

These programs, like those for which JWB had major responsibility, aimed to satisfy the spiritual, material, and physical needs of service men and to aid them to maintain a Jewish way of life while in the service. Particular emphasis was placed upon assisting service personnel in religious observances and Jewish dietary practices. Giving a sense of security to service men in the event of anti-Semitism was likewise considered to be a function of these programs, as well as providing reassurance to service men that their needs were understood and remembered by the community back home. While these programs were mainly directed at Jewish personnel, B'nai B'rith indicated that its objectives were to serve all service personnel regardless of race, color, or creed.

These groups corresponded with the service men, mailed local newspapers and Anglo-Jewish publications to them, provided religious articles and food supplies, conducted orientation programs to adjust inductees to life in the service, presented gifts to inductees, and sponsored parties, Passover *Sedarim*, and other activities at nearby bases and camps, military and veterans' hospitals, synagogues and Jewish community centers. They also sent packages to servicemen, furnished comfort items to men in hospitals, maintained a list of individuals on active duty who followed Orthodox religious practices, published a directory of installations and their nearest Orthodox communities, congregations, and rabbis, issued a monthly newspaper for servicemen, distributed literature to service men and chaplains, and provided informational and consultative services to service men's families.

The Jewish War Veterans carried out their program through Post and Auxiliary members and professional staff in the form of National Service Officers. The Armed Services Division of the Union of Orthodox Jewish Congregations executed its activities through regional offices, member congregations, sisterhood branches, and local Armed Forces committees. B'nai B'rith reported that members of the Service Committee for the Armed Forces and Veterans of each of its local lodges and chapters directed the service program in their respective communities and adjacent areas. National Council of Young Israel stated that its program was carried out by the chairman of the Armed Services Division, the director and staff.

SANFORD SOLENDER

ZIONIST AND PRO-ISRAEL ACTIVITIES

THE Zionist movement in the United States was preoccupied with a number of problems and activities during the period under review (July 1951 through June 1952): a redefinition of Zionism; a clarification of the relationship between the World Zionist Organization and the State of Israel; the influencing of public opinion to favor continued aid by the United States government to Israel; the encouragement of investment in Israel; the recruiting of technical personnel for Israel; fund-raising projects traditional with some of the Zionist organizations; and the sale of Israel Bonds.

Redefinition of Zionism

The twenty-third World Zionist Congress, held in Jerusalem on August 13, 1951, witnessed a major conflict between Israeli and American Zionists over the definition of Zionism. The Israeli Zionists equated Zionism with personal immigration to Israel; the majority of the American Zionists opposed this conception.

Eliahu Dobkin, head of the Jewish Agency immigration department, represented the point of view of those Israeli Zionists who believed there was no future for Jewish life in the Diaspora outside of Israel. Dobkin contended at a plenary session of the Agency Executive on August 6, 1952, that the primary function of the Zionist movement in the United States should be the recruitment of young American Jews to become *chalutzim* (agricultural pioneers) in Israel. Dobkin felt that the reason that so few of the American Jewish youth had responded to the call to emigrate to Israel was simply that the American Zionist organizations had failed to spend sufficient money on propaganda for this purpose. The American members of the Agency emphasized that the situation in the United States was not conducive to a large-scale youth emigration, although the recruitment of *chalutzim* should be encouraged and supported.

On August 28, 1951, the World Zionist Congress finally adopted a somewhat equivocal resolution appealing to American Jewish youth to "join in a large Aliyah movement" to Israel.

The issue of personal settlement in Israel became even more sharply delineated when on December 12, 1951, Premier David Ben Gurion of Israel wondered whether "the leadership of American Zionism had gone bankrupt with the establishment of the Jewish State." He added that "even if [the leaders] came, it is doubtful whether a big immigration from the United States would follow." Leo Wolfson, chairman of the National Council of the Zionist Revisionists of America, immediately accused Ben Gurion of complaining about a situation that was "largely of his own making," since he had ignored and slighted the American Zionist leadership. Benjamin Browdy, president of the Zionist Organization of America, expressed the belief that the Premier's attack was "made primarily for domestic consumption in an attempt to placate criticism leveled against the decision of the Israel government and the Jewish Agency to introduce a system of selective immigration to Israel." Mrs. Samuel W. Halprin, national president of the Hadassah Women's Zionist Organization of America, issued the following statement:

As one of the principal components of American Zionist leadership we also deny his [Ben Gurion's] charge that American Zionist leaders have gone bankrupt since the establishment of the Jewish State because some of them did not settle in Israel. American Zionists have categorically and publicly stated that the sole criterion of Zionist leadership cannot be personal immigration to Israel. . . . On the contrary, American Zionist leaders have consistently held to the view that the major criteria of Zionist leadership have been and still are mobilization of physical, material, spiritual, and political support to help secure Israel's future, the establishment of a

strong link between the people of Israel and American Jewry, and fostering the unity of the Jewish people.

Hadassah's thirty-seventh annual convention on September 17 adopted a resolution supporting pioneering immigration on a limited scale as the cardinal principle in the upbuilding of Israel. It declared that "some portion of American Jewish youth will seek personal identification with this drama by helping Israel to reclaim its soil, plan cities, build factories, and increase agricultural production."

Emigration to Israel

This ideological conflict was resolving itself realistically elsewhere, with the encouragement of a purely technical Aliyah or immigration to Israel. In June 1952, an organization known as PATWA (Professional and Technical Workers Aliyah), with 111 charter members, was founded in New York City to help fill Israel's need for trained people by aiding American professionals to settle in Israel. PATWA published a pamphlet *Choosing a Career for Israel*, outlining conditions in twenty-six professions in Israel.

On December 26, 1951, the Habonim, Labor Zionist Youth Organization, decided to close its *hachsharah* training farms where young people had been trained for Aliyah to Israel as *chalutzim*. They were to be replaced by Youth Workshops in Israel where prospective *chalutzim* could stay for a period of nine months, later to return to the United States for a two-year period of vocational training and leadership in the Zionist movement.

Status of World Zionist Organization

The status of the World Zionist Organization *vis-a-vis* the State of Israel had important connotations for all of Jewry, specifically for the American Jewish community. On August 31, 1951, the World Zionist Congress adopted a declaration that read in part:

The Congress considers it essential that the State of Israel, through an appropriate legislative act, grant status to the World Zionist Organization as the representative of the Jewish people in all matters that relate to the organized participation of Jews the world over in the development and building of the land and the rapid absorption of newcomers.

In relation to all activities conducted in the interest of the State of Israel within Jewish communities outside of Israel, it is essential that the government of the State of Israel shall act in coordination and consultation with the World Zionist Organization.

In explanation of this declaration Ben Gurion stated on October 11, that the Knesset might be asked to confer a special status on the Jewish Agency inside Israel to express this situation. However, Israel would cooperate directly on matters affecting itself with all Jewish organizations desirous of such cooperation. Such direct relations of the Government of Israel with Jewish bodies and organizations would "naturally" be coordinated with the Jewish Agency.

The American non-Zionist point of view on the subject of Israel-American relations was expressed by the American Jewish Committee in a resolution adopted by its Executive Committee in Chicago on October 14, 1951, which stated in part as follows:

We urge upon the state of Israel the impropriety of: a) granting any kind of diplomatic recognition to any non-governmental body; b) granting any kind of political status in Israel to any non-Israeli organization or non-governmental body; and c) purporting to grant to any organization any special status with respect to the activities of Jews and Jewish communities in America or anywhere else outside of Israel.

The AJC also expressed its firm opposition to any interference in the community life of American Jews by persons or organizations whose composition was not exclusively American, as well as its opposition to those American Jews who might attempt to interfere in the internal political life of Israel. The AJC affirmed its position that the carrying out of educational programs among American Jews was exclusively the responsibility of American institutions.

On October 22, the Jewish Agency criticized the position of the AJC on the ground that it was clear that the World Zionist Organization sought only a legal status covering specific non-political functions in Israel, and was specifically refraining from requesting such status outside of Israel.

The American Jewish Congress in a statement on October 24, and the American Zionist Council through Louis Lipsky, its chairman, also took issue with the AJC's objections.

At the forty-fifth Annual Meeting of the American Jewish Committee in January 1952, Jacob Blaustein, its president, denied that this resolution marked a change in the friendly policy of the AJC toward Israel. Blaustein reported that since the passage of this resolution, the AJC, at the request of Ambassador Eban and the Israel Foreign Office, and with the approval of the United States government, had continued to give active and substantial aid to Israel in the intergovernmental field.

As a result of this controversy the question was raised as to whether it might not be feasible to include non-Zionists in the Jewish Agency once again. On December 19, 1951, James N. Rosenberg, one of the non-Zionist founders of the enlarged 1929 Jewish Agency, submitted a personal proposal to the Government of Israel through Abba Eban, its ambassador to the United States, that "before the Jewish Agency receives special status it should be so reconstituted as to represent all elements of American Jewry."

At a conference of Hadassah, Nahum Goldmann, chairman of the Agency Executive, indicated on January 20, 1952, that once status was granted to the World Zionist Organization it was possible that the question of including non-Zionist organizations within the Agency might arise.

Intervention in Israel

The question of what constituted a proper interest by an American Zionist organization in the internal affairs of Israel, and what should be termed an

improper intervention, was another important issue hotly debated by representatives of the American Zionist Council and the American Jewish Congress. The occasion for their dispute was furnished by the resolution that the convention of the Zionist Organization of America (ZOA) adopted on June 17, 1951, to the effect that "the Zionist Organization of America has throughout the years played a major role as a General Zionist organization and has maintained close relations with fellow General Zionists in other lands, particularly with the organization of General Zionists in Israel." Louis Lipsky, chairman of the American Zionist Council, commented that this seemed to indicate that the ZOA was "participating in the current election campaign to defeat Ben Gurion." To the comment by Israel Goldstein, president of the American Jewish Congress, that the "intervention of Zionists throughout the world in Israel affairs is an expression of legitimate and invited concern in such matters," Lipsky retorted that such intervention was undesirable when it took the form of "helping their *vis-a-vis* party in Israel by providing it with funds for its political campaigns."

The fifty-fifth annual convention of the Zionist Organization of America (ZOA), held in June 1952, in electing Rabbi Irving Miller as its new president, adopted the Miller resolution reaffirming the adherence of the ZOA to the World Confederation of General Zionists. However, this resolution noted that the ZOA "has never been and is not now affiliated party-wise with any other Zionist group or party, is bound by no party's discipline, reserves its independence of freedom of action and takes no part in the political life of the State of Israel, which is the exclusive function of Israeli citizens."

Public Opinion

During 1951-52, the American Zionist Council engaged in an intensive public relations program, its major concern being aid to Israel under the Mutual Security Program. On April 7, 1952, the Council presented a Memorandum on Aid to the Near East to the Foreign Affairs Committee of the House and Senate, urging the approval of the proposed \$76,000,000 allocation to help Israel, and pointing out Israel's political and military importance to the West.

During the national Presidential campaign, the Council sought the insertion of planks favorable to Israel by both the Republican and Democratic parties. On July 1, 1952, the American Zionist Council in a memorandum submitted to the platform committee of the Republican party urged the Republican party convention to adopt a platform plank pledging continued support to Israel and the Arab states in the resettlement of their refugee populations and in the promotion of peace and economic stabilization and development in the Near East. On July 17, the Council submitted a similar memorandum to the Resolutions Committee of the Democratic National Convention. Subsequently favorable planks on Israel were adopted by both political conventions.

The Labor Zionist Organization of America endorsed Governor Adlai Stevenson for President. The American Zionist Council on October 14, 1952,

issued a statement regretting the action taken by the Labor Zionists as contrary to the bipartisan position of the Council, of which the LZO was a member. On October 15 the LZO denied the right of the Council to consider or act upon the LZO's political activity, asserting that this was the LZO's "special sphere" on which the AZC was not entitled to infringe.

NON-JEWISH GROUPS

Non-Jewish organizations continued to express their support on behalf of Israel. On July 26, 1951, President William Green of the American Federation of Labor announced that his organization was lending its efforts in Washington to secure passage of the McCormack-Martin and the Douglas-Taft bills, authorizing \$150,000,000 in grants-in-aid to Israel. Four leaders of the American-Christian Palestine Committee, Dr. Henry A. Atkinson, Rev. Dr. Daniel A. Poling, Dr. Samuel Guy Inman, and Dr. Carl Herman Voss, joined in support of the above measures. The American-Christian Palestine Committee also sponsored a tour for seventeen Christian leaders, composed of clergymen, journalists, and educators who left for Israel, Jordan, and Egypt to study Arab-Israel relations.

At the national conference of the Americans for Democratic Action, its foreign policy commission issued a report on May 19, 1952, advocating the support of proposals for land reform in the Near East, endorsing the United Nations' plan for the resettlement of Arab refugees in Arab countries, and urging caution in the planning of a Middle East defense command until there was peace between the Arab countries and Israel.

Technical and Educational Assistance

In May 1952 the Jewish Agency announced a program in cooperation with the Israel government and Israel private industry that would permit advanced college students and postgraduates pursuing careers in medicine and in other scientific and technical fields to serve their apprenticeship in Israel. A drive was initiated to recruit qualified American teachers for at least one year's service in Israel's rapidly growing school system.

On November 1, 1951, Louis Finkelstein, chancellor of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America, and Hayim Greenberg, member of the Jewish Agency Executive, announced the establishment of an Israel Institute at the Seminary, whose purpose it would be to bring to the Institute leading figures in Israel for discussions of the problems and background of Israeli life with eminent Americans of all faiths.

On December 10, 1951, Dean Irwin N. Griswold of the Harvard Law School announced a new undertaking known as the Harvard Law School and Israel Joint Research Project for Legal Development of Israel. Its resources were to be made available to the Israel Justice Ministry, in order to help develop a unified system of law which would meet the needs of a modern state, and at the same time reflect the historic traditions of the Government of Israel.

At the tenth annual conference of the American Fund for Israel Institu-

tions on March 21, 1952, Alan M. Stroock, trustee of the Fund, revealed that the organization had established a five-year \$30,000 scholarship fund for Israeli students in honor of Edward A. Norman, founder and president of the Fund.

Rabbi Arthur L. Lelyveld, national director of the B'nai B'rith Hillel Foundations, announced on January 2, 1952, the purchase of the Swiss Consulate Building in Jerusalem as quarters for the Hillel Foundation at the Hebrew University. These quarters would serve as a center for cultural and social activities for the students and the faculty of the Hebrew University.

The American Technion Society, which supports Israel's Institute of Technology in Haifa, decided to raise a capital fund budget of \$10,000,000 at its two-day conference held in November, 1951. According to Maurice Spertus, chairman of the technological committee of the Technion, more than 540 American scientists and engineers had volunteered their technical assistance to Israel during 1951.

On October 28, 1951, George S. Wise, chairman of the board of the Jewish Telegraphic Agency, was elected president of the American Friends of the Hebrew University (AFHU), succeeding Dr. Israel Wechsler, who was elected honorary president. In making its application for welfare funds, the AFHU indicated that it would require \$1,506,000 for its 1951-52 budget.

The budget of the Mizrahi Organization of America for the year 1952 included \$1,000,000 for the newly projected Bar-Ilan religious university in Israel. This was opposed by the Agudas Israel at its twenty-ninth national convention on the grounds that the university would serve as a research center for new patterns of Orthodox observances "contrary to Jewish law," and that the money needed to set up educational facilities for the religious training of immigrants would be diverted to the university. The Mizrahi Organization in turn charged Agudath Israel with hostility to Orthodox Zionism.

Investment in Israel

All Zionist organizations concentrated on the sale of Israel Bonds; the record reveals the following sales: Zionist Organization of America—\$36,000,000; Hadassah—\$7,850,000; Labor Zionist Organization of America—\$10,000,000; Pioneer Women—\$1,250,000; and American Mizrahi—\$2,000,000.

Henry Montor, vice-president of the State of Israel Bond Organization, announced that as of September 1, 1952, the Israel Bond drive had enrolled more than 400,000 subscribers with total subscriptions amounting to \$140,000,000.¹

In a semi-annual report, Mrs. Rose Halprin, chairman of the Economic Department of the American Section of the Jewish Agency, listed 116 new American investment projects in various stages of development undertaken during the period from October 1, 1951, to April 30, 1952. To explain Israel's investment potentials to prospective American investors, the Jewish Agency

¹ See also p. 182 and f.

appointed volunteer representatives, or "dollar a year men," in fourteen cities in the United States.

Social Service Activity for Israel

On September 17, 1951, Hadassah at its thirteenth annual convention announced that it had raised a total of \$9,250,000 for its projects in Israel and activities in the United States. A new budget of \$8,235,000 provided \$3,000,000 for medical work, \$1,500,000 for the Hadassah Hebrew University Medical School, \$2,300,000 for Youth Aliyah, \$600,000 for youth services, \$700,000 for the Jewish National Fund, and \$135,000 for Zionist youth work in the United States.

The Pioneer Women, Labor Zionist Women's Organization held its convention on September 11, 1951, and decided to raise \$2,500,000 in the next two years for a program for the rehabilitation of immigrant women, youth, and children in Israel. The funds would be used to build a youth village and an agricultural school in which to train 400 adolescent men and women for a pioneering life in the border and desert areas of the Jewish State. The funds would also be used to extend the social and educational services maintained in the immigrant villages and in other institutions by the Working Women's Council of Israel, sister organization of the Pioneer Women in Israel.

The Mizrahi Women's Organization of America meeting on November 13, 1951, adopted a budget of \$1,310,000, which included \$485,000 for Youth Aliyah and \$320,000 for social service, settlement house work, and the vocational training of immigrants in Israel.

The Mizrahi Organization of America, holding its thirty-first annual convention on November 11, 1951, adopted a budget of \$2,600,000 for the year 1952. The budget included \$1,000,000 for housing, children's homes, school equipment, and other assistance to religious settlements in the Jewish State.

Anti-Zionist Activities

The anti-Zionist position continued to be represented by the American Council for Judaism, which charged at its eighth national conference on April 4, 1952, that world Zionism sought to achieve the emigration of American Jewish youth to Israel through slanted text books in religious schools. Lessing J. Rosenwald, president of the Council, reported that it was "well embarked upon a program of sponsoring the creation of acceptable religious texts free of nationalist bias."

One of the most active pro-Arab and anti-Zionist groups in the United States, the Holyland Emergency Liaison Program (HELP) discontinued its activities in October 1951. HELP had been established by Dorothy Thompson, Virginia Gildersleeve, Kermit Roosevelt, Mrs. Mark Ethridge, Lessing J. Rosenwald, and others. Rosenwald explained that "HELP terminated its operations when other agencies took up the problem of Arab refugees, which was its original reason for coming into existence."

American Zionists were subjected to attack by Paul Hutchinson, editor of the *Christian Century*, at the annual meeting of the Chicago chapter of the American Council for Judaism on December 5, 1951, for what he called their "unremitting pressure on our government for loans, gifts, and other forms of extraordinary help for Israel, in a measure far beyond that offered any of her neighbors." Hutchinson also stated: "We cannot hold the confidence and support in world affairs of the Arabs and hence of the Moslem lands if they become convinced that the United States is a pro-Zionist partisan."

Merger in Labor Zionist Movement

The Labor Zionist Organization of America (LZOA) at its national convention held July 3-6, 1952, adopted a major policy resolution calling for the establishment of a Central Authoritative Council of the labor movement. This would be a transitional stage leading to the eventual merger of all the labor Zionist groups: the LZOA—Poale Zion, the Farband Labor Zionist Order, the Pioneer Women, and the Habonim.

Cultural Exchange

To encourage cultural relations between the United States and Israel, the two countries signed an agreement providing for the importation of American books, magazines, and newspapers into Israel without dollar payments. This agreement, which was similar to that under which publications from the Soviet Union were imported into Israel without foreign exchange payments, permitted the United States Embassy to use the Israel currency paid for the books for American scientific, educational, and cultural activities in Israel. American publishers would be paid in dollars from United States government funds.

The agreement was a consequence of the Israel Government's refusal after October 1, 1951, to allocate any foreign currency for the import of books. The supply of magazines and newspapers was retained but on a reduced level. During the first nine months of 1951 Israel Government allocations for United States publications had amounted to about \$160,000, of which 75 per cent was for books.

A. W. Binder, professor of liturgical music at the Hebrew Union College—Jewish Institute of Religion, announced the organization of a Composers' Committee for Israel and American Jewish Music, under the auspices of the American Fund for Israel Institutions, which was to arrange for the exchange of music between Israel and America.

A. Z. Propes, representative of the Israel Government's Tourist Department, announced that two hundred American singers, members of all Jewish singing societies in the United States, would participate in the first choral festival in Israel, to take place in August, 1952.

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