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

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

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United States State Department, 1955-1956.

Western Reserve Historical Society

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THE SECRETARY OF STATE
WASHINGTON

August 24, 1955

My dear Rabbi Silver:

I am planning to make a statement in New York on Friday at 5:30 p.m. dealing with the Israel-Arab problem and suggesting possible bases for bringing about a genuine peace in the area. In this statement, I indicate that the President is prepared to recommend a substantial contribution to such a settlement, namely:

1. Subscription to an international loan to enable Israel to discharge its obligation to the refugees which in turn will help them to get resettled;
2. United States contribution to water projects which will develop more arable land which will aid in resettlement;
3. Good offices, if desired, to assist in making the frontier adjustments needed to convert the present armistice lines into permanent boundary lines;
4. United States participation in an international treaty guarantee, preferably sponsored by the United Nations, of the resultant boundary lines.

I feel that if this program were carried through, there would be no great difficulty in settling the remaining problems such as the question of transit through the Suez Canal, and determining the status of Jerusalem.

Probably the principal obstacle in the way of solution is the boundary matter, where the Egyptians seek a substantial part of the Negeb so as to have common boundaries with Jordan and Saudi Arabia, but where the Israelis also want continuous access to the port of Aqaba. I feel, however, that these conflicting claims

Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver,
The Temple,
East 105th Street and Ansel Rd.,
Cleveland, Ohio.

can be reconciled, and indeed that some reconciliation is in the long run inevitable. This statement comes out of very long and careful thought given the matter by the President, myself and my associates, in the course of which we have also considered very carefully the views of Israel, as ably presented by their Ambassador here and also in Israel. I greatly hope that this move will open the way to the genuine peace in the area, which I know Israel wants and which I know is also the desire of the United States.

Knowing of your great interest in this matter, I am letting you know a bit in advance this background to our thinking, and I hope that what we are doing will commend itself to you.

With best wishes, I am

Sincerely yours,



John Foster Dulles

P.S. If, as I anticipate, you get this letter prior to my making my statement, please keep its contents confidential.

A handwritten signature or set of initials, possibly "JD", written in dark ink.

September 2, 1955

The Honorable John Foster Dulles
Secretary of State
Washington, D. C.

My dear Mr. Dulles:

I saw your kind letter of August twenty-fourth addressed to me upon my return to Cleveland from Europe this morning. I had previously read your statement in the public press. I am very happy indeed that you issued that statement. ~~It~~ not only makes clear the deep and continued interest of our government in helping to break the deadlock which has persisted over a period of years in Israel-Arab relations and in easing the tensions which have unfortunately again this week erupted in most serious border incidents, but it also indicates that the American government is prepared to make positive contributions toward reaching a settlement.

I am quite sure that when it finally gets down to it and the two sides sit down to negotiate, the government of Israel will be prepared to discuss all the matters of outstanding issue to which ~~your~~ statement referred. But here's the rub! The representatives of the Arab governments have consistently refused to sit down and engage in such negotiations because they understand that by so doing they are tacitly acknowledging the political existence and sovereignty of the State of Israel. This, as you well know, is the very thing which they are unwilling to acknowledge, and this is the crux of the whole matter.

Until they are prepared to acknowledge this fact, they must under one excuse or another postpone the day of a peace

conference and maintain as long as they can the present status of no peace-no war on the borders of Israel.

I know of only one political action which would finally bring the Arab states to their senses - a clear statement on the part of our government that unless peace negotiations are undertaken forthwith, the American government will proceed to conclude a mutual security pact with Israel.

IF Such a pact is on its own merits logical, as an instrumentality for strengthening American interests in the Near East. It should therefore not be made conditional on the willingness of Arab states to conclude simultaneous defense arrangements with our country. ~~It~~ it is the policy of the United States to seek defense arrangements in the Middle East and if, as a spokesman of the State Department declared a while ago, a defense pact with Israel would be "highly logical," then there is really no valid reason for delaying such an arrangement.

But apart from its own merits, the very announcement of such contemplated action on the part of our government would help to convince the Arabs that they have nothing to gain in persisting in their present attitude and that it would be more advantageous to all concerned to accept those benefits which would flow from negotiated agreements on all outstanding issues.

I am very eager to be helpful in urging reasonableness and a spirit of give-and-take on the part of those who may be influenced by my voice in Israel. Of one thing, however, I am quite certain - prior to negotiations, Israel will not make concessions with respect to the unresolved issues.

I will watch with keen interest the reaction of the Arab governments to your statement.

With warmest regards, and hoping that you will have a pleasant and restful vacation, of which I am sure you stand greatly in need, I remain

Most cordially yours,

ABBA HILLEL SILVER

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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Augusta, Georgia
April 12, 1956

Dear Rabbi Silver:

Thank you very much for your kindness in transmitting to me the long and interesting letter from the President of Israel. I have studied it carefully, and I am requesting the Secretary of State to do the same.

From different sources I have heard of your effort during your visit to Israel to convince the government and people there of the continued interest of the United States in their welfare and security. Since this is, of course, the fact, I think you have performed a real service.

With respect to a personal conference, I believe it would be best that you, when next you may be in Washington, get in touch with my Appointment Secretary, Mr. Shanley, to see whether we could not arrange a meeting convenient to us both. Assuming that you would want to talk principally about information gathered on your recent trip, I would arrange to have the Secretary of State with us at the time.

With personal regard,

Sincerely,

/s/ Dwight D. Eisenhower

Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver,
The Temple,
East 105th Street at Ansel Road,
Cleveland 5, Ohio

Dear Mr. President,

I thank you for the warm personal greetings which you sent me through our good friend Dr. Silver on the occasion of the Passover Festival and on the eve of the eighth anniversary of the establishment of our State. I am deeply grateful for this expression of your friendship for Israel and your kind words of appreciation of its progress and development. The people who dwell in Zion and the whole House of Israel will always remember your historic role as Supreme Commander of the Allied Forces in Europe during the Second World War and the inspired efforts you made in succouring the surviving remnants of the Jewish people. We trust that the deep human sympathy you then evinced for a suffering people will stand us in good stead in our present difficult position.

I am writing you this letter at a grave moment in the life of our young State. It came into being as a result of ^{an} ~~our~~ effort of economic, social and spiritual reconstruction which goes back three generations. Its emergence received the support of an overwhelming majority of the United Nations, who were resolved that the Jewish people should be given the security of a free national life in the ancient land of their fathers and not again be exposed to the dangers

and torments exemplified by the annihilation of six million Jews in the last war. During these eight years Israel has provided new homes and the prospect of a secure and creative life to nearly 800,000 immigrants - the bulk of the survivors of the Nazi persecution and nearly 400,000 Jews from the ^{Muslim} ~~modern~~ countries of the Middle East. A new democratic civilization has sprung up in this ancient land, which holds out a message of hope to our brethren in the lands of persecution and provides a significant precedent for the reclamation of the derelict areas of the Middle East.

This great effort is now threatened by hostile neighbours, whose avowed aim is Israel's annihilation. Having failed to achieve their aim eight years ago by a war of aggression, they have since pursued it by incessant guerilla warfare, by economic boycott, by the closing of the Suez Canal to our shipping, and by a violent campaign of threats and incitement. Egypt has recently acquired a position of overwhelming superiority in jet fighters, tanks and other modern weapons over Israel by the arms purchase agreement it has concluded with Czechoslovakia and has, in addition, built up powerful alliances, with unified military commands, with other Arab States, which are directed against Israel. Their declared aim is that of the wicked enemy quoted by the Psalmist: "Come and let us cut them off from

being a nation; that the name of Israel may be no more in remembrance" (Psalms 83:5). The present dictator of Egypt calls Israel "an artificial State which must disappear". Quite recently he declared that he was looking forward to the Egyptian Army meeting the Syrian Army on Israel's ruins. King Saud of Arabia stated that "the only way which the Arab States must go is to pull up Israel by her roots", and asked "why should we not sacrifice ten million out of fifty million Arabs so that we may live in greatness and honour?" One Arab leader after another has voiced similar threats "to raze the State of Israel from the map". "Now that we have got rid of the British", said King Hussein of Jordan after the dismissal of General Glubb, "our next step will be to conquer the rest of Palestine".

These words are not empty threats. Hardly a day passes without some act of aggression by Egyptian forces across the Israel frontier. The villagers in ^{the} our border land have to stand night after night on guard over their homes and dear ones against treacherous attacks from across the border. Moreover, of late, the Egyptian Government has overtly started large-scale preparations for war against Israel. The bulk of their military forces has been stationed along ^{the} our southern frontier, equipped with large quantities of the offensive weapons recently received from Eastern Europe. As against this threat Israel finds itself grievously

handicapped by its lack of essential arms. The weakening of our defensive position, which is becoming every day more evident to our enemies, has become a most powerful incentive to their aggressive policies.

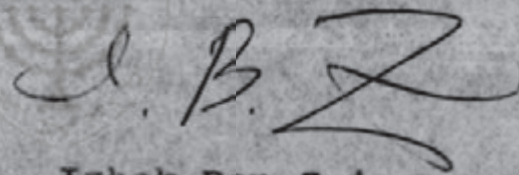
In this position of unprecedented gravity I would address to you, Mr. President, a most urgent appeal that we be enabled speedily to obtain such arms and equipment as will permit us to defend ourselves and as will act as a deterrent against enemy attack. The time factor is here of decisive importance. It is a race against months, possibly weeks. The ever more aggressive language of our enemies clearly indicates that as soon as they have absorbed their newly acquired military equipment and trained their soldiers in its use, the blow will fall. It is the responsibility of the free world, and primarily of the United States of America, to redress the present highly perilous imbalance of armed strength in the Middle East so as to avert the aggression threatening Israel.

I was very happy to learn that your health has improved and that you are now fortunately able again to devote your energies to the promotion of the peace of the world and the cause

of international cooperation, which has lifted the hearts of all peoples. On behalf of the people of Israel I would ask you to accept my very best wishes for your health and well-being.

I remain, Mr. President,

Yours very sincerely,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read 'I. B. Z.', with a stylized flourish at the end.

Izhak Ben-Zvi
President of the State of Israel

President Dwight D. Eisenhower
The White House
Washington D.C.

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April 27, 1956

My dear Mr. Dulles:

I was very happy that you were able to sit in at our meeting with the President yesterday morning and I am grateful for the opportunity which we had to exchange views. I am particularly appreciative of the very warm and complimentary things which you said about me to the President at the conclusion of our conference.

I was very deeply impressed by the earnest expressions on the part of the President and yourself concerning the preservation and the protection of the State of Israel and your constant efforts to bring about a permanent peace settlement. On this score there was never any doubt in my mind nor in the minds of responsible leaders here or in Israel.

In the course of our conversation I became aware of your deep concern with the "pressures" to which you have been subjected. In a democracy, my dear Mr. Dulles, such pressures are unavoidable -- at times desirable as an index of public opinion. It is the accepted way that any group which feels keenly about a subject close to its heart has of giving expression to its views and of defending its interests -- whether it be a farm group, a labor group, a business group, or an oil group. Men in responsible government positions cannot escape these pressures which at times become excessive and virulent, but they proceed to do what they believe to be just and wise without relation to them. One must however be on guard against refraining from an indicated action on the possibility that such action might be interpreted by some people as yielding to pressure. This is a negative and fatal form of pressure.

Thus, if the Israeli request for the sale of defense arms by the United States is justified, dictated by the military imbalance which developed as a result of the massive Soviet arms acquired by Egypt, then that request should be granted regardless of the pressures, at times unrestrained, which have been brought to bear upon you by those who feel very keenly that the thing should be done.

Page -2-

April 27, 1956

I was happy to learn that you will take up the matter of arms for Israel in Paris. I sincerely hope that you will succeed. You would be sure of success if the United States would, at the meeting, indicate its readiness to make its own contribution to a reasonable program. Upon reflection I believe that you will agree with me that the long-term objectives which you and the President have in mind for establishing peace in the Near East would be made easier and not harder of attainment if Nasser and his Arab allies were confronted by a stronger rather than a weaker Israel.

With warmest regards and all good wishes I remain,



Most cordially yours,



ABBA HILLEL SILVER

AHS:sl

The Honorable John Foster Dulles
Secretary of State
Washington, D.C.

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Original of this copy filed in Diary

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April 27, 1956

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With warmest regards and all good wishes I remain,

WRHS




Most cordially yours,

ABBA HILLEL SILVER

AHS:s1

The Honorable John Foster Dulles
Secretary of State
Washington, D.C.

ABRAHAM TULIN
COUNSELOR AT LAW
521 FIFTH AVENUE
NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

July 11, 1956
AIR MAIL

Personal and Confidential

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

Dear Dr. Silver:

Pursuant to our telephone conversation this morning, I am herewith enclosing you the following:

1. Copy of H.R. 11840, which has been introduced in the House of Representatives by Congressman Daniel Reed of New York, former Chairman and now Senior Minority member of the Committee on Ways and Means. An exactly similar bill has likewise been introduced in the House of Representatives by Congressman Eugene Keogh of New York, who is a member of the Democratic Majority of the Committee on Ways and Means. In other words, this bill has bi-partisan sponsorship and support.

2. A copy of my Memorandum on the Facts, dated June 20, 1956. This will give you the relevant facts in the case in somewhat legal form.

The gist of the matter is that if the bill should be enacted into law, the Technion in Haifa stands to benefit to the extent of up to ten million dollars, since Mr. Swope intends to appoint the American Technion Society as the recipient of the entire principal of the trust which his wife established for him by her Will, except for the aggregate of some \$200,000, which he will appoint to be given, on my advice, to Bryn Mawr College, the College of Physicians and Surgeons and the American Friends Service Committee. What this princely gift will mean to the Technion and Israel is, of course, obvious to you.

Both Congressmen Reed and Keogh are wholeheartedly backing this bill and have confidence that it can be put through both the House and the Senate, provided the Treasury does not object. Unfortunately, the Treasury is objecting. I was informed by long-distance telephone this morning that Secretary of the Treasury Humphrey, whom Congressman Reed saw personally on the matter, has so far declined to give his assent on the sole ground that the enactment of this bill into law might become a precedent for similar attempts in other Will cases.

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
Page. 2

July 11, 1956

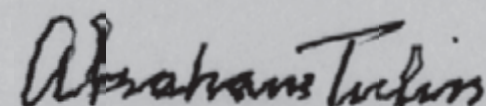
Immediate action, if possible, is essential to secure Secretary Humphrey's assent for the purpose (1) of facilitating the passage of this bill by both Houses of Congress, and (2) of assuring its signature by the President after it has been passed. It is well known that Secretary Humphrey exercises great influence in the Executive branch of the Government, as well as in the Congress. Unless his assent to the bill is secured, there is grave danger that either the bill may fail of passage in one or the other of the Houses of Congress, or that the President may veto it, if passed.

I have been working on this matter for some 2½ months now, but have so far not invoked any aid from Zionist or pro-Israel sources, since Congressman Reed has been assuring me that he could and would put the bill through without outside aid. The time has, however, now arrived when we Zionists must, it seems to me, assert whatever influence we may have with this Administration in support of this bill. President Eisenhower is himself on record in favor of American aid for technological institutions in the underdeveloped countries, presumably including Israel. The enactment of this bill would supply this aid concretely for the Technion in Haifa. By no stretch of the imagination could this be interpreted by anybody as in any way opposed to or inconsistent with the foreign policy of the United States.

I shall probably go to Washington myself either today or tomorrow, in order to be on the scene and do what I can to help. Since you will be in Washington this Friday and Saturday, I would very much appreciate your telegraphing me at my office where you will stop in Washington so that I may get in touch with you there. My office will forward the telegram to me in Washington if I am already there when it arrives.

Thanking you for whatever efforts you can exert in this matter, which I know must be as close to your heart as it is to mine, I remain

Yours sincerely,



Abraham Tulin

AT:AW
Encs.

Gov't 55-56

ABRAHAM TULIN
COUNSELOR AT LAW
521 FIFTH AVENUE
NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

July 12, 1956

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
Hotel Statler
Washington, D. C.

Dear Dr. Silver:

Enclosed is a copy of a letter which I have had delivered by messenger to Mr. Rabb today, pursuant to his request of yesterday. I am sending you this copy for your information.

Thanking you for whatever you can do in this worthy cause in Washington, I am

Very sincerely yours,

Abraham Tulin

Abraham Tulin

AT:bz

ABRAHAM TULIN
COUNSELOR AT LAW
521 FIFTH AVENUE
NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

July 12, 1956
PERSONAL AND CONFIDENTIAL

Hon. Maxwell M. Rabb
Secretary to the Cabinet
The White House
Washington, D. C.

My dear Mr. Rabb:

I am addressing myself to you at the suggestion of Dr. Abba Hillel Silver, of Cleveland, Ohio, the acknowledged leader of the pro-Israel forces in American Jewry, to bespeak your sympathetic consideration and help in the situation set forth below.

In doing so, I am not acting as a paid attorney for anybody but solely in my capacity as a Vice President of the American Technion Society, a New York membership corporation with members throughout the country, and as an American member of the Board of Governors of the Technion-Israel Institute of Technology in Haifa, Israel, known for short as "the Technion". The purpose and objective of the American Technion Society is to help support the Technion in Haifa, which is a modern institute of technology of university rank among whose original founders and benefactors was the late American philanthropist, Jacob H. Schiff. Ever since its foundation in 1912, the Technion has been and is today the only institute of university level in the whole Middle East region which gives instruction in the engineering and technological sciences. It is an independent institution administered by an International Board of Governors, of whom 11 now are Americans.

The Technion was originally founded and built with facilities for a maximum of 300 students; but the spectacular growth of the population in what is now the State of Israel and the ever increasing demands of the country for more and more trained engineers and technologists of all sorts have rendered these facilities utterly inadequate and have compelled the Board of Governors to embark upon a program of re-building the institute on a new and much larger site and scale on Mount Carmel with facilities and modern equipment to accommodate at least 3,500 students. The American Technion Society is now actively engaged in seeking and providing the funds necessary for this program as well as in recruiting qualified American personnel for the Technion's enlarged faculties. Among those whom we have already succeeded in recruiting for these faculties are Dr. Walter Clay Lowdermilk, the famous American soil conservationist, and Dr. Sebastian Littauer, of Columbia University.

July 12, 1956

Although, as above stated, I am not acting in this matter as attorney for any one, I have been authorized by Mr. Gerard Swope, formerly President and now Honorary President of the General Electric Company, to make the statements concerning him and his late wife's estate, which are embodied in my accompanying memorandum of June 20, 1956.

As substantially stated in that memorandum, Mr. Swope is keenly interested in the Technion and desires and intends to appoint the American Technion Society as the recipient of the major part of the corpus of a trust which was established for his benefit as a life tenant by the Will of his late wife, Mary Hill Swope, who died on October 28, 1955, and who gave Mr. Swope the power to appoint the recipients of the corpus of the trust upon his death. Under existing law and the ruling of the Internal Revenue Bureau, the part of the corpus of the trust which Mr. Swope desires to appoint to the American Technion Society would have been deductible from the gross estate of Mary Hill Swope for inheritance tax purposes, if such part had been bequeathed directly to the American Technion Society in Mrs. Swope's Will; but since the Will did not contain such a direct bequest, but only empowered her husband, Mr. Swope, to make it on her behalf by his own Will upon his death, there is now payable a full inheritance tax of between four and five million dollars on Mrs. Swope's bequest to the trustees; -- thus diminishing by more than half the amount which Mr. Swope desires to appoint to charitable and educational institutions, of which the American Technion Society is only one.

If this inheritance tax were not payable, the amount receivable by the American Technion Society for the benefit of the Technion in Haifa would be very much larger and would speed up the construction and equipment of the new and greater Technion by many years. This in turn would bring nearer by many years the day when the State of Israel will become self-sustaining and no longer in need of the repeated annual grants in aid from the American Government and of large annual charitable contributions from the American public. This is so because the State of Israel, with its meager natural resources, must depend on an ever increasing number of trained engineers and skilled technologists to bring both its agriculture and growing industries up to the point where its population can support itself.

In this situation I consulted our good friend, Attorney-General Javits of New York, who is himself devoted to the interests of the Technion; and he kindly arranged for my introduction to Congressman Daniel Reed of New York, who consented to introduce and sponsor a bill in Congress, the effect of which would be to relieve the estate of Mary Hill Swope from the inheritance tax on so much of the corpus of the trust for Mr. Swope's benefit as he would engage by affidavit to appoint to charitable and educational institutions. Congressman Reed expressed to me his confidence that the Congress would readily

July 12, 1956

enact such a bill, under the circumstances of this case, and furthermore, immediately secured the co-sponsorship and support of such a bill by Congressman Eugene Keogh of New York, a member of the Majority of the Committee on Ways and Means. Each of these Congressmen introduced an identical bill for this purpose on June 19, 1956; the bill of Congressman Reed being H.R. 11840, and that of Congressman Keogh, H.R. 11834. This bill was drawn by Mr. Stam, head of the drafting staff of the Committee on Ways and Means, to fit the particular circumstances of the Swope case and practically no other case.

Both Congressmen Reed and Keogh expressed the opinion that in view of the very worthy object of this bill and of the ultimate benefits to be derived by the United States from its enactment, as above indicated, the Treasury would see the matter in the same light as they did and would not object to the bill. Unfortunately, however, the Treasury has so far failed to approve this bill on the sole ground, as I am informed, that it might create an undesirable precedent in connection with other Wills. The consideration of the bill by the Committee on Ways and Means is being held up so far until the final decision of the Treasury Department which, if favorable, would, I believe, ensure the quick passage of the bill by both Houses of Congress, but if unfavorable, might result in its defeat.

It seems to me that the danger of this bill creating an undesirable precedent is extremely slight in view of the very narrow limitations embodied in the bill and of the further fact that its real object is to assist the Technion-Israel Institute of Technology, -- an object in express accordance with the policy of the United States as eloquently enunciated by President Eisenhower in his notable address at Baylor University on May 25. The early enactment of this bill into law would be in complete conformity with the generous attitude heretofore displayed by the Administration toward the State of Israel and its people, as evidenced by the repeated grants in aid which have been and are being made to Israel. It would also earn the gratitude of the millions of well-wishers of Israel in this country.

Thanking you for whatever you can do to help in this situation, I remain,

Yours respectfully,

AT:AW

Abraham Tulin

July 19, 1956

The Honorable John Foster Dulles
Secretary of State
Washington 25, D.C.

Dear Sir:

The approval you have given to the allocation of \$3,500,000 in Israel currency for the support of cultural, scientific and humanitarian institutions in Israel is to be highly commended as a step of major significance toward cementing close cultural ties between this country and Israel.

These grants recommended by your Special Assistant Mr. Bernard Katzen following his recent survey mission in Israel will prove to be an important contribution toward Israel's further advancement in the cultural and intellectual spheres. All Americans concerned with fostering American-Israel friendship will appreciate this generous gesture you have made on behalf of the Government. The Zionist Organization of America is particularly appreciative of the inclusion as beneficiaries of two of our projects in Israel - the ZOA Daniel Frisch House in Tel Aviv, serving as a cultural center for the community, and Kfar Silver, an agricultural training institute named for our esteemed and revered leader Dr. Abba Hillel Silver. We value especially this official recognition of the constructive services which these institutions are rendering to the welfare of Israel and for promoting greater mutual understanding between the people of America and the people of Israel. It is our intention to apply these grants to an immediate expansion of the activities of these institutions.

Your action assumes special moral significance at this time in view of the troubled state of affairs in that region and the dangers surrounding Israel. It cannot fail to indicate the continuing interest of the United States in the welfare of a sister republic whose birth we have sponsored and whose struggle to preserve her hard-won freedom is of vital concern to us from the standpoint of our own national interest.

May we, therefore, express the hope that this friendly gesture signifying moral encouragement will be followed by other steps calculated to insure Israel's security and sovereign integrity.

Cordially and respectfully yours,

Dr. Emanuel Neumann, Chairman
National Executive Committee
Zionist Organization of America

EN:es



DEPARTMENT OF STATE
WASHINGTON

July 20, 1956

Dear Rabbi Silver:

In view of the interest which you have taken in Kfar Silver Agricultural Training Institute, I take pleasure in informing you that the President has submitted a program for the consideration of the Congress which includes, as an illustrative figure, the amount of \$85,000 for that organization.

While any actual grants of aid will necessarily be contingent upon the conclusion of satisfactory understandings regarding the use of the funds, as well as upon the action of the Congress in making the funds available, I know you will be pleased to learn of this additional evidence of the interest of your government in furthering the traditionally friendly relations between the United States and Israel. The development of this program has been made possible only through the warm personal support of the Secretary of State.

Thank you very much for taking the time and effort to give me your views on this important matter.

Sincerely yours,

Bernard Katzen

Bernard Katzen
Special Consultant

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

July 24, 1956

My dear Mr. Katzen:

Thank you so much for your kind note of July 20.

I have been happy to read about the successful culmination of your mission and that the recommendations to Congress have received favorable consideration at the hands of our State Department and of the Secretary of State.

I am happy that an allocation has been included for Kfar Silver — a very worthy institution and vital to the development of the country.

I am pleased also with many of the other allocations which have been made. You ought to be congratulated upon an important task faithfully and conscientiously performed.

With warm regards I remain

Most cordially yours,

ABBA HILLEL SILVER

AHS:s1

Mr. Bernard Katzen
Special Consultant
Department of State
Washington, D. C.

July 24, 1956

My dear Mr. Dulles:

Two recent events in which you played the leading roll prompt me to send you this note.

First, the generous allocation of funds for the support of various cultural and scientific institutions in Israel which our government has recommended to Congress. This will further strengthen the bonds of unity between Israel and the United States and add to good will all around.

Secondly, and by far the more important, has been the action taken under your leadership to cancel the Aswan Dam offer to the Egyptian Government. This, I am confident, will help to restore to our country initiative and diplomatic maneuverability in the Middle East which heretofore have been critically missing. The new approach, if vigorously pursued will, in my humble judgment, discourage intransigence, double dealing and irresponsible adventures and will help to restore sanity and sobriety to an international situation which should never have been permitted to become so tense and hysterical.

More power to you.

With warmest regards I remain

Most cordially yours,

ABBA HILLEL SILVER

AHS:sl

The Honorable John Foster Dulles
Secretary of State
Washington, D. C.

RECENT DEVELOPMENTS IN U.S. - ISRAEL RELATIONS

I. Introduction.

The guiding principles of U.S. policy towards the State of Israel since it was established may be summarized as follows:

- (a) It upheld Israel's statehood as a measure of international justice and necessity.
- (b) It offered assistance to Israel not as a discriminatory policy but in the highest tradition of international equity.
- (c) It stressed that the Arab peoples had been assisted to realize their national freedom on a much vaster scale than that available to Israel.
- (d) It helped all the countries of the Near East with economic and technical assistance under the Mutual Security Act in accordance with their need and capacities to make use of it.
- (e) U.S. interest in Israel was deepened by its special concern in the development in that area of a stable democracy, one which, in the words of President Eisenhower in a statement on Israel, "is desirous of cooperating with the free world in the defense of human freedom and against totalitarian aggression."
- (f) It reaffirmed the long-standing tradition of American sympathy with the Jewish people's national aspirations.

II. The Republican Party sympathy for Israel was reaffirmed in the party's platform before the last elections. President Eisenhower gave expression to similar sentiments in a statement on October 17, 1952 (from which the passage quoted above is an extract).

III. Recent Developments.

In recent months a growing feeling of uneasiness has disturbed friends of Israel (and is the cause of much anxiety in Israel itself) that a change of climate is manifesting itself in U.S.-Israel relations, both in substance and in public reflection. The evidence of this changed climate is seen outwardly in an apparent reluctance by the U.S. Government to manifest any public sympathy with Israel; and in an undue readiness to make public any U.S. disagreement with Israel or U.S. refusal to comply with Israel requests. This reticence is the more striking by contrast with the generous U.S. expressions of friendship for the Arab states, expressions which are free of any reference to Arab-Israel issues in which the Arab states are admitted to be at fault.

IV. Public Statements.

Specific such instances of public statements concerning Israel in recent months have included:

- (a) The public announcement by State Department officials of U.S. refusal of a private approach by the Israel Government for a refunding loan of \$70 million.
- (b) Two public statements, one of them by Secretary Dulles, criticizing Israel on the Jerusalem issue. There was no such statement when the Jordan Government later made public its own negative stand on the internationalization issue.
- (c) Public indication that U.S. Embassy officials in Israel would not visit Jerusalem.
- (d) The latest statement that U.S. would not be represented at the current Conquest of the Desert Exhibition in Jerusalem because of its venue.
- (e) The refusal of U.S. Government officials to appear on platforms of American organizations dedicated to friendship with Israel and U.S.-Israel relations.
- (f) The conspicuous absence of any word of reference to Israel in a recent message by President Eisenhower to the Zionist Organization of America.

V. Concrete Issues.

1. Breach of USSR & Israel Relations.

In the wake of growing anti-Semitic and anti-Israel manifestations in the Soviet Union and several of the satellite states, the USSR broke off diplomatic relations with Israel in February of this year. This was clearly because Israel alone of the Governments in its region had shown its devotion to democratic causes. Having risked and incurred this displeasure by its voluntary support of the free cause, Israel was entitled to feel that a moral obligation existed on the countries of the West and, above all, on the U.S. to support it to the full in the new situation.

In fact, the Administration was singularly reluctant publicly to express sympathy, either moral or practical, with Israel, restricting most of its comments to the strictly anti-Semitic aspects of the Soviet manifestations.

In April, Israel raised the issue before the General Assembly of the U.N., expecting the full support of the countries of the free world. When it became clear, however, that the Arab states were likely to support the Communist delegations on this issue, U.S. support of Israel became decidedly lukewarm. This issue was not only one of American-Israel friendship but a matter of direct moral and political concern to the U.S. and to the West.

(The USSR has recently resumed diplomatic relations with Israel.)

2. Military Aid to the Arab States. The U.S. Government has indicated its intention of granting arms aid to the Arab states, in spite of the fact that these states declare themselves to be at war with Israel, practice an intensive blockade of Israel and refuse to negotiate a peace settlement with it. The U.S. Government apparently does not intend to require Egypt, as a prior condition of arms aid, to confirm with the Security Council resolution calling on Egypt to abandon its Suez blockade of Israel. This is in striking contrast to U.S. refusal to grant Egypt arms aid until a settlement is reached of the Anglo-Egyptian issue. U.S. military aid to any of the Arab states in these circumstances must have the following effects:

- (a) It will heighten the physical threat to Israel's security and will stimulate the development of an arms race between Israel's neighbors and herself.
- (b) It will strengthen the hands of Arab rulers by serving notice that even while refusing peace with Israel, maintaining grave violations of international security and conducting hostile propaganda against Israel, an Arab state may yet receive military aid from USA.
- (c) Public opinion in the Arab countries will assume that refusal to make peace with Israel is not regarded with gravity by the U.S.; that it is, indeed, even rewarded with a gift of free arms.
- (d) It would be interpreted by the nations of the world to mean that a government may secure aid from the U.S. while maintaining an attitude of neutralism and refusing to give even moral support to the cause of the free world.

It must be stressed that the reference here is to military aid, not to economic aid and technical assistance which are designed to improve the social and economic conditions prevailing in the Arab world.

3. Jerusalem. For the past three and a half years Jerusalem has been functioning in its historic status as the capital of Israel. The last branch of Government to move was the Ministry for Foreign Affairs, its transfer having been delayed until recently for lack of accommodation. Nevertheless, the American Government has now publicly and sharply criticized Israel for the transfer of the Foreign Office. It refused to move its Embassy from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem, thus virtually boycotting the central government and its institutions in Jerusalem. It went much further, however, in publicly characterizing Israel's action as contrary to

the original plan for internationalization.

The facts of the U.S. stand on the internationalization issue are as follows:

After Arab opposition had prevented the U.S. and Israel from maintaining the original internationalization plan, the U.S. took the lead in May, 1948, in advocating the non-implementation of that plan. It subsequently opposed attempts to revive the plan. It has since, instead, publicly supported proposals for the international protection of the Holy Places in Jerusalem.

4. Invitations by U.S. Army. The U.S. Government recently invited and was host to some 55 Egyptian Army officers headed by Col. Danish, Deputy Military Governor of the delicately situated Gaza Strip on Israel's southern border. These officers were flown to the U.S. in U.S. Air Force planes and visited U.S. Army installations.

This is in contrast with the fact that in the current fiscal year - for the first time since 1949 - no training places have been allotted to Israel Defense Force officers in U.S. Army schools. Furthermore, although Israel Army ^{officers} have visited U.S. Armed Forces installations from time to time, there has been no case of Israel officers being invited to the United States as the guests of the U.S. Army.

5. Grant-In-Aid. Two months have elapsed since the Congress authorization of economic grant in aid under the Foreign Operations Administration. There is yet no indication at all, however, of the U.S. Government's program for Israel under this head. By contrast, Iran was allocated aid with lightning speed as soon as a government friendly to the U.S. came into power.

Moreover, information made available by the FOA indicates that some \$15,000,000 are to be deducted from funds intended for Israel in order that they may be given to Iran. Without questioning economic aid programs to other countries, the diversion of funds intended for Israel must retard Israel's development towards economic self-sufficiency.

Especially coming at this time, such a step could only strengthen the general concern about U.S.-Israel relations.