

ACTIVITIES OF NONDIPLOMATIC REPRESENTATIVES OF FOREIGN PRINCIPALS IN THE UNITED STATES

HEARINGS BEFORE THE COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS UNITED STATES SENATE EIGHTY-EIGHTH CONGRESS FIRST SESSION

UNDER THE AUTHORITY OF S. RES. 362, 87TH CONGRESS,
AND S. RES. 26, 88TH CONGRESS, AUTHORIZING THE COM-
MITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS TO STUDY THE ACTIV-
ITIES OF NONDIPLOMATIC REPRESENTATIVES OF
FOREIGN PRINCIPALS IN THE UNITED STATES

Part 1

MARCH 13 AND JUNE 20, 1963

Printed for the use of the Committee on Foreign Relations



U.S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE
WASHINGTON : 1963

A M E R I C A N MERCURY

WHAT'S BEHIND THE GALINDEZ CASE?

By Harold Lord Varney

Reprinted from the June 1957 issue
American Mercury, 250 W. 57th St., N. Y., N. Y.

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UNDER THE AUTHORITY OF SENATE RESOLUTION 362, 87TH
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AUTHORIZING THE COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS TO
STUDY THE ACTIVITIES OF NONDIPLOMATIC REPRESENTA-
TIVES OF FOREIGN PRINCIPALS IN THE UNITED STATES

PART 9

MAY 23, 1963

Printed for the use of the Committee on Foreign Relations



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Note.—This hearing was held in executive session, and released August 1, 1963, pursuant to committee determination.

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Additional information requested from Mr. Gottlieb Hammer:

1. List of the Officers and Members of the Board of Directors of the Jewish Agency for Israel, Inc., a membership corporation organized under the membership laws of the State of New York	1397
2. Certified copy of Bylaws of the Jewish Agency for Israel, Inc., effective May 23, 1963	1397
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4. List of members, members of the Executive Committee and officers of the United Israel Appeal	1399
5. Copy of Charter and Bylaws of the United Israel Appeal effective May 23, 1963	1400
6. Request to submit for the record the status as of May 23, 1963, of the corporate control of the United Israel Appeal	1401
7. Request of the Bylaws of the Palestine Foundation Fund effective May 23, 1963	1401
8. Request for a year-by-year accounting of all payments to the American Zionist Council	1403
9. Request for set of periodic accountings rendered by the American Zionist Council to the Jewish Agency from January 1, 1955, to April 1, 1960	1408
10. Request for the year-by-year accounting as to all payments either directly or through the American Zionist Council or through the Rabinowitz Foundation to the Council on Middle Eastern Affairs	1408
11. Request for a year-by-year accounting of payments or loans to the Jewish Telegraphic Agency from the Jewish Agency for Israel, Inc., to April 1, 1960	1409
12. Date of acquisition of stock of Jewish Telegraphic News Agency by the Jewish Agency for Israel, Inc.	1410
13. Request for a detailed itemization of \$50,000 expenditure which appears in the report dated November 4, 1960, rendered to the Jewish Agency for Israel, Inc., by Green, Strocker & Co., on the page marked Exhibit B, Schedule 4(a) Jewish Agency for Israel, Inc., Administrative Expenses for the year ended March 31, 1960, listed as "Special public relations \$50,000"	1410
14. Request for a letter given some time in 1951 or 1952 relative to arrangements for transference of funds from the United Israel Appeal to the Jewish Agency for Israel, Inc., prior to April 1, 1960	1411
15. Letter to Senator Fulbright from Mr. Hammer received subsequent to hearing.	1411

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Requests for additional information to be supplied by Mr. Hamlin:

1. Certified copy of the bylaws of the Jewish Agency American Section, Inc., effective May 23, 1963	1411
2. Request for a copy of the constitution of the Executive of the Jerusalem Agency	1412
3. Request for a list of individuals comprising the board of directors of the Executive of the Jerusalem Agency	1413
4. Request for excerpts of minutes of meetings of the Executive in Jerusalem since April 1, 1960, relating to activities through agents in the United States	1413
5. Request for a brief description of the Departments and operations in Israel of the Executive	1414

Requests for additional information to be supplied by Mr. Hamlin: Con

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| 6. Request for a year-by-year accounting for payments which the Jewish Agency—American Section made to the American Zionist Council since April 1, 1960. | Page
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| 7. Request for the number of refugees per year who have been taken into Israel in the last 10 years through the work of the Jewish Agency for Israel, Inc. | 1418 |
| 8. Request for year-by-year accounting of payments made by the Jewish Agency—American Section, Inc., through the American Zionist Council or directly to Mr. I. F. Keren and/or the American-Israeli Public Affairs Committee. | 1418 |
| 9. Request for year-by-year accounting of payments to the Council on Middle Eastern Affairs from the Jewish Agency—American Section, Inc., either directly or through the American Zionist Council. | 1419 |
| 10. Request for a copy of the written arrangement referred to in a letter dated May 20, 1962, addressed to Dr. I. Moyal, and signed by L. A. Pincus, which reads as follows: "The details of how we finalize the accounts of the past year and future payments will be worked out during the month of June and then put in writing as an arrangement between us and the American Zionist Council." | 1420 |
| 11. Request for monthly audits, if any, from the American Zionist Council to the American Section or the Jerusalem Executive or Dr. Moyal referred to in the letter of May 20, 1962. | 1420 |
| 12. Request for a copy of the letter addressed to Moshe Sharett concerning the "Council situation" referred to in a letter dated February 5, 1963, addressed to Dr. Nahum Goldman and signed Isadore Hamlin. | 1420 |
| 13. Request for a year-by-year accounting of all payments made by the Jewish Agency—American Section, Inc., to the Jewish Telegraphic Agency since April 1, 1960. | 1421 |
| 14. Request for information as to identity of organization making the \$60,000 payment to the Jewish Telegraphic Agency referred to in a memorandum dated August 1, 1960, addressed to Rose L. Halprin from Isadore Hamlin. | 1422 |
| 15. Request as to payments to the JTA referred to in a memorandum dated October 12, 1960, to Fannie Speiser from Isadore Hamlin, reported in registration statements filed with the Department of Justice. | 1422 |
| 16. Request for itemized accounting of \$20,000 item which appears in the report rendered by Green, Strocker & Co., Certified Public Accountants, in schedule B 3n, entitled "Miscellaneous, for year ending March 31, 1961." | 1422 |
| 17. Request for listing of payments to the JTA in the registration statement for the 6 months ending September 30, 1961, as well as the amendment to that filing dated October 6, 1962, filed by the American Section, Inc. | 1422 |
| 18. Request for further information relating to items in reports to the Jewish Agency—American Section, Inc., by Green, Strocker & Co., CPAs, on operations for the fiscal year ending March 31, 1962: | |
| (a) From schedule B 1 of that report, entitled "Budgetary Expenses Information, Year Ending March 25, 1962," the item "Jewish Telegraphic Agency, Inc., budget, \$60,000, expenditures, \$60,000." Were any of these expenditures reported on registration statements filed with the Department of Justice? | 1422 |
| (b) From schedule B 1 g, item "Public Relations Special Projects, Year Ending March 31, 1962." Was this expenditure reported on registration statements filed with the Department of Justice? | 1423 |
| (In itemizing these expenditures, in accordance with the chairman's request, please state names to whom funds were paid, purpose of the payment; date of the payment; and the amount of payment.) | |
| 19. Letter from Mr. Isadore Hamlin to Senator Fulbright dated July 25, 1963, commenting on certain portions of his testimony. | 1424 |

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ACTIVITIES OF NONDIPLOMATIC REPRESENTATIVES OF FOREIGN PRINCIPALS IN THE UNITED STATES

THURSDAY, MAY 23, 1963

U.S. SENATE,
COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS,
Washington, D.C.

The committee met, pursuant to call, at 10:10 o'clock a.m., in room 4219, New Senate Office Building, Senator J. W. Fulbright (chairman) presiding.

Present: Senators Fulbright, Sparkman, Humphrey, Symington, Dodd, Hickenlooper, and Aiken.

Also present: Mr. Marcy, Mr. Pincus, Mr. Sifton, and Mr. Yingling of the committee staff.

IDENTIFICATION OF WITNESS AND COUNSEL

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Hammer, will you state for the record, please, sir, so the record will show, your full name, address, and business address.

Mr. HAMMER. My full name is Gottlieb Hammer. I live at 1154 East 27th Street, Brooklyn, N.Y.

My business address is 515 Park Avenue, New York.

The CHAIRMAN. And you are accompanied by counsel?

Mr. HAMMER. I am accompanied by counsel.

The CHAIRMAN. Give his full name, please.

Mr. HAMMER. Mr. Maurice M. Boukstein of the firm of Guzik & Boukstein.

Mr. BOUKSTEIN. 150 Broadway.

The CHAIRMAN. And this young lady is your assistant?

Mr. BOUKSTEIN. A member of my staff.

The CHAIRMAN. Give her name, please.

Mr. BOUKSTEIN. Mrs. Elaine Rosenbaum.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Hammer, you have had an opportunity to read the opening statement of the committee outlining the purposes and procedures to be followed at this hearing?

Mr. HAMMER. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Without objection that statement will be inserted in the record at this point.

(The statement referred to follows:)

OPENING STATEMENT BY SENATOR FULBRIGHT

Executive Session Hearings on the Activities of Nondiplomatic Representatives of Foreign Principals

We continue today the hearings before the Committee on Foreign Relations, held pursuant to Senate Resolution 362, of the 87th Congress, 2d session, and Senate Resolution 26, agreed to March 14, 1963. Copies of these resolutions will be inserted in the record at this point.

[S. Res. 26, 88th Cong., 1st sess., Rept. No. 2]

RESOLUTION

Resolved, That the Committee on Foreign Relations, or any duly authorized subcommittee thereof, is authorized under sections 134 and 136 of the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946, as amended, and in accordance with its jurisdiction specified by rule XXV of the Standing Rules of the Senate, to continue its study of the activities of nondiplomatic representatives of foreign principals including, without limitation, foreign governments, foreign political parties, and individuals, partnerships, associations, corporations, organizations or other combinations of individuals, whether foreign or domestic, acting in the place of, or in the interests of, or on behalf of a foreign government or foreign political party, tending or intended to influence the foreign or domestic policies or interests of the United States.

SEC. 2. The committee is further authorized under sections 134 and 136 of the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946 to give thorough consideration to existing and proposed legislation relating to the activities of nondiplomatic representatives of foreign principals, as aforesaid, and to make such recommendations with respect thereto as may be found by it to be appropriate.

SEC. 3. For the purposes of this resolution the committee is authorized from February 1, 1963, to January 31, 1964, inclusive, (1) to make such expenditures, (2) to hold such hearings, to sit and act at such times and places during the sessions, recesses, and adjourned periods of the Senate, (3) to require by subpoena or otherwise the attendance of such witnesses and the production of such correspondence, books, papers, and documents, (4) to take such testimony; (5) to employ, upon a temporary basis, such technical, clerical, and other assistants and consultants, and (6) with the prior consent of the heads of the departments or agencies concerned, and the Committee on Rules and Administration, to utilize the reimbursable services, information, facilities, and personnel of any of the departments or agencies of the Government as it deems advisable.

SEC. 4. The expenses of the committee under this resolution which shall not exceed \$48,600 for the period ending January 31, 1964, shall be paid from the contingent fund of the Senate upon vouchers approved by the chairman of the committee.

SEC. 5. The committee shall complete its study and submit to the Senate not later than January 31, 1964, such results of the study herein authorized together with such recommendations as to existing or proposed legislation as herein authorized as may be found by it to be appropriate.

[S. Res. 362, 87th Cong., 2d sess., Rept. Nos. 1679 and 1708]

RESOLUTION

Whereas the Senate of the United States has special constitutional responsibilities in matters bearing upon the foreign relations of the United States; and

Whereas the discharge of this responsibility requires a thorough review and full public disclosure of the nondiplomatic activities of representatives of foreign governments and the extent to which they attempt to influence United States policies: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the Committee on Foreign Relations, or any duly authorized subcommittee thereof, is authorized under sections 134 and 136 of the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946, as amended, and in accordance with its jurisdiction specified by rule XXV of the Standing Rules of the Senate, to conduct a full and complete study of all nondiplomatic activities of representatives of foreign governments, and their contractors and agents, in promoting the

interests of the attempt to influence interest.

SEC. 2. For to make such expenditures and places during (3) to require the production of such testimony, clerical, and of the heads of Rules and Administration facilities, and ment as it deems

SEC. 3. The cost exceed \$50,000 contingent fund committee.

SEC. 4. The committee submit to the Senate herein authorized appropriate.

The committee of nondiplomatic or were intended

Today's hearing nondiplomatic be to examine the nature of the position to constitution relating to

The scope of tives who are corps. The committee diplomatic agencies carried on by diplomatic corps

The term "representing on behalf of relations, economic other areas.

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The foreign the resolutions individuals and governments concerned well with individuals traditionally placed the committee's attention on the elements or foreign tend or were intended

The influence committee's activities be brought to and interests, moreover, either in the nature particular cases

With respect tions are concerned by either

interests of those governments, and the extent to which such representatives attempt to influence the policies of the United States and affect the national interest.

SEC. 2. For the purposes of this resolution the committee is authorized (1) to make such expenditures; (2) to hold such hearings, to sit and act at such times and places during the sessions, recesses, and adjourned periods of the Senate; (3) to require by subpoena or otherwise the attendance of such witnesses and the production of such correspondence, books, papers, and documents; (4) to take such testimony; (5) to employ, upon a temporary basis, such technical, clerical, and other assistants and consultants; and (6) with the prior consent of the heads of the departments or agencies concerned, and the Committee on Rules and Administration, to utilize the reimbursable services, information, facilities, and personnel of any of the departments or agencies of the Government as it deems advisable.

SEC. 3. The expenses of the committee under this resolution, which shall not exceed \$70,000 for the period ending January 31, 1963, shall be paid from the contingent fund of the Senate upon vouchers approved by the chairman of the committee.

SEC. 4. The committee shall complete its study by June 30, 1963, but it shall submit to the Senate not later than January 31, 1963, such results of the study herein authorized together with such recommendations as may be found to be appropriate.

The committee is authorized by these resolutions to inquire into the activities of nondiplomatic agents of foreign principals where those activities have tended or were intended to influence policies and interest of this country.

Today's hearing is a continuation of the series of hearings to which individual nondiplomatic agents will be called. The purpose of this series of hearings will be to examine some activities carried on by selected nondiplomatic agents. Once the nature of these activities is understood, the committee will be in a better position to consider the need for the enactment, amendment, or repeal of legislation relating to activities of all nondiplomatic agents.

The scope of the committee's investigation is limited to activities of representatives who are neither recognized nor accredited as members of the diplomatic corps. The committee's investigation will involve, however, activities of nondiplomatic agents which either are of the nature of activities traditionally carried on by diplomats, or bring the agents in contact with members of the diplomatic corps.

The term "representative," as used in the resolutions, includes any person acting on behalf of, or in the interest of another whether in the field of law, public relations, economic consultation, information or press services, lobbying or in other areas.

The fact that the representation is gratuitous, noncontractual, or pursuant to oral or written agreement, the duration or scope of the representative's duties, will not be relevant in determining the scope of the committee's inquiry.

The foreign principals with which the committee will be concerned, pursuant to the resolutions, will include foreign governments, foreign political parties, and individuals and associations acting on behalf of, or in the interest of, foreign governments or foreign political parties. The committee will be concerned as well with individuals or associations whose activities are of the nature of those traditionally performed by governments. In such a case the foreign principal acts in the place of a government. Finally, the resolutions also direct the committee's attention to foreign principals having no connection with foreign governments or foreign political parties where the activities of agents of those principals tend or were intended to influence policies or interests of the United States.

The influence upon U.S. policies or interests to which the resolutions direct the committee's attention may, needless to say, be direct or indirect. Influence may be brought to bear not only in the establishment and formulation of U.S. policies and interests, but also in their furtherance and execution. The influence may, moreover, either aid or impede those policies or interests; we are more interested in the nature of the activities themselves than in the direction they take in each particular case.

With respect to the object of the activities of nondiplomatic agents, the resolutions are concerned with policies and interests which may be formed or furthered by either the legislative or executive branches of our Government. The

particular policies or interests involved may be expressed, for example, in proposed or adopted legislation, statements of departmental policy, or in the general course of conduct of our Government.

With respect to the procedure to be followed by the committee, I note that today's hearing is being held in executive session in order that the committee will be in a position to determine whether the character of the testimony heard warrants public disclosure. In making that determination, the committee will bear in mind the national security and the interests of individuals named in the course of testimony as well as the legislative purposes of this investigation.

Pursuant to a committee order unanimously adopted by a majority of the committee then being present in a meeting held January 15, 1963, duly called by the chairman, the legal quorum of the committee or of any of its subcommittees for the purpose of taking sworn testimony has been fixed at one. Authority for this action may be found in rule 253(b) of the Standing Rules of the Senate.

Attendance at this hearing has been limited to members of the committee and of the committee staff as well as the witnesses.

The witnesses whose testimony will be heard today have been called to appear pursuant to subpoenas addressed to them and dated May 13 and May 16, 1963. A copy of these subpoenas will be inserted in the record at this point.

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES

To GOTTLIEB HAMMER,
Jewish Agency for Israel, Inc.,
515 Park Avenue,
New York 22, N.Y., Greeting:

Pursuant to lawful authority, you are hereby commanded to appear before the full Committee on Foreign Relations of the Senate of the United States, on May 23, 1963*, at 10 a.m., at their committee room, 4219 New Senate Office Building, Washington, D.C.,* then and there to testify what you know relative to the subject matters under consideration by said committee, and to bring with you the below listed papers, documents, records, etc., to wit: All journals, ledgers, books of account, other financial records and supporting documents or papers of every kind and description within your possession or under your control including, but not limited to, all canceled checks, bank statements, vouchers, vendors' invoices, sales invoices, contracts and other supporting papers relating to any and all activities of the Jewish Agency for Israel, Inc., on behalf of the Jewish Agency for Israel, Jerusalem, Israel, where those activities have tended or were intended to influence the establishment or furtherance of policies or interests of the United States and were engaged in during the period January 1, 1958 through and including March 31, 1960; and

All correspondence, memoranda, cables, telegrams, teletype messages and other written communications to and from all persons, all books, records, files, memoranda, documents, papers of every kind and description in your possession or under your control relating to any and all activities as hereinbefore described during the period January 1, 1958, through and including March 31, 1961.

Hereof fail not, as you will answer your default under the pains and penalties in such cases made and provided.

To Joseph C. Duke, Sergeant at Arms of the Senate of the United States to serve and return.

Given under my hand, by order of the committee, this thirteenth day of May in the year of our Lord one thousand nine hundred and sixty-three.

J. W. FULBRIGHT,
Chairman, Committee on Foreign Relations.

*Or at such date or dates and at such place or places to which the meeting of the committee shall be adjourned.

To Mr. ISADORE H. J.
Jewish Agency,
515 Park Avenue

Pursuant to lawful authority, you are hereby commanded to appear before the full Committee on Foreign Relations of the Senate of the United States, on May 23, 1963*, at 10 a.m., at their committee room, 4219 New Senate Office Building, Washington, D.C.,* then and there to testify what you know relative to the subject matters under consideration by said committee, and to bring with you the below listed papers, documents, records, etc., to wit: All journals, ledgers, books of account, other financial records and supporting documents or papers of every kind and description within your possession or under your control including, but not limited to, all canceled checks, bank statements, vouchers, vendors' invoices, sales invoices, contracts and other supporting papers relating to any and all activities of the Jewish Agency for Israel, Inc., on behalf of the Jewish Agency for Israel, Jerusalem, Israel, where those activities have tended or were intended to influence the establishment or furtherance of policies or interests of the United States and were engaged in during the period January 1, 1958 through and including March 31, 1960; and

All correspondence, memoranda, cables, telegrams, teletype messages and other written communications to and from all persons, all books, records, files, memoranda, documents, papers of every kind and description in your possession or under your control relating to any and all activities as hereinbefore described during the period January 1, 1958, through and including March 31, 1961.

Hereof fail not, as you will answer your default under the pains and penalties in such cases made and provided.

To Joseph C. Duke, Sergeant at Arms of the Senate of the United States to serve and return.

Given under my hand, by order of the committee, this thirteenth day of May in the year of our Lord one thousand nine hundred and sixty-three.

The subpoenas served on you and subsequent meetings of the committee shall be held until such time as the committee shall otherwise direct.

Upon being excused, you are to return to the committee room 4219 New Senate Office Building, Washington, D.C., to appear before the committee for travel vouchers for travel.

A transcript is being made of your testimony. Each witness will be sworn to the truth of his testimony in the presence of the committee or its counsel.

Counsel for each witness shall be appointed by the committee or its counsel for each witness as to his testimony.

Objections by each witness shall be addressed to the committee or its counsel.

Each witness will be sworn to the truth of fact and opinion in his testimony called to testify.

The CHAIRMAN of the committee shall require witnesses to affirm the truth of their testimony.

Will you please affirm the truth of your testimony?

Do you solemnly swear to tell the truth, but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. HAMMER.

* Or at such date or dates and at such place or places to which the meeting of the committee shall be adjourned.

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ACTIVITIES OF AGENTS OF FOREIGN PRINCIPALS IN U.S. 1215

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES

To Mr. ESADORE HAMLIN, *Executive Director,*
Jewish Agency—American Section, Inc.,
515 Park Avenue, New York 22, N.Y., Greeting

Pursuant to lawful authority, you are hereby commanded to appear before the full Committee on Foreign Relations of the Senate of the United States, on May 23, 1963,* at 10 a.m., at their committee room, 4219 New Senate Office Building, Washington, D.C.* then and there to testify what you may know relative to the subject matters under consideration by said committee, and to bring with you the below listed papers, documents, records, etc., to wit: All journals, ledgers, books of account, other financial records and supporting documents or papers of every kind and description within your possession or under your control including, but not limited to, all canceled checks, bank statements, vouchers, vendors' invoices, sales invoices, contracts, and other supporting papers relating to any and all activities of the Jewish Agency—American Section, Inc., on behalf of the Jewish Agency for Israel, Jerusalem, Israel, where those activities have tended or were intended to influence the establishment or furtherance of policies or interests of the United States and were engaged in during the period April 1, 1960, through and including December 31, 1962; and

All correspondence, memoranda, cables, telegrams, teletype messages and other written communications to and from all persons, all books, records, files, memoranda, documents, papers of every kind and description in your possession or under your control relating to any and all activities as hereinbefore described during the period April 1, 1960, through and including December 31, 1962.

Hereof fail not, as you will answer your default under the pains and penalties in such cases made and provided.

To Joseph C. Duke, Sergeant at Arms of the Senate of the United States to serve and return.

Given under my hand, by order of the committee, this sixteenth day of May in the year of our Lord one thousand nine hundred and sixty-three.

J. W. FULBRIGHT,

Chairman Committee on Foreign Relations.

The subpoenas served on the witnesses will require their attendance at this and subsequent meetings of the committee at which they are requested to appear until such time as they are finally excused by the chairman.

Upon being excused, the witnesses are invited to report to the offices of the committee, room S-116, Capitol Building, Washington, D.C., to sight appropriate vouchers for travel allowances and witness fees upon the committee.

A transcript is being taken of the testimony and proceedings at this hearing. Each witness will be given a reasonably opportunity to inspect the transcript of his testimony in order to determine its accuracy and to make representations to the committee on that subject.

Counsel for each witness may attend the hearing for the purpose of advising the witness as to his rights.

Objections by each witness to questions posed during the hearings should be addressed to the chairman.

Each witness will be permitted to present a prepared statement as to matters of fact and opinion relating to the subject matter concerning which he has been called to testify.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Hammer, it is the committee's practice to require witnesses testifying on matters of fact to do so upon oath or affirmation.

Will you please rise.

Do you solemnly swear to tell the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. HAMMER. I do.

* Or at such date or dates and at such place or places to which the meeting of the committee shall be adjourned.

The CHAIRMAN. You have a prepared statement, Mr. Hammer, you would like to give to the committee?

Mr. HAMMER. If I may, sir.

Mr. BOUKSTEIN. Mr. Chairman, would you approve if we asked Mr. Hamlin also to come into the room? I think it would be helpful because some of the areas interlap or overlap, and his presence in the room may be helpful.

The CHAIRMAN. We expect to call Mr. Hamlin later, but I think it confuses the record to have these questions all mixed up one over the other, because they are set out each individual according to his responsibilities. As I understand it, Mr. Hammer preceded Mr. Hamlin, did he not?

Mr. HAMMER. That is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. I may say this is very difficult for me to keep it straight in any case. It is not a simple case. But Mr. Hamlin, of course, will be called.

Mr. BOUKSTEIN. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. You may proceed with your statement, Mr. Hammer.

TESTIMONY OF GOTTLIEB HAMMER; ACCOMPANIED BY MAURICE M. BOUKSTEIN, ATTORNEY, OF GUZIK & BOUKSTEIN

Mr. HAMMER. Mr. Chairman, may I express my appreciation for the privilege of presenting an introductory statement. I hope it will prove helpful, Mr. Chairman, if I would first describe the functions of the following three organizations which bear a certain similarity in their names, and the relationship between them. They are:

I. The Jewish Agency for Israel, Jerusalem, to which I shall refer for convenience as the Jerusalem Agency.

II. The Jewish Agency for Israel, Inc., to which I shall refer for convenience as the INC.

III. The Jewish Agency-American Section, Inc., to which I shall refer for convenience as the American Section.

Four charts describing the flow of funds and functions of these three organizations are submitted with this statement.

I. THE JEWISH AGENCY FOR ISRAEL, JERUSALEM (JERUSALEM AGENCY)

The Jerusalem Agency, with headquarters in Jerusalem, was organized in 1929 under the League of Nations mandate for Palestine.

It was established by Jewish groups, both Zionist and non-Zionist, from all over the free world, for the purpose of creating a haven for Jewish refugees and to facilitate their rehabilitation and resettlement in Palestine, and later, Israel. Until 1948, the Jerusalem Agency served as the representative Jewish authority in Palestine vis-a-vis Britain, and later in the presentation of the Jewish case before the United Nations.

Since 1948, when the State of Israel was established, the Jerusalem Agency has performed no political functions.

The Jerusalem Agency is a unique organization. It is a nongovernmental body which was burdened with the extremely complicated task of rehabilitating and resettling over 1 million refugees.

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ACTIVITIES OF AGENTS OF FOREIGN PRINCIPALS IN U.S. 1217

It continues to care, annually, for tens of thousands of refugees and settles them permanently. It probably is the largest organization of its kind in the world. It spends approximately \$100 million a year for transportation, initial care, rehabilitation, shelter, and resettlement of Jewish refugees. American Jews contribute roughly about 40 percent of this amount. Contributions are also received from Jewish communities in Great Britain and the Commonwealth countries, free Europe, South Africa, and Latin America.

In addition to charitable contributions, the Jerusalem Agency has other important financial sources. These include:

(a) A share in German reparations funds.

(b) Grants from the Government of Israel for assistance in the agricultural settlement of refugee immigrants.

(c) Loans and credits. Under the pressure of large-scale refugee immigration, a substantial part of the Jerusalem Agency budget had to be financed by loans and advances in anticipation of future years' contributions.

Since the independence of Israel in 1948, the Jerusalem Agency carried out the transportation and resettlement of approximately 1,100,000 refugee immigrants. First came approximately 250,000 from the DP camps of war-torn Europe. Following the first wave of European refugees, there came mass migrations from Yemen, Iraq, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Poland, and other countries. Large-scale immigration is still continuing.

II. THE JEWISH AGENCY FOR ISRAEL, INC.

A. PRIOR TO APRIL 1960

In 1944, the Jerusalem Agency established a representative office in the United States under the name of the Jewish Agency for Palestine. This office registered with the Department of Justice under the Foreign Agents Registration Act. In February 1949 this office was incorporated as a membership corporation under the laws of the State of New York, as The Jewish Agency, Inc., which name was changed in April 1959 to The Jewish Agency for Israel, Inc.

During the initial period of large-scale refugee immigration to Israel (1949-52), the INC. worked intensively in the United States in a number of areas:

(a) The INC. did whatever it could to strengthen the fundraising activities of the United Jewish Appeal.

(b) The INC. obtained commercial loans and credits from banks and suppliers to supplement funds available from current contributions so that the Jerusalem Agency would be in a position to cope with the flood of refugee needs.

(c) The INC. acted as purchasing agent for the Jerusalem Agency in acquiring necessary equipment and supplies in the United States. The purchases included blankets, tents, foodstuffs, medical supplies, building material, farm machinery, tractors, automotive equipment, livestock, and other supplies.

It may be of interest to the committee to note that in 1949, when Israel obtained its first Export-Import Bank loan, \$25 million of that loan was earmarked for agricultural settlement programs of the Jerusalem Agency. This amount, plus an additional sum of approximately

1218 ACTIVITIES OF AGENTS OF FOREIGN PRINCIPALS IN U.S.

\$50 million provided through the INC. out of United Jewish Appeal campaign proceeds or loans, made up a total of \$75 million in purchases from U.S. suppliers during a 3-year period (1951-53).

In more recent years, the INC. carried on also a program of other activities in the field of education and public information. These activities included:

(a) Maintaining contact with and assisting Zionist groups in the United States and strengthening fundraising efforts.

(b) Promotion of the study of the Hebrew language and Hebrew, Zionist, and Israel literature.

(c) Promotion of religious education and the study of the Bible.

(d) Securing American know-how and technical skill to work in Israel and occasional assistance and guidance to Americans who desire to work or settle in Israel.

(e) Publication and distribution of books on Israel and of general Jewish interest.

(f) Servicing Jewish communities throughout Latin America with information, printed material, Jewish educational guidance, and so forth.

(g) Cooperating with American youth organizations in the establishment of summer camps, seminars, study and travel groups to Israel, instruction in Jewish music and folklore.

The INC. was reorganized in 1960 in order to provide a closer identification on the part of the people who raised funds with the problems of actual operations in the field, and in order to satisfy the requirements of the Internal Revenue Service with respect to domestic organizations operating overseas.

As a result of the reorganization, on the basis of a plan and method of operation previously cleared with the Internal Revenue Service, the INC. came under the control of American organizations and citizens and thenceforth ceased being the agent and representative of the Jerusalem Agency. Accordingly, it deregistered as a foreign agent.

B. SUBSEQUENT TO APRIL 1, 1960

Under the reorganization, the INC. is the body which determines the use of United Jewish Appeal collections intended for Israel. The board includes principal officers and national leaders of United Jewish Appeal. The board studies the needs and makes specific and detailed allocations for rescue, resettlement, and rehabilitation programs in Israel. These programs are carried out in the field under the terms of an agreement between the INC. and the Jerusalem Agency, which acts as the operating agent of the INC., subject to strict accounting and controls. The INC. maintains a representative office in Jerusalem which supervises and observes the work of its agent (the Jerusalem Agency) in the spending of the American earmarked dollars and makes periodic reports and recommendations.

In addition, the INC. sends an American certified public accountant to Jerusalem each year to audit, verify, and report back to the board the specific details of the expenditures made for the account of the INC.

As of the effective date of its reorganization in 1960, the INC. divested itself of all activities which had been carried on, on behalf of

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or at the request of the Jerusalem Agency. Its activities were there-
after, and are at present, confined to the administration of the ex-
penditure of United Jewish Appeal proceeds intended for Israel,
as I have just described.

The activities in the United States on behalf of the Jerusalem
Agency, have, since April 1960, been carried on by an organization
which was specifically incorporated in New York for this purpose and
is known as the Jewish Agency - American Section, Inc. (the Ameri-
can Section).

III. THE JEWISH AGENCY - AMERICAN SECTION, INC. (AMERICAN SECTION)

The American Section acts as the representative of the Jerusalem
Agency in the United States and it is so registered under the Foreign
Agent Registration Act with the Department of Justice. It operates
exclusively with funds furnished by the Jerusalem Agency, which
it receives from sources outside the United States, or otherwise made
available for its account. The American Section does not receive
any United Jewish Appeal funds or other charitable contributions
in the United States.

In addition to strictly fiscal and purchasing functions on behalf of
the Jerusalem Agency, the American Section, of which Mr. Isadore
Hamlin, who is also here today, is the executive director, took over the
responsibility for the Zionist, educational, cultural, and other activi-
ties which had been carried out by the INC. prior to its reorganiza-
tion and deregistration as a foreign agent.

And now, Mr. Chairman, in conclusion, I should like to say:

(1) The Jerusalem Agency, with the funds provided by American
Jews and other Jewish communities, carries on a most vital historic
function. Without it, the job of resettling and rehabilitating the
hundreds of thousands of Jews who had no place to go, and who
might have perished, could never have been accomplished.

(2) This job could not have been done without the enlightened
support of the free world, principally the United States. The job
of dealing with these refugee immigrants could only have been done
by an organization which enjoyed the broad support of Jewish groups
all over the world, who were determined that the age-old homeless-
ness of Jews, constantly seeking a haven where they could live a free
and productive life as Jews should come to an end.

(3) In order to rally this concern effectively and consistently over
many years, a job of organization is required which calls for the use
of all modern means of communication, including mass media.

Few contributors spontaneously send in their checks each year.
Most of them must be made aware of the magnitude of the problems
and that what they are doing is important and necessary. The in-
formation they require relates not only to the immediate needs of
the refugees, but also to the social and economic and general condi-
tions in Israel, which affect the process of rehabilitation and resettle-
ment of refugee immigrants.

It is for this reason that the INC. prior to April 1, 1960, and the
American Section after 1960, have found it necessary to support edu-
cational and informational activities.

(4) Over the past 25 years the United Jewish Appeal raised approximately \$11.5 billion. American Jews contributed this money in order that something be done about the lot of their less fortunate brethren overseas. Contributions are made by Americans, Jews and non-Jews, from all walks of life and in all social strata. American Jews do not necessarily agree on all matters. Some are Democrats, and some are Republicans, some are liberals and some are conservatives, some are Zionists and some are non-Zionists, some are rich and some are poor.

However, the overwhelming majority of American Jews do agree and are united in their concern for refugees as demonstrated by the outpouring of this tremendous sum over a 25-year period. More than 1 million Jewish families in the United States, which contribute annually to the United Jewish Appeal, will continue to give so long as the need for such assistance exists, for deeply rooted in the consciousness of American Jews is the tradition "For I am my brother's keeper."

In making this very substantial effort to alleviate human suffering abroad, American Jews are gratified to know that they are acting in the democratic and humanitarian traditions on which this country was founded.

Jews of this generation who have witnessed the slaughter of 6 million of their kin in the Nazi holocaust are reassured by the knowledge that every Jew requiring a haven will find it because the State of Israel exists.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

May I point to the attachment of these charts. If I may, I would merely like to summarize and say that the purpose of attaching these charts was to try to put graphically the flow of funds prior to 1960, and the flow of funds after 1960, and the flow of funds of American funds after 1960, which refers to the reorganized INC. And finally a chart indicating the present functions of the American Section.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you, Mr. Hammer.

(The charts referred to follow:)

CHART A

PRIOR TO 1960

SOURCE OF FUNDS FOR PROGRAMS OF JEWISH AGENCY FOR ISRAEL, JERUSALEM
(THE JERUSALEM AGENCY)

CHART A
PRIOR TO 1960
SOURCE OF FUNDS FOR PROGRAMS OF JEWISH AGENCY FOR ISRAEL, JERUSALEM
(THE JERUSALEM AGENCY)

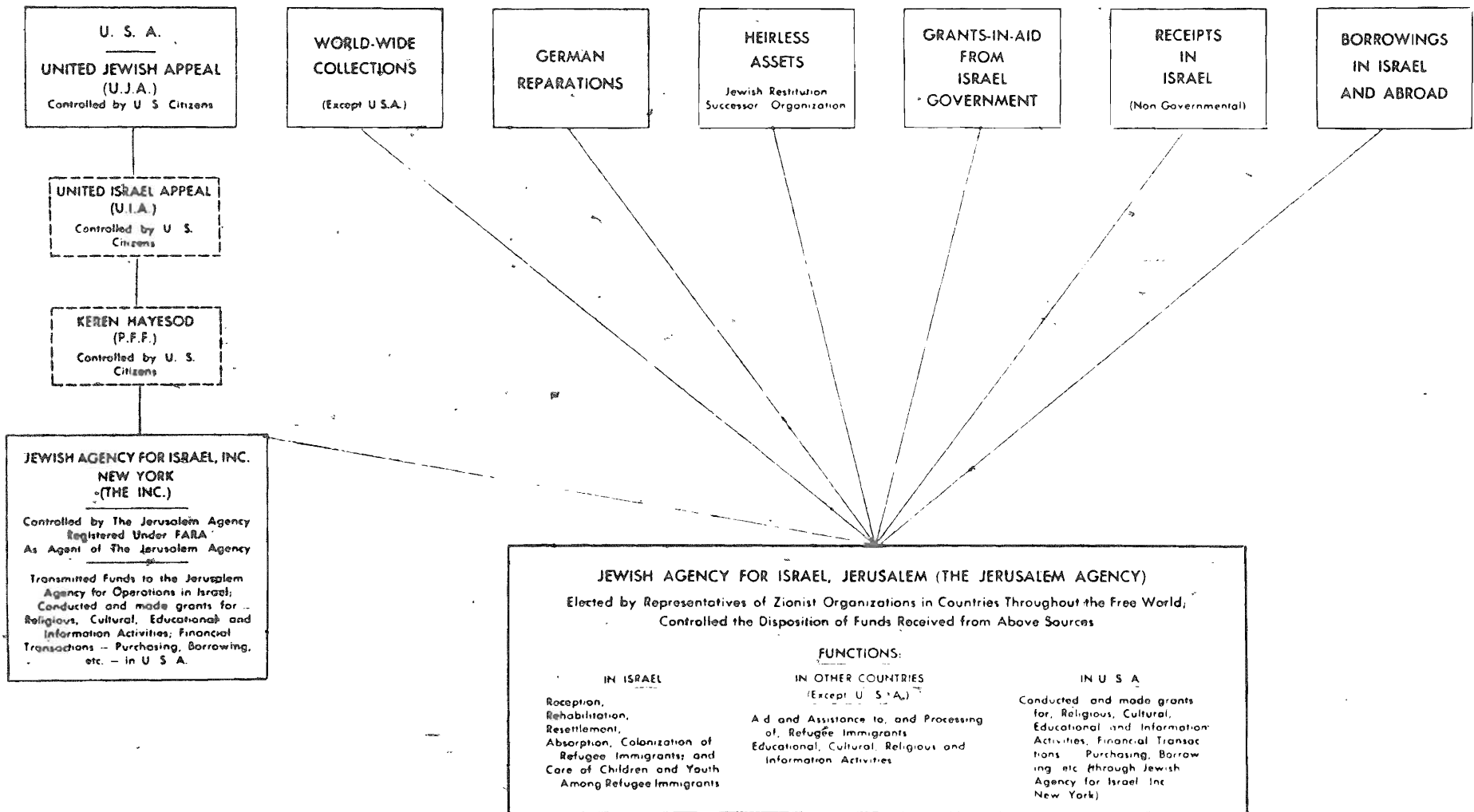


CHART B

AFTER APRIL 1960

SOURCE OF, AND FLOW OF FUNDS (Except from USA) TO JEWISH AGENCY FOR ISRAEL, JERUSALEM (THE JERUSALEM AGENCY)

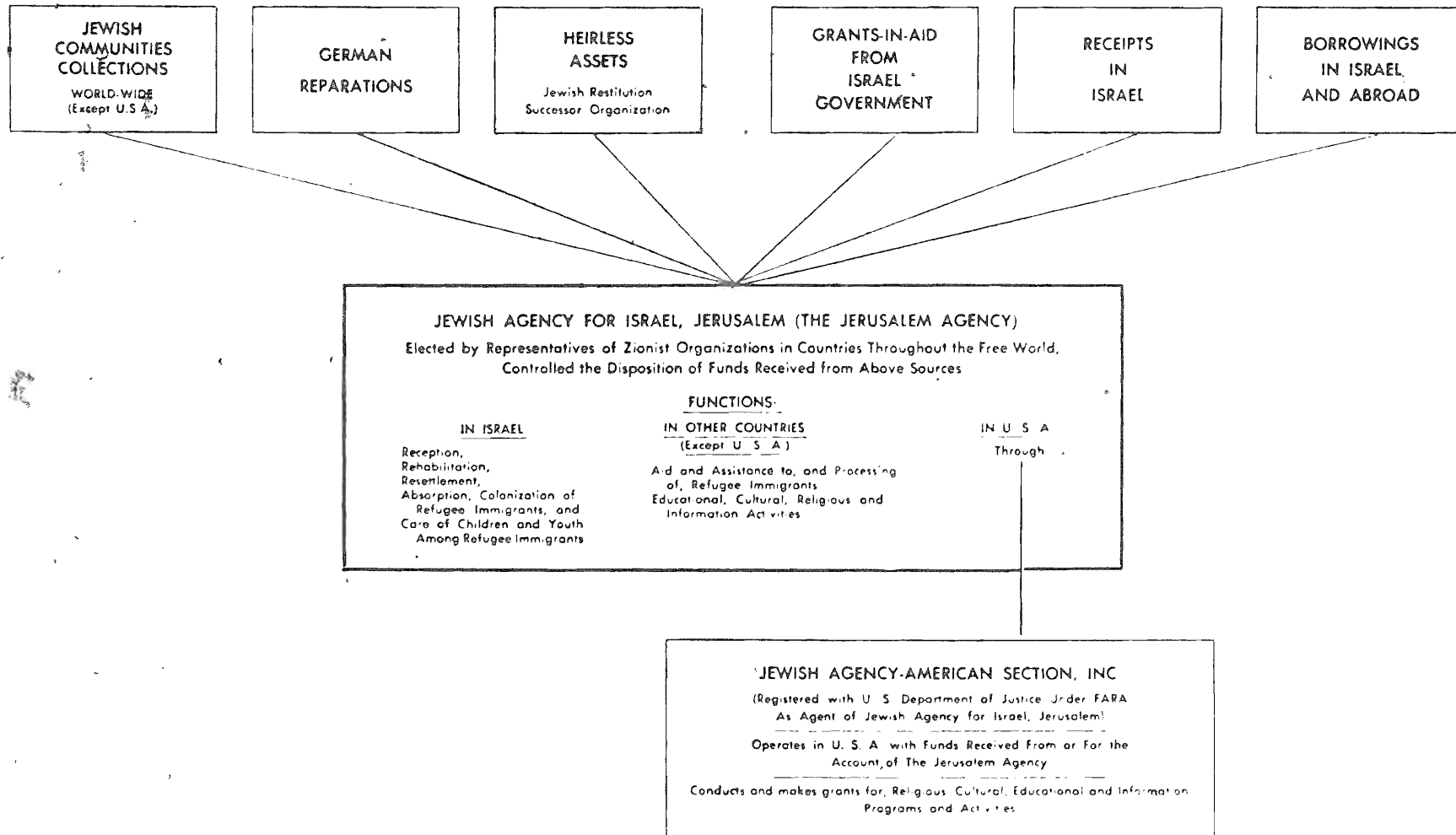


CHART C
AFTER APRIL 1960
FLOW OF FUNDS FROM U.S.A. FOR RELIEF, REHABILITATION AND RESETTLEMENT IN ISRAEL

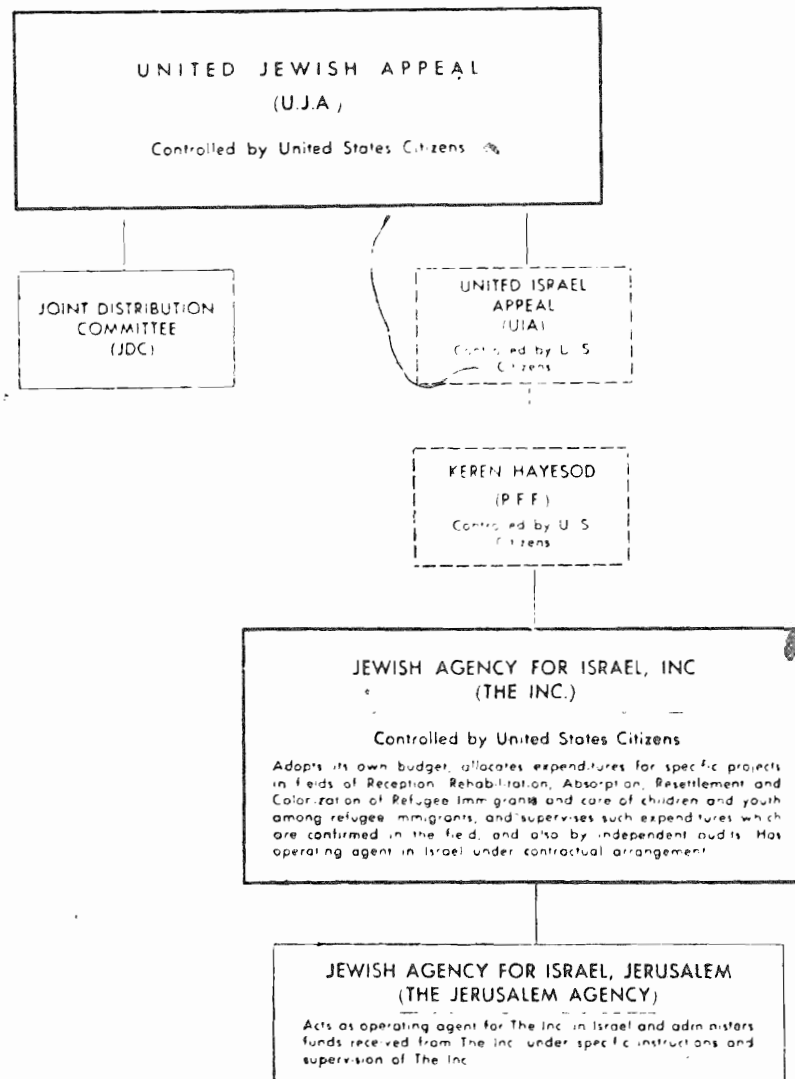
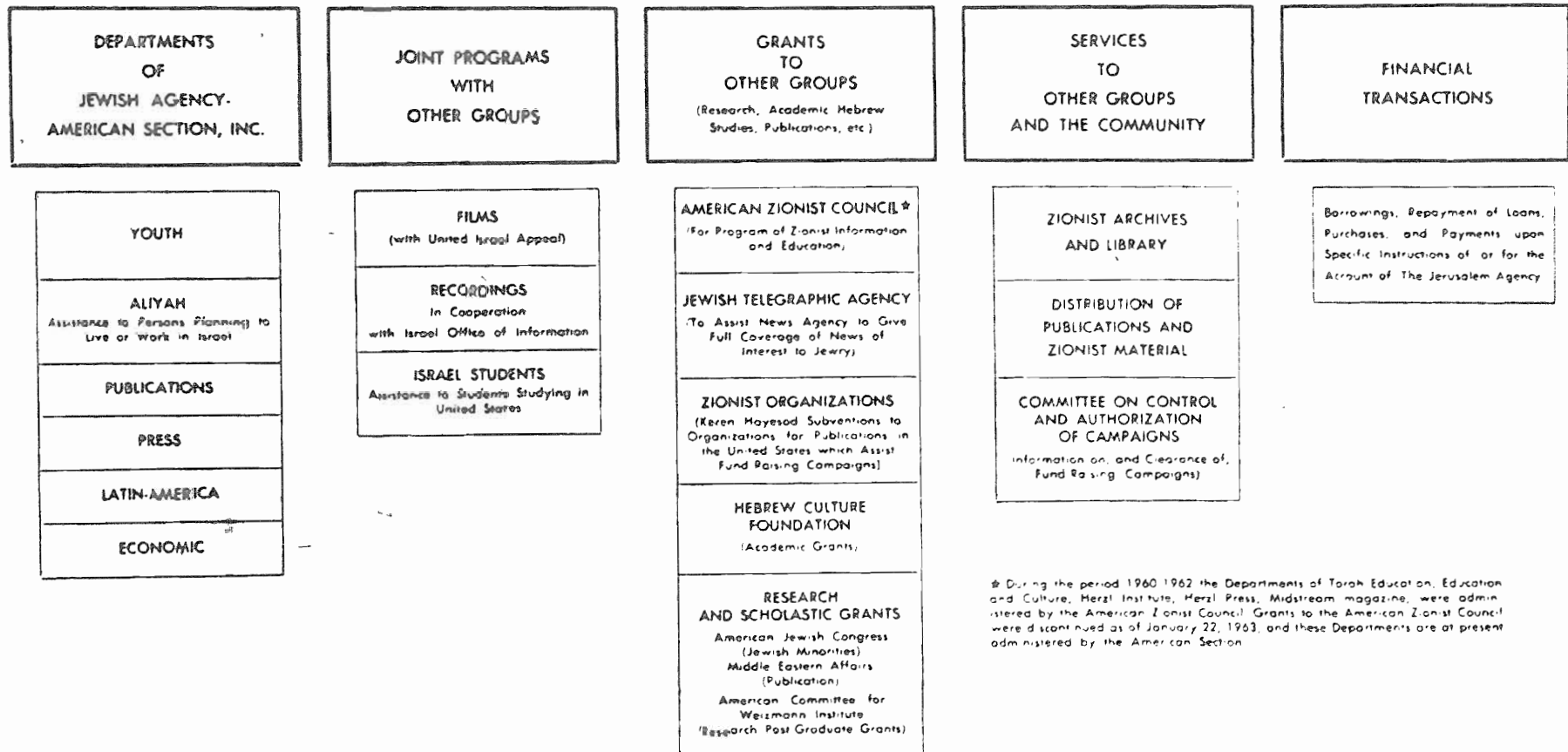


CHART D

FUNCTIONS AND SERVICES

JEWISH AGENCY-AMERICAN SECTION, INC. (AMERICAN SECTION) 1960-1962



* During the period 1960-1962 the Departments of Torah Education, Education and Culture, Herzl Institute, Herzl Press, Midstream magazine, were administered by the American Zionist Council. Grants to the American Zionist Council were discontinued as of January 22, 1963, and these Departments are at present administered by the American Section.

OFFICERS OF THE JEWISH AGENCY FOR ISRAEL, INC.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Hammer, your present position is exactly what I mean, are you with the Jewish Agency for Israel, Inc.?

Mr. HAMMER. I am with the reorganized Jewish Agency for Israel, Inc., I am executive vice chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Is that a corporation?

Mr. HAMMER. That is a corporation, sir, organized under the membership laws of the State of New York.

The CHAIRMAN. And you are what, the executive vice chairman?

Mr. HAMMER. Executive vice chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you have a list of the officers?

Mr. HAMMER. I know who the officers are.

The CHAIRMAN. Could you give the officers for the record?

Mr. HAMMER. There is a board of 21. The chairman of the board is Mr. Dewey D. Stone of Brockton, Mass. There are two vice chairmen. One is Mr. Joseph Meyerhoff of Baltimore, Md. He is vice chairman and he is also general chairman of the United Jewish Appeal, I might add.

The other vice chairman is Mrs. Rose L. Halprin. There are two treasurers. One is Mr. Max M. Fisher of Detroit, Mich., and the other one is Mr. Abraham Goodman of New York. The secretary is Mr. Louis Segal of New York, and myself as executive vice chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Those are the officers. It is controlled by this board of directors of 21?

Mr. HAMMER. The officers I listed are members of the board, and in addition there are other directors all totaling 21. I am not a member of the board.

The CHAIRMAN. Could you supply for the record a list of the members of the board?

Mr. HAMMER. Yes, sir. Would you want me to do that now?

The CHAIRMAN. No, you can do it later. There will be a number of things — unless you have a list with you.

Mr. HAMMER. I don't have a list with me but I can recall from memory.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, you can supply that.

Mr. HAMMER. Yes, sir.

(See appendix 1, p. 1397, Item 1.)

The CHAIRMAN. You have bylaws?

Mr. HAMMER. We have bylaws.

The CHAIRMAN. Could you supply a copy of the bylaws for the record?

Mr. HAMMER. We will, yes, sir.

(See appendix 1, p. 1397, Item 2.)

The CHAIRMAN. It is registered under the State of New York?

Mr. HAMMER. It is incorporated as a membership corporation under the laws of the State of New York.

Mr. BOUKSTEIN. If I may say, Mr. Chairman, I think the bylaws and certificate of incorporation have been made available to your staff in New York.

The CHAIRMAN. I am told we do not have a certified copy of it for the record.

Mr. BOUKSTEIN. We will be glad to furnish it.

The CHAIRMAN. If you have got one you could identify it and put it in the record.

Mr. HAMMER. We will be glad to furnish a certified copy, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. All right.

Senator HUMPHREY. What is the difference between a certified copy and the one we have got?

The CHAIRMAN. I don't know.

Senator HUMPHREY. Is there a difference, Mr. Pincus? If there is any difference I would like to know what it is. What is the difference between a certified copy and the one that you have got? I am not a lawyer. I just want to know.

Senator SPARKMAN. There would be no difference. It is just a matter of identifying this. You might have to read the whole thing or perhaps he knows from the appearance of it whether or not it is a true copy. If he can identify it right now.

Senator HUMPHREY. That is all right.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. He would not be able to identify it unless he read every word in it. It is only a question of having an accurate one in the record.

MR. HAMMER'S DESCRIPTION OF FUNCTIONS OF JEWISH AGENCY, AMERICAN SECTION

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Hammer, are you an officer in the Jewish Agency—American Section?

Mr. HAMMER. No, sir; I am not.

The CHAIRMAN. You have no connection with that?

Mr. HAMMER. I have no connection with the American Section.

The CHAIRMAN. I notice you spoke about the American Section on page 7 of your prepared statement. In what capacity were you describing the functions of the Jewish Agency—American Section?

Mr. HAMMER. Well, in April 1960, when we reorganized the INC. and divested ourselves of the functions which I indicated we did, I was aware of the nature of these functions because prior to 1960 they were an integral part of the INC., the organization of which I was then executive director.

Subsequent information was given to me by Mr. Hamlin. I asked him to check and verify the facts contained in my statement prior to coming here.

The CHAIRMAN. That has been cleared with Mr. Hamlin?

Mr. HAMMER. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. I wanted the record to show that, I believe, he has a similar position in the American Section.

Mr. HAMMER. In the American Section, sir.

DUTIES OF EXECUTIVE VICE CHAIRMAN

The CHAIRMAN. Would you just briefly describe for the record your duties as executive vice chairman of this organization?

Mr. HAMMER. As executive vice chairman of the Jewish Agency for Israel, Inc., my functions are that of principal administrative officer. More specifically, I am responsible for the financial affairs of the organization. I negotiate whatever loans or credits we may require.

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The CHAIR principal exec

Mr. HAMM tive officer, bu

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I attempt to keep funds flowing in accordance with a predetermined budget. I supervise the preparation of reports. I obtain information from our representative office in Jerusalem and circulate it to all the members of our board and perform such other functions as may be required of me by my board.

The CHAIRMAN. Is it fair to summarize it as saying you are the principal executive officer of this particular corporation?

Mr. HAMMER. Well, I referred to myself as principal administrative officer, but I will accept the other, thank you, sir.

JERUSALEM AGENCY AND RELATION TO STATE OF ISRAEL

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Hammer, the Jewish Agency for Israel, Inc., was at one time registered under the Foreign Agent Registration Act of 1938, as amended, as an agent of the Jewish Agency for Palestine; is that correct?

Mr. HAMMER. That is correct, sir. Prior to 1960.

The CHAIRMAN. The registration statements filed were executed and prepared by you.

Mr. HAMMER. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. The Jewish Agency for Palestine is, I believe today called the Jewish Agency for Israel; is that correct?

Mr. HAMMER. That is correct, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. And it is located in Jerusalem?

Mr. HAMMER. In Jerusalem.

The CHAIRMAN. And for convenience you have already stated we will refer to it as the Jerusalem Agency. It is rather difficult to keep these separated in our own mind.

Would you explain to the committee the relation, first of the Jerusalem Agency to the State of Israel?

Mr. HAMMER. The Jerusalem Agency is the body which, as I have described, is responsible for the bringing of immigrants and for their initial care and resettlement. In this regard they obviously have to consult and cooperate with the host government, in this case the Government of Israel. They coordinate their activities, they coordinate their policies in all questions affecting the immigration and resettlement of refugee immigrants.

I think I should make it clear they are not part of the Government, they are not a governmental agency, nor are they an agency of the Government. The Jewish Agency for Israel, Jerusalem, is an international body created by Jewish groups throughout the world who meet once every 4 years in a congress or convention at which time they elect or designate individuals to serve as the "Executive of the Jewish Agency."

CORPORATE STATUS OF THE JEWISH AGENCY

The CHAIRMAN. Is it a corporation?

Mr. HAMMER. I believe it is a corporation under Israel law.

The CHAIRMAN. Incorporated in Israel?

Mr. HAMMER. In Israel. It was an unincorporated association for many years, established first in Zurich, Switzerland, in 1929, but after the establishment of the state sometime in the early 1950's it was incorporated under Israel law.

The CHAIRMAN. Does it have a board of directors?

Mr. BOUKSTEIN. Mr. Chairman, I think I could help you in this respect.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. BOUKSTEIN. It has the same kind of special legal recognition that was given in this country to the Red Cross in the sense that it was created as a legal entity by a special act of Parliament rather than by the filing of a certificate of incorporation by a clerk in some county clerk's office.

The CHAIRMAN. Does it have a board of directors?

Mr. HAMMER. Yes, sir. It has a board of directors which is called the Executive of the Jewish Agency.

The CHAIRMAN. How many members of the Executive?

Mr. HAMMER. Approximately 19, I think.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you have a list of them?

Mr. HAMMER. I don't have one but one can be obtained. I think Mr. Hamlin could provide such a list because he is, or his organization represents the Jerusalem Agency and he would probably have it.

QUESTION OF AGREEMENTS BETWEEN JERUSALEM AGENCY AND GOVERNMENT OF ISRAEL

The CHAIRMAN. We can ask Mr. Hamlin that.

Now, are there any agreements existing between the Jerusalem Agency and the Government of Israel with respect to its functions?

Mr. HAMMER. There is an agreement spelling out the functions, the broad general functions and character of the Jewish Agency for Israel, Jerusalem, the Jerusalem Agency which was, I believe entered into between the Government of Israel and the Jerusalem Agency some years ago.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you have a copy of that?

Mr. HAMMER. I don't have a copy with me. I have no particular—

The CHAIRMAN. Do you have one available you could supply for the record?

Mr. HAMMER. Again, I think Mr. Hamlin might probably be able to supply that.

RELATIONSHIP OF EXECUTIVE BODY TO THE JERUSALEM AGENCY

The CHAIRMAN. Well, what is the relationship of this executive body, you say of 19?

Mr. HAMMER. Approximately 19.

The CHAIRMAN. To the Jerusalem Agency.

Mr. HAMMER. It acts as the executive committee or the board of directors of the Jerusalem Agency.

The CHAIRMAN. Does it also have an executive officer similar to yours?

Mr. HAMMER. It is a most unusual setup, one which we don't generally find here. It is both an executive committee and also an administrative body. Individual members of this executive group have specific responsibilities, one in the field of immigration, another in the field of absorption, a third in the field of agricultural settlement, one is a treasurer, and so on.

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ACTIVITIES OF AGENTS OF FOREIGN PRINCIPALS IN U.S. 1229

They divide up the administrative responsibilities among themselves, each one responsible for his particular part of the job, and then they get together and meet as an executive board or board of directors.

In addition there is a secretary general who helps coordinate the activities.

The CHAIRMAN. Who is he?

Mr. HAMMER. A man by the name of Dr. Moshe Avidor.

Mr. BUCKSTEIN. Senator, just if I may as an aside, I was at his home one day and I saw a certificate on his wall that he is an honorary citizen of your State, given to him by the Governor of your State in connection with some educational activity, I don't know what it is.

MR. HAMMER'S RELATIONSHIP WITH JERUSALEM AGENCY PRIOR TO 1960

The CHAIRMAN. When you were vice chairman; is that correct? before 1960, in other words?

Mr. HAMMER. I was executive director of INC. before 1960.

The CHAIRMAN. At that time what was your relationship with the Jerusalem Agency?

Mr. HAMMER. We represented the Jerusalem Agency, and we carried out all of the functions of the fiscal agent, purchasing agent, as well as carrying on educational and informational activities in the United States.

The CHAIRMAN. Let me see, this organization of which you were executive chairman at that time, executive——

Mr. HAMMER. Director.

The CHAIRMAN. Director; was established in 1949?

Mr. HAMMER. It was established in 1949. It was established as an office in 1944, and incorporated in 1949.

The CHAIRMAN. Under the name of the Jewish Agency, Inc.?

Mr. HAMMER. Right.

The CHAIRMAN. Which later became the Jewish Agency for Israel, Inc., is that correct?

Mr. HAMMER. That is correct, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there any particular reason why you changed the name at that time?

Mr. HAMMER. Yes, sir. The name was changed in order to reflect more accurately the area in which we worked.

Prior to 1948 it was known as the Jewish Agency for Palestine. After the establishment of the State it was felt that it was incorrect to continue under the old name, and it was changed in order to update it.

RELATION OF JEWISH AGENCY PRIOR TO 1960

The CHAIRMAN. Prior then to 1960, your relation to the Jerusalem Agency was that of an agent in this country; is this correct?

Mr. HAMMER. That is correct, sir, and that is the way we registered.

The CHAIRMAN. And you were directed in your operations by the Executive in Jerusalem?

Mr. HAMMER. That is correct, sir. In addition to the general overall policies which were formulated by the entire board of the Jewish Agency, the 19 I referred to, there were resident in the United States

1230 ACTIVITIES OF AGENTS OF FOREIGN PRINCIPALS IN U.S.

6 or 7 American members of that Jewish Agency Executive who would meet frequently and regularly for the purpose of conducting the affairs of the Jewish Agency in the United States.

OWNERSHIP AND DIRECTION OF JEWISH AGENCY, JERUSALEM

The CHAIRMAN. Was the Jewish Agency a member of the New York corporation prior to 1960, during the period you were in charge of it?

Mr. HAMMER. By member of the corporation, I am not a lawyer, Senator—

Mr. BOUKSTEIN. Senator, can I tell him the legal facts?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. BOUKSTEIN. The members of the corporation were the members of the entire Executive of the Jewish Agency for Israel, the Jerusalem Agency, which included the American members. The directors of the corporation were the American members of the Executive.

The CHAIRMAN. They were the directors, but the Jewish Agency, Jerusalem, was a member of the corporation?

Mr. HAMMER. The 19 members, they were the members of the corporation.

The CHAIRMAN. They were the only members, weren't they?

Mr. HAMMER. They were the only members.

The CHAIRMAN. So that the Jewish Agency in effect owned and directed completely the one in New York?

Mr. HAMMER. That is correct, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you have a copy of the bylaws effective prior to 1960 of the New York corporation?

Mr. HAMMER. There is a set of bylaws in existence, I presume, and I don't have them in my physical possession at this moment, but—

The CHAIRMAN. Will you supply those for the record; that is, those effective prior to 1960?

Mr. HAMMER. Prior to 1960.

The CHAIRMAN. Before the change

Mr. HAMMER. I would be glad to.

(See appendix 1, p. 1399, Item 3.)

MEMBERSHIP OF NEW YORK CORPORATION AFTER REORGANIZATION

The CHAIRMAN. When the corporation was reorganized in 1960, was the membership of the New York corporation at that time changed?

Mr. HAMMER. Yes, sir. When the corporation was reorganized in 1960, the membership was changed in order to insure American control. Under the reorganization—the United Israel Appeal, an American corporation, became the major member controlling two-thirds of the Board of the reorganized INC., and the Jewish Agency—American Section, became the other member, with a representation of one-third of the board.

REASON FOR REORGANIZATION

The CHAIRMAN. What was the reason for that change?

Mr. HAMMER. The reason for that change was to give effect to the desire to identify the people who were actively engaged in fundrais-

ing in the United States with the problems in the field, and also to buttress our position insofar as the requirements of the Internal Revenue Service were concerned regarding domestic organizations operating overseas. In short, what we attempted to do was to divest the INC. of foreign control, set it up as an American-controlled organization, and give it the function of controlling American funds intended for use overseas.

The CHAIRMAN. So the INC., in effect became the Jewish Agency—American Section: is that correct?

Mr. HAMMER. I hesitate to use the term "American Section." It was not the American Section. It was an independent organization, allocating American money for such programs overseas as it deemed worthy and necessary, and simply used the facilities of the Jerusalem Agency to implement this program for reasons of economy and efficiency.

The CHAIRMAN. Was this American Section a member of INC.?

Mr. HAMMER. Yes, sir; I have so stated, that the American Section—there are two members: One is the United Israel Appeal, with a weight of two-thirds of the board, or 14; and the American Section, with a weight of one-third, or 7.

(See appendix 1, p. 1397, Item 2.)

UNITED ISRAEL APPEAL (UIA)

The CHAIRMAN. I see.

Now, the United Israel Appeal, Inc., is also a New York membership corporation?

Mr. HAMMER. Yes, sir; that is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you hold, or have you held, any positions with the United Israel Appeal, Inc.?

Mr. HAMMER. I am secretary of the United Israel Appeal, Inc.

The CHAIRMAN. How long have you been secretary?

Mr. HAMMER. I daresay 6 or 7 years.

The CHAIRMAN. And it is also a corporation?

Mr. HAMMER. It is also a membership corporation.

The CHAIRMAN. Who are the members of the United Israel Appeal, Inc.?

Mr. HAMMER. There are 120 Americans from various communities throughout the United States.

The CHAIRMAN. Are these private individuals?

Mr. HAMMER. Private individuals.

The CHAIRMAN. Are they members of the board of directors?

Mr. HAMMER. Most of them are members of the board of directors. I would say that they coincide, the list coincides.

The CHAIRMAN. A hundred how many?

Mr. HAMMER. 120.

Mr. BOCKSTEIN. Mr. Chairman, so that the record will be absolutely correct, it is a legal fact which I would like to be helpful with.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. BOCKSTEIN. The membership of the UIA is, as Mr. Hammer stated, I believe, 120. The board consists of the same 120 people, and a number of people, 10 or 15, elected at large by the 110 from all over the United States.

The CHAIRMAN. Wait a minute, you said 120 first.

Mr. BOUCKSTEIN. 120, I do not remember exactly the number.

The CHAIRMAN. Approximately?

Mr. BOUCKSTEIN. Yes, I wanted to add the fact that these 120 elect additional 15 at large.

The CHAIRMAN. As members?

Mr. BOUCKSTEIN. As members.

The CHAIRMAN. Do they have a smaller board, an executive committee?

Mr. HAMMER. There is a smaller executive committee.

The CHAIRMAN. Of how many?

Mr. HAMMER. I would say the smaller executive committee is probably 35 or 40, approximately. I am not certain of the exact number.

The CHAIRMAN. Who are the officers?

Mr. HAMMER. The chairman, the national chairman, of the United Israel Appeal is Mr. Dewey D. Stone, of Boston. The chairman of the board is Mr. William H. Sylk, of Philadelphia, and then there are other officers, various vice presidents and treasurers.

I can supply a detailed list of officers later, if you so desire, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. I think we ought to have it if we are to get this straight.

Mr. HAMMER. I would be very happy to furnish it.

(See appendix 1, p. 1399, Item 4.)

The CHAIRMAN. And I asked you, I believe you said you would provide a copy of the bylaws of the United Israel Appeal?

Mr. HAMMER. Prior to 1960.

(See appendix 1, p. 1400, Item 5.)

RELATION OF PALESTINE FOUNDATION FUND TO UIA

The CHAIRMAN. What relation does the Palestine Foundation Fund, Inc., have to the United Israel Appeal, Inc., if any?

Mr. HAMMER. Perhaps it would appear clearer if I were permitted to state that the first organization to appear on the scene was the Palestine Foundation Fund, and that was in 1921. It was organized as the fundraising arm of the Jewish Agency for Palestine.

In 1927, it was found that there were two competing organizations attempting to raise money for the Jews in Palestine: One was the Palestine Foundation Fund, and the other was the Jewish National Fund. For the sake of expediency, the two were combined for fundraising purposes under an organization called the United Palestine Appeal, which name was later changed to the United Israel Appeal, about which you have just been asking me questions.

That was in 1927.

For many years, the United Israel Appeal, previously known as the United Palestine Appeal, raised funds.

Then, in 1938, it was found that Jewish needs overseas had grown tremendously as a result of the Nazi excesses, and the United Jewish Appeal was established in order to raise money for the United Israel Appeal and the American-Jewish Joint Distribution Committee, so that you have an active fundraising organization called the United Jewish Appeal. I say today. This is the body which raises the money.

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The United Israel Appeal is a standby organization in the sense that it is not very active, because its fundraising job is being done by the United Jewish Appeal, and then you have the old Palestine Foundation Fund, which has not functioned for many, many years, other than to merely serve as a transmission of funds.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, the Palestine Foundation Fund is a member of the United Israel Appeal, Inc.?

Mr. HAMMER. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Does it control the United Israel Appeal, Inc.?

Mr. HAMMER. If I may, I would like to refresh my memory.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes. Ask your lawyer.

Mr. HAMMER. Mr. Chairman, this has gone through a number of metamorphoses; at one time it did. Then at another time there were two members who controlled the United Israel Appeal: It was the Palestine Foundation Fund and the Jewish National Fund. In 1951, the Jewish National Fund was separated out from this arrangement. At that time there were other changes made in the corporate structure.

I would ask your indulgence, sir, if I may refresh my memory, check these facts, and then submit for the record the present status of the corporate control of United Israel Appeal.

The CHAIRMAN. That would be reflected in the bylaws, would it not?

Mr. HAMMER. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. If you supply the bylaws of these corporations?

Mr. HAMMER. Yes, sir.

(See appendix 1, p. 1401, Item 6.)

The CHAIRMAN. Were you an officer in the Palestine Foundation Fund, Inc.?

Mr. HAMMER. I am associate treasurer of the Palestine Foundation Fund.

The CHAIRMAN. Were you, during this period prior to 1960?

Mr. HAMMER. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Associate what?

Mr. HAMMER. Associate treasurer.

The CHAIRMAN. Throughout that period, or most of it?

Mr. HAMMER. Most of that period, I would say.

The CHAIRMAN. The Senator from Missouri.

BALFOUR DECLARATION OF 1917

Senator SYMINGTON. Would you describe the Balfour Declaration, and what year?

Mr. HAMMER. The Balfour Declaration.

Senator SYMINGTON. The Balfour Declaration.

Mr. HAMMER. It was issued in 1917. It represented a statement on behalf of the British Government by its then Foreign Secretary to Lord Rothschild on behalf of the Jewish community in which Mr. Balfour

Senator SYMINGTON. Lord Rothschild was representing the—

Mr. HAMMER. He was head of the Zionists. Lord Balfour informed the Jewish community that it was the sense of the British Government that they would expedite the establishment of a Jewish national home in Palestine at the earliest opportunity.