely in terms of Jerusalem; so were the hopes of restoration hung upon Jerusalem. "Rabbi Joshua the son of Levi said: 'The Holy One, blessed be He, said to Israel: You have been the cause of the destruction of my House and the exile of my children. Pray for the peace of Jerusalem and then will I give you peace.'" And "Rabbi Jochanan said: 'The Holy One blessed be He has sworn: I will not enter the Heavenly Jerusalem until I have come into the earthly Jerusalem.'" And again "He who mourns over Jerusalem will yet see its rejoicing." And "never will the Shekhinah depart from the Wailing Wall."

It was not through sentiment and literature alone that Jews expressed their bond with Jerusalem after the Destruction. Those who had not been exiled from Judea broke into fiery revolt in the year 132 -- largely because the Emperor Hadrian proclaimed plans for rebuilding Jerusalem as a Roman colony with a new and resplendent temple dedicated to Jupiter Capitolinus. From the countries of the Near East Jews hastened to Palestine in their thousands to fight with the Jews in the Land under Bar Kochba. During the three years that they held out successfully against the Roman legions, significantly, the phrase "Deliverance of Jerusalem" was struck across the faces of the Roman coins then in use.

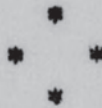
The dream of physical reconquest of the Land and the Holy City died with Bar Kochba's defeat; the spiritual attachment went on. During the 1800 years of the second dispersion, the prayers, the ceremonies, the literature and the thinking of Jews throughout the world, reverted again and again with passionate and prime concern to Jerusalem. The grand climax of the festival of liberation is the stark and absolute "Next year in Jerusalem." The prayer that "the voice of bridegroom and of bride shall soon be heard in the streets of Jerusalem" is intertwined with the personal rejoicing of the Jewish bride and groom throughout the world.

Though after the failure of the Bar Kochba revolt, most of the Jews of Judaea were exterminated, Jerusalem laid waste and Jews forbidden to enter the new city built on its ruins, Jews made their way to it incessantly. With the Arab Conquest, the old Roman ban disappeared and Jews resettled Jerusalem, even being allowed to build a synagogue in the Temple area. Despite the bloody struggles between successive Moslem dynasties, Jerusalem's Jewish community stubbornly held its ground, reinforced by immigration of Jews from Babylon, the Arab peninsula, Egypt, Syria. In the course of the Crusaders' almost complete extermination of Palestine Jewry, the worst fate fell to the Jews of Jerusalem: they were burned alive inside their synagogue. But resettlement of Jerusalem began even during the Latin Kingdom and went on through the centuries, reaching its highest pre-modern point in the sixteenth century immigration of the expelled Jews of Spain and Portugal. In the historic imagination of the Jewish people, of course, the symbolic type of the medieval pilgrim to Jerusalem has been and remains the great figure of Judah Halevi, journeying to dangerous Jerusalem in a tiny twelfth century boat, leaving behind him in Spain, home and garden, family and friends, epitomizing a central motive of Jewish history in one line: "My heart is in the East but I am in the furthest West," singing magnificent hymns to Jerusalem, "fairest of view, delight of the world, city of the great king," dying -- according to tradition -- at the Wailing Wall.

Pilgrim after pilgrim made his way to Jerusalem, and by the middle of the nineteenth century -- the threshold of our era -- eight thousand of the approximately 15,500 total population of Jerusalem were Jews. In 1837 with Sir Moses Montefiore's aid the first houses outside the walled Old City were built by Jews, and ever since, almost completely as the result of Jewish effort, love and financial investment, the New City has grown to its present size and magnificence, its Jewish population reaching almost 100,000. This was no simple accident: from the economic and geographical viewpoint Jerusalem has almost no justification for a large population -- it has grown because, throughout the ages and particularly in the seventy years of modern Zionist resettlement, Jews have cherished it, looked upon it as their natural capitol, felt it -- in the religious sense -- particularly "meritorious," particularly desirable, to live in it.

Three thousand years of Jewish devotion to Jerusalem reached their climax in the incredible courage, self-sacrifice and endurance which enabled the Jews of Jerusalem to endure hunger, thirst, and bombardment by the Arab Legion in the dreadful months of the modern siege of Jerusalem. An ordinary city could hardly have been held under such adverse circumstances. Saving Jewish Jerusalem meant to every one of its besieged inhabitants saving the heart of Jewish history and faith, the heart of modern Israel. That heart, so saved, must not now be cut away.

"If I forget thee, O Jerusalem, let my right hand forget her cunning..."



9/16/49



DRAFT OF WIRE

PRESIDENT HARRY S TRUMAN
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON DC

IN BEHALF OF CONGREGATION _____ OF _____,
(name) (city)
COMPRISING A MEMBERSHIP OF _____ FAMILIES, AND GATHERED AT
(number)
THIS HIGH HOLIDAY PERIOD, SACRED TO JEWRY THROUGHOUT THE WORLD, WHEN OUR
AGE-OLD PRAYERS FILL OUR HEARTS AND MINDS WITH IMPERISHABLE LONGING FOR
JERUSALEM, THE CITY OF ZION, I HAVE BEEN INSTRUCTED TO EXPRESS THE FEELINGS
OF DISFAVOR AND DISAGREEMENT OF THE MEMBERSHIP OF THIS CONGREGATION WITH
THE RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE U.N. PALESTINE CONCILIATION COMMISSION TO
INTERNATIONALIZE THE CITY OF JERUSALEM. IN OUR VIEW THIS NEW PLAN TO
PLACE ALL JERUSALEM UNDER U.N. JURISDICTION IS UNJUST, UNREALISTIC AND
IMPRACTICABLE. THE CONCERN OF THE CHRISTIAN WORLD FOR THE SHRINES AND
HOLY PLACES IN JERUSALEM IS EASILY UNDERSTANDABLE AND IS SHARED BY ALL
JEWS. BUT ONLY THE HOLY PLACES -- AND NOT THE WHOLE OF THE CITY -- SHOULD
BE PLACED UNDER UNITED NATIONS SUPERVISION. MAY WE EXPRESS THE HOPE THAT
JERUSALEM WILL BE RESTORED AS THE ROCK AND HOPE OF ISRAEL. MAY WE RESPECT-
FULLY URGE THAT THE U. S. DELEGATION TO THE UNITED NATIONS REJECT ANY PLAN
WHICH WOULD SEVER THE NEW CITY OF JERUSALEM FROM THE STATE OF ISRAEL.

SIGNED

9/16/49

DRAFT OF WIRE

THE PRESIDENT
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON DC

DURING THIS SACRED PERIOD OF JEWISH FESTIVITY AND PRAYER MAY WE, ON
BEHALF OF THE CONGREGATION _____ OF _____
(name) (city)
AND REPRESENTING A MEMBERSHIP OF _____ FAMILIES, RESPECTFULLY
(number)
PETITION YOU TO TAKE COGNIZANCE OF THE UNJUST AND UNREALISTIC RECOMMENDA-
TIONS OFFERED BY THE UN PALESTINE CONCILIATION COMMISSION TO INTER-
NATIONALIZE THE ENTIRE CITY OF JERUSALEM. WE VIEW THESE RECOMMENDATIONS
AS A TRAGIC AND IMPRACTICABLE SCHEME TO SETTLE THE THORNY PROBLEM OF THE
FUTURE OF THE HOLY CITY. THE NEW CITY OF JERUSALEM, WHICH COMPRISES THE
MAJOR PORTION OF THE CITY, IS 95 PERCENT JEWISH IN POPULATION. ANY PLAN
TO DEPRIVE ISRAEL OF THE NEW CITY WOULD ROB THE JEWISH STATE OF ITS HEART
AND SOUL. MAY WE RESPECTFULLY POINT OUT THAT 90 PERCENT OF THESE SACRED
INSTITUTIONS LIE WITHIN THE WALLS OF THE OLD CITY NOW UNDER THE CONTROL
OF THE ARABS. THE ISRAELI GOVERNMENT HAS ALREADY GRANTED FREEDOM OF
ACCESS TO ALL HOLY PLACES WITHIN ITS JURISDICTION AND IS WILLING TO ACCEPT
U.N. SUPERVISION OVER THESE HOLY SHRINES. AS AMERICANS AND JEWS WE VOICE
OUR CONCERN OVER THIS MOST RECENT PLAN TO PLACE JERUSALEM UNDER ALIEN
JURISDICTION AND SEGREGATE THE CITY BUILT BY JEWISH TOIL AND SACRIFICE
FROM THE STATE OF ISRAEL. WE RESPECTFULLY EXPRESS THE HOPE THAT THE U.S.
DELEGATION TO THE UNITED NATIONS WILL REFUSE TO ACCEPT ANY PLAN WHICH WOULD
DEPRIVE ISRAEL OF THE NEW CITY OF JERUSALEM.

SIGNED

9/16/49

Jerusalem and the U. N.

The proposal of the United Nations Palestine Conciliation Commission for permanent internationalization of Jerusalem, whatever its theoretical attractiveness may be, appears to have been far outrun both by time and events. It is not merely a question of the Israelis' refusal to cede their rights in Jewish Jerusalem, although this alone would make the U. N.'s task of taking over the entire city a formidable one, but also of the practicability and effectiveness of the Conciliation Commission's proposal. There was a time, perhaps, when internationalization, which was suggested in the U. N.'s original partition resolution of 1947, might have been imposed; but it was the Israeli Army and not the U. N. which saw to it that the partition of Palestine became a reality. The fighting for Jerusalem proper left the Israelis in possession of the New City and King Abdullah's Arab Legion in control of the Old City, and the complete acquiescence of both sides would be a prerequisite to any plan for treating the city as a whole.

The commission's plan, as a matter of fact, envisages the internationalization not only of Jerusalem but of a sixty-square-mile enclave around the city, including Bethlehem. Although many of the city's administrative functions would be reserved to the U. N., each side would police its own zone, and the holy places, which constitute the crux of the entire Jerusalem question, would be open to all. But the important question of what kind of citizenship the residents of the area would hold is left untouched, and there is, as yet, no U. N. police force powerful enough to make internationalization effective on all levels, or even to guarantee access to the holy places in case they should be threatened. Furthermore, enclaves of this sort have a way of creating problems rather than settling them, and the Jerusalem area is lacking in the natural advantages that sometimes enable a port, for example, to exist as an entity.

That the United Nations, as the representative of the world community, has a rightful place in Jerusalem, is denied by none. The Israeli government has repeatedly and consistently expressed its willingness to have the U. N. supervise the holy places, not only in Jerusalem but elsewhere, and there is no reason to doubt that both the letter and spirit of such an agreement would be rigidly adhered to. It is conceivable, also, that the U. N. could perform valuable service as a mediator in the city and as a guardian of the rights of outside parties. There is no reason why a satisfactory compromise along the lines set forth by the Israeli government should not be worked out and, in time, become acceptable to all interested parties. But stability in Palestine scarcely seems likely if the U. N. persists in a now outdated plan of setting up a third state in a country that is barely large enough for two.

JACQUES TORCZYNER
2 West 46th Street
New York, N. Y.

September 19, 1949

Dear Dr. Silver:

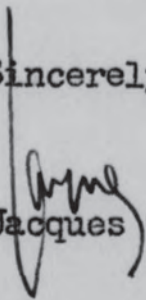
Many thanks for accepting to speak at our November 29th dinner. I promise you that you will not be subjected to many speeches and that your address will be in the early part of the program.

I am sending you enclosed excerpts of a speech by Dr. Goldmann held at the General Zionist Conference which took place last week in Paris. I received this report from Hannah Stein who writes me that Dr. Goldmann was not very popular at the Conference notwithstanding the fact that he spoke there as the savior of the Z.O.A. Hannah Stein also believes that we have a chance to become the majority in the Confederation. She has established friendly relations with the delegates from France, Belgium, Germany, Austria, Denmark and even from Poland. I suggested to her that she go on a visit to North Africa as the North African Jews will have a very strong delegation at the forthcoming congress.

I am informed by an unimpeachable source that Mr. Frisch is determined to replace Charles Ress as the head of the Keren Hayesod by Mr. Benjamin Browdy. Very soon Mr. Browdy will be placed by Mr. Frisch at the head of every committee and I wonder what Mr. Frisch will have left to do.

With no further news for the moment, I remain as always with best regards,

Sincerely yours,


Jacques Torczyner

AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL

Constituent Organizations

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

PERSONAL

WASHINGTON BUREAU
1200 EIGHTEENTH STREET, N. W.
WASHINGTON 6, D. C.
EXECUTIVE 1060

September 19, 1949

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver,
THE TEMPLE,
East 105th Street at Ansel Road,
Cleveland 6, Ohio

Dear Dr. Silver:

Many thanks for your letter of September 16th. I was very happy to learn through Dr. Neumann, whom I saw over the week-end, that you are well and had a good rest.

I miss you very much in my work with the Council. I have need of your leadership and guidance and am sorry not to see you at the helm charting our work.

The reason I telephoned you last week was to give you an advance tip on the appointment, by the President, of Mr. Charles Fahy as an alternate delegate to the UN. Mr. Fahy had thought that, in view of his connection with the Jewish Agency and, later, with the AZC, that his chances of ever representing the U. S. at the UN were nil, and he was very pleased that his service with us did not prejudice his appointment. I am sure that he will do everything possible to help. May I suggest that you write him a warm note congratulating him upon his appointment. His partner, Philip Levy, suggests that you arrange to meet with Mr. Fahy in New York City at the earliest opportunity and have a discussion with him of the outstanding problems. You are the one man he will listen to. His address is at the Vanderbilt Hotel, 34th and Park Ave., New York City.

General Lucius D. Clay is a good speaker. I heard him speak without a note before the Congress of the U. S. after he returned from Germany and he made a profound impression. Unfortunately, General Clay is not in Washington, but he may be contacted by writing to him at the following address:

General Lucius D. Clay, C/o Mrs. W. W. Dwyer, S. Yarmouth,
Massachusetts

I am sure that if you send him a warm invitation, asking him to give you any available dates, he may accept. I do know that he has been accepting outside engagements.

On the Washington scene, it appears as of the present time, that the U.S. will support the statute of Jerusalem recommended by the Conciliation Commission. There is no evidence that the pressure on Israel has let up. We must always assume that the U. S. will move toward a friendly Israel position only if it is pressured and pushed politically. In all likelihood, the outstanding problems will not be reached on the agenda of the UN until after November 1st.

Dr. Silver

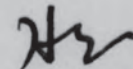
September 19, 1949

The Clapp Commission report will not be available until then and I doubt whether the U. S. Delegation will want to take a position until after the Senatorial elections in New York are over. If the American Zionist leadership plays the game smartly, it should pressure Mr. Lehmann to go to bat for Israel on Jerusalem and other outstanding matters as strongly as we can get him to do so. Truman will have to campaign in New York City in his behalf and we should extract everything we can from the White House before the elections. All the Jews of New York ought not to be lined up with Lehmann. We should remember that Dulles deserves some support for the things he has done for Israel in the last two years. I tried to impress that point of view on Mr. Lipsky and other leaders whom I saw in New York last week, and only hope that they will take my advice. May I suggest that, if you are in New York City, or Washington, in the near future, it would do us a lot of good if you had a friendly talk with Mr. Dulles. I am sure that he wants to help and will help if approached by the proper people.

I was amazed to learn, after a long conversation with Mr. Lipsky, how little he knew of the work of the Council in the past, particularly, the techniques of day to day work, which brought about the affirmative good results under your leadership. He has much to learn and I hope that he will be bold and brave, both in his planning and execution. The staff of the Council has been sharply curtailed. There is not much money available and the inter-party strife and indecision are ruinous. Some day -- and I only hope it is not too late -- Ben-Gurion and Sharett will wake up and realize that, only under your firm leadership will Israel be able to continue to win the political victories of the future.

With all good wishes for a Happy and Prosperous New Year to you, Mrs. Silver and the family, I am

Most cordially yours,



Hyman A. Schulson

HAS/mp

AMERICAN ZIONIST COUNCIL

342 MADISON AVENUE

• TELEPHONE MURRAY HILL 2-1160 •

NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

Cable Address: AMZIONIST

PERSONAL AND CONFIDENTIAL

AIR MAIL
SPECIAL DELIVERY

October 17, 1949

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
The Temple
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Dr. Silver:

Enclosed is a copy of a letter which I received from Rabbi Jerome Unger on October 15, 1949.

I am also enclosing a copy of a reply which I have today sent to Mr. Lipsky. It is quite apparent that Mr. Lipsky, in collaboration with Dr. Nahum Goldmann and others, is determined to dispense with the services of key employees who served under your administration.

I shall deeply appreciate any help and advice you can give me.

With all good wishes, I am

Most cordially yours,

Hyman A. Schulson

Hyman A. Schulson

HAS:MB
encl.

P.S. I am staying at the Belmont-Plaza Hotel, Lexington Ave. and E 48th St., Room 528, New York City. Please send any letters to me to the AZC office 305 Ring Bldg., 1200-18th St. N.W., Washington, D.C., and a copy to the Belmont Plaza so that I shall be sure to get them.

CONSTITUENT ORGANIZATIONS

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

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

C O P Y

October 14, 1949

Mr. Hyman A. Schulson
1200 18th Street, N. W.
Room 305 Ring Building
Washington 6, D. C.

Dear Hy:

As you have known, this Council has been undergoing considerable reorganization over the last few months. Many changes have been instituted affecting not only the operations but also the staff on all levels. None of this has been done without careful thought and planning and sympathetic consideration for the individuals involved.

It is with regret that I must inform you of the decision to extend the process of reorganization to the Washington office. I must, therefore, notify you of the termination of your services effective October 28, 1949. In order that you may have the benefit of four weeks' notice, we are prepared to pay you an additional two weeks' salary. Naturally we are prepared also to grant you severance pay of nine and one-half weeks amounting to \$1,235.10 in addition.

I cannot send this letter without expressing to you, for the Council and your colleagues, deep gratitude and personal affection. Although we have not had an opportunity to work together for very long, I want also to express my own appreciation to you for your aid, counsel and friendship.

With earnest good wishes, I am

Sincerely yours,

Jerome Unger
Executive Director

JU:CS

October 17, 1949

Mr. Louis Lipsky, Chairman
American Zionist Council
Eastern Life Insurance Company
386 Fourth Avenue
New York, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Lipsky:

I was deeply shocked and amazed when, without prior notice, consultation, or opportunity to be heard, I received Rabbi Jerome Unger's letter of October 14, 1949, a copy of which is enclosed, notifying me that my service with the American Zionist Council would be terminated within two weeks, effective October 28, 1949. No adequate grounds or cause for the termination of my employment were set forth.

This action came at the very moment when I, as the Council's representative in Washington, was engaged in an all-out effort to cope with the current critical situation. Perhaps I have been deluding myself in the belief that my past performances in similarly critical periods warranted intensive efforts on my part precisely at this moment.

In the interest of Zionist comradeship and fair play, I hereby respectfully request you, as Chairman of the American Zionist Council, to afford me an opportunity to be heard before the Executive Committee of the Council with respect to the decision to terminate my services.

My record in the civil service of the Zionist movement should be well known. I served as administrative assistant to the Executive Directors of the Zionist Organization of America during 1940 to 1942. In 1942, I was employed by the Emergency Committee for Zionist Affairs to do political work and to help to organize the American Palestine Committee. My services with the Emergency Committee for Zionist Affairs were interrupted when I enlisted in the Army Air Forces of the United States. My status and seniority with the Emergency Committee for Zionist Affairs continued while I was in the Armed Forces. Thereafter, in 1946, I resumed my Zionist work as a representative of the American Zionist Emergency Council in Washington, and later in 1949, as the Washington Director of the American Zionist Council. In the Fall of 1948, the American Zionist Emergency Council sent me as its special representative to the Paris sessions of the United Nations.

With this record of service, I submit that I merited fairer treatment than that which is now being accorded me. After toiling day and night

October 17, 1949

over a period of many years at one of Zionism's most strategic political fronts, the summary termination of my services at this crucial time is most unjust. Is this the kind of treatment which civil servants in the Zionist movement are to expect?

During the years 1946-1949 -- the most important period of American Zionist political work -- my services were publicly commended by the Zionist leadership, then headed by Dr. Abba Hillel Silver and his Administration, as well as by our movement's civil service staff. Is it not somewhat strange that now, for reasons unknown to me and in the midst of another critical period in our Zionist work, the officers of the Council should decide to dispense with my services merely on the basis of a "decision to extend the process of reorganization to the Washington office"? Is this the time or the proper way to dispose of trained Zionist personnel and resources? Is this the kind of security of tenure of employment to which Zionist personnel should be subjected? Is it not reasonable to assume that Zionist leaders, in formulating decisions regarding the "reorganization of the Washington office" would consult with that member of the staff who has borne the brunt of the work on the Washington scene and can speak from invaluable experience regarding the problems involved? Are all the years of effort to gain experience and contacts through its personnel now to be disregarded by the Council?

I have reason to believe that knowledge and appreciation of the services which I have rendered in Washington exist among the United Nations delegation of the State of Israel and the leadership of the American Zionist movement, especially among those who have had occasion to call upon these services repeatedly. I do not believe it indiscreet to suggest that, before having dispatched its communication of October 14 to me, the Council should have taken the trouble to consult with those who are best qualified to comment upon and evaluate my role on the Washington scene.

During the years of my service with the Council, I have acted solely as a civil servant and have refrained from taking part in any internal conflicts within the Zionist movement. It is difficult for me to believe, therefore, that the Council now wishes to "purge" me out of internal considerations.

I am hopeful that you, as a veteran Zionist leader who has on many occasions pleaded, both at Zionist meetings and in the press, for fair dealing, fair play, and morality in the relations of Zionist bodies toward their civil servants, will grant me the hearing requested in this letter.

I am sending copies of this letter to the members of the Executive Committee of the American Zionist Council.

Sincerely yours,

HAS:MB

Hymah A. Schulson

AMERICAN ZIONIST COUNCIL

342 MADISON AVENUE

• TELEPHONE MURRAY HILL 2-1160 •

NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

Cable Address: AMZIONIST

AIR MAIL

October 18, 1949

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
The Temple
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Dr. Silver:

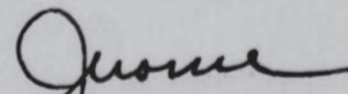
On Wednesday night, November 2, at 8 o'clock, in Manhattan Center, New York (34 St. just west of Eighth Avenue), the American Zionist Council will hold a public mass meeting devoted to the Jerusalem question. This meeting is to be a constructive one, not a protest, in keeping with the whole spirit of the treatment of this issue.

The members of the Executive Council, together with Mr. Lipsky, the Chairman, and myself, feel most strongly that your presence and participation in the program of that evening is of signal importance. May I therefore formally invite you and warmly urge you to come and be among the principal speakers. There will be but two other major addresses -- one by Mr. Eban and another by Dr. Goldmann. We are also inviting Dr. Reinhold Niebuhr, to represent the Christian Zionists, and Mrs. Samuel W. Halprin, to speak on behalf of American women Zionists, as well as an orthodox Rabbi to speak in Yiddish.

I sincerely hope that you will be able to come and I await your acceptance with high anticipation.

With warm greetings, I am, as ever

Affectionately yours,



Rabbi Jerome Unger
Executive Director

JU:MB

CONSTITUENT ORGANIZATIONS

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Mizrachi Organization of America • United Zionist Labor Party (Achdut Avodah-Poale Zion) • Zionist Organization of America
Zionists-Revisionists of America

AMERICAN ZIONIST COUNCIL

MINUTES OF MEETING OF EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

October 20, 1949

A meeting of the Executive Committee of the American Zionist Council was held on Thursday, October 20, 1949 at 3:00 P.M., at 342 Madison Avenue, New York City.

PRESENT:

Mrs. Judith Epstein (presiding), Benjamin G. Browdy, Pinchas Cruso, Beinish Epstein, Louis Segal, Harry Torczyner, Yehuda Tyberg.

Rabbi Jerome Unger.

- - - - -

Mrs. Epstein presided in the absence of Mr. Lipsky.

A question had been raised as to whether substitutes are permissible on the Executive Committee or whether the eleven persons who constitute the Executive Committee are to be considered as the Executive in their persons. It was agreed that substitutes are permitted, provided that they are members of the Council.

It was pointed out that under the former Administration, executive directors of the constituent parties had been invited to Council meetings. However, the Executive ruled, since party representatives and officers are present, there is no need to invite party executive directors.

Mr. Segal made a motion that the Executive Committee appoint a subcommittee to formulate a program of activities for the Council outside of the activities which can be called "emergency," and was informed by Rabbi Unger that this step had already been taken at the September 8, 1949 meeting of the Council. Mrs. Epstein added that the question is under consideration at the Jewish Agency, and felt that it would be premature for us to consider it until the Agency is further along in its own thinking on the matter.

Mr. Epstein stated that he had suggested last summer a Congressional delegation to Israel under our auspices, but that he had been overruled at the time. Now press reports indicate that there is a Congressional committee in the Middle East at present, but unfortunately, without the benefit of our guidance. In view of the present Congressional recess, Mr. Epstein felt that this was an opportune time for us to sponsor a Congressional delegation to Israel. It was decided that Mr. Lipsky should be asked to discuss this with the Agency.

In connection with the severance of Mr. Schulson's services from the Washington office, Mrs. Epstein reported that a meeting of the officers of the Council, after a careful consideration, had decided that in consonance with the general reorganization of the Council, a new set-up in Washington was desirable. Mr.

(more)

Schulson had been informed by letter of this decision and had requested a hearing. A letter to Rabbi Unger from Dr. Emanuel Neumann protesting Mr. Schulson's dismissal was read to the Committee, whereupon Mrs. Epstein expressed her resentment over the insinuations in both Mr. Schulson's and Dr. Neumann's letters that a "purge" had been involved. After a lengthy discussion, during which the majority of the Committee expressed the belief that Mr. Schulson was entitled to a hearing, it was decided that since Mr. Lipsky was not present and the matter had not originally been presented to the Executive Committee, if Mr. Lipsky agreed, Mr. Schulson should be granted a hearing at the next meeting of the Executive Committee, or if he disagreed, that the matter should be explored anew at that meeting.

With reference to the application by Hapoel Hamizrachi for membership in the Council, Rabbi Unger stated that it had been accorded representation on the Shekel Board and that the Agency was about to consider the matter of Hapoel Hamizrachi on the following day. In the light of that information, it was agreed to hold our decision in abeyance, pending the Agency's action.

Rabbi Unger reported on the activities of the Council. The number of messages to the White House from congregational groups has reached 1400. Forty communities have already effected reorganizations of their local committees. Nineteen communities have scheduled mass meetings on Jerusalem, and 50 or 60 more are in the process of arranging such meetings. The American Christian Palestine Committee had a very successful luncheon meeting on Monday attended by about 45 people. Their statement, signed by 100 leading Christians, had been dispatched to the White House, and had already been released to the press and radio stations.

Mrs. Epstein reported that she had been enormously impressed by the quality of the group that had assembled for the ACPC meeting. Mr. Segal suggested that the ACPC statement be circulated to the members of the U.S. Delegation to the United Nations and Mr. Trygve Lie. Mr. Epstein felt that it should go to all the delegations to the United Nations.

Rabbi Unger stated that the proposed pilgrimage to Israel during the Christmas season had been dropped but an Easter pilgrimage had been suggested in its stead. The Government of Israel would give the group top priority. Mr. Segal moved, it was seconded and approved, that plans go forward for an Easter pilgrimage to Israel.

Rabbi Unger disclosed that the reports on the Fall River and Worcester seminars were not encouraging. A seminar in Elmira will be held in a few weeks.

The Committee approved plans for a New York City seminar. With regard to seminars on the West Coast, it was suggested that Mrs. Epstein work out tentative plans with Dr. Voss and report on the estimated cost at the next meeting of the Executive Committee.

In connection with the November 2nd meeting at Manhattan Center, Dr. Goldmann and Mrs. Halprin have accepted their invitations to address the meeting. Dr. Silver, Dr. Niebuhr and Dr. Soloveichik have declined. Dr. Daniel A. Poling is being asked to replace Dr. Niebuhr, and Rabbi Burack to take the place of Dr. Soloveichik. Mr. Eban was said to feel that the program for this meeting should

(more)

be made up only of American personalities, and that he, as an Israeli, ought not speak. Mr. Epstein suggested that two Senators be invited, possibly Saltonstall of Massachusetts and Humphrey of Minnesota. It was decided that if we could obtain two Senators we bow to Mr. Eban's judgment and dispense with his address entirely. Efforts are also being made to secure the services of Richard Tucker as soloist.

Mrs. Epstein reported on her findings with regard to the Asia Institute, and stated that circumstances at this time were not such as to lead her to recommend that we contribute financial support to a Jewish Institute under the auspices of the Asia Institute.

The following decisions were also made:

- 1) To eliminate from our plans a national conference of Zionist leaders because of the fact that so many of our leaders have been burdened with attendance at UJA and UPA conferences in Washington, and the forthcoming UJA conference in Atlantic City, as well as numerous other meetings of communal leaders;
- 2) To eliminate the November 29th meetings which were to be held throughout the country, in view of the fact that there has been an excellent response to our call for meetings during the period from October 31st to November 6th;
- 3) To urge local committees to visit their Congressmen home on recess; and
- 4) In connection with the Jerusalem advertisement to be signed by Jewish organizations, to sound out these organizations as to whether their support can be depended upon.

The meeting adjourned at 4:45 P.M.

J.U.

October 24, 1949

Mr. Hyman A. Schulson
Belmont Plaza
Lexington & East 48th St.
New York, New York

My dear Schulson:

Thank you for your letter of October 17th. Last week before I received your letter, I spoke to Rabbi Unger about your forced resignation from the Council. This morning I sent a letter to the Council to be read at its next meeting. I understand that they will give you an opportunity to be heard. I hope that my letter will help.

With all good wishes, I remain

Most cordially yours,

ABBA HILLEL SILVER

AHS:er

October 24, 1949

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

My dear Rabbi Unger:

I have been greatly disturbed by the information which I have received that the valuable services of Mr. Hyman Schulson, in charge of the Washington office of the American Zionist Council, have been terminated. I cannot understand the reason for it unless it be a financial one which would force the curtailment of the activities of the Council and the closing down of the Washington office entirely. I trust that that is not the case.

Mr. Schulson has been among the most valuable members of the staff of the Council, which in the last few years carried out with extraordinary ability and success its purposes and policies. He gave to our work both energy and fine initiative. He has a fine grasp of political realities in Washington, an extensive acquaintance with men in public life there, and most valuable contacts with sources which would otherwise not be available to us. My confidence in him was such that I requested him to go to Paris during the sessions of the Assembly of the United Nations, and his valuable services as Liaison man between the United States Delegation to the United Nations, the Israeli Delegation and our organization here were eminently successful and were warmly praised by our people in Paris.

I cannot understand why the Council should wish to lose the services of such an experienced, well-informed and capable member of its staff at a critical time in the affairs of our Movement.

Very sincerely yours,

ABBA HILLEL SILVER

AHS:er

October 25, 1949

Rabbi Jerome A. Unger
American Zionist Council
342 Madison Avenue
New York 17, New York

My dear Rabbi Unger:

Bishop Oxnham phoned me this afternoon soliciting my opinion on the question of Jerusalem. I strongly urged him to issue a statement in favor of the inclusion of Jerusalem within the State of Israel and in favor of international supervision of the holy places.

I had a similar inquiry addressed to me last week by Senator Taft and I urged the Senator to issue a public statement as well as make his opinion known to the President and Dean Acheson. I believe that he will do so.

I am also writing to Senator Dulles. His recent statement is unsatisfactory.

With all good wishes, I remain

Very sincerely yours,

ABBA HILLEL SILVER

AHS:er

AMERICAN ZIONIST COUNCIL

342 MADISON AVENUE

• TELEPHONE MURRAY HILL 2-1160 •

NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

Cable Address: AMZIONIST

AIR MAIL

October 26, 1949

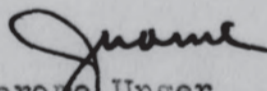
Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
The Temple
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Dr. Silver:

Thank you for your letter of October 24 with reference to Mr. Hyman Schulson. I shall present it to the members of the Executive of the American Zionist Council at its meeting this week on Thursday, October 27. At this meeting, the status of Mr. Schulson will be reconsidered.

With warm personal greetings, I am,
as ever

Affectionately yours,



Jerome Unger
Executive Director

JU:MB

CONSTITUENT ORGANIZATIONS

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

AMERICAN ZIONIST COUNCIL

342 MADISON AVENUE

• TELEPHONE MURRAY HILL 2-1160 •

NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

Cable Address: AMZIONIST

October 26, 1949

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
The Temple
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Dr. Silver:

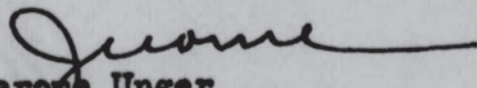
It was good to speak to you a moment ago.

Thank you so much for your letter regarding Bishop Oxnham and Senator Taft. I am taking your advice and am not pursuing it any further, but I hope eagerly that they will both issue good statements.

With fond regards, I am

Sincerely yours,

JU:EF


Jerome Unger
Executive Director

CONSTITUENT ORGANIZATIONS

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Mizrachi Organization of America • United Zionist Labor Party (Achdut Avodah-Poale Zion) • Zionist Organization of America
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AMERICAN ZIONIST COUNCIL

342 MADISON AVENUE

• TELEPHONE MURRAY HILL 2-1160 •

NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

Cable Address: AMZIONIST

October 28, 1949

To the Members of the Executive
of the AMERICAN ZIONIST COUNCIL:

In order to eliminate unnecessary expense, letter notices
will not hereafter be sent for the regular weekly meetings of
the Executive. These are held each Thursday afternoon at 3 P.M.
We shall telephone reminders each week.

Sincerely yours,

Jerome Unger
Jerome Unger
Executive Director

JU:MP

CONSTITUENT ORGANIZATIONS

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

November 3, 1949

Rabbi Jerome Unger
American Zionist Council
342 Madison Avenue
New York 17, New York

My dear Rabbi Unger:

The enclosed article by John Paul Jones was brought to my attention. It is exceptionally well written, and I think that the Zionist Council ought to make use of it.

With all good wishes, I remain

Most cordially yours,

ABBA HILLEL SILVER

AHS:er
Enc.

MEMORANDUM

305 Ring Bldg., Washington 6, D.C.

TO: Rabbi Jerome Unger

November 8, 1949

STRICTLY CONFIDENTIAL

FROM: Hymen A. Schulson

I am herewith enclosing a biography of Eli Eliot Palmer, newly appointed American representative to the Palestine Conciliation Commission.

My investigation has disclosed that he is a career civil servant of the State Department, and is definitely pro-Arab, and not sympathetic to the Zionist movement. My conclusions are based on unfriendly reports he sent when he served at Jerusalem, commencing November 7, 1933, to August 22, 1935. You will also notice that he served as Consul-General at Beirut from December 21, 1937 to August, 1940. He was undoubtedly influenced by Arabs while serving in Beirut, and under the influence of the American University of Beirut crowd. He also served in Afghanistan, which is under the influence of the Arab bloc of countries.

It is the consensus of opinion in authoritative circles in Washington that the pro-Arab forces scored quite a victory in getting Palmer to succeed Porter. He is known to be one of Loy Henderson's boys.

Encl.

BIOGRAPHY OF ELY ELIOT PALMER

PALMER, Ely Eliot.— b. Providence, R.I., Nov. 29, 1887; Worcester Acad.; Brown U., B.A. 1908; Sorbonne, Faculté de Droit, 1908-9; George Washington U., M. Dip. 1910; app. cons. asst. Dec. 20, 1910; to the Dept. Jan. 16, 1911; to the emb. at Mexico City May 31, 1911; to the Dept. Dec. 3, 1912; v. and deputy cons. gen. at Paris Jan. 8, 1913; at Brussels Feb. 26, 1914; v.c. at Brussels Feb. 6, 1915; to the Dept. Mar. 15, 1915; cons. of class eight and cons. at Madrid July 24, 1916; class five Sept. 5, 1919; class four June 4, 1920; cons. at Bucharest Aug. 25, 1921; class three Nov. 23, 1921; cons. gen. of class four June 5, 1924; For. Serv. officer of class three July 1, 1924; cons. gen. at Vancouver Aug. 3, 1929; class two July 24, 1930; at Jerusalem Nov. 7, 1933; sec. in the Diplo. Ser. Aug. 22, 1935; cons. gen. and couns. of leg. at Ottawa Aug. 28, 1935; class one June 1, 1937; cons. gen. at Beirut Dec. 21, 1937; at Sydney Aug. 23, 1940; E. M. and M. P. to Afghanistan Feb. 9, 1945; For. Serv. officer of class of career minister Nov. 14, 1946; A.E. and F. to Afghanistan May 6, 1948; to the Dept. Mar. 5, 1949; married.



AMERICAN ZIONIST COUNCIL

342 MADISON AVENUE

• TELEPHONE MURRAY HILL 2-1160 •

NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

Cable Address: AMZIONIST

November 9, 1949

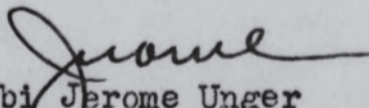
Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
The Temple
East 105th Street at Ansel Road
Cleveland 6, Ohio

Dear Dr. Silver:

Thank you for sending us the article by John Paul Jones. Miss Sulamith Schwartz had the entire article in manuscript form and we are using it in the preparation of the pamphlet to be released on the Study Tour made last summer by the American Christian Palestine Committee. In addition, there may be other uses to which we can put this splendid article.

Thank you for calling it to our attention and with fond personal regards, I am, as ever,

Sincerely yours,


Rabbi Jerome Unger
Executive Director

JU:SR

CONSTITUENT ORGANIZATIONS

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

JACQUES TORCZYNER
2 West 46th Street
New York, N. Y.

November 18, 1949

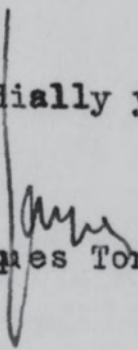
Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
19810 Shaker Blvd.
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Dr. Silver:

Enclosed please find a copy of the speech
given by Mr. Ben Gurion on November 6th and which was re-
ported incorrectly in the New York Times.

With best personal regards, I am

Cordially yours,


Jacques Torczyner

JT:STK
Enc.

ראש וזמנא שלח ד.בן-גוריון (נפגש בתשואות):

אדוני היוזר, חברי ההנהלה הציונית, הנהלת קרן היסוד, מורי

ורבותי:

זכויותיה ומפעליה של קרן היסוד בשלושים השנים האחרונות חקוקים על פני אדמת המולדת וגנוזים בנפש הישוב: השבחת האדמה, ייבוש בצות, התקנת השקאה, יסוד כפרים פורהים בעמק, בגליל, בשומרון, ביהודה ובנגב, בנין קבוצות, קיבוצים, מושבים ומושבות; מפעלי עליה והעפלה, חינוך ובריאות והגנה ובטחון שבוצעו על ידי קרן היסוד שינו פני הארץ ופני העם והניחו היסוד לעצמאותנו. אולם זכות אבות בלבד לא מספיקה. מקומו ועתידו של קרן היסוד וההסתדרות הציונית - לא יקבעו על ידי פעולותיהן וכיבושיהן בעבר בלבד.

נפל דבר בישראל - מדינת היהודים קמה ושונה פני כל הדברים, ואין מוסד, הסתדרות וקרן ומפעל יכולים להתעלם מהגורם החדש הזה ולהמנע מלקחת אותנו בחשבון - כי הוא משמש עכשיו המכשיר הראשי להגשמת הציונות, והוא קובע בריבונותו העליונה על הנעשה ברחבי המדינה.

קשה להניח שימצא ציוני בארץ ובעולם אשר יצטער על התמורה הזאת, אם כי רבים, גם בישראל וגם בתפוצות, לא הסיקו עדיין כל המסקנות המוכרחות ממפנה היסטורי זה. ואולי מוקדם עדיין להגדיר את כל משמעותו, היקפו ותוצאותיו של המפנה, יש עוד כמה דברים סמויים מן העין לגמרי וגם הנגלה והנראה כאילו עודנו לוטה בערפל של אי-בטחון. אך משתי טעויות יש להזהיר כבר עכשיו:

1. טעות אחת: שעם קום המדינה עבר זמנה של התנועה הציונית

ושל הקרנות הציוניות.

2. טעות שניה: שגם לאחר קום המדינה תמשיך ההסתדרות הציונית

פעולותיה בארץ כאילו המדינה לא קמה.

אנו מתקרבים למיליון יהודים בארץ - אולי כבר עברנו מספר זה במשהו. זוהי עובדה מהפכנית שקשה להגזים בערכה, ואפשר להגיד בלי חשש של הפרזה שזה אלפיים ומאתים שנה - מאז החשמונאים - לא ידעה ההיסטוריה היהודית מאורע חיוני כזה. אבל אסור לשכוח אף רגע שאין זה אפילו עשרה אחוזים של העם היהודי, החי אתנו היום. וקיבוץ גלויות הוא הסוכן הנאמן של הציוניזם, ואם כי מדינת ישראל תהיה מעכשיו הגורם הראש לקיבוץ גלויות,

הרי משימה ענקית זו היא למעלה מיכולתה היחידה של המדינה, ובלי עזרת העם היהודי והשתתפות חלוצו הלאומי - ההסתדרות הציונית - הדבר לא יעשה. אולם **אצטא טועים** גם אלה הסבורים שכלפי ההסתדרות הציונית, הפקידים וסמכותם כאילו לא נשתנה כלום.

בימי המנדט היה מתפקידה של ההסתדרות הציונית לעצב את מדיניות הממשלה בארץ - במידה שהממשלה המנדטורית היתה נאמנה למנדט ולהתחייבויותיה הבין-לאומיות - ולקדם העליה וההתיישבות ברשות עצמה. הסוכנות היהודית נועדה להיות **אף** - וגם היתה - במידה שממשלת המנדט לא מעלה בהתחייבויותיה הבין-לאומיות - מעין מדינה בתוך מדינה, ממשלה בתוך ממשלה. לא תתכן שום "מדינה" בתוך מדינת ישראל, ושום "ממשלה" בתוך ממשלת ישראל. רשאי כל ציוני בארץ ובגולה, להתנגד למעשי הממשלה ולתכניתה, והוא גם זכאי ואולי גם חייב לבקר אותה אם לפי הכרתו הציונית אין היא עושה המוטל עליה. אולם שום ציוני איננו יכול לכוון ממשלת ישראל ומשטר המדינה אלא אם יעזוב הגולה ויהיה לאזרח הארץ וישא בכל החובות והזכויות של אזרח המדינה. כל נסיון ללחוץ על ממשלת ישראל בכוח קרנות או ארגונים ציוניים, מתכחש לעיקר החדש שעליו עומדת מעכשיו בשורה הראשונה התנועה הציונית: מדינת ישראל העצמאית, הריבונית והחלוצית.

גם לפני היות המדינה היה הישוב העברי בארץ בתוקף היותו נושא ההגשמה הציונית, מכוון למעשה ומדריך את התנועה הציונית. הציונות החלוצית בלי הציונות הקונגרסאית, לא היתה עושה בכוחות עצמה מה שעשתה - אבל הציונות הקונגרסאית היתה נשאת מסגרת ריקה ועקרה אילו לא ידעה מהרגע הראשון להשען למעשה על מגשימי הציונות וחלוציה בארץ.

כמדינת ישראל גלום עכשיו הכוח הריבוני של החלוציות הציונית הדינמית, רבת-היכולת והתנופה. כוח זה יעוצב רק על ידי אלה המצטרפים אליה במאה אחוז, ללא כל שיור וללא כל תנאי, כלומר כל אלה שיתישבו בארץ ויהיו לאזרחי מדינת ישראל.

אולם כוחה וסמכותה של המדינה - עם היותם רבים וגדלים - מוגבלים: גם המדינה פועלת אך ורק בתוך תחומי ארצה, וסמכותה חלה רק על אזרחיה. אלה בלבד לא מספיקים לביצוע החזון הציוני; קיבוץ-גלויות. ולכן, שתוף-פעולה אמיץ ונאמן בין המדינה ובין התנועה הציונית; זיקה הדדית ושותפות מעשית בין אמצעי המדינה ובין הקרנות - הם הכרחיים.

הקמת המדינה הרחיבה עסקיה ואפשרויותיה של **אם** התנועה הציונית, - והגבירה צרכיהן ויכולת פעולתן של הקרנות הציוניות. לא בזכות-עברה ומעשיה הקודמים - אלא בתוקף משימתה המורחבת בהווה ובעתיד כתבעה קרן היסוד לגדול, לפרוץ ולהגביר פעולה. וממשלת ישראל אומרת לתנועה הציונית ולקרנותיה: גברו היילים; האדירו עליה! (תשואות).

AMERICAN ZIONIST COUNCIL

342 MADISON AVENUE

• TELEPHONE MURRAY HILL 2-1160 •

NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

Cable Address: AMZIONIST

November 30, 1949

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
Hotel Waldorf-Astoria
New York City, New York

Dear Dr. Silver:

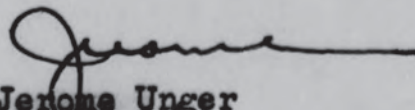
As I told you this morning, last night's dinner in your honor was all that we had hoped it would be. It was really like old times, and I sincerely hope that the promise implicit in your words "well, I have had that rest" means that we are going to have all of you all of the time from now on. Although, as you say, there may not be an occasion whereby this Council may use your address of last night, I personally, for myself, would like to have a copy of it if you have one available.

This is just a reminder that the Executive of the Council will meet on Thursday, December 1, at 3 P.M. in this office. I sincerely hope that you will be with us on that occasion. Similarly, the Full Council will meet on Thursday evening, December 8, at 8:15 P.M. in the Conference Room. The notice for this has probably gone forth to you in Cleveland by now. I hope that you will be able to make that too.

Enclosed is a copy of the proposal on the territorial union idea which Mr. Baruch Zuckerman drafted at the request of the Council in September as a preliminary basis for discussion.

With fondest greetings to Mrs. Silver and yourself, I am, as always

Cordially yours,


Jerome Unger
Executive Director

JU:EF
Enc.

CONSTITUENT ORGANIZATIONS

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

COPY FOR MEMBERS OF COUNCIL

AMERICAN ZIONIST COUNCIL

342 MADISON AVENUE

• TELEPHONE MURRAY HILL 2-1160 •

NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

Cable Address: AMZIONIST

CONFIDENTIAL --- URGENT

NO. 14

December 2, 1949

To the Local Committees
of the AMERICAN ZIONIST COUNCIL:

The Jerusalem situation in the United Nations has taken a definitely unfavorable turn. In the first test vote on internationalization, the United Nations Subcommittee of 17 voted in favor of a formal United Nations Jerusalem regime. The vote was 9 to 6. Canada and India abstained.

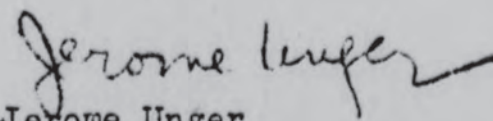
To neutralize the effects of this temporary setback, it is urgent that you increase all your efforts to bring to bear the full measure of public opinion on the White House, Secretary of State Dean Acheson, and Senator Warren G. Austin (Chief of U. S. Delegation to United Nations, 2 Park Avenue, New York City). Outpouring of millions of messages, wires, postals, letters should indicate strong feeling against unworkable, unjust plan for internationalization of Holy City of Jerusalem.

Continue contacts among Christian and liberal groups and personal contacts with local Senators and Representatives and other officials. This is of equal importance with flood of messages as requested above. Similarly, radio time, newspaper editorials and letters to the editors will aid greatly.

We invite your attention to the enclosed news item appearing in today's New York Times which will indicate exactly how the most recent turn of events has affected the Jerusalem situation.

Kindest regards.

Sincerely yours,


Jerome Unger
Executive Director

JU:LD
Enc.

CONSTITUENT ORGANIZATIONS

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

88 Central Pk W.
New York City
Dec. 12, 1949.

Dear D. Silver -

Since you referred the gentleman
(a friend of Israel) to Frank - he doesn't re-
member the name; the conversation was over
the telephone - Frank thought you might
be interested in reading the attached.

With kind regards, Sam

Sincerely yours,

Stuart S. O'Leary

December 9, 1949

Hon. Ben Gurion
Hakarya
Tel Aviv, Israel

Dear B.G.:

Enclosed please find copy of letter I have this day forwarded to Hon. Moshe Sharett. I wrote it for the record as I did not want anyone in the future to say "even Frank Cohen was called upon and he did not help". And I am sending you the copy because it very definitely exemplifies what I have been arguing for since it became apparent that an Israeli State would be established.

1. All Jews built Israel, including American Jews!
2. The most powerful, healthiest mentally and physically, Jewry in the world is American Jewry.
3. History will eventually record that the greatest blot on Israel will be the studied effort of its leaders to set up a money-beggar relationship between Israel and U.S. Jewry.

You may think it presumptuous on my part to write you and to Hon Sharett as I am doing. It would be a pleasant surprise to me if you did not ignore these letters. Yet I feel so strongly on this subject that try as I may I cannot step away from Israeli Jewish ties. More than once I gave up in disgust and decided to keep quiet. But, I am disturbed as a Jew and you will have to bear with me.

Believe me, Jews in the United States have as much at stake in seeing Israel properly established as do the Jews in Israel. Should Israel succeed, the Jews in the United States will be happy. Should you get into an argument with U.N. then the Jews in the United States will feel it as keenly and maybe more so than the Jews in Israel.

Should you be compelled to stand up physically against U.N. on the Jerusalem question, should U.N. sanctions be set up, it will cost all Jews millions and millions of dollars in time, effort, pain and anguish over and above the actual millions of dollars of expenditures. And when I weigh this against the effort that should have and could have been exerted by a handful of United States Jews to have given you the necessary four more votes in the U.N., it makes me sad, bitter and angry. Sad that the so called "smartest" people on earth should be so helpless and stupid in its bearing towards its own; bitter because we Jews have to suffer so because of false and stupid

Hon. Ben Gurion

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December 9, 1949

prophets who are trying to bring all Jewry down to a level of a union membership, ignoring the fact that the greatest body of Jewry is not merely union members; and angry at a leadership which, while pretending that money does not count, has brought a relationship between Israel and the United States to the lowest level of "give us money", "send us money", "keep your hands off", "do not interfere". Money beggars! Never "give us your statesmanship", "give us your intelligence", "give us your world experience". Money raising campaigners suddenly became the "Gods" and to Hell with all other Jews.

Imagine what trouble, Jews in Israel and Jews over the world will now experience, what mental anguish and pain we will suffer because you did not see fit to call on U.S. Jews to help at the U.N. The Israeli pride or arrogance, I do not know which, kept you from calling for aid. All because, I suppose, those who could help were not union members. What punishment History will mete out to those who separate Jews into sheep and goats.

Four or five U.S. Jews could have given you the necessary votes and I am certain each of us would have stood the expense and it would have cost you nothing. In the light of events, millions will now be spent to keep armed, be prepared for defense, etc., more millions will be lost in good will; more millions will be spent to create good will and prepare for the next vote; and what is worse, all the thought, time, suffering, fear, etc., which will now be spent countering the effects; all the projected progress which will be retarded in Jerusalem and throughout Israel. And all for what! Because Israelis decided that only union member Jews can be counted in an Israeli minyon, and all other U.S. Jews can and should be ignored.

I feel ashamed of myself to have to write in this manner, but I know no better manner to bring home to you the folly of a policy of money-begging. If for example I gave you half million dollars and Zermurray a Half million dollars, true to your pattern, you would raise the rafters with your praises. Believe me, and I suppose you would now after the event, agree, that if we had given you four votes, our effort would have far out weighed many times a half million dollars on the scale of history.

I think I have said enough. I believe I know you well enough, and you know my interest well enough for you not to take offense and consider this in the spirit in which it is written. I have the greatest respect for you personally, or I would not even take the trouble to write. But a change in attitude must come if Israel is not to lose again.

With best personal regards to you and Mrs. B.G., I am

Sincerely,

Frank Cohen

FC:ht

December 9, 1949

Hon. Moshe Sharett
Israeli Consulate
New York, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Sharett:

I have just heard the sad news of the U.N. vote. I am extremely unhappy about it, particularly since I firmly believe it could have been avoided.

What I here write is not recriminatory nor destructive criticism but only because I know this vote is not the last word, and because I hope constructive suggestions will now perhaps be acceptable. At the risk of the proverbial treatment given free advice, I repeat to you my last words spoken to you at the U.N. final vote November 29th, 1947. "Do not neglect American Jews. Do not underestimate their power. Remember American Jews also built Israel".

You know what I did in '47. You know how I succeeded in switching Haiti, Philippine, Paraguay to vote "yes" and how I kept Argentina to "abstain". These votes gave the desired 2/3rd majority and helped create The State of Israel. You know I used my business organization for the full week at the U.N. and my associations throughout Latin-America to achieve the final vote. You know we did not leave these delegates out of our sight, actually and physically, even to having one of my associates sit with each delegation during the voting period, while I sat on the floor, to be sure there would be no change at the last moment. And finally you know, I spared neither time nor money to achieve the desired result; and because no one had asked me to participate and I did not want the Agency to have a nickle's expense on my account, I gave the Agency my personal checks for \$11,000.00 to cover all expenses incurred by me or through me.

I then told you, and this is the whole point of my letter, there are at least a dozen persons in the United States who could have done what I did if only they had been called upon. One of those I particularly mentioned was Mr. Zemurray of the United Fruit Company. I pointed out to you that my activity was sheer accident for I might just as likely have returned to the United States from a trip abroad a week later rather than on the night of the Ad Hoc Com. vote. I urged you not to make the mistake again of not calling on U.S. Jews. And finally I warned you that you would again and again need our help, that you should not neglect American Jews who did or could help you. Yet it took weeks and weeks and finally a sharp note to your office to even have them write a "thank you" to some who helped me.

December 9, 1949

I was greatly surprised when Wednesday evening, December 7th, a gentleman whom I did not know telephoned me for help to change three votes on U.N. Resolution for Internationalization of Jerusalem at the vote the following day, or Friday. This chap said he was a friend of Israel, in no way connected officially with Israel, and that he was calling on me in desperation because Rabbi Silver and Dr. Newman had advised him of what I had accomplished in '47.

I say I was surprised, because since that night in the U.N. in '47, after I delivered the decisive votes, I had not heard a word, let alone a thank you from anyone connected with Israel here or there, nor could I understand why "a friend of Israel", had to call on me! But more than surprised, I was very, very angry and upset that I should be called upon at such a late hour, the night before the vote, to change a lost cause. How could I be expected to deliver Paraguay, Dominican Republic, Honduras, Philippines, Nicaragua, Costa Rica or El Salvador over night! And then I received a real shock! I asked whether they had called upon Zemurray. The answer was NO, and could I tell them where he could be reached! I was angry and told the gentleman that I had once impressed on you that Zemurray could deliver the Central American States. But it was obvious that he had been treated with the same indifference shown me.

Yet a Jew is a Jew and must help. So, I told him to call Dewey in Boston and my brother, Dr. Joseph Cohen in New Orleans, for the whereabouts of Zemurray. My brother called me at midnight, said at someone's request he had just talked with Zemurray (the latter is not in good health and is under my brother's care in New Orleans) that Zemurray was terribly angry because he was not called upon sooner and was especially incensed because he was not given an opportunity to help with the votes he knew he could have delivered.

You will have to bear with me for all this detail. I hope it will serve a purpose. Let me cite Paraguay as an example. All day Tuesday, Dec. 6th, and Wednesday, Dec. 7th, I spent negotiating a contract with them through Mr. Blanquier, an associate whom you may remember in '47 helped me switch Paraguay in our favor. Only one hour before your office called me, Wednesday, December 7th, at 5 P.M., he left me to depart for Paraguay and Argentina. He helped me in '47, and could have done so again had he been called upon sooner. I tried desperately to reach him but couldn't until

Mr. Moshe Sharett

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December 9, 1949

just before his flight time. It was too late.

I dislike writing this. I do not know whether I should, especially since I know the pride all Israelis have in their accomplishments to date. I know you all want to be on your own (I sometimes think Israelis have developed a worse inferiority complex than Jews ever had in Diaspora).

My experience of the past two years with Israeli officialdom has convinced me not to ever expect any recognition of a friendly act or advice unless one is asked for it, and unless one makes Israel pay for it in advance at an exorbitant price.

However, one is a Jew. One wants to help. A Jew must help, therefore this letter. I hope you will not be offended by my frankness and will take it in the spirit it is given. It is not meant to be personal in any manner. I hope it may be given some weight and help avoid future fiascos and trouble.

With personal regards and believe me with the greatest respect and admiration for you personally, I am

Sincerely,

Frank Cohen

FC:ht

THE



AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

386 FOURTH AVENUE, NEW YORK 16, N. Y. Cable Address, "WISHCOM, NEW YORK"

Telephone MURRAY HILL 5-0181

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FRANK L. SULZBERGER, *Chicago, Vice-President*

December 14, 1949

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
The Temple
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Dr. Silver:

The name of Hyman A. Schulson has come to our attention in connection with a possible vacancy on our overseas staff. The position would involve the administration of an important part of our cultural program with a minimum of guidance from the home office.

We understand that you know of Mr. Schulson's work. It would therefore be of great help to us if you would give us your view of his understanding of Jewish life both here and abroad, his administrative ability, his ability to meet and discuss with diplomats, high representatives, etc., his initiative, his creativity, his work habits, his leadership qualities.

Please be assured that such information as you submit will be held in strict confidence.

Sincerely yours,

Lillian L. Smirlock
Personnel Assistant

LLS:jse

43RD ANNUAL MEETING • HOTEL PLAZA, NEW YORK • JANUARY 20-22, 1950

December 16, 1949

Mrs. Frank Cohen
88 Central Park West
New York, New York

My dear Mrs. Cohen:

Thank you for your kindness in sending me copies of the letters which Mr. Cohen addressed to Mr. Ben Gurion and Mr. Sharett. I read them with great interest. I can fully understand the shagrin and indignation of Mr. Cohen. Others felt it, too. The surly attitude of top Israeli officials towards American Zionist leadership, their avid partisanship which claimed exclusive credit for everything which has taken place, and above all, their discrediting early this year of the American Zionist leaders which resulted both in the financial collapse of the 1949 UJA campaign and the undermining of the Zionist position in Washington, constitute a sad story indeed of human frailty and political ineptitude.

What is even more serious is the attempt which is now being made to give the impression that the American government was and is with us on the issue of the internationalization of Jerusalem. While the American government opposed the so-called "Australian" resolution, it stated time and again at the Assembly that it was in favor of an international regime of the city - the Conciliation Commission Plan in a modified form. Again, while it voted against the "Australian" resolution, it was clear that it exerted no diplomatic pressure upon any of the governments within the sphere of its influence to do likewise, and by its inaction, insured more than a two-thirds vote for the resolution which was adopted.

The extent of our diplomatic defeat becomes even more apparent when one realizes that while in 1947 we had to win two-thirds of the states to our side, on the issue of Jerusalem we had to win only one-third of the states plus one to keep the hostile resolution from being adopted.

With all good wishes, I remain

Most cordially yours,

ABBA HILLEL SILVER

AHS:er

December 16, 1949

Rabbi Jerome Unger
American Zionist Council
342 Madison Avenue
New York 17, New York

My dear Rabbi Unger:

I received your Bulletin #15 signed by Louis Lipsky addressed to the local committees of the American Zionist Council with reference to the decision of the United Nations on Jerusalem.

I am constrained to write to you that paragraphs 2 and 3 represent a kind of self-deception based on an unrealistic appraisal of what actually took place, which will not be helpful in the trying days ahead. The impression conveyed by your bulletin is that the American government has been consistently with us in opposition to the internationalization of Jerusalem. This, of course, is not the case. While the American government voted against the resolution in the "Australian" form in which it was finally adopted, it made it very clear throughout the sessions of the Assembly that it did favor internationalizing the area - the Conciliation Commission Plan in a modified form. Furthermore, while voting against the so-called "Australian" resolution, it is clear that it did not take the initiative nor exert diplomatic pressure on governments within the sphere of its influence, which the American government knows how to do when it is vitally interested in having a measure voted up or down at the U.N. The disastrous extent of our diplomatic defeat at the U.N. becomes apparent when one recalls that in 1947 we had to win the approval of two-thirds of the members of the U.N. In this instance all that we needed to have the hostile resolution defeated was one-third plus one of the voting members.

The article in "The Nation" on December 17th - The Jerusalem Story - is a far more realistic appraisal of what took place, and I am disturbed that the Zionist Council has not forthrightly faced the situation and is not telling the Jews of America the plain facts of life in order to guide them intelligently for future effective action.

To assure the Zionists of America that our cause has received full support by the American Delegation at the U.N. and that "the assurances given by President Truman have been faithfully kept", and that "we are confident that the position taken by the American Delegation in the U.N. Assembly will be maintained with integrity, vigor and effectiveness in the Trusteeship Council" (in the face of Dean Acheson's declaration yesterday that the American government will back up the Trusteeship Council in the matter of the internationalization resolution), is to confound and unwittingly to mislead them and to make the unreconciled forces opposed to us in the State Department secure in their political maneuver which left us defeated, and at the same time, left them possessed of the approbation and acclaim of the Jews of America.

I find in all this an unhappy echo of the sort of politics which we played in the Roosevelt era to our great hurt.

Very sincerely yours,

AHS:er

ABBA HILLEL SILVER

AMERICAN ZIONIST COUNCIL

342 MADISON AVENUE

• TELEPHONE MURRAY HILL 2-1160 •

NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

Cable Address: AMZIONIST

CONFIDENTIAL -- URGENTNO. 16

December 16, 1949

To the Local Committees
of the AMERICAN ZIONIST COUNCIL:

The recent action taken by the Government of Israel transferring offices of the Israeli capital to Jerusalem was no sudden decision but the continuance of a process begun several months ago. The following paragraphs from Premier David Ben-Gurion's statement of December 13th to the Knesset explain the reasoning behind this new development. I quote:

"As soon as the fighting stopped we began transferring government offices to Jerusalem, and creating conditions which a capital needed -- effective communications, economic and technical arrangements. We are continuing with the transfer of the government to Jerusalem and hope to complete it as soon as possible.

"When the first Knesset opened in Jerusalem on the 14th of February, 1949, there were not adequate facilities for its normal functioning in the capital, and it was necessary to transfer its session temporarily to Tel-Aviv. The required arrangements in Jerusalem are on the verge of completion and there is nothing now to prevent the Knesset from returning to Jerusalem."

In discussing this latest Jerusalem development, make certain to bring home the point that the Knesset's action was not launched in defiance of the United Nations. This was not a proclamation of Jerusalem as the capital. The transfer of the government seat to Jerusalem was begun several months prior to the consideration by the United Nations of the Jerusalem issue. Please make this clear in speaking to editors, Christians, political figures, etc., or in correcting any erroneous impressions that may crop up in the press, radio, periodicals and lecture platform.

* * * *

CONSTITUENT ORGANIZATIONS

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

We wired you today calling for the utilization of Chanukkah services in the Synagogues and other meetings and gatherings in your community to focus attention on the Jerusalem question. It is important that cables be sent to Prime Minister David Ben-Gurion, expressing the solidarity of the Jews of America. The copy of Mr. Lipsky's cable of December 12, sent to you in our last memorandum, can serve as a form. Send the message to us and we shall forward it for you.

* * * *

These next few weeks are crucial for our work. We must see to it -

- One - That the United States maintains its present view on the Jerusalem question and works for revision of the U. N. resolution;
- Two - That the contrast between the eminently fair and workable Israeli proposals and the impracticable and unjust U.N. resolution is kept before the public mind;
- Three - That the forces opposed to us which brought about the present situation, namely the Arab States, the Soviet Union, the Vatican, are exposed and their objectives analyzed;
- Four - That discussion and pressure for a revision of the U. N. resolution be accelerated;
- Five - That the dangers to the prestige of the U. N. in this situation be emphasized.

Stress the positive in your public relations activities. This is the moment for which we have been urging you to establish the widest possible and best contacts with press and radio, with Christians and liberals, and in all circles where we can expect to find support.

* * * *

We are enclosing four items that will be valuable for you in discussion with your friends:

- One - An offset of Premier Ben Gurion's address to the Knesset;
- Two - An excellent editorial from the New York Herald Tribune of December 15, 1949;
- Three - A reprint of the highly factual article by Miss Lillie Shultz, "The Jerusalem Story: A Victory for the Vatican", from The Nation of December 17, 1949;
- Four - Analytical comments on the Jerusalem situation.

I am confident that you will see to it that this material gets into the right hands. Additional copies are available.

* * * *

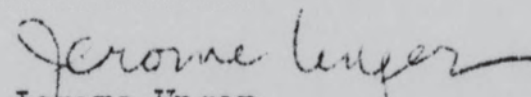
In addition to sending us cable messages to be forwarded to Prime Minister Ben-Gurion and to the focusing of attention through Chanukkah meetings on the Jerusalem question, please also do the following:

- One - Have Jewish organizations and non-Jewish organizations (of all kinds - American Legion, Rotary, etc.) adopt resolutions expressing gratification that the United States voted against Australia's proposal and urging the United States to work for revision of the U. N. resolution. Send resolutions to Secretary of State Dean Acheson and send a copy to us.
- Two - In addition to all foregoing instructions talk revision in all circles.
- Three - On the basis of background material herewith provided arrange to have editorials in your local press and have letters to the editors signed by the most significant names.
- Four - Keep us promptly informed of all your activities and send us all resolutions, newspaper clippings and all other pertinent matter.

Jerusalem is and will always be Jewish!

With warm Chanukkah greetings, I am

Sincerely yours,


Jerome Unger
Executive Director

JU:EF
Encs.

ANALYTICAL COMMENTS ON THE JERUSALEM SITUATION

After the U.N. Assembly Resolution

by

Eliahu Ben-Horin

Adviser on Middle East Affairs to the American Zionist Council

The Internationalization Alliance

The alliance of forces, which won the day in the United Nations General Assembly, on behalf of the complete internationalization of Jerusalem and its vicinity, consisted - as is well known by now - of three main elements: the Arab States, the Soviet bloc and the Catholic countries. This is, to say the least, a very strange political partnership. If one recalls the deep animosity and outright political warfare between the Vatican and the Kremlin on the world scene, Catholic-Communist harmony on the question of Jerusalem is no less than astounding. Scrutiny of the respective motives of the three partners is, therefore, in order, and should contribute to better understanding of the present, post-Assembly Jerusalem situation.

The Vote of the Arab States

The Arabs are always very generous in disposing of something that does not belong to them and over which they have no control. In line with this inexpensive generosity, all the Arab States which hold no positions in Jerusalem voted for internationalization, whereas Jordan, the Arab State, which is in occupation of the Old City and of Bethlehem, was and is militantly opposed to any internationalization project.

The main motives behind the Arab vote were, of course, their desire to minimize the Israeli victory; to avenge themselves, at least politically, for their military defeat; to block expansion of the Kingdom of Jordan through absorption of the non-Israeli part of Palestine; and to force Israel into a position of defiance vis-a-vis the United Nations, and thus place it in an unfavorable light in the eyes of world opinion.

Soviet Policy on Jerusalem

In order to understand the Kremlin's policy on Jerusalem, one must be clear as to the considerations which were responsible for Soviet policy with regard to Palestine, in general. For there is little doubt that the motives behind Soviet policies remain the same, despite the contradictory effects of these policies at various times. Knowing the character of the Soviet state, one may safely say that when Russia voted for Palestine partition, it did not do so because of pro-Jewish sentiments. Likewise, it was not pro-Arab feelings that dictated Communist support for the internationalization of Jerusalem. In both cases, the Soviet bloc was purely and simply pro-Soviet.

Soviet policy in the Middle East has been inspired throughout by three main considerations. First, anything that results in the weakening of British power, or Western power, in the Middle East is welcome to the Kremlin. Second, continuous discord and discontent in any area are grist for the mills of Soviet policy. Third, Russia is anxiously on the lookout for a foothold in the Middle East.

Seen against this background, Soviet policy makes sense. Partition of Palestine puts an end to an important British position in the Middle East, and was therefore to be supported. But partition of Jerusalem between Israel and Jordan opens an avenue - via Jordan - for increased British influence in that area, and must, therefore, be combatted.

An international regime in Jerusalem, moreover, may provide an opening for the direct participation of the Soviet bloc in the administration of a Middle East territory. However small the Jerusalem territory may be, it is better than nothing. Thus far, Soviet Russia and her satellites have been precluded from participating in any of the U.N. commissions appointed to settle various Middle East problems. The anti-Communist forces in the U.N. will try to prevent Russian participation in the administration of an internationalized Jerusalem, but it will not be easy. Unlike the various temporary commissions, the Jerusalem administration is supposed to be a permanent set-up. Russia will be on very solid ground when she demands a seat for herself both as a Great Power and as the representative of the Russian-Orthodox (Pravoslavna) Church, which is a separate religious entity and which, in addition, owns very considerable property in Jerusalem and its vicinity.

The Catholic Position

The Vatican went to great lengths in order to assure the passage of the internationalization resolution in the General Assembly. It is reliably reported that the Pope himself sent cables to the delegates of all Catholic countries, urging them to vote for internationalization as a matter of Christian duty and conscience. These cables were received on the very eve of the vote on Jerusalem, and did not fail to have the desired effect. Such direct and forceful intervention by the supreme Catholic authority in an international political issue is unprecedented in modern times.

All this goes to show that the Vatican is determined to wield the predominant influence in an internationalized Jerusalem. The Catholic hierarchy is, of course, fully aware of the fact that all the Holy Places, with one exception, are located in the Old City of Jerusalem and in Bethlehem, but there are many Catholic institutions in the New City. Though these do not qualify as Holy Places, the Vatican would prefer to see them outside of the area of Israeli rule.

Internationalization Will Not Materialize, But...

As matters stand today, the internationalization resolution of the General Assembly has no chance of actual fulfillment. The two States - Israel and Jordan - which control Jerusalem are vehemently opposed to internationalization. So is the population of Jerusalem. The U.N. possesses neither the power nor the means to force Jerusalem into subjugation to an international government, and to make the people of Jerusalem stateless wards of the United Nations. Nor do the protagonists of internationalization enjoy a strong moral position in the matter -- the egotistical motives of the partners in that alliance are too obvious. It was not exactly holy considerations that produced the majority vote for the internationalization of the Holy City.

Despite all this, defiance of the U.N. resolution by Israel and Jordan will place these two states in a most unfavorable position as far as public opinion is concerned. Even if the Arab States and their friends will ultimately fail in bringing about the actual transference of Jerusalem to an international authority, they have already achieved one of their aims, namely maneuvering Israel into the position of a rebel against the vote of the world community of nations. As long as the resolution of the General Assembly remains in force, pro-Arab and anti-Israeli propaganda on the world scene will make abundant use of any move by the Israeli Government which may be interpreted as defiance of the United Nations' will.

Complete Reversal of Positions

Spokesmen of the Arab States in Lake Success have already condemned Israel for flouting the U.N.'s authority. This is, of course, very touching, especially if one recalls that these very states embarked on a war in order to bring about the annulment of a previous U.N. resolution. At that time, indeed, the Arab propaganda machine tried hard to explain that any resolution of the U.N. General Assembly was no more than a recommendation, and was not binding on the dissenting members. It is safe to predict that, on the present occasion, the Arabs and their friends will find the Jerusalem resolution binding to the utmost...

Towards a Revision of the U.N. Resolution

Only a revision of the internationalization resolution of the General Assembly can rectify matters. Even many of the protagonists of the internationalization resolution have expressed grave doubts as to the materialization of the resolution, and are convinced that the U.N. will have to reconsider the Jerusalem problem and adopt a new resolution.

In the interest of a speedy pacification of the Middle East and of stability in that highly strategic area, it would be most desirable to have revision of the resolution come about as quickly as possible. Procrastination will do great harm. It will benefit the destructive forces at work in the area and bring about a deterioration of the general situation. It may even endanger the relations, on a world scale, between the advocates and opponents of internationalization.

Time is of the essence. All efforts must be directed towards a speedy annulment of the internationalization resolution and the adoption, in its place, of a new U.N. decision which is both just and workable.

EDITORIAL from
NEW YORK HERALD TRIBUNE
December 15, 1949

FRUITS OF JERUSALEM

The worst fears of the opponents of the United Nations plan for Jerusalem are confirmed by the Israeli government's decision to move its offices to its ancient capital. While the U. N. Trusteeship Council is going through the motions of drawing up an internationalization statute, the city itself continues to exist as an actuality, not as a blueprint. It is distressing to find the U. N. thus disregarded, but it is hard to see what else the architects of the internationalization plan could have expected.

Certainly the step is a logical one from the standpoint of the Israeli government, which has warned all along that internationalization of a Jerusalem enclave was an impossibility. Had Mr. Ben-Gurion done less than begin the move to Jerusalem, his government might have suffered a popular overthrow; he has, indeed, shown a measure of restraint in not proclaiming the city as the capital of Israel immediately. The Israeli statement guarantees the safety of those holy places which lie in Israeli territory; it also reiterates a willingness to have the U. N. take over their supervision.

Israel is not the first nation to have disregarded a U. N. decision -- South Africa, to take but one example, has been doing it for several years -- but it is among the few who are able to appeal to the world's conscience and sense of fair play. No doubt it would have been a great convenience if Mr. Ben-Gurion had found it possible to delay his move toward Jerusalem, but the inevitability of such action was inherent in the U. N. decision. It has now been made unmistakably evident that Israel, as well as Jordan, has no intention of backing down, and that those U.N. delegates who closed their eyes to the unfairness of internationalization finally must open them to its impracticability. The U. N. has put itself on a spot in the Jerusalem issue, and formulating a full internationalization plan will not get it off, no matter how much it may soothe the feelings of the Arab bloc. However unhelpful the unyielding attitudes of both Israel and Jordan may be, the basic errors are being made at Lake Success, and it is there that the remedy must be found.

* * *

The Jerusalem Story

BY LILLIE SHULTZ

Lake Success, December 9

THE United Nations today acknowledged the Vatican as its sixtieth member with the power to dictate its action regardless of reality, practicality, or justice. This is the meaning of the decision of the General Assembly, which turned the clock back two years by ruling that a permanent international regime should be established in Jerusalem on the basis of the 1947 resolution. Twelve Latin American countries, together with the Arab states, the Soviet bloc, and European countries with large Catholic populations, combined on a roll-call vote to create a triumph for the Vatican steam-roller. The count was thirty-eight to fourteen with seven abstentions. Had the vote been by secret ballot, the outcome would have been different. This was the view of the chairman of the Ad Hoc Committee, whose country, Iran, voted in the affirmative.

The Vatican's interest in internationalization is based on its determination to make Jerusalem a second Rome. It sees in Jerusalem a gateway to the promotion of its interests in the Middle East and Asia. Although in 1947 the Vatican's custodian of the Holy Places sought only international guaranties for the Holy Places and assured access to them, Rome's attitude has changed. Two papal encyclicals issued in 1948 and 1949 called for internationalization. Roman Catholic pressure on the United States government has been insistent. On November 18 of this year Catholic cardinals and bishops published a statement demanding internationalization and opposing both the Conciliation Commission's plan and the proposal for an international curatorship under the United Nations, to provide supervision and protection of the Holy Places throughout Palestine.

For months the Vatican has pressed Israel to agree to complete internationalization. Its agents have intimated that Israeli resistance would produce two penalties: (1) deterioration of Catholic-Jewish relations throughout the world; (2) Catholic influence to retard an early settlement between Israel and the Arab world. The overtones of this threat were audible even in the Assembly debate. Charles Malik, Lebanon's delegate and the Vatican's principal representative, warned the United Nations many times that failure to act would mean that the

whole of Jerusalem would shortly be in the hands of Israel. Time and again he suggested a squeeze play to the Christian world, declaring that Islam was now offering to share Jerusalem with the Christians, as it had not done for a thousand years. It was short-sighted, he implied, to think that Israel would indefinitely be the dominant factor in this situation.

EVEN those who voted for it admit that the decision to internationalize Jerusalem cannot be implemented, that any attempt to do so would touch off a new conflict which might destroy the Holy Places instead of protecting them.

On Tuesday the Trusteeship Council begins a series of meetings to draft a statute. It remains to be seen whether by using the Coué method suggested by Malik—namely, to will it—the Trusteeship Council can carry out the decision, lacking both the force and the funds to run a city-state against the will of its populations. What is expected to happen is the speedy drafting of a statute, an effort to get the acceptance of both parties, and if this meets with failure a report to that effect. That the council's effort will fail is clearly indicated. Mayor Auster of Jewish Jerusalem has announced that the community will ignore the decision and embark upon civil disobedience if internationalization is attempted. King Abdullah of Trans-Jordan has reiterated that the Old City will be taken from him over his dead body. There is no reason to believe either position will be abandoned, especially since neither authority is a member of the United Nations. Israel, having been divested of authority, will not take part in the discussions of the Trusteeship Council even if invited to do so.

In the end a special session of the Assembly will probably be held—a session which may meet with a more decisive *fait accompli* either in the form of an agreement between Israel and Jordan or of stiffening resistance to the U. N. by two communities whose proffered pledges to safeguard the Holy Places through agreements with the U. N. have been ignored.

The stage for the empty triumph of the Vatican was set by an alliance, based on interests quite unrelated to the protection of the Holy Places, among Australia,

Lebanon, and the Soviet Union. Lebanon and the Arab states were motivated by their hatred of Israel and their jealousy lest Jordan alone reap the fruits of the Palestine war. The Soviet attitude was dictated by a desire to prevent Britain from regaining a permanent foothold in the area through its puppet, Jordan, even if it meant creating continuous turmoil there. Australia, leader in the effort to establish partition, hoped by its insistence on the 1947 resolution to assure victory for the Labor government from an electorate which is 25 per cent Roman Catholic, a hope which proved to be vain.

FROM the first it was clear in the Ad Hoc Committee that there was a basic conflict between two opposing principles—that of territorial internationalization and that of curatorship or functional internationalization, a name coined to describe U. N. supervision limited to the Holy Places. When the session opened, the Ad Hoc Committee had before it the following proposals: (1) that of the Conciliation Commission, (2) that of Israel, offering an agreement to the U. N. to assure protection of the Holy Places and free access to them, (3) an Australian plan calling for the enlargement of the Conciliation Commission from three to seven members, with a year in which to report a plan which would more nearly meet the conditions of the 1947 Jerusalem resolution. The Soviet Union proposed a series of amendments to the Australian plan the effect of which was to restore the draft statute drawn up in 1947 by the Trusteeship Council. In a twelve-page series of amendments the Lebanese proposed a new draft statute based on the trusteeship version which the Arab states had opposed and the Trusteeship Council had abandoned as obsolete in July, 1948.

None of these resolutions or amendments commanded a majority. Nor did any of them offer a rallying point to the Vatican.

This was the situation when a subcommittee of seventeen was established which should try to reconcile the proposals and report back to the Ad Hoc body in three days. No majority for any of the proposals was considered possible, and it was expected that a new plan would have to be found, in all probability a compromise limited to supervision of the Holy Places. The Soviet Union had announced that it considered the Australian proposal a halfway measure which it could not support. There was reason to believe that if the Soviet amendments were lost in the subcommittee, Russia would vote against the Australian proposal. But a surprising development occurred. The Lebanese and the Australians capitulated to the Russian point of view. All the Soviet amendments were defeated. But the Lebanese dropped their own proposals and submitted an amendment based on the Russian proposals with the addition of a single sentence. The Soviet Union accepted the Lebanese

amendment as a substitute for its own. The Australian delegation also accepted this amendment, which called for the Trusteeship Council to complete a statute based on the 1947 text. The result was that the subcommittee voted for what was called an Australian resolution but was actually a Russian concept cloaked in the language of Lebanon. This was the most important victory won by the U. S. S. R. in the history of the United Nations. Small wonder it exploited such an unexpected windfall.

The name of Australia gave respectability to a resolution which had been voted down when proposed by the Soviet Union. But even more important, the union of Russia, Lebanon, and Australia produced a resolution tailored to the Vatican design.

It is a fact that neither in the subcommittee nor in the Ad Hoc Committee nor in the plenary session itself was any resolution discussed other than one which sought to restore in 1950 a situation which had existed in 1947. This failure was due to the procedural stranglehold won by the proponents of the successful plan. An attempt by the delegations of the Netherlands and Peru to bring about a free discussion of the principles which should form the basis of a practical solution was defeated in the subcommittee by a tie vote.

In the Ad Hoc Committee the sponsors of the so-called Australian resolution realized that victory depended upon having their proposal voted upon first. They succeeded in this, even though the Ad Hoc Committee, as the master of its own procedure, could by vote have reversed the decision. It is a fact that the Ad Hoc Committee, a few days earlier, would have returned a majority for the Swedish-Netherlands proposal, based on the curatorship idea, had it been put to a vote first, since a majority of the delegates were eager not to have to vote *against* internationalization but would have felt free to vote *for* a practical plan. But no one moved a reversal of this procedure, even though the delegations of the Netherlands and Canada suggested it informally.

THE victory for the so-called Australian resolution by the vote of thirty-five to thirteen with eleven abstentions was an overwhelming surprise to both its backers and its opponents. It was brought about as a result of the direct intervention of the Vatican. Shortly before the afternoon session on December 7 the delegates of all the Catholic countries received virtually identical instructions to vote for it. Papal Nuncios in every capital made vigorous representations and received assurances of support. The Bolivian and Cuban delegates, who had proposed resolutions diametrically opposed to the Australian plan, were compelled to vote for the latter. Luxembourg, Nicaragua, Honduras, and Costa Rica, intending to vote "no," were instructed to vote "yes." Mexico, Venezuela, the Dominican Republic, Panama, and the Philippines, whose delegates saw the absurdity

of the Australian resolution, were in the abstention column, as were Canada, the Netherlands, New Zealand, and India.

A shift of six votes could have prevented the Australian resolution from achieving the necessary two-thirds' majority in the plenary session. The Vatican steam-roller prevented this. Learning that the Philippines was about to shift from abstention to "no," Cardinal Spellman wired the President of the Philippines requesting an affirmative vote. Cardinal Spellman won. The delegate of one of the Benelux countries, seeking a change of instructions, was informed: "Sorry, the Cardinal insists you vote 'yes.'" Chile, under the same pressure, changed its negative vote to an abstention. Haiti, which had voted "no" in the Ad Hoc Committee, was pushed into the "yes" column, as was Venezuela, which had previously abstained. Mexico, instructed to vote affirmatively, abstained on all the paragraph votes, but when it was clear that the resolution would pass, followed its instructions. Countries like the Netherlands and New Zealand with large Catholic electorates, though opposed to the resolution, abstained. Other delegates voted in favor of the resolution for a variety of reasons: China, in retaliation against Israel for voting with the United States on the Chinese question (!), Greece because Israel had abstained in the vote calling for sanctions on Albania. New Delhi, in deference to India's large Moslem population, instructed its delegation, which was itself opposed to the resolution, to vote for it.

One of the most cynical acts was that of France. France repudiated the report it had signed as a member of the Conciliation Commission by casting its vote for the Australian proposal. It was lured by the hope of a return to power in the Middle East held before it by Ambassador Malik. Had France given up its historical rights in the city? he demanded on November 28. Were the government and people of France willing to answer the charge before history that they had failed to seize a unique opportunity to gain peacefully what had been the goal of a thousand years of fighting? France took the bait. Privately Ambassador Chauvel admitted that the resolution was very bad, that the Trusteeship Council could not possibly implement it, and that in the end a special session would have to be called.

The fight against the Australian resolution was carried by the delegations of Sweden and the Netherlands, with sporadic assistance from Uruguay, Guatemala, the United States, and Britain, and with tentative gestures by Bolivia and Cuba. But the chief burden rested on the shoulders of Israel. It was virtually alone in reminding the U. N. of the impossibility of turning the clock back, in pointing out that the men who were offering themselves as the protectors of the Holy Places were the same who had led the attack on them. Even the presence

of Jordan as a recognized spokesman, only because its forces had seized and held the Holy Places, failed to arouse the delegates to the absurdity of their plan. And certainly they paid no attention to the thrice iterated declarations of Jordan that it would not accept internationalization. The Conciliation Commission staff, on whose work \$850,000 was spent, and which strongly opposed the plan, was never consulted, nor was its proposal considered. Neither was General Riley, chief of the U. N. Armistice Commission, asked to give any advice, although he had been recalled to be on hand for this purpose.

LARGE responsibility for the final decision must be borne by the United States. To be sure, John Ross, the American representative, expressed vigorous opposition to the Australian proposal. But American action did not go beyond this. The delegation failed to offer a constructive proposal acceptable to both parties which could be a rallying point for votes. Although it twice expressed "satisfaction" with the Swedish proposal, it never accepted it as a substitute for the Conciliation Commission plan, to which the United States firmly adhered even when no chance remained of the plan's adoption.

Israel, sitting for the first time in a full session of the Assembly, can be forgiven for not realizing that procedures can determine the outcome of a discussion. But the American delegation cannot be excused. The lack of leadership by the United States was made more evident when in the Ad Hoc Committee, having heard what had gone on in the subcommittee, it failed to move for a decision which would have allowed consideration of other proposals. Had a proposal been made on December 5 assuring a different order of precedence in the voting, the Swedish-Netherlands proposal could have won a majority, since the Vatican steam-roller had not yet gone into action.

Although the Australians insist that the American delegation worked hard to defeat their proposal both in the Ad Hoc Committee and in the plenary session, this is difficult to credit. Nor is it easy to understand how, in a real test of influence as between the Vatican and the United States, countries like Liberia, Burma, Haiti, Ecuador, Nicaragua, and Greece could have rejected the American position.

At four o'clock on Friday, December 9, an important member of the United States government told the writer that after a discussion with the State Department he was convinced the department was making no real effort to influence a single vote. Behind this attitude is the personal animus against Israel harbored by the left-overs of the Loy Henderson-Lovett period, whose machinations in every previous debate had been circumvented by the President. Secondly, there is the

consideration that the current defeat on Jerusalem offers the State Department leverage to be used with Israel at some not too distant period to win concessions on other issues. Since the Jerusalem problem is bound to come up again, an attempt will doubtless be made to get these concessions in exchange for real support on Jerusalem.

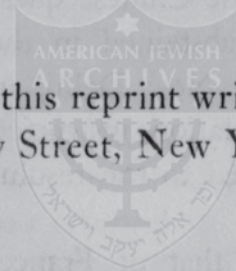
Lending credence to this view was the American attitude on the question of financing internationalization. In the Budget Committee the American delegate, John Sherman Cooper, asked pertinent questions. Had the committee taken into account that its appropriations might not be sufficient in the event of opposition by Jordan and Israel? Had the Conciliation Commission been consulted? Answers to both questions were in the negative. Yet Cooper voted to recommend the figure of \$8,150,000, which was based on a so-called "normal" situation. This was explained as purely a technical vote, having no political significance. In the plenary session John Ross, opposing internationalization, referred to its probably enormous cost and to the fact that Israeli expenditures in Jerusalem were four times the amount proposed to be allocated by the U. N. Yet when the appropriations came to a vote in the final session, the United States delegation was the only one opposed to the

resolution which voted for the appropriation, and this in the knowledge that it would have to contribute 40 per cent.

When, in the last moments of yesterday's session, it appeared that Vatican pressure would assure victory for the Australian resolution, a belated effort was made by the delegations of Uruguay and Denmark to obtain postponement of the decision and to call a special session. The United States backed the proposal with its vote. Had it openly sponsored it, taken the floor to seek support, the outcome might have been different. Voting for the resolution in silence was not enough to secure its passage.

If a special session of the United Nations is held, the most that will emerge is a plan for protection of and freedom of access to the Holy Places. The present decision strikes hard at the prestige of the United Nations. It raises questions far exceeding in importance the ultimate solution of the Jerusalem question. Having once acknowledged the dominance of the Vatican, what assurance is there of freedom of discussion and decision by the international body on other issues in which the Vatican has an interest? The immediate problem the U. N. faces is to destroy the Vatican's power of coercion.

For additional copies of this reprint write to
The Nation Associates, 20 Vesey Street, New York 7, N. Y.



Ben-Gurion's Statement to Israeli Knesset

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

LAKE SUCCESS, Dec. 13—Following is the text of the statement made to the Israeli Parliament today by Premier David Ben-Gurion, as issued here by the Israeli delegation to the United Nations:

One week ago this day, in the name of the Government of Israel, I made a statement concerning Jerusalem before the Knesset [Parliament].

I need hardly say to you that this statement retains its full force. No change in our attitude has occurred or can possibly occur. As you know, the General Assembly of the United Nations has, in the meantime, by a large majority, decided to place Jerusalem under an international regime as a separate entity. This decision is utterly incapable of implementation, if only for the determined and unalterable opposition of the inhabitants of Jerusalem themselves. It is to be hoped that the General Assembly in the course of time will correct this mistake which its majority made and will make no attempt whatsoever to impose this regime

on the Holy City against the will of its people.

We respect and shall continue to respect the wishes of all those states which are concerned for the freedom of worship and the free access to the Holy Places, and which seek to safeguard the existing rights in those Holy Places and the religious buildings of Jerusalem. Our undertaking to preserve these rights remains in force and we shall gladly and willingly carry it out even though we cannot lend ourselves to take part in the enforced separation of Jerusalem, which violates without need or reason the historic and natural rights of a people which dwells in Zion.

From the very first days of the provisional government we made the peace, security and economic consolidation of Jerusalem our principal care. In the stress of war, when Jerusalem was under siege, we were compelled to establish the seat of the government, in Hakiya near Tel Aviv. But for the State of Israel there is, has been and always will be one capital only, Jerusalem, the Eternal. So it was 3,000 years ago,

and so it will be, we believe, until the end of time.

As soon as the fighting stopped we began transferring government offices to Jerusalem, and creating conditions which a capital needed—effective communications, economic and technical arrangements. We are continuing with the transfer of the Government to Jerusalem and hope to complete it as soon as possible.

When the first Knesset opened in Jerusalem on the 14 February 1949, there were no adequate facilities for its normal functioning in the capital, and it was necessary to transfer its session temporarily to Tel Aviv. The required arrangements in Jerusalem are on the verge of completion and there is nothing now to prevent the Knesset from returning to Jerusalem. We propose that you take a decision to this effect.

In all these arrangements there is, of course, nothing that alters in the slightest degree any of the existing rights in the Holy Places which the Government of Israel will respect in full, or our consent to effective supervision of these Holy Places by the United Nations, as our delegation to the General Assembly declared.

NEW YORK DEC. 16, 1949

SAUL S. DANACEAU,
CRIMINAL COURTS BLDG.
1560 EAST 21st ST.
CLEVELAND

MAKe strenuous efforts to have synagogues, Community centers and other bodies utilize Chanukkah gatherings and meetings to focus attention on unjust unworkable UN Jerusalem resolution and need for its revision. Relying on you to contact immediately local Rabbis and directors to this end. Stress fact that removal of Government offices to Jerusalem no sudden decision but continuance of process begun months ago. Imperative that community and its organizations send US cable messages to be forwarded to Premier David Ben-Gurion expressing solidarity and support for Israeli steps taken in restoring centrality of Jerusalem. Give widest publicity to Cables, meetings and other actions in your community. Keep us informed. REGARDS.

JEROME UNGER, AMERICAN ZIONIST COUNCIL

AMERICAN ZIONIST COUNCIL

342 MADISON AVENUE

• TELEPHONE MURRAY HILL 2-1160 •

NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

Cable Address: AMZIONIST

December 20, 1949

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
The Temple
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Dr. Silver:

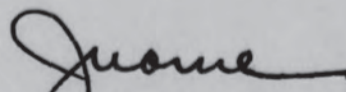
By the time we had received your letter of December 16, you had, no doubt, received our communication #16, of the same date, in which some of the questions to which you address yourself in your letter were, I believe, resolved. The article by Miss Lillie Shultz in The Nation was distributed with this latest directive which we sent to all our local committees. With it went the excellent analytical comments on the Jerusalem situation by Mr. Ben-Horin.

With reference to the paragraphs regarding the position of the United States in this whole matter, this attitude was arrived at after careful consideration among the various bodies concerned with the problem - such as the representatives of the Israeli Government and the Jewish Agency, as well as our own Executive Committee - and was discussed at the meeting of the Plenum on December 8. You will notice also that in our communication #16, referred to above, on page two our position vis-à-vis the United States Government is not one of abject gratitude but rather one of realistic approach to the problem.

Naturally, I have to be guided in all these matters by the decisions of those whose policy I execute. I need not add how good it was to have you with us at the Executive Committee meeting on December 1. I sincerely hope that we may have your constant attention to all of our problems and the benefit of your counsel, advice and guidance.

With fond personal regards and Chanukkah greetings to you and your family in which Anne joins me, I am, as ever,

Sincerely yours,



Jerome Unger
Executive Director

JU:EF

CONSTITUENT ORGANIZATIONS

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



January 10, 1950

Rabbi Jerome Unger
American Zionist Council
342 Madison Avenue
New York 17, New York

My dear Rabbi Unger:

I would appreciate very much if you would send me the bound volume of pamphlets, etc. which were collected some time ago. I do not think that it is necessary to present that volume to me formally. I should like to complete my files.

With all good wishes, I remain

Most cordially yours,

ABBA HILLEL SILVER

AHS:er

ELIHU D. STONE
ATTORNEY AT LAW

PHONE CAPITOL 7-6714

44 SCHOOL STREET
BOSTON 8, MASS.

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
The Temple
Cleveland Ohio

Jan 10, 1950

Dear Chief:

A Boston newspaperman called today my attention to a dispatch from Israel to the effect that Mr. Frisch stated that he would refuse to serve a second term unless all the present conflicting factions within the ZOA unite. He solicited my comments. However, I found myself completely at a loss to understand it. I am sure the reporter believed that I am concealing something of a major nature. After all the president of the ZOA is a responsible person!

I wonder, what basis there exists for such information to the American press?

I did read in the Jewish Morning Journal last week with reference to Daniel's efforts in Israel to establish a United Zionist front, generally and your name was mentioned. What is behind it?

A number of Zionists called me; they are mystified.

I find it difficult, under all circumstances, to follow the wisdom of the course chosen by Mr. Frisch. Maybe he is misquoted.

Indeed, we owe no duty of disclosure to the non-Jewish world, of our inner weaknesses even if they do exist. What useful purpose did Daniel intend to serve?

With kindest personal regards and with best wishes for success,

Sincerely
Elihu David Stone

January 12, 1950

Mr. Elihu D. Stone
44 School Street
Boston 8, Mass.

My dear Elihu:

There is nothing more that I could tell you about the Frisch article in the New York Times than when I told the Times reporter who called me long distance. "I do not know what that man is talking about." Perhaps he will explain things when he returns.

With all good wishes and trusting that you are well, I remain

Most cordially yours,

ABBA HILLEL SILVER

AHS:er

AMERICAN ZIONIST COUNCIL

342 MADISON AVENUE

• TELEPHONE MURRAY HILL 2-1160 •

NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

Cable Address: AMZIONIST

January 12, 1950

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
The Temple
Cleveland 6, Ohio

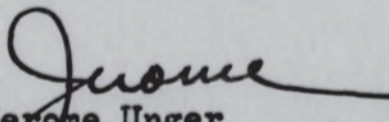
Dear Dr. Silver:

I deeply regret that no occasion has been available for a formal presentation to you of the bound volumes of tributes prepared in your honor some time ago. Accordingly, I am complying with your request, and under separate cover I am shipping these bound volumes to you.

These volumes are a fine tribute to which I want to add, at this time, my own personal greetings and appreciation of your matchless leadership and inspiring direction. What you have been and are to the Zionists and Jews of America and the world is written indelibly not only on the pages of our history but in our hearts.

Because of the absence of several of the officers of the Council from the city today, the regular meeting of the Executive on Thursdays is being omitted. There will, however, be a meeting next Thursday, January 19, at 3 P.M. in this office. I sincerely hope that, if you are in New York at that time, it will be possible for you to attend.

Faithfully yours,


Jerome Unger
Executive Director

JU:EF

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Mizrachi Organization of America • United Zionist Labor Party (Achdut Avodah-Poale Zion) • Zionist Organization of America
Zionists-Revisionists of America

LAW OFFICES OF
HYMAN A. SCHULSON

~~232 SOUTHERN BUILDING~~ 2120-16th St. N.W. Suite 815
WASHINGTON 5, D. C.

~~NATIONAL 9088~~
Jan. 13, 1950

Dr. Abba H. Silver,
The Temple,
Cleveland, Ohio.

Dear Dr. Silver:

First, I want to congratulate you upon the receipt of the Cardozo award. I was very happy to read about it.

I have just returned from Milwaukee, Wisconsin where I visited my folks and attended the engagement of my youngest sister.

I understand that the American Jewish Committee is considering me for the post as Director of either its Israel office or Paris office, more likely the former. If offered, it will be a very challenging job and one in which I could do a great deal for Israel. I had given your name as reference to the American Jewish Committee and wonder whether a Miss Smirlock had asked you to write the American Jewish Committee about me. If you have received such a letter, I would deeply appreciate your sending me a copy of your reply for my files.

Meanwhile, I am taking care of some law work and cases which have been referred to me.

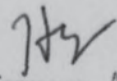
I have very little news of interest to write you about recent U.S. policy toward Israel. The Dept. is marking time to await the outcome of the Trusteeship Council sessions in Geneva on Jerusalem. As far as I know, U.S. will continue to oppose the internationalization scheme of the U.N.

The American Zionist Council has not appointed anyone to succeed me in the Washington office. My secretary is the only one there and the N.Y. office has given her practically nothing to do. Important contacts in Congress, the press, radio, and people who can be of help are meanwhile being neglected and so it goes.

Please remember me to Mrs. Silver.

With all good wishes and warmest personal regards, I am,

Most cordially yours,


Hyman A. Schulson

January 19, 1950

Mr. Hyman A. Schulson
2120 16th St., N.W.
Suite 815
Washington, D. C.

My dear Hyman:

I am enclosing herewith a letter which I wrote to Miss Smirlock before I received your letter.

I trust that you are well and I hope to see you in the near future.

With all good wishes, I remain

Most cordially yours,

ABBA HILLEL SILVER

AHS:er
Enc.

January 9, 1950

Miss Lillian L. Smirlock
American Jewish Committee
386 Fourth Avenue
New York 16, New York

My dear Miss Smirlock:

Please pardon the long delay in answering your kind letter of inquiry of December 14th. I have been away from the city a good deal of the time and my correspondence has lagged.

I have known Mr. Hyman A. Schulson for quite a number of years and have had occasion to observe his work very closely in the last few years when he was a member of the staff of the American Zionist Emergency Council. His work was of such competence and dependability that I appointed him to the head of the Washington Bureau of the Emergency Council. I found him to be a man of unusual political sagacity. He displayed, during the critical years when the Palestine issue was actively discussed in the capitol of our nation, in Congress and at the United Nations, a fine grasp of the fundamentals, an ability to see through a multiplicity of details into the heart of the problem, and a capacity for outlining and carrying through the strategy to meet the situation. He made many friends for us, both in Washington and at Lake Success, and his contacts proved extremely valuable. I can recommend him most highly to any position in which trust, ability and initiative are essential.

With all good wishes, I remain

Most cordially yours,

ABBA HILLEL SILVER

AHS:er

January 20, 1950

Rabbi Jerome Unger
American Zionist Council
342 Madison Avenue
New York 17, New York

My dear Rabbi Unger:

I received this week the volumes of records of the American Zionist Emergency Council, and I wish to thank you for forwarding them to me. I want to thank, through you, Miss Cohen who helped to gather the material and organize it, and such others as may have had a hand in the work. The collected volumes of literature are indeed a fine tribute to the extraordinary group of men and women who worked in the Emergency Council during the years of the heroic struggle which was so gloriously consummated.

With all good wishes, I remain

Most cordially yours,

ABBA HILLEL SILVER

AHS:er

AMERICAN ZIONIST COUNCIL

342 MADISON AVENUE

• TELEPHONE MURRAY HILL 2-1160 •

NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

Cable Address: AMZIONIST

NO. 21

February 1, 1950

To the Local Committees
of the AMERICAN ZIONIST COUNCIL:

American Zionists have been deeply disturbed in recent months by Dorothy Thompson's open alliance with the American Council for Judaism. Her lectures and newspaper columns have been filled time and again with bitter and insidious anti-Zionist comment, but the climax has just been reached in a particularly vicious and false column called "Persecution by Israel". This appeared in many newspapers throughout the country.

A number of our committees have been dealing with this matter in their localities by writing letters to the papers in which the column has appeared and attempting to secure appropriate editorial comment in them.

For your information and for your use in the many cases where the column has appeared or may still appear, we are sending you the text of Miss Thompson's column and analytical comments on it which may serve as factual raw material for letters and editorials.

Cordially yours,

Jerome Unger
Jerome Unger
Executive Director

JU:SMP
Encs.

P.S. Please do send us clippings of all editorials and letters that may appear on this subject in your local press.

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Mizrachi Organization of America • United Zionist Labor Party (Achdut Avodah-Poale Zion) • Zionist Organization of America
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"PERSECUTION BY ISRAEL"

By Dorothy Thompson

Syndicated during the latter part of January
in Miss Thompson's regular column "On the Record"

An investigating mission under the auspices of "The American Christian Palestine Committee" -- composed of Protestant pastors and laymen -- has returned from Palestine and reported against U.N. internationalization of Jerusalem as "dangerous and unnecessary."

The group also opposed even the latest, much less inclusive scheme advanced by Roger Garreau, president of the United Nations Trusteeship Council, to limit internationalization to a small area containing the chief Holy Places.

In short, it would appear that the mission wishes, as does Israel, to keep the United Nations out of Palestine altogether.

This column agrees with the mission that it would be "dangerous" to oppose or criticize the State of Israel in any way. It even is dangerous for an American publicist. Israel and its American supporters are claiming an absolutely unique immunity from criticism -- as recently pointed out by pro-Israel Walter White.

Although Israel owes the legitimizing of its existence to United Nations partition, which was accepted by its agents, the state does not conform to that plan, but has been created by force -- as what is left of the Arab world in Palestine is held by force. The ports of Jaffa and Haifa were not awarded to Israel, but Israel holds them. The internationalization of Jerusalem was included in the original plan, but is now refused. To protect a U.N. trusteeship would require force, for without it, force would certainly be used against it. Therefore, it is dangerous.

Whether a U.N. trusteeship anywhere in Palestine is unnecessary depends on one's viewpoint of necessity. The mission declares it is unnecessary as a means of protecting shrines, and that there is complete "religious freedom" in Palestine. Maybe there is freedom to worship, but how about the worshipers? Christian shrines remain undisturbed; how about the Christian community? Is it free, even to survive?

Plight of Christians

The United Nations never took one step to guarantee the lives or property of the indigenous Arab population in Jewish Palestine. Hundreds of thousands of them have been turned into refugees, living in the bitterest want, with all their possessions expropriated by Israel. And these refugees include most of the Palestinian Christians who constitute one of the oldest, most faithful Christian communities on earth.

Their story was told in part by Yusif El-Bandak, son of the Mayor of Bethlehem (all Bethlehem is Christian), in the November 30 issue of "The Christian Century." It apparently surprised Americans to learn that there were any Christians in Palestine! Yet they constitute a tenth of the Arab-speaking population. None of them are converts from Islam. All are either descendants from Christians, of the time of Christ (mostly Philistines or Canaanites) or of the Crusaders.

Throughout history they have had ties to the western world. Their sons have been educated in Christian schools and colleges in the Middle East, and in the West. They have been among the most progressive and prosperous of the native population, and were concentrated chiefly in Jaffa, and "New" Jerusalem, where they owned fully two-thirds of all the property, both in private and institutional holdings.

The members of this community are today refugees in the country wherein they have constituted a secure and highly respected community for centuries. Their properties have been confiscated without compensation. In the birthplace of Christ -- which would have fallen except for a well-organized defense -- 40,000 of them have taken refuge, bursting the capacities of a town of 15,000. Although their fellow-Christians have taken them into their homes with sacrificial generosity, thousands, like Mary could "find no room in an inn," and, like Mary, their children were born in stalls or in caves, or under trees, while over them "the silent stars go by."

All that reaches them is a trickle of totally inadequate relief. Great Christendom neglects them. The Moslems watch their plight with wonderment, asking, "If the United States, overwhelmingly a Christian country, lets these Christians perish in the birthplace of their Lord, whom will the United States protect anywhere?"

Russian agents jeer, "You call us atheists, but where is the Christian world?"

And a "Christian" mission reports about shrines, but not about Christians.

Who will protect this community? Israel, which created their plight? The Moslem world? Who, if not the U.N.?

* * * *

Comments on Dorothy Thompson's Recent Column
on "Persecution by Israel"

1. Both Israel and the American Christian Palestine Committee Mission, says Miss Thompson, "wish to keep the United Nations out of Palestine altogether." This is altogether inexact. The ACPC group very distinctly recommended* the establishment of a United Nations Commission "with no territorial sovereignty" to assure the "free accessibility of the Christian world to the holy places of Jerusalem." "Guarantees should be given to such a commission by both Jordan and Israel," the report said, "assuring the freedom and sanctity of the sacred places within their territories."

It is significant that the members of the ACPC Mission whom Miss Thompson condemns so bitterly, use almost the very words that she herself used in her earlier column "U.N. Move Is Inviting Trouble in Jerusalem" (published on or about December 19, 1949). She wrote then: "It would, it seems to me, have been wiser (however unsatisfactory) to have confined United Nations supervision and protection to the holy places of all religions and to have left the secular and political solution to negotiations between Israel and Transjordan."

Israel, for its part, on September 26, 1949 announced to the General Assembly its willingness to conclude such agreements with the United Nations as are necessary for the implementation of safeguards for Holy Places and religious rights

2. The very title "Persecution by Israel" is a scandalous traducing of facts. Whom is Israel persecuting? The Christians who fled to Bethlehem are not under Israel's jurisdiction and Israel cannot be accused of causing their misery. As for their flight, it is, as we shall show later, certainly not to be considered the work of Israel. Within Israel itself, the Arabs and Christians there resident are definitely not being persecuted. This is the testimony of countless observers and of the Arabs and Christians in Israel themselves.

Here is what an Arabic anti-Zionist periodical in the United States (As-Sabah in Detroit) wrote a few weeks ago -- on December 15, 1949 -- on the question of the suffering of the Arab refugees. They became refugees, says the paper, because they obeyed the command to leave issued to them by the heads of the Arab Governments. But now they starve and get no help from the leaders and the rich in Egypt, Iraq, Syria...

"What is the crime of the refugees in the eyes of the lords of Arabia who stand by and watch the misery of the refugees, and who suck the blood of the poor and needy -- without shame before God and the world?... Yes, the poor refugees committed the crime of listening to those deceivers; they believed the liars, and went to the extreme foolishness of leaving their homes, counting on their deceitful leaders to bring them back!

"And because of what is happening to the Palestine refugees, Arab public opinion is changing little by little to support the Jews in Israel where not a single Arab dies from starvation and cold!"

* See the New York Times of January 20, 1950

There are, as we have said, countless testimonies as to the fairness with which Israel is treating its minorities. The Rev. William Hull of the Zion Christian Mission has written (in Christian News from Israel, December 22, 1949): "Protestant missionaries praise the government of Israel for their assistance and cooperation. Everything possible has been done by the government to enable the Protestant community to carry on their worship and missionary work. There is no complaint of desecration of mission property and on the other hand the Government of Israel went to considerable trouble to protect Protestant mission property during the absence of the missionaries."

On the status of the Christians in Israel, here is still another recent statement made by a respected and very well-known Protestant minister, never ardently identified with any pro-Zionist group, Dr. John Paul Jones, of Bay Ridge, Brooklyn. He wrote in the September 1949 issue of "Social Progress" (monthly publication of the Presbyterian Church, U.S.A.):

"Upwards of one hundred thousand Arabs, both Christian and Moslem, remained unmolested in Israel during the war. Since hostilities ceased, the advantages of the country have been freely offered to them. I have witnessed the Arab villagers laying water mains and putting up electric lines, things symbolic of a life they never knew under their former bondage. Of the six hundred thousand or more made homeless, half of them were not within the borders defined for the New Israel by the United Nations partition. They resided in the portion assigned to the Arabs who made no effort to establish any government when the British withdrew. They were overrun and reduced to destitution by disorderly bands of their own kinsmen. If the Arab rulers feel any serious concern over this, it is less evident than the regret of the Jews for the outrages of their nationalists, such as the massacre at Deir Yassin.

"That the Israelis have some responsibility in connection with those who fled from their borders, they themselves admit. They want it remembered, however, that multitudes of these from the towns (perhaps a third of the total) left with all their possessions. Many of these are already resettled in neighboring states. If the government of Israel insists that refugee matters must be taken as a part of the over-all peace terms, including claims for war damages against the invaders, it has also disavowed intention of holding refugee property without compensation. Willingness to receive back large numbers, beginning with the reunion of separated families, has also been indicated. The refugees are primarily a responsibility of the Arab countries."

3. On the question of Israel's responsibility for the flight of the Arab refugees, much has been written and we have just quoted typical comments by Dr. Jones and by the editor of As-Sabah. There is hardly a more important statement than one made recently by a semi-official British source, the Royal Institute of International Affairs in a pamphlet just issued by it, "Arab Refugees", by S. G. Thicknesse. Characteristically unenthusiastic and even deprecatory in its treatment of Zionism and Israel, the pamphlet does not, however, come anywhere near stating that the Arab refugee problem was caused by Israel. It mentions the Deir Yassin incident

(so wisely treated by Dr. Jones), but as only one of a number of causes, the others of which are obviously of far greater magnitude. The pamphlet states:

"The Arab population of these areas (i.e. Jaffa, part of modern Jerusalem and all Haifa), unable to protect themselves, deserted by the flight of local leaders, terrified by the massacre of civilians by Jewish terrorists at Deir Yassin in April 1948, and counting on the armies of the Arab League to 'drive the Jews into the sea' after 15 May 1948, fled from their homes in face of the Jewish attacks. Although refugees deny that this influenced them, they had also been urged by Arab political leaders to evacuate probable battle areas. Already before the British withdrawal tens of thousands of Arabs from Jaffa, Jerusalem, and Haifa had started streaming away to what they believed to be safe areas. Some left the country." (P.2)

Clearly, even in non-Zionist British eyes, the flight of the Arab refugees cannot be blithely and solely ascribed to "Jewish terror and malice." It is a much more complex matter, tied up with the entire complicated development of recent events in Palestine -- British withdrawal, U.N. decision, Arab leaders' instructions, Arab attack, Jewish defense and counterattack, establishment of the State of Israel.

4. On the entire question of what Miss Thompson condemns as Israel's failure to live up to the U.N. plan for partition, there is much to be said. Israel, she says, has been created by force, but so, she admits, has what is left of Arab influence in Palestine. She omits to mention that when the plan was originally promulgated, it was the Arabs, not the Jews, who opposed it by force. A war inevitably ensued, since the Jews refused to be annihilated. In the course of the war the Jews attacked territory, not assigned to them, from which assaults were being launched upon them. The geographical provisions of the plan thus went by the board in the course of the fighting, for the plan assumed peaceful implementation by both sides, peaceful acceptance by both of an international Jerusalem and an internationally supervised economic union. Peaceful implementation of the partition plan was offered by the Jews and refused by the Arabs, who substituted armed attack on the Jews for acquiescence in the international formula of partition. Far from consenting to an international Jerusalem, the Arab Legion and the Egyptian forces did not wait for Jerusalem to be internationalized: the Legion seized the Old City and used it as a base from which to rain death on the Jewish quarters of Jerusalem, while the Egyptian forces on May 23, 1948 occupied Bethlehem. Incidentally, for Miss Thompson's and Mr. Bandak's information, the Christians of Bethlehem never needed to defend themselves against Jews -- Jewish military forces never even got near Bethlehem. They were on the defensive, under siege, in and around Jerusalem, and their four settlements in the Hebron Hills were completely wiped out very early in the fighting.

The original United Nations partition scheme was, in other words, broken into bits by Arab opposition. It can hardly be reconstituted now, after all that has happened. Even if -- assuming the impossible -- the Jews of Palestine were ready to retire meekly behind the boundaries assigned them in December 1947, there is not the slightest reason to believe that the provisions for an Arab State laid down in the U.N. partition plan, could or would now be carried out. Where are the Palestine Arabs who would set up an independent state of their own, bound by economic treaty to the Jewish State? Would the Legion and civil officers of

King Abdullah, now occupying the Arab part of Palestine, meekly retire behind the Jordan? The starting-point of our thinking about Palestine -- if we are to be constructive and successful -- had better be not the theory of November 29, 1947, but the realities of 1950.

5. If Jerusalem is not internationalized and cannot today be internationalized, it is certainly not the fault of the Jews. A Catholic paper, the London Tablet, has very wisely said (in its issue of December 17, 1949):

"The unseemly haste of the British departure at the end of last year, the deplorable indifference to what happened during the last four months of the Mandate, when the main concern was to wash British hands of the whole problem as quickly as possible, is still fresh in all minds.

"That was the time to tackle the problem of Jerusalem. Just as much attention should then have been paid to that part of the United Nations resolution which called for its internationalization as was paid to the part which sanctioned the establishment of a Jewish State. The United Nations should then have insisted upon the two tasks being seen as intimately related to one another, and should not have allowed them to proceed separately. If that was difficult to do, it was not so difficult as is the task now lying ahead. If last year the British had said that they would withdraw from the whole of the rest of Palestine but would continue effectively to administer the Jerusalem enclave until such a time as the United Nations Trusteeship Council might be able to take it over; if, indeed, the Mandatory Power had said that they could not relinquish control until they were certain in favour of what authority they were doing so; all might have been different. The Mandate as a whole had been accepted from the League of Nations; it ought not to have been surrendered except on the instructions of the heir to the League of Nations. But if that was impracticable, Jerusalem at least ought to have been retained until agreed arrangements for its future could be made.

"If the Mandatory Power felt unable to wait, the fault may be laid with the United Nations for not then having in readiness the international regime which it now seeks to impose, or the means which it is now proposing to invoke in order to impose it."

6. Certainly the Christians of Bethlehem deserve the help of all charitable persons, but their situation is not to be laid at the doors of Israel, nor is Israel to be slandered and deprecated because of the existence of a tragic relief problem in Bethlehem. The Christians of Israeli-occupied Nazareth -- let us not forget -- are infinitely better off than those of Jordan-occupied Bethlehem.

7. Christian property in Israel, Miss Thompson asserts, has been confiscated without compensation. Confiscation of enemy property is unfortunately a normal concomitant of war, and the war in Palestine, begun by the Arabs, is no different from any other war. Unlike most combatants, however, the State of Israel has formally obligated itself to pay compensation for abandoned and occupied Arab property in Israel. Speaking before the Ad Hoc Political Committee of the United

Nations on May 5, 1949, Mr. Aubrey Eban was authorized by the Government of Israel to state: "The Government of Israel has already announced its acceptance of obligations to make compensation for lands abandoned. The entire question of compensation may well be settled by negotiations at Lausanne as well as the general question of reparations and war damage." (See "Israel: The Case for Admission to the United Nations", published by the Israel Office of Information, New York, p. 41.)

Again, during the Palestine talks under the aegis of the U.N. Conciliation Commission in Lausanne during the summer of 1949, the Government of Israel affirmed that it accepted the principle of compensation for lands abandoned by refugees and that it recognized the proprietary rights of individuals. It has, moreover, set up a Custodian for Absentee Property who sees to it that abandoned lands are worked and puts into a special fund the moneys derived from sale of their crops.

Actual payment of compensation obviously cannot be expected before final peace terms are subscribed to by both Israel and the Arab nations. During peace negotiations, Israel will without question make counter-claims for the great losses of Jewish property due to Arab attacks during the war. Israel can hardly be expected to pay millions of pounds to Arabs for their losses without asking compensation for its enormous losses -- the four Hebron Hills settlements destroyed completely by the Arab Legion; two other settlements in the Judean Hills near Jerusalem taken by the Legion and now administered by Jordan; Mishmar Hayarden virtually razed by Syrian occupation troops; a number of Negev settlements ferociously shelled by the Egyptians; the Rutenberg Electric Works at Naharayim seized and still occupied by Jordan; the Potash Works at the north of the Dead Sea on which damages of many millions of pounds were wrought by the Arab Legion.

Within these understandable conditions, Israel holds firmly to the principle of compensation for Arab property and can be trusted to act equitably.

AMERICAN ZIONIST COUNCIL

342 MADISON AVENUE

• TELEPHONE MURRAY HILL 2-1160 •

NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

Cable Address: AMZIONIST

February 6, 1950

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
Hotel Plaza
Fifth Avenue and 59 Street
Room 833-834
New York, N. Y.

Dear Dr. Silver:

(to his son who does not want the cable to be quoted except indirectly as follows)

Dr. Samuel Guy Inman wires that he has learned on unimpeachable authority that the Vatican is demanding that the Trusteeship Council give absolute compliance to the U.N. Assembly plan for Jerusalem. Inman considers this move has fatal possibilities and he urges strongly that Washington should instruct its Trusteeship delegate to refuse clerical demands.

As you know, we sent Dr. Samuel Guy Inman to Geneva for the American Christian Palestine Committee. Naturally, this information, at his specific request, must remain confidential in order to protect his future position.

I have just received word that Mr. Philip Levy is going to represent us in Washington and will take over immediately in order to handle activities in the Capital.

Instructions have gone forth today to our 400 local Councils to step up direct pressure on the White House with regard to the Jerusalem situation. In addition, over the weekend, I have been in touch with twenty of our key leaders to bring personal pressure of the kind we are asking you to exert on Senator Taft. Dr. Carl Hermann Voss also contacted a dozen top Christian leaders for the same purpose.

We are seeking on this Jerusalem question specific pressure on the White House and State Department to instruct the American delegate at the Trusteeship Council not to yield to the Vatican, and more, to press for the kind of a workable solution which Israel favors. Our latest advice from Israel itself is that they do not want a special session of the U.N. Assembly, but would prefer this whole thing go over to the regular session in September.

In addition to the direct pressure on the White House, we are seeking also speeches on the floor of the Senate and of the House, and statements by Senators and Congressmen. Mr. Elihu Stone is going to Washington today to assist Mr. Philip Levy in preparing this activity.

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Mizrachi Organization of America • United Zionist Labor Party (Achdut Avodah-Poale Zion) • Zionist Organization of America
Zionists-Revisionists of America

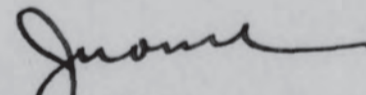
Advices received here from several Congressmen were, as I intimated to you yesterday, however, that such statements should not begin before February 14 in order to avoid being swamped by the debates and discussions that will take place until then on the "H" bomb matter and other serious considerations before the Congress.

Paralleling our action on Jerusalem, we are also preparing precise information now received and verified on the arms situation and will send it to our local people asking them to accelerate their pressure in this matter. We are contemplating sending a delegation to Mr. Acheson and releasing our memorandum, which will be in the strongest terms, to the press. I have not yet had a chance to discuss with Mr. Lipsky today, nor did I have it yesterday, the complication introduced by prosecuting both objectives, namely Jerusalem and the arms question, at the same time. What is your opinion and advice on this problem? Both are of extreme urgency, of course, but it does present difficulties in securing pressure on two issues simultaneously. I am eager to learn your thinking on this.

It was good to have your vigorous presence yesterday and to feel the impact of your thinking and direction.

With fondest greetings, I am

Sincerely yours,



Jerome Unger
Executive Director

JU:MB

P. S. You will want to know that Mr. A. K. Isreeli's daughter, Mrs. Ora Weber, died last week after a long illness. She was only 36.

MEMORANDUM: THE REARMAMENT OF THE ARAB STATES

Submitted to the United States Department of State

By the American Zionist Council

February 20, 1950

MEMORANDUM

1. We have the honor to address you, on behalf of the American Zionist Council, to express to you the deep concern felt by American Zionist bodies over American policy with respect to the rearmament of Egypt and other Arab states. We refer, in particular, to your recent letter to Congressman Jacob K. Javits.

* * *

2. It is a matter of public knowledge that the Jews of Israel have engaged in the most difficult resettlement program in the history of our time. They have absorbed into the economic life of Israel in a period of 19 months 354,169 Jews who have made their way to the homeland under great difficulties from many lands of persecution. The Jews of the United States have been active partners in this work of reconstruction and rehabilitation. They have given of their means with unparalleled generosity to enable the struggling state to integrate the returning settlers in the economic and cultural life of the community.

3. The threat to the peace of Israel implicit in the rearming of the Arab states has evoked apprehension and uneasiness on the part of all American Jews, as well as large segments of American public opinion on the whole. We are greatly concerned lest the constructive work of the State of Israel and its program of absorbing the tens of thousands of refugees may have to be curtailed and the community forced by the growing menace of a renewal of warfare to take up the heavy task of preparing to defend their lives and the communities they have established. We are greatly disturbed lest the hard-won truce with a number of Arab states may be broken by the incitements of the forces of aggression who are being stimulated by the fact that their governments are assembling large quantities of formidable destructive weapons available for immediate use.

* * *

4. It has been a source of pride to us that the Government of the United States played a memorable role in the United Nations in the rise of the people of Israel to independence and statehood, that our Government was the first to recognize the State of Israel and that it has cooperated with the new State in the solution of many of the problems confronting it.

5. Moreover, the Government of the United States participated constructively in the deliberations at the United Nations to end the conflict in the Near East and actively supported those steps which led to the signing of armistice agreements between Israel and her four Arab neighbors.

6. It is our sincere belief that our Government maintains the policy of continuing helpfulness to the State of Israel, and, indeed, to all the states of the Near East, but we are constrained to admit our inability to reconcile your recent letter with that policy.

* * *

7. It will be recalled that when the Security Council voted to lift the arms embargo on August 4, 1949, there was widespread concern lest an armament race develop in the Near East. Israel's representative to the Security Council, Mr. Aubrey S. Eban, expressed doubt that the newly won peace could survive the strains of that competition and urged a moral directive by the Security Council to exert influence on the arms supplying states in order to insulate the Near East against the worst dangers of an armaments race.

8. Members of the Security Council shared Mr. Eban's apprehension and there was general agreement that care and restraint must be exercised in the Near East to prevent large-scale rearmament. Thus, Sir Terrence Shone, the representative of the United Kingdom, declared that any supplies of arms which his Government might send would be for the internal security and defense requirements of the States concerned. But he said the United Kingdom was opposed to the Middle Eastern states acquiring war material in excess of their legitimate defense requirements, and, he said, "We believe the States themselves would not wish to exceed such limitations." Dr. Ralph Bunche, the former acting mediator, observed that in the absence of a firm injunction, coupled with observation machinery, "the burden really seems to rest upon the states in a position to ship arms."

9. And, as you note in your letter to Congressman Javits, Senator Austin, on behalf of the United States, told the Council that export of arms to the area should be "strictly limited to such arms as are within the scope of legitimate security requirements."

10. Events since the lifting of the arms embargo challenge the assurances that were given during the Security Council's deliberations. The Arab countries are now acquiring heavy arms which far exceed "those necessary for the purpose of maintaining internal law and order by the governments concerned in the legitimate exercise of constituted authority and for the purpose of providing for reasonable requirements of self-defense."

11. The facts are well known. The 1949-50 budget approved by the Egyptian parliament was fixed at 187,457,280 Egyptian pounds (before devaluation), and of this fully one-third -- the extraordinary sum of 62,000,000 Egyptian pounds -- was allocated for rearmament. Since that time, newspaper dispatches have fully reported Egypt's purchases of jet planes and heavy bombers, destroyers, frigates and corvettes, hundreds of heavy tanks and heavy artillery of all calibers. In addition, there have been authoritative reports of the establishment of armored formations both by Egypt and Syria, the establishment of an arms industry in Egypt and the acquisition of hundreds of armored cars by Egypt, Syria and Hashemite Jordan.

12. Manifestly, equipment of such range and striking power is intended for purposes other than internal order and security. While it is conceded that there may be internal unrest in Egypt -- the inevitable consequence of poverty -- the people are unarmed and jet planes, tanks and destroyers are not needed to subdue them. Economic unrest is not quieted by the diversion of a huge proportion of a

country's substance to the non-productive weapons of war.

13. In our judgment, there is every ground for fear that these arms will eventually be used for a renewal of Egypt's aggression against Israel, if not immediately, within the foreseeable future. Apart from this, we hold the view that this huge-scale armament program prejudices the prospect of a peace settlement between Israel and Egypt.

14. It has been the hope of all friends of both the Jewish and Arab peoples that Israel and the Arab states would soon find it possible to transform their armistice agreements into final and lasting peace treaties. It is the conviction of most observers -- based on the successful negotiations of the armistice accords -- that such treaties can be consummated if Israel and the Arab states can engage in direct negotiations.

* * *

15. But it is clear that such negotiations will be retarded rather than accelerated if the balance is upset in the Near East, if one side is rearmed and if the interests of the people are diverted to military channels. In Egypt and in every other Arab state, there are war parties which are eager for a second round in which they hope to recoup their losses and remove the stigma, and exculpate themselves from the responsibility of their last defeat. They oppose a peace settlement. To put arms into the hands of their governments strengthens their intransigence. They have announced their intentions, repeatedly, in the press, on the radio, and on the public platform. Now they are being given the tools to turn their words into missiles. They have no other identifiable enemy in sight. What basis is there for the belief that the second round which they so eagerly advocate is not, in fact, in preparation? What guarantee is there in the circumstances of the Near East's endemic political instability that these forces may not succeed to power and make use of the weapons in accord with their avowed program?

16. If it is not the purpose of the Arab countries to use these arms for a second assault against Israel, then one must ask why are they being rearmed at such fantastic cost? Is it the belief of the proponents of this rearmament program that the Arab states can be regarded as worthy and reliable allies of the democratic countries in the event of another world conflict?

* * *

17. Past experience answers these questions. In the second world war, Egypt remained a non-belligerent, and although the country was invaded by General Rommell's forces, the Egyptian army remained passive and the defense of Egypt was left to the British army, including thousands of recruits from the Jewish population of Palestine. It is an ironic commentary that British arms are now going to Egypt and may be used against those who were the sole allies of the democratic forces in the Near East in the last war.

18. In Iraq in 1941, Nazi forces seized control of the government and were finally eliminated only after a show-down with the British army. Palestine Jews took part in that action and they were active also to remove Nazi influence from Syria and Lebanon. Throughout the entire war, the Arab world remained aloof from democracy's banner, while many of its leaders, like the former Mufti of Jerusalem,

were actively on the side of the Axis and made their headquarters in Berlin.

19. Can the democratic forces regard Egypt or Iraq, or any other Arab country, as a shield of substance in the light of the past record, and particularly in the light of Arab weakness in the war in Palestine? Although their forces and their arms far exceeded those of the nascent state of Israel, they were quickly overwhelmed in battle. Does this type of alliance fit into the mosaic of democracy's defense?

* * *

20. Quite apart from our natural feeling of sympathy for our Jewish kinsmen in Israel, we deem it our duty as Americans vitally concerned about American policy in the Near East and American defenses throughout the world to express the strongest misgivings on the military support of a dubious ally. The fact that it is Britain which is extending this generous aid should not obscure the fact of indirect American participation, for it is surplus American army equipment that is being used in many cases, and it is the United States which is today providing arms for these same countries which divert their stocks to the Near East.

21. The paramount need of the entire Near East is the development of resources to lift standards of living for millions of depressed people. In the context of this urgent need, the extravagant expenditure of interest, energy and funds on armament and mobilization is a disservice to humanity.

22. This view was eloquently put forth by the representative of the United States, Mr. Austin, in the Security Council debate on the armistice agreement. He said:

23. "It is essential that the resources of that area be used for peaceful purposes, for economic development, for the resettlement of refugees, and for the achievement of higher standards of living for the populations of the area. It would be tragic and wholly wrong if the resources of the area were to be dissipated in an unproductive arms race."

* * *

24. In this connection, one thinks of the obligation of the Arab states to their Arab brethren who, victims of Arab aggression against Israel, were forced to leave Palestine and who today are homeless refugees. If the Arab governments were disposed to expend their funds for resettlement projects, as Senator Austin suggested, they would make a constructive contribution, not only toward the regeneration of a people for whose misery they are primarily responsible, but in the development of their own underdeveloped countries.

25. Precise figures on the cost of resettling the Arab refugees are not available; but in a recent survey published by the Royal Institute of International Affairs, it was suggested that the cost of resettling an estimated 713,000 would be L56,327,000 (before devaluation). The Chatham House experts estimate an average of L79 for settling a refugee on the land in the Near East. It is startling to reflect that Egypt's budget for armaments in one year actually exceeds the total estimated

cost of resettling all the Arab refugees. No one would dare to compare the moral validity of two projects like refugee resettlement and military armament. Nor would one debate which enterprise more effectively promotes the cause of internal order and security as well as the stability of democratic institutions in the Near East.

26. For its part, relieved of the threat of a renewal of hostilities, the Government of Israel would be enabled to continue its dedication to the resettlement of Jewish refugees who have come to Israel after a decade of wandering and helplessness -- an undertaking to which the American Jewish community has proudly contributed substantial sums. It would be a sad day if the Government of Israel were compelled to reduce or halt its resettlement program because it felt obliged to spend large sums for armaments to keep pace with its neighbors.

27. The people of the Near East must have peace. It is for the governments of the United States, United Kingdom, and other great powers to use their best efforts to ensure peace and tranquility in the Near East so that its peoples may work together to raise the living standards of the entire area. To plunge these people into an armaments race is to serve the cause of their impoverishment, debasement and destruction.

28. We respectfully urge our Government to reconsider the problem in the light of the facts herein set forth. We ask that it use its great influence to avert the dangers to the peace of Palestine involved in the situation which is being created; and that the United Kingdom be requested to discontinue the shipment of arms to the Arab states.

Respectfully submitted,

AMERICAN ZIONIST COUNCIL, representing:

Hadassah, Women's Zionist
Organization of America
Hashomer Hatzair
Labor Zionist Organization
of America-Poale Zion

Mizrachi Organization of America
United Zionist Labor Party (Achdut
Avodah-Poale Zion)
Zionist Organization of America
Zionists-Revisionists of America

February 20, 1950

AMERICAN ZIONIST COUNCIL

342 MADISON AVENUE

• TELEPHONE MURRAY HILL 2-1160 •

NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

Cable Address: AMZIONIST

April 7, 1950

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
The Temple
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Dr. Silver:

On Sunday night, April 23, as you know, the American Zionist Council will celebrate the second anniversary of the independence of Israel at a gala concert and meeting at the Hotel Astor in New York. The feature of the evening will be the presentation of Handel's "Israel in Egypt" by the Little Orchestra Society and the Westminster Choir. The only addresses will be by the Hon. Oscar Chapman, Secretary of the Interior, representing the Government of the United States, and by the Hon. Eliahu Elath, Israeli Ambassador at Washington, representing his government. Mr. Lipsky will preside. There will be radioed messages from President Weizmann and Prime Minister Ben-Gurion. (We are providing against bad atmospheric conditions by having transcriptions in readiness.)

Messages will be read from President Truman, Governor Dewey, Mayor O'Dwyer and the Hon. Trygve Lie, representing the United Nations. I think it would be appropriate, and we should be most grateful, if you, as leader of Zionism in America, would send us a message to be read at this meeting. I do not have to tell you that in addition to the formal gratitude of the Council, I shall be personally most happy if you should send us such a message.

On March 28 Mr. Eliezer Liebenstein, at the personal invitation of Mr. Lipsky, addressed a small gathering here, at which were present individuals from all the parties in American Zionism. He delivered a stimulating statement which I know will be of great interest to you. It is now in the process of being transcribed from the stenographic notes and as soon as it is ready I am going to send you a copy.

You will be interested in knowing that I just heard from the Consulate that the statement in this morning's New York Times about arms for Israel is manufactured out of the whole cloth. The State Department has not replied as yet to the Israeli request. I just got this information over a private telephone and I thought I would pass it on to you. Therefore, the item in the JTA today is correct.

CONSTITUENT ORGANIZATIONS

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Mizrachi Organization of America • United Zionist Labor Party (Achdut Avodah-Poale Zion) • Zionist Organization of America
Zionists-Revisionists of America

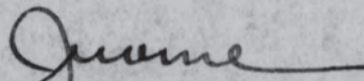
Dr. Abba Hillel Silver

- 2 -

April 7, 1950

With fondest personal regards to you and your family, and every good wish for a joyous Passover, I am, as ever

Affectionately yours,



Rabbi Jerome Unger
Executive Director

JU:SR



AMERICAN ZIONIST COUNCIL

342 MADISON AVENUE

• TELEPHONE MURRAY HILL 2-1160 •

NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

Cable Address: AMZIONIST

April 10, 1950

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
The Temple
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Dr. Silver:

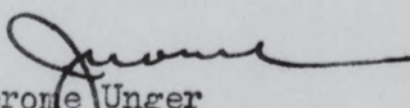
I am sending you a copy of the statement made by Mr. Eliezer Leibenstein on March 28, 1950, to which I referred in my letter of April 7. You will recognize, of course, that this is an unedited transcript. Not only is it unedited, but it is exactly as taken down by the stenographer without any rhetorical revision. Although it does not make easy reading I am sure you will be interested in having it.

I look forward to receiving your message for our April 23 celebration.

With warm regards, I am

Sincerely yours,

JU:SR
Enc


Jerome Unger
Executive Director

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Mizrachi Organization of America • United Zionist Labor Party (Achdut Avodah-Poale Zion) • Zionist Organization of America
Zionists-Revisionists of America

ADDRESS DELIVERED BY ELIEZER LIEBENSTEIN
MARCH 28, 1950

Present:

Louis Lipsky (presiding); Ephraim Auerbach; Victor Bernstein; Samuel Borowsky; Sol Cohen; Pinchas Cruso; A. Duker; Akiva Eger; Mrs. Moses P. Epstein; S. Fishman; M. Z. Frank; Paul Goldman; I. Gottlieb; Saul Hareli; I. L. Kenen; Eliezer Liebenstein; Mrs. Louis Lipsky; Arthur Lourie; D. L. Meckler; Louis Schwefel; Louis Segal and Yehuda Tyberg.

Adolph Hubbard; Arnold K. Israeli; Miss Sulamith Schwartz and Rabbi Jerome Unger.

- - -

Mr. Lipsky called the meeting to order at 8:40 P.M. His introduction of the guest of honor, Mr. Eliezer Liebenstein, was prefaced with the remark that Mr. Liebenstein's talk would serve as the introduction to what he hoped would be an informative question and answer period.

MR. LIEBENSTEIN:

The three most important questions or problems concerning Israel now are the economic situation, which is very grave and according to my personal views, not likely to be better in the near future; the security situation and finally, the relationship between Israel and the Diaspora or, if you like, the future of the Zionist movement.

From a short-range viewpoint, the economic situation might be the most important, but from the long-range view, the relationship between Israel and the Diaspora is the most pressing. It means that because we lost more than two years from the job of rebuilding the connections between Israel and the people abroad, this long-range problem is becoming more and more a short-range one. It might mean that there will be no future for the whole Zionist movement or that the unity of our people is in danger. I, personally, have been concerned for the past few months with the third question. It is the purpose

of my quiet, unofficial visit to the United States. When I return home, I shall report what I have seen here, but it occurred to me that it would be a good idea, before going home, to share my conclusions and opinions with a group of responsible American Zionists and to listen to them.

The situation today is a paradoxical one. The one impact of the State of Israel on the Diaspora has resulted in the disintegration of the Zionist movement. You feel it in America perhaps more than in any other country because during the last few years American Zionism has expanded more than any other Zionist movement in the world. But I am not sure that this is only an American phenomenon. If we look deeply into the question, the situation is not as paradoxical as it may appear. Zionism is a heavy burden and, it might be said, a dangerous burden. Zionism means the predominance of general Jewish responsibilities over all other considerations. If there had not been such a movement and such Jewish individuals who regarded Jewish solidarity and the creation of Israel as more important than anything else in Jewish life, the State of Israel never would have been created.

Zionism sometimes comes into conflict with problems of adjustment in the Diaspora. Then, again, there is always the temptation to pass the whole burden on to somebody else. The Zionists abroad exploited this possibility and passed the whole baby on to the State of Israel. What many Zionists would like to do is just to carry partial responsibility -- partial from a material and spiritual point of view. They would carry partial material responsibility -- for medical, educational, social and religious projects -- but not for the whole great adventure of Israel. From a spiritual viewpoint, they refuse to assume full responsibility for the complete Zionist education of the masses. In the place of a complete Zionist ideology, they are ready

to foster some Jewish sentiments. Such is more or less the situation in this country. When I talk to different Zionist leaders here, from left to right, I see great divergences inside the parties. As I have learned in this country, people from different Zionist parties may live and work together but people from the same party seldom agree. However, all of them -- Poale Zion, Mizrachi, etc. -- agree that "we are waiting for word from Israel; we are awaiting the green light." I always have the feeling that behind that facon de parler people would like to evade their responsibility. Why should they be waiting for the decision of Israel and not that of their own movement here? But they are. We in Israel cannot avoid responsibility.

Lately, there has emerged to the forefront a debate about non-interference. The slogan of non-interference was used by different leaders of the Zionist movement and perhaps by some leaders of the Government of Israel. Non-interference, from a Zionist point of view, is nonsense and dangerous nonsense -- anti-Zionist nonsense. Each Zionist is interested in the fate of Israel, the same as your interest in the fate of American Jewry. If American Jewry should go non-Zionist, the State of Israel is lost. If the State of Israel should go Communist, then American Jewry will be in an impossible situation -- politically, spiritually and educationally. For tactical reasons, some leaders may use the slogan of non-interference, but we now need much more interference from people in the Zionist movement abroad.

In the Diaspora today, there are three different sections divided from one another by chasms such as never existed in two thousand years. There is, first of all, the Diaspora in the Moslem countries. Nobody knows how many Jews there are. These people have no conception of Zionism as a movement but they feel as if they are part of Israel. These people will be moved to Israel. The question is one of transfer -- a question of ingathering.

They will go to Zion without Zionism. Some of them, (i. e. the Yemenites) are the best Zionists in the world.

The second part of Diaspora Jewry are the Jews behind the Iron Curtain. They are at least 98% Zionist, more so than the American Jews. They are not permitted to organize in any way to express their desires. In Russia, they are shut behind the Curtain. In the satellite countries, some of them will be saved during the coming year while those remaining are faced with the grave danger of obliteration, even in the physical sense. Certainly, they will not be allowed to play any part in the shaping of Israel's destiny.

The third part of the Diaspora consists of happy Jews who live in the Western world, mostly in America. There are some seven million Jews in this category. When we talk about the relationship between Israel and the Diaspora, about the future of the Zionist movement, we talk about American Zionists. Here will be fought the decisive battle for the revival of Zionism. Now we must ask three questions. I shall ask them and try to answer. First, is the Zionist movement still needed after the founding of the State? Second, what should be the character of the Zionist movement now and the scope of its activities? Third, what will happen if the Zionist movement is not revived and we let things go as they are at present?

I shall start with the third question. Let me state emphatically that there should be a spiritual resurgence. What the Jewish people need is a spiritual revival.

There are now three types of Zionism and pro-Israeli activity in this country. The first is the so-called project organization. The greatest of these is Hadassah. Histadruth, the Women Pioneers, the Mizrachi Women, etc. are project organizations. The most important thing about them is

that they cannot contribute decisively either to the future of Israel, financially or politically, or to the spiritual or cultural phase of American Jewry. All they are doing is positive. These organizations are strictly limited eo ipso, both politically and spiritually. They are responsible for a part of the work. They are responsible for a part of the education. They are unable, even in accordance with our Zionist point of view, to emphasize Zionist responsibility before any other responsibility. It is the character of their birth, their growth, and of the nature of their usefulness. It is my impression that their financial achievements are due to the over-all Zionist atmosphere engendered in this country by political Zionist organizations. If this Zionist atmosphere should disappear, it is only a question of time before the financial achievements and success of the project organization disappear, too. I have a feeling that these organizations reached their apex this year. Sometimes, these project organizations carry on successfully for a period of time after ~~the~~ general Zionist sentiment has weakened and after the political Zionist organizations have declined. The latter do not realize, however, the dependence of the project organization on the general atmosphere produced by political Zionism. Although taken together, they are more immediately useful than any other type of Zionist organization, they do not feel responsible for the future of the Zionist movement in America because of their success, from their standpoint.

The second type of organization is the political Zionist organization, or the party type. The most important of them is the Zionist Organization of America. It is my feeling (I am a member of Mapai, as you know) that

the fate of the ZOA will determine the fate of the Zionist movement generally. Because it is a general, non-party organization, it has less clarity than any other Zionist organization at present. The ZOA is more important than any of them and should be more important. Consequently, it is suffering more than any other Zionist organization from the spiritual crisis. The great expansion of the ZOA came in the last ten years, since the war and the emergence of the State of Israel. The ZOA, however, did not use that opportunity to educate its members. I shall try to define what a Zionist is. Every Jew would like to have a Jewish state for other Jews. Every Jew would like to assist refugees wherever they are. Every Jew would like to fight the Jewish case in the United Nations.

During this aforementioned period, the Movement did not use its forces to educate Jews to be Zionists. I admit that it is a difficult job. I don't know the character of the Zionist movement as it was in America ten or fifteen years ago. Of course, there was a real Zionist kernel but, in the main, the Zionist movement in America has won its case and lost its character. It is not our purpose to propagandize, during times of war or any other time, and tell people when to be Zionists or non-Zionists, when they should know what their duties are in such a situation. But the Movement had no answer.

This ideological question is much more important than many people suppose because, from my point of view, the Zionist movement should capture American Jewry through its institutions, congregations and federations or it will not exist. It cannot do this without a clear-cut idea of the object of the whole business. Zionism doesn't only mean helping other Jews

to live in their own country. I have met with some gentlemen from the American Jewish Committee. They would like to help other Jews live in Israel and develop their State. But they are not Zionists. Zionism is signified by a Jew's desire, spiritual or material, to live with other Jews in his country, to work his land and to build his State whenever the practical opportunity arrives. Zionism means the free choice of Jews, either persecuted or non-persecuted, to go home and live in Israel when their chance comes.

For many years, there was a Zionist movement even when there was not a Jewish settlement in Israel. Zionism is questioning the existence of Jews in the Diaspora. Zionism means that every Jew should question whether or not he should go to Israel and hope for a Jewish life in the only place that it is possible. I am not sure that all the parties in America have educated Jews in that spirit. I am using terms very cautiously. I don't think it is possible for any Zionist movement to exist without that great spiritual decision -- a change in terms and notions and re-education of the great mass of American Jewry and of the leadership of the Zionist movement. If this is not done, the trend is more or less clear. Zionist organizations don't see their place in the rebuilding of Israel. There has been loss of membership even on the local scene; there has been a loss of élan; there has been an unfortunate decline in the quality of leadership, not because of any intellectual decline among American Jewry.

I was pleasantly surprised to find a high degree of Jewish consciousness and intellectual quality among young Jews in this country. I have never seen so many able young people, but they are outside the Zionist movement.

You cannot get them inside without a radical change. There is a change in the quality of the leadership. There is no fighting spirit in practical pro-Israeli issues, i. e. the question of Jerusalem. Don't think that the question is solved. Then there is the fight against what is called local needs -- for example the UJA campaign. Even in these matters, which are strictly Zionist, the Zionist movement is not active. It does not regard these issues as their issues. The Foreign Minister of Israel is waging an unsuccessful fight almost alone. The UJA is fighting their rear-guard action without any assistance. It appears that the political future of Israel and the financial future of Jewish public money is no important concern of the Zionist movement.

I don't think there is any heir to the ZOA. No other organization has such an ambition. It is generally agreed by the other parties that no one Zionist party can succeed in capturing the place which might be waiting.

The third type of organization is the one set up for pro-Israeli activities. This is different from the first type of project organization. Their responsibility is general. They are different from the second type in that they never assume, as organizations, the financial or political support of the State of Israel. The most prominent organization of that type is the UJA.

The general tendency is clear. It is amazing that American Zionists of all parties never assemble in a council and think or talk about problems. People say that we should think before talking, but really worthwhile talking. Some of the real local needs are pressing.

I suppose that American Jewry is in the first throes of a Jewish cultural revival. They need more schools, more Y's and Jewish centers. Every synagogue should expand, but these are local needs which are only a reflection

of a general anti-Zionist tendency or general Jewish isolationism in America. Jews would like to demonstrate that their main purpose is not Israel but American Jews here. For example, there was the project of a memorial in an American city dedicated to a General who was a convert to the Episcopalian Church. They raised a large amount of money for this project, a hospital, which is non-sectarian. Most of the patients and staff are non-Jewish. This was done out of the deep feeling of insecurity which pervades American Jewry.

While the UJA is fighting a rear-guard action, the other side is organizing, too. They are organizing themselves ideologically, too. I don't think we can stem the tide. I don't think the trend can be changed except through a strong political Zionist movement, a movement which should capture the minds and souls and which should capture the people who speak for the federations, welfare funds and congregations. If there will be no such movement, political or educational, the battle of the UJA is lost.

The general feeling of decline and decrease is decisive. What can the result be? I don't think the place of leadership in American Jewry will remain unoccupied if there should be disintegration in all its facets. Somebody has to decide what measure of support should be given to Israel ¹ to Jews abroad. What would have happened if America had fought the other way on the Jerusalem issue? If the fight on internationalization had gone the other way, then the Zionist movement would have had to fight its own government as English Jewry did. All the parties of English Jewry have fought against the government. When the question of blood and shooting arose, they fought. There should be somebody to decide what measure of political support is permissible.

If the whole Zionist movement should disintegrate, I ^{imagine} ~~suppose~~ there are organizations to take its place. I suppose the American Jewish Committee is one of them. They can care for Israel and local needs alike. They are a

growing world organization. If the ZOA does not revive itself, the leadership will go in a few years to the American Jewish Committee, and other non-Zionist bodies. The State of Israel will then be dependent on a non-Zionist leadership. There are good Jews who may turn anti-Zionist and anti-Israel on any pressure from the Gentiles. It is a paradoxical situation but it may happen.

The second question is: Is the Zionist Movement still needed? Let me add a few words. What is the real situation with regard to Israel? We cannot exist in the Middle East as a State of one, two or three million Jews. The Middle East is very important to the world. We should develop into the decisive State of the Middle East and change the character of the whole region or disappear from the face of the whole world or from the face of the Middle East. If the Jewish State should disappear, I don't know what will happen to the Diaspora. We need all the energies of Jewry, material, political and personal, in order to survive the test. The danger is only beginning. We are on a swift train and there are no stations to alight. If something should happen to that train, it will happen to world Jewry. From the Israeli point of view, it is simple. The effort must come through the Zionist movement or nothing will be done.

We had our secret UJA, which in 1948 and 1949, gave us much more than the whole UJA put together over a period of two or three years. Our secret UJA was Arab property -- land, plantations, cities, etc. But now the war is over. There is no more Arab land to be taken. It means the beginning of a process of investment which cannot go very far without some kind of Aliyah. It cannot be done without a change in the Zionist movement, without more education of American Jewry and without more intimate connections between Jews in Israel and America.

There is another aspect to the question. I am sure that there is the beginning of a Jewish revival in America. Due to this and other reasons, there is a return to Judaism among American Jews. It is not inevitable for this Jewish revival to go the Zionist way and be the salvation of the Zionist movement. Who shall lead this revival? Who shall organize it?

The Zionist organizational movement of the future should care for Israel and American Jews alike. It should be the leader in all things political and cultural, pro-Israel and local, and such work cannot be done by every Zionist party. This job cannot be divided by party. It can be done only by a united Zionist movement in which the weight is in the center. The parties may go on but the main weight should be put on the general Zionists, not in the party sense, who should direct Aliyah, fund-raising, etc. It is an absurdity to regard the UJA only as money-givers. There are some differences of opinion as to who should preside over the solution of the problems of the Zionist movement. There are many gentlemen who are competing for the job. I am amazed to what extent personal considerations are taking precedence in the thinking and talking of American Jewry. The only explanation that I can offer is that American Zionists are not ready to think about the situation in real terms. It is an escapism to personal squabbles and rivalry. Perhaps there should be a different type of leadership. American Zionism needs a spiritual type of leadership, people who are ready to work with other people but compromise when the need arises.

We are building the State in this way, in a spirit of compromise. We are ready to be over-ruled, even when we are quite sure that we are right. Something of that spirit should prevail in the leadership of American Zionism if the American Zionist movement would survive.

* * *

Dr. Weizmann was mistaken in every issue. Yet, he didn't indulge in self-ostracism. Something of that spirit should prevail in the leadership of American Zionism if the American Zionist movement would survive.



AMERICAN ZIONIST COUNCIL • WASHINGTON BUREAU

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

April 19, 1950

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver,
The Temple,
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear friend Dr. Silver:

I regret that I did not have the temporal opportunity to see you in person. However, I know that you are deeply interested in the proper solution of our Zionist problems as far as Washington is concerned. It is in this spirit that I am writing to you.

It is recognized that the appointment of Dulles as a consultant to Secretary Acheson gives the Republican Party a potent voice in Foreign Affairs. We know Mr. Dulles by virtue of his record that he is a friend. Nevertheless, it may not be inappropriate to stimulate that spirit of friendship at this time.

As you well know, Mr. Acheson is going next month to Europe where he will confer with Mr. Bevin. The problems of Israel and the rearmament question, no doubt, will be included in the conversations. From what I have learned he will be accompanied by former Senator Cooper, of Kentucky, and there is a strong likelihood that Mr. Dulles will join them in Europe.

I respectfully suggest that you, as an old friend of Dulles, communicate with him in order to make him conversant with the current problems of Israel, with particular reference to the question of the rearmament of the Arabs by Great Britain with the approval of the Department of State. It is my conviction that this offers an opportunity to render a real service to our cause.

I am not unaware of the existing complicated irritations. However, I know that your dedication to Israel's freedom and security is great enough to make you forget and forgive the unpleasant vicissitudes of the past.

The traditional hesitation of the Department of State with reference to Israel is still in evidence. In fact, the Division of the Middle East is saturated with hostility. A mutual friend of ours, whom you know well, calls it by the ugly name of anti-Semitism.

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Mizrachi Organization of America	•	United Zionist Labor Party (Achdut Avodah-Poale Zion)	•	Zionist Organization of America
Zionists-Revisionists of America				

April 19, 1950

I have learned that Mr. Acheson contemplates the introduction of a Bill for the extension of arms to the nations of the North Atlantic Pact, including England. This Bill, if introduced, will come up for consideration before the House Committee on Foreign Affairs and the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, jointly with the Committee on Arms. I believe that some of our friends on these Committees might be induced to offer amendments to the Bill which might, in substance, offer a solution to the rearmament question. While such amendments should be introduced by members of Congress as individuals, nevertheless, if the American Zionist Council deems it important, it would behoove the Zionist Council to appear officially in support of such amendments. It may well be that the American Jewish Committee, the B'nai B'rith, the American Jewish Congress, and the leaders of American Labor would deem it proper to give their support.

I am merely thinking aloud.

The atmosphere, both in the House and the Senate, I believe, is a friendly one. On the whole, the Senators and Congressmen are sympathetic. The question of the supply of arms to the Arab states involves, among other things, the question of peace in general. Hence, members of Congress do not have to stretch their consciences to give support to a proposition intended to serve the end of peace.

I should like to have your judgment on it. Moreover, if such a step be taken, we would be called upon to present a united front. The exercise of your good offices would be of value.

If you contemplate visiting New York one of these days, I would appreciate it if you would be good enough to inform me so that I could utilize the opportunity of seeing you there and make you conversant more vividly with the situation in Washington.

I trust all is well with you and with yours.

With kindest personal regards and best wishes,

(Handwritten signature)

Cordially, *as ever*

E. D. Stone

Elihu D. Stone

EDS/p

P.S. I think I have stated it before
that leaders are not necessarily
elected; they arise.
!9/50 ... *(Handwritten notes)*
3/19/50

I am enclosing an insertion in the Congressional Record.

ABE TUVIM

5--2--50

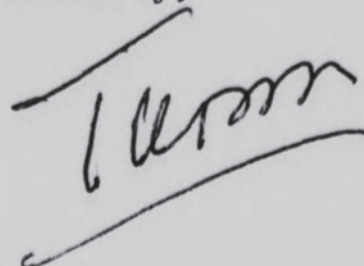
Dear Dr. Silver:

I thought you might like to know that I finally heard from Al Schiff re the prospect of my becoming the Z O A liaison for the Palestine Economic Corporation. Schiff has informed me that Szold feels that he can manage the project with his present staff. Consequently the negotiations, which never reached the stage of actual conversations beyond several telephone talks with Schiff, are definitely off.

I heard from Harry about your conversation with Browdy about this matter, and his seeming enthusiasm for the project. Schiff, too, was keen about it, but evidently they could not bring Szold around.

Thank you very much for your interest, which was heartening to me. I hope to see you when you are in town for the Madison Square Garden meeting. My best to your lovely lady.

Cordially,



P.S. You will note
that my abilities
do not include typing -
AT-

AMERICAN ZIONIST COUNCIL • WASHINGTON BUREAU

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

May 4, 1950

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
The Temple
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Dr. Silver:

I am enclosing herewith pages of the Congressional Record containing greetings to Israel by senators and congressmen on the occasion of the celebration of the second anniversary of Israel's Independence. They speak for themselves.

You may be interested to know that the House officially amended the calendar of April 24th by dedicating a certain time to a "Salute to Israel". The remarks of Congressmen McCormack, Martin, Sabath and Franklin D. Roosevelt, Jr. were very appropriate, and of course, the statements in the Senate of Majority Leader Lucas, Saltenstall, Lodge, and others, were rather complimentary.

The wide and fine sponsorship of the Senate resolution of greetings to Israel representing as it did, the leadership of both parties, is significant.

However, the Department of State apparently is not aware of the sentiments of the Congress. It carries on its policy of discrimination against Israel with reference to arms with stubborn determination, the Congress notwithstanding.

There is a danger that at the forthcoming meeting in London with Mr. Bevin, Mr. Acheson, may follow the Bevin line.

The battle must be carried on with greater intensity.
I will try to be in New York on the 14th of May in order to listen to your message. I hope that you may find the temporal opportunity for a little "shmues".

With kindest personal regards and best wishes,

ישיבתי (1,3 נצחתי)

Affectionately,

Elihu David.
Elihu D. Stone

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AMERICAN ZIONIST COUNCIL

342 MADISON AVENUE

• TELEPHONE MURRAY HILL 2-1160

• NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

Cable Address: AMZIONIST

AIR MAIL

May 15, 1950

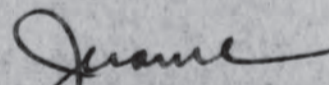
Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
The Temple
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Dr. Silver:

Thursday night's affair at Madison Square Garden was a triumphant occasion, made possible largely by your own contribution. Those of us who have looked to you for leadership were thrilled by your presence and your words of challenge and direction. We look forward to the days that are to come with renewed confidence.

I sincerely hope that you will be able to be with us for the whole meeting on June 4th and 5th in Washington. The tentative plan is to have a session on Sunday afternoon surveying the political situation. The session on Sunday night will be a public meeting dealing with the arms question. Monday morning will be given over to committee meetings and visits to the Capitol by delegates in order to confer with their Representatives and Senators. On Monday afternoon we shall receive reports from committees and these delegations. In addition, we shall deal with Council problems more specifically. We should like to have you present at every session and take part in every session. I know that perhaps this is asking too much and shall appreciate your indication as to which sessions you would prefer to address.

Affectionately yours,



Rabbi Jerome Unger
Executive Director

JU:SR

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May 23, 1950

Rabbi Jerome Unger
American Zionist Council
324 Madison Avenue
New York 17, New York

My dear Rabbi Unger:

At the Centennial Banquet of The Temple held on Thursday evening, May 18th, Senator Taft, who was at the last moment unable to come because of the illness of his wife, sent the enclosed telegram which you may not have seen. It is a very excellent statement on the arms situation as well as the internationalization of Jerusalem. It should be given the widest publicity as a lever to move the State Department. You may recall that Ambassador Elath, a few weeks ago, asked me to see Senator Taft in connection with the arms situation.

With all good wishes, I remain

Very cordially yours,

ABBA HILLEL SILVER

AHS:er
Enc.

AMERICAN ZIONIST COUNCIL

342 MADISON AVENUE

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NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

Cable Address: AMZIONIST

May 25, 1950

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
The Temple
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Dr. Silver:

Thank you for your letter of May 23, enclosing the excellent telegram which Senator Taft sent to you on May 18. Fortunately, Dr. Sidney Marks gave me a copy of it which evidently he must have received from you, so that on May 19 we were able to release it to the press. A copy of our press release is attached herewith.

Since Senator Taft had explained his inability to attend our outdoor rally in Madison Square Park on May 24, and sent a similar message, it was read to the huge throng which was assembled there to protest the arms situation.

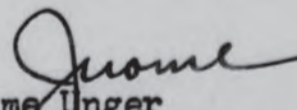
You will be interested to know that for several days forces in Washington were seeking to have us call off this rally. Apparently, the announcement on page 1 of the New York Times this morning, stating that the United States, Great Britain and France were about to announce a "unified policy to ship limited quantities of munitions to Middle Eastern countries", thus permitting Israel to obtain arms in the United States and elsewhere, was timed to coincide with our demonstration and protest. Obviously, the protests throughout the country, which have been mounting and culminated in this tremendous demonstration, have had their desired effect.

We are all looking forward to having you at our Washington Conference and to your address on Monday afternoon, June 5. As soon as you have a copy of - or excerpts from - your planned remarks, we shall appreciate your sending it to us, so that we can prepare adequate press releases.

With fondest regards, I am

Affectionately yours,

JU:EF
Enc.


Jerome Unger
Executive Director

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PRESS RELEASE

from AMERICAN ZIONIST COUNCIL

342 Madison Avenue • New York 17, N. Y.
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FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

U.S. SENATOR TAFT ASKS FOR DEFENSIVE ARMS FOR ISRAEL

- - - - -

New York, May 19 -- U.S. Senator Robert A. Taft, in a message made public by the American Zionist Council, today warned that the British shipment of arms to Egypt "is an incitement to war and to an arms race which usually leads to war."

Deploing the lifting of the arms embargo by the British last June and by the Security Council of the United Nations in August as "unfortunate," Senator Taft in his message declared "I believe that we should immediately protest against this action and we should permit Israel to acquire arms in this country."

At the same time Senator Taft called for a complete reconsideration by the United Nations of the proposal for the internationalization of Jerusalem, saying "that part of Jerusalem built up by Jews should certainly be an integral part of Israel."

The complete text of Senator Taft's message follows:

"I CONSIDER THAT THE LIFTING OF THE ARMS EMBARGO BY THE BRITISH LAST JUNE AND BY THE SECURITY COUNCIL OF THE UN IN AUGUST WAS UNFORTUNATE. THE ARMING OF EGYPT IN PARTICULAR IN VIEW OF HER PRESENT ATTITUDE IS AN INCITEMENT TO WAR AND TO AN ARMS RACE WHICH USUALLY LEADS TO WAR. I THINK IT IS UNFORTUNATE THAT OUR STATE DEPARTMENT ACQUIESCED IN THESE ACTIONS AND APPARENTLY IT WAS YIELDING TO PROTEST AGAINST THE BRITISH SALE OF ARMS TO SEVERAL ARAB COUNTRIES. I BELIEVE THAT WE SHOULD IMMEDIATELY PROTEST AGAINST THIS ACTION AND WE SHOULD PERMIT ISRAEL TO ACQUIRE ARMS IN THIS COUNTRY. I ALSO DESIRE TO SAY THAT I BELIEVE THAT THE UN SHOULD RECONSIDER COMPLETELY THE PROPOSAL FOR THE INTERNATIONALIZATION

(more)

OF JERUSALEM. INTERNATIONAL CITIES HAVE NOT CONTRIBUTED TO PEACE AND PARTICULARLY IN THIS CASE WHERE THE JEWS AND ARABS CAN AGREE ON A PROPER DIVISION AND DESIRE TO DO SO THE UN RESOLUTION SHOULD BE RECONSIDERED. THAT PART OF JERUSALEM BUILT UP BY JEWS SHOULD CERTAINLY BE AN INTEGRAL PART OF ISRAEL."

ROBERT A. TAFT
UNITED STATES SENATOR

---30---

#377 - 5/19/50



AMERICAN ZIONIST COUNCIL

342 MADISON AVENUE

• TELEPHONE MURRAY HILL 2-1160 •

NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

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May 26, 1950

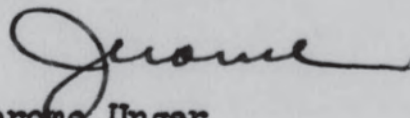
Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
The Temple
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Dr. Silver:

Mr. Harry Steinberg gave me the gist of your conversation with him over the telephone this afternoon while our Executive Committee was in session. I communicated it to them. The wire, which you have already received, and the attached memorandum and statement will give you the conclusions at which we have arrived.

I sincerely hope that you will be able to attend the sessions of a conference which we may call when the occasion arises.

Cordially yours,



Rabbi Jerome Unger
Executive Director

JU:SL
encs.

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NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

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URGENT

NO. 44

May 26, 1950

To the Local Committees
of the AMERICAN ZIONIST COUNCIL:

Due to recent developments in connection with the Middle East rearmament situation, the Executive Committee of the American Zionist Council decided to postpone temporarily the National Conference of the Council which had been scheduled to be held in Washington, D. C., on June 4 and 5.

This postponement does not mean that we have achieved our objective. The situation is still unclear as you will see from the enclosed statement which the Council is releasing to the press today. We warn you to remain alerted and vigilant.

Please make every effort to get this statement published in your local press. Your telegrams and communications to the State Department (not to President Truman) should continue along the lines of the statement.

Further information and an analysis of the Big Three Statement will be sent to you within several days.

Kindest regards.

Sincerely yours,

Jerome Unger
Jerome Unger
Executive Director

JU:LD
Enc.

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PRESS RELEASE

from AMERICAN ZIONIST COUNCIL

342 Madison Avenue • New York 17, N. Y.
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Hashomer Hatzair
United Labor Zionist Party

426

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

ZIONISTS VIEW BIG THREE STATEMENT ON MIDDLE EAST

AS "FIRST BREACH IN WALL"

- - - -

ASSERT CONCERN OVER IMPLEMENTATION OF ANNOUNCED POLICY

- - - -

New York, May 26 -- The following statement was issued this afternoon by the American Zionist Council, spokesman for the entire American Zionist movement relative to the statement of the Three Powers on the Middle East:

"The American-British-French agreement on arms to the Middle East made public on Thursday, May 25, by President Truman indicates a first break in the wall of American policy of refusing defense arms to the State of Israel. Assurances are given of equal treatment to Israel and the Arab States in the matter of obtaining armaments in the future. The Three Powers also expressed their determination to take all measures to halt aggression in the Middle East and to seek to maintain that peace, which is Israel's deepest desire.

As a statement of policy the agreement gives satisfaction to the American Zionist Council, to all friends of Israel (Jews and non-Jews) and doubtless gives encouragement to the large numbers of Representatives and Senators who have so courageously and vigorously rallied to the cause of fair dealing with the State of Israel.

The vagueness and unclarity of certain phrases in the agreement, however, makes it necessary for us to point out that its value will be revealed only in

(more)

- 2 -

the implementation which is to follow. We are concerned moreover with the position taken by those in the State Department who still seem to be interested in maintaining the inequality of treatment as between the Arab States and Israel, and see no present threat to peace in the Middle East. Friends of Israel and all those who want peace in the Middle East will therefore watch with interest and deep concern the developments in the coming weeks and months.

Louis Lipsky, Chairman
American Zionist Council"

--30--

#381 - 5/26/50



COPY FOR MEMBERS OF COUNCIL
AMERICAN ZIONIST COUNCIL

342 MADISON AVENUE

• TELEPHONE MURRAY HILL 2-1160 •

NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

Cable Address: AMZIONIST

NO. 46

June 8, 1950

To the Local Committees
of the AMERICAN ZIONIST COUNCIL:

Pending a restatement of our position in view of the Three Power Agreement, which is not all that it appeared to be when first issued, we are enclosing herewith several items of importance for your information and guidance:

- First - The text of the Three Power Declaration on Middle East Arms;
- Second - A reprint of a significant item from the New York Times of June 1, 1950, giving an account of the continuing British embargo on arms for Israel;
- Third - The statement issued by the American Zionist Council immediately following President Truman's announcement of the Three Power Agreement (previously sent to you);
- Fourth - The gist of a statement made by Premier David Ben-Gurion in the Knesseth, in which he gave expression to the official position of the Israel Government.

With this material you will be able, for the time being, to guide your local communities in this period of keeping an eye on developments. The value of the Three Power Agreement depends on its implementation. We ask you to remain critically alert.

It is important that you maintain and extend all your present contacts and influences. It is especially desirable to have reflected in the local press, if possible, the expectation that the Three Power Agreement will be faithfully observed.

We suggest the advisability of holding back on communications to Senators and Representatives pending developments and further advice from the Council.

Please keep in touch with this office and send us all press items.

Cordially yours,

Jerome Unger

Jerome Unger
Executive Director

JU:LD
Encs.

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Zionists-Revisionists of America

BIG THREE STATEMENT ON ARMS TO MIDDLE EAST

Washington, May 25 (AP) -- Following is the text of the Statement by the United States, Britain and France on arms aid for the Middle East, as released by the White House:

THREE-POWER STATEMENT

The Governments of the United Kingdom, France and the United States, having had occasion during the recent foreign ministers' meeting in London to review certain questions affecting the peace and stability of the Arab states and of Israel, and particularly that of the supply of arms and war material to these states, have resolved to make the following statements:

(1)

The three Governments recognize that the Arab states and Israel all need to maintain a certain level of armed forces for the purposes of assuring their internal security and their legitimate self-defense and to permit them to play their part in the defense of the area as a whole. All applications for arms or war material for these countries will be considered in the light of these principles. In this connection the three Governments wish to recall and reaffirm the terms of the statements made by their representatives on the Security Council on August 4, 1949, in which they declared their opposition to the development of an arms race between the Arab states and Israel.

(2)

The three Governments declare that assurances have been received from all the states in question, to which they permit arms to be supplied from their countries, that the purchasing state does not intend to undertake any act of aggression against any other state. Similar assurances will be requested from any other state in the area to which they permit arms to be supplied in the future.

(3)

The three Governments take this opportunity of declaring their deep interest in and their desire to promote the establishment and maintenance of peace and stability in the area and their unalterable opposition to the use of force or threat of force between any of the states in that area. The three Governments, should they find that any of these states was preparing to violate frontiers or armistice lines, would, consistently with their obligations as members of the United Nations, immediately take action, both within and outside the United Nations, to prevent such violation.

* * *

From NEW YORK TIMES
June 1, 1950

BRITISH REAFFIRM ISRAEL ARMS BAR

- - -

LONDON OFFICIALS SAY REPORTS THAT THE EMBARGO
WILL BE LIFTED SOON ARE UNTRUE

- - -

LONDON, May 31 -- British officials said here today that there was no likelihood that this country would relax its embargo on the shipment of arms to Israel in the foreseeable future. Although the embargo policy is under "constant review," they said, reports that it might soon be lifted to permit a "token" shipment to the Tel Aviv Government were unfounded.

One official indicated that Israel's request for war materials, which was first submitted last Christmas, had been "pigeonholed" and would probably remain so for some time.

Britain's participation in the recent three-power announcement with the United States and France favoring the sale of arms to all Middle Eastern countries -- including Israel -- under certain conditions would not in any way modify the long-standing embargo, it was stressed. Israel's representatives here and in Tel Aviv have been fully informed of the British attitude, it was added.

While it was not confirmed in official circles, there was reason to believe that the British Government would delay a decision on the question of selling arms to Israel until impending negotiations with Egypt on revising the 1936 treaty had at least been started.

On Friday Field Marshal Sir William Slim, Chief of the Imperial Staff, will fly to Egypt for a few days and will confer with Egyptian officials on questions of the joint defense of Suez Canal and the stationing of British troops in the Canal Zone. Likewise, Sir Ralph Stevenson, newly appointed British envoy to Egypt, will take up as one of his first tasks revision of the 1936 treaty, which gives British certain military rights in the country.

Results of these negotiations, it is thought here, may have a bearing on Britain's future arms policy toward Israel, for Britain is still closely allied with several Arab states and she will seek to avoid any move that might affect relations with these states -- all of which are still officially in a state of armed truce with Israel.

* * *

ZIONISTS VIEW BIG THREE STATEMENT ON MIDDLE EAST
AS "FIRST BREACH IN WALL"

- - -

ASSERT CONCERN OVER IMPLEMENTATION OF ANNOUNCED POLICY

- - -

New York, May 26 -- The following statement was issued this afternoon by the American Zionist Council, spokesman for the entire American Zionist movement relative to the statement of the Three Powers on the Middle East:

"The American-British-French agreement on arms to the Middle East made public on Thursday, May 25, by President Truman indicates a first break in the wall of American policy of refusing defense arms to the State of Israel. Assurances are given of equal treatment to Israel and the Arab States in the matter of obtaining armaments in the future. The Three Powers also expressed their determination to take all measures to halt aggression in the Middle East and to seek to maintain that peace, which is Israel's deepest desire.

As a statement of policy the agreement gives satisfaction to the American Zionist Council, to all friends of Israel (Jews and non-Jews) and doubtless gives encouragement to the large numbers of Representatives and Senators who have so courageously and vigorously rallied to the cause of fair dealing with the State of Israel.

The vagueness and unclarity of certain phrases in the agreement, however, makes it necessary for us to point out that its value will be revealed only in the implementation which is to follow. We are concerned moreover with the position taken by those in the State Department who still seem to be interested in maintaining the inequality of treatment as between the Arab States and Israel, and see no present threat to peace in the Middle East. Friends of Israel and all those who want peace in the Middle East will therefore watch with interest and deep concern the developments in the coming weeks and months.

Louis Lipsky, Chairman
American Zionist Council"

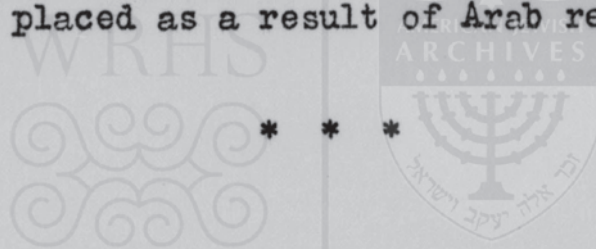
5/26/50

STATEMENT OF PREMIER DAVID BEN-GURION

Premier Ben-Gurion, speaking in the Knesseth on May 31, expressed Israel's satisfaction with the Three Power Agreement which aims to end the discrimination heretofore practiced in selling arms to the Arabs and refusing to allow the Jewish State to purchase weapons.

He said that the Israel Government is especially satisfied with that section of the Declaration in which the Three Powers call for peace in the Middle East, take a stand against the use of force, and pledge action against any aggressor in that area. He warned, however, that the Israel Government feels that the international body should not stop with the Tripartite Agreement, but should do everything possible to encourage and speed up the process of stabilization in the Middle East through peace treaties between the Jewish State and the Arab countries.

Mr. Ben Gurion said that although the new policy contains a promise of peace, it fails to accompany this promise with any guarantees. He welcomed the document, however, as evidence that the Big Powers take cognizance of the difficult position in which Israel has been placed as a result of Arab rearmament.



AMERICAN ZIONIST COUNCIL

342 MADISON AVENUE

• TELEPHONE MURRAY HILL 2-1160 •

NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

Cable Address: AMZIONIST

June 12, 1950

AIR MAIL

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
The Temple
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Dr. Silver:

It was really very good to see you the last few days in Cincinnati but it was especially good to have listened to your profound, illuminating and challenging address last night. You must have noted the rapt response of the audience as it caught each idea. I wish I did not have to wait until the Yearbook is published to read it. Have you by any chance a spare copy that I might have?

As I told you, our Executive will meet this week on Thursday, June 15th at 3 o'clock. In view of the fact that we shall take up major political questions I wish you could be there.

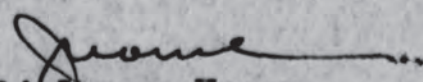
Primarily, we shall concern ourselves with: 1) this period of watchful waiting on the question of arms. We have asked our people to remain critically alert to watch for the implementation by the Three Powers of their professions in the Agreement; 2) the question of Jerusalem. We are seeking in this matter, as well as in the question of arms, to extend and deepen our influences in all the communities throughout the country where we have maintained and increased our contacts in these last months.

A third matter which may come before us is the question of the American Council for Judaism. There is considerable sentiment to go out on an all-out campaign against them. The question before us will be whether we should do this or ignore them. If we decide to do it, a further question will be: shall we attempt to do it on a national scale or should we cooperate with local communities where the American Council for Judaism has been an irritant and combat them there?

Could you not find a moment in these next days to write to me giving me your thinking about all these matters and any others which I could place before our Executive? I shall be most grateful.

With warm greetings, I am, as ever

Affectionately yours,


Rabbi Jerome Unger
Executive Director

JU:SR

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Mizrachi Organization of America • United Zionist Labor Party (Achdut Avodah-Poale Zion) • Zionist Organization of America
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AMERICAN ZIONIST COUNCIL

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NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

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AIR MAIL

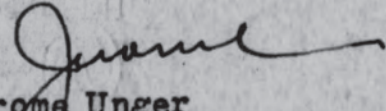
June 19, 1950

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
The Temple
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Dr. Silver:

Mrs. Unger joins me in warm and affectionate greetings to Mrs. Silver and yourself, and to your son on his graduation from Harvard University. In fact, all the members of the staff here join me in saying to your whole family, Mazel Tov. May the years ahead be filled with rich satisfactions.

Sincerely yours,


Jerome Unger
Executive Director

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AMERICAN ZIONIST COUNCIL • WASHINGTON BUREAU

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

July 12, 1950

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver,
The Temple,
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Dr. Silver:

I am enclosing herewith a photostat copy of a letter from Senator Taft which I thought might be of interest to you. It certainly speaks for itself. Senator Taft has been a consistent and cooperative friend of Israel.

Your address at the Convention in Chicago was, indeed, most impressive; it is a program of action.

The general resolutions presented by the Scope and Policy Committee, and which were adopted unanimously, coincide, in a large measure, with your proposals. However, it remains to be seen to what extent they will be concretely implemented. As an old Zionist, I cannot help thinking of the many pious resolutions which were adopted at Zionist Conventions in order to be completely ignored and forgotten. The situation calls for vigilance.

It is my sincere hope that, as a member of the Presidential Committee, you will actively participate in the affairs of the ZOA, helping to shape its policy and, what is even more important, helping to translate policies into concrete action. No doubt you are aware of the unanimous call of the Convention that you resume direct leadership.

I hope that you are enjoying your deserved vacation and will gather strength for the manifold battles to come.

With kindest personal regards to your family and yourself and with best wishes,

Elihu D. Stone

Cordially,

Elihu D. Stone

Elihu D. Stone

EDS/p
Encl.

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ROBERT A. TAFT
OHIO

COMMITTEES
LABOR AND PUBLIC WELFARE
FINANCE

JACK MARTIN
ADMINISTRATIVE ASSISTANT

United States Senate

WASHINGTON, D. C.

July 11, 1950

Mr. Elihu D. Stone,
American Zionist Council,
Suite 305 Ring Building,
1200 Eighteenth Street, N.W.,
Washington 6, D. C.

Dear Mr. Stone:

I received your letter of June twenty-ninth and read it with interest. I fully agree with the statements which you make, and I also agree that while the Declaration is all right as far as it goes, it may not be carried out.

You state that you must rely upon my vigilance and that of others "to see to it that the Near East Division of our Department of State does not misinterpret the clear meaning of the aforesaid Joint Declaration by a reversion to its adverse practices towards Israel." I will be very glad to help in any way. You probably hear more quickly than I do about the actions of the State Department, particularly when they do not involve any communication with Congress. I should be greatly obliged if you would let me know from time to time whether the policy of the Joint Declaration is being carried out.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,



RT:o

april 8, 1951.

Dear Mr. Silver,

In connection with your discussion with Harry Steinberg last Thursday in Cleveland, several questions remain:

1) ACPE wants to hold a Christian seminar in May in Cleveland. Steinberg's meeting with the Cleveland Zionists indicated that a word from you passed along would help the bringing about of the seminar. Absence of word from you would mean its collapse.

a) do you think the seminar would be useful? if so, please pass the word; if not, we shall accept your decision.

b) if you favor holding seminar, will you name

the best available Christian
in Cleveland as Chairman —
and help gain his accept-
ance?

c) Heights Temple 30a district
voted \$100 to seminar's
\$300 local expenses. If you
say so, the others will
come forward too.

2) Is there a possibility of
Cleveland Zionists sending a
Christian on a CPE Study
tour to Israel June 15th
(Cost = \$1225)?

Hy Schulson told me that
you might have a direct contact
with Sen. Dirksen (Illinois)

and Sen. Smathers (Florida).
If so will you speak to them
in behalf of the grant-in-aid
Bill now pending and let
me know the results?

(He asked me to remind you that
in case of Dirksen, he presided at
a dinner a couple of years ago and
pledged you his help for
Zionism; in case of Smathers,
he is indebted to you for
earlier help and may come
through on your request)

Affectionate regards.

Julius Unger

AMERICAN ZIONIST COUNCIL

342 MADISON AVENUE

• TELEPHONE MURRAY HILL 2-1160 •

NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

Cable Address: AMZIONIST

April 10, 1951

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

Dear Mr. Danaceau:

Many thanks for your part in setting up the meeting in Cleveland on April 5th. Despite the many difficulties confronting your Council, I believe the meeting was worthwhile.

On the matter of the Seminar to be held in Cleveland under the auspices of the American Christian Palestine Committee, we are looking into the matter further with Dr. Silver to obtain his reaction. I was highly pleased at the immediate response to the project by the president of the Heights District and by your own assurances as well as those of Dr. Falkman that the local expenditures amounting to \$300.00 could be taken care of. However, in view of the mixed feelings regarding this project, we should like Dr. Silver's assurance that such a Seminar could be successfully implemented.

Cordially yours,

HAS:LD

Harry A. Steinberg
Asst. Executive Director

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April 11, 1951

Rabbi Jerome Unger
American Zionist Council
342 Madison Avenue
New York 17, New York

My dear Rabbi Unger:

Replying to your note of April 8th, the month of May will be a pretty crowded one here both in connection with the UJA Drive and the Bond Drive. I do not know that there will be enough energy left to organize an ACPC seminar. However, if the Zionists here feel that they will get behind it, I see no reason why it should not be held. Personally, I shall not be in the city to do anything about it because, as you know, I shall be leaving for Israel the end of this month. Should the seminar be organized the people undertake to make a real go of it, I am sure that the Cleveland Zionist Society will be glad to contribute its share to the \$300 local expenses.

As far as sending a Christian on an ACPC study to Israel this year, they will not be possible for the funds are not available. The Cleveland Zionist Society advanced most of the money to make possible such a trip on the part of a prominent Clevelander about a year and a half ago.

I shall get in touch with Senator Dirksen and Senator Smathers.

With all good wishes, I remain

Most cordially yours,

ABBA HILLEL SILVER

AHS:er

AMERICAN ZIONIST COUNCIL

342 MADISON AVENUE

• TELEPHONE MURRAY HILL 2-1160

• NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

Cable Address: AMZIONIST

AIR MAIL

April 13, 1951

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
The Temple
Cleveland, Ohio

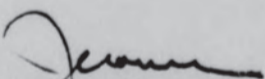
Dear Dr. Silver:

Thank you very much for your letter of April 11th. I can understand, however regretfully, why Cleveland cannot send a prominent Christian on the forthcoming June Study Tour of the American Christian Palestine Committee.

I am glad, however, that there is a possibility of an ACPC Seminar in Cleveland this spring. Harry Steinberg will be in touch with the leaders whom he met last week when in your city, and we shall move ahead to achieve the desired result.

Awaiting word on Senator Dirksen and Senator Smathers, I am, with warm greetings,

Affectionately yours,


Jerome Unger
Executive Director

JU:SR

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April 26, 1951

Miss Elizabeth Rice
Secretary to Dr. Silver
c/o The Temple
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Miss Rice:

I attended the farewell luncheon in honor of Dr. Silver held in New York on April 23rd and spoke to him with regard to approaches that he had been making to Sen. Smathers of Florida and Sen. Dirksen of Illinois on behalf of the Israel Aid Act of 1951 now pending before the Congress.

He told me that he had written letters to both of the Senators and suggested that I write to you about them. When you receive replies, I should deeply appreciate it if you would let us have copies of them as soon as you can send them. We are most anxious to develop these contacts into favorable positions supporting our cause.

Thanking you for your cooperation, I am

Sincerely yours,

Jerome Unger
Rabbi Jerome Unger
Executive Director

JU:SR

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AIR MAIL - SP. DEL.

May 18, 1951

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
The Temple
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Dr. Silver:

I tried to reach you over the telephone several times yesterday at the Plaza but imagine that I called at just the moments that you were not there. I wanted to tell you how thrilling it was Wednesday night. You permitted us to share in your own exultation and it was a rare and privileged experience, unfair as it was to you to demand that you address so great a throng only a few hours after arriving home. It must have been inspiring to you to have felt the impact of your enthusiastic hearers. I am informed that as great an audience as was inside, was also outside, unable to gain admission into the crowded room. Thank you again for an unforgettable experience.

Yesterday was a very busy day in this effort to mobilize mass pressure on the question of the resolution before the Security Council. Mr. Lipsky sent a telegram to President Truman, with copies to Secretary Acheson and Ambassador Warren Austin, which was released to the press, as per the attached press release.

We then called our key people in Newark, Boston, Chicago, Detroit, Seattle, Cleveland, Denver, Indianapolis, Buffalo, Albany, Baltimore, Los Angeles, Pittsburgh and Metropolitan New York.

In addition, we sent wires to our key people in the following cities instructing them to mobilize an outpouring of similar telegrams from their communities: Birmingham, Little Rock, San Diego, San Francisco, Bridgeport, New Haven, New London, West Hartford, Wilmington, Atlanta, New Orleans, Minneapolis, St. Paul, Kansas City, St. Louis, Omaha, Cincinnati, Columbus, Oklahoma City, Tulsa, Providence, Nashville, Dallas, Houston, Salt Lake City, Norfolk,

Then we sent out the attached memorandum to our entire list.

In addition, we notified by wire each of the eight constituent parties asking them to call upon their people to do the same.

The ACPC also sent calls to 40 key individuals throughout the United States.

Mr. Lipsky, as well as others, of course, were in touch with Eddie

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Zionists-Revisionists of America

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver

- 2 -

May 18, 1951

Jacobson, Abe Feinberg, Jacob Blaustein, Frank Goldman, Cong. McCormack and Secretary Chapman. Of these people, to my knowledge, Blaustein and Chapman have agreed to speak to the President. In addition, Freda Kirchwey, of the Nation Associates, was using her contacts. Mr. Stone and Mr. Kenen in Washington were in touch with Congressmen and Senators.

Reports began to reach me this morning that thousands of wires were going out from all over the country. Unfortunately, a Western Union strike in 11 states was causing delay in the transmission of some of these wires. Nevertheless, the momentum is rapidly growing.

Mr. Browdy received your telegram last night and has been in touch with the President's office. He informs me that he expects to speak to the President between 2 and 4 o'clock this afternoon. Failing that, he will fly down to Washington to see him.

Today we are sending another wire to the people in the communities listed above who received wires or phone calls from us yesterday, as follows: "IMPORTANT YOU CONTINUE TELEGRAM CAMPAIGN REQUESTED YESTERDAY. DISCONTINUE ONLY IF PRESS OR RADIO REPORTS DEFEAT OF RESOLUTION IN SECURITY COUNCIL. IF RESOLUTION PASSED OR PARTIALLY MODIFIED CONTINUE CAMPAIGN UNTIL WE NOTIFY YOU OF FURTHER DEVELOPMENTS."

I wanted you to have a full report of this action on our part. If only the Israel Delegation had had the slightest inkling of this so that we could have known a day or so sooner! As it was, we did not get the first information from the Israel Delegation until Wednesday night, giving us less than a day's time to swing into action and mobilize public opinion.

Once again, let me say it was wonderful seeing you and hearing you.

With fondest regards to you and Mrs. Silver, I am, as ever,

Affectionately yours,

Jerome

Jerome Unger
Executive Director

JU:SR
Enc

*note
Chapman
did see
the Pres.
& Blaustein
is reported
to have
spoken to
him*

AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL
342 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

MEMORANDUM

To Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
The Temple, Cleveland, Ohio

Date June 7, 1951

From Harry A. Steinberg

The enclosed is for your confidential information.

Kindest regards.

HAS:LD
Enc.

C
O
P
Y

THE FIRST BAPTIST CHURCH
Fairmount Blvd. at Eaton Rd.
Cleveland, Ohio

Ministers
Harold Cooke Phillips
Francis Chase Wheaton

May 11, 1951

Dear Spencer:

I have your letter inviting me to be on the sponsoring committee for the proposed seminar on the State of Israel.

Spencer, I know you well enough to be frank about things. I happen to be one of those who are not completely in sympathy with political Zionism. I am happy to think that many distinguished Jews and some of our ablest Protestant leaders are not either. My very great affection for our local Rabbis Brickner and Silver makes it very embarrassing for me.

Of course, it is in a sense stupid now to raise the issue since Israel is a fait accompli, and certainly I hope will prosper and be at peace. Nevertheless I probably could not put my heart into this thing as I should.

I know you will understand this. Incidentally, I have never mentioned my position to either of the rabbis to whom I have referred.

With all good wishes,

Your friend,

(signed) Harold

Mr. Spencer D. Irwin
7052 Hotel Cleveland
Cleveland, Ohio

C
O
P
Y

JOHN CARROLL UNIVERSITY
Office of the President
Cleveland, Ohio

May 11, 1951

Mr. Spencer D. Irwin, Chairman
Cleveland "Report from Israel" Seminar
7052 Hotel Cleveland
Cleveland 13, Ohio

Dear Spencer:

I just dug out from the accumulation of the past few days your invitation to sponsor the "Report from Israel".

It poses a question. On the one hand, I probably could gain some more stature with my good friends Abie Luntz, Rabbi Cohen, Gene Goodman, et al; on the other, there seems to be so much controversy over the movement, even among the Jews, and I know so little about it all, that I think it the better part of prudence to withhold the President's name.

Cordially yours,

(Signed) F. E. Weefle, S. J.

FEW:m