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Israel Bonds, London, 1963.

THE JOINT PALESTINE APPEAL

London, England

March - 1963

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver

I HAVE BEEN PRIVILEGED TO VISIT YOUR COUNTRY SEVERAL TIMES, AND ON AT LEAST THREE OCCASIONS ON SOME ZIONIST MISSION. THE FIRST OF THESE WAS BACK IN JULY, 1920, MORE THAN FORTY YEARS AGO. I CAME AS AN AMERICAN DELEGATE TO THE FIRST WORLD-WIDE ZIONIST CONFERENCE WHICH WAS HELD IN LONDON AFTER THE FIRST WORLD WAR. THE HEADQUARTERS OF THE MOVEMENT HAD BEEN ESTABLISHED IN YOUR CITY. THE ZIONISTS OF THE WORLD HAD BY THEN NOT MET IN SEVEN YEARS. MUCH HAD HAPPENED TO OUR PEOPLE AND TO OUR MOVEMENT DURING THOSE YEARS. JEWISH COMMUNITIES IN EASTERN EUROPE HAD BEEN SWEEPED WITH THE BESOM OF DESTRUCTION BY THE WAR AND ITS AFTERMATH AND BY THE DEVASTATIONS WHICH WERE CAUSED BY THE BOLSHEVIK REVOLUTION AND THE CIVIL WAR WHICH FOLLOWED IT. THOSE WERE THE DAYS OF KOLCHAK, DENIKIN AND PETLIURA, OF POGROMS, FLIGHTS AND TERROR.

OUR ZIONIST MOVEMENT HAD SUFFERED DISRUPTION IN SEVERAL COUNTRIES AS A RESULT OF THE WAR. CHANNELS OF COMMUNICATION HAD BEEN CLOSED. ACTIVITIES IN PALESTINE HAD, OF NECESSITY, BEEN DRASTICALLY CURTAILED. THERE WAS ONE BRIGHT SPOT, HOWEVER, ONE POSITIVE AND HISTORIC ACHIEVEMENT FOR WHICH THE WAR WAS RESPONSIBLE -- THE BALFOUR DECLARATION.

WHEN THE ZIONISTS MET HERE IN 1920, THE WAR WAS OVER, THE ALLIES HAD TRIUMPHED, AND THE PROMISES OF THE BALFOUR

DECLARATION LOOMED LARGE AND HOPEFUL ~~IN~~ IN OUR DELIBERATIONS. IT WAS A TIME OF GREAT EXPECTATIONS FOR OUR MOVEMENT. BUT THE DARK SHADOWS OF THE TRAGIC PLIGHT OF EAST EUROPEAN JEWRY AND THEIR UNCERTAIN FATE WERE ALSO PRESENT.

I RECALL THE GREAT MEETING WHICH WAS HELD DURING THE CONFERENCE IN ALBERT HALL. THE GIANTS OF OUR MOVEMENT WERE THERE ON THE PLATFORM -- WEIZMANN, NORDAU, SOKOLOW, USSHISHKIN, BRANDEIS, AS WELL AS LORD BALFOUR AND LORD ROBERT CECIL. I WAS THE YOUNGEST MAN ON THE PROGRAM, AND I SPOKE FOR THE AMERICAN ZIONIST DELEGATION. FOR THE THOUSANDS WHO WERE IN ATTENDANCE, THIS MEETING WAS AN UNFORGETTABLE EXPERIENCE.

THAT GREAT ASSEMBLY WAS BY WAY OF A MUSTERING OF OUR SCATTERED FORCES, A RECONNAISSANCE OF OUR STRENGTH. ITS DOMINANT MOOD WAS THAT OF A SOLEMN RENEWAL OF A COVENANT, A REDEDICATION TO AN UNDEFEATED IDEAL. WE WERE ALSO DEMONSTRATING TO THE WORLD OUR FIRM RESOLVE TO CARRY ON.

THE SECOND OF MY VISITS TO YOUR COUNTRY WAS AT THE INVITATION OF DR. WEIZMANN IN THE SPRING OF 1942. I CAME HERE TO PARTICIPATE IN YOUR UNITED PALESTINE APPEAL CAMPAIGN OF THAT YEAR. I, MYSELF, WAS THEN HEAD OF THE UNITED PALESTINE APPEAL IN THE UNITED STATES. IT WAS A VERY DISTRESSING TIME FOR ENGLAND. IT HAD QUITE RECENTLY RECEIVED STAGGERING BLOWS IN THE FAR EAST. THE WOUNDS OF MALAY, SINGAPORE, RANGOON, JAVA AND BURMA WERE STILL FRESH. THE ENEMY WAS KNOCKING AT THE GATES OF INDIA AND

THREATENING AN INVASION OF AUSTRALIA. THOSE WERE TERRIBLE DAYS ALSO FOR OUR PEOPLE AND TRYING DAYS FOR OUR MOVEMENT. WHILE THE EXTENT OF OUR PEOPLE'S TRAGEDY AT THE HANDS OF THE NAZIS WAS AS YET NOT FULLY KNOWN, WE KNEW ENOUGH OF THEIR PLANNED EXTERMINATION OF EUROPEAN JEWRY TO BE FILLED WITH HORROR. OUR MOVEMENT WAS CAUGHT ON THE HORNS OF A TERRIBLE DILEMMA. ZIONISTS EVERYWHERE WERE, OF COURSE, SOLIDLY BEHIND GREAT BRITAIN AND HER ALLIES IN THE WAR AGAINST THE NAZIS, THE COMMON ENEMY AND THE ENEMIES OF CIVILIZATION. BUT OUR MOVEMENT WAS COMPELLED TO RESIST GREAT BRITAIN IN PALESTINE BECAUSE, AS THE MANDATORY GOVERNMENT, IT HAD SHUT THE DOORS OF PALESTINE AGAINST THE HOSTS OF OUR REFUGEES WHO WERE DESPERATELY SEEKING ASYLUM THERE FROM HITLER'S CONCENTRATION CAMPS AND GAS CHAMBERS. PALESTINE JEWS WERE LOYALLY FIGHTING IN THE ARMIES OF GREAT BRITAIN, BUT THE HAGANAH AND THE IRGUN, EACH IN ITS OWN WAY, HAD TO RESIST GREAT BRITAIN IN PALESTINE IN ORDER TO SAVE THE HAP- LESS REMNANTS OF OUR PEOPLE FROM EXTERMINATION.

THOSE WERE THE DARK DAYS OF THE WHITE PAPER. I ARRIVED IN LONDON JUST TEN DAYS AFTER THE SINKING OF THE "STRUMA" -- THE SHIP WHICH CARRIED SEVEN HUNDRED JEWISH REFUGEES. IT HAD BEEN TURNED BACK FROM PALESTINE, AND HAD PERISHED IN THE BLACK SEA.

I EXPECTED TO FIND THE WAR-BESET AND SORELY TROUBLED JEWISH COMMUNITY OF GREAT BRITAIN DISTRAUGHT, AND AS FAR AS

ZIONIST ACTIVITIES WERE CONCERNED, ALL BUT PARALYZED. BUT, TO MY GREAT SURPRISE, I FOUND IT UNSHAKEN IN ITS LOYALTY TO THE ZIONIST IDEAL, FIRM IN ITS RESOLVE AND GENEROUS IN ITS RESPONSE. I VISITED TEN OF YOUR CITIES, SOME OF THEM RECENTLY BLITZED AND BADLY DONE UP. THE NIGHTS WERE MADE DARKER BY THE UNIVERSAL BLACK-OUT. BESIDES LONDON, I VISITED MANCHESTER, LEEDS, LIVERPOOL, BIRMINGHAM, GLASGOW, AND OTHER CITIES. EVERYWHERE I RECEIVED THE SAME IMPRESSION AND THE SAME WARM RESPONSE. I LEFT YOUR SHORES HEARTENED BY WHAT I SAW AND UPON MY RETURN TO THE UNITED STATES, I CONVEYED TO MY FELLOW-JEWS THERE THE INSPIRING IMPRESSIONS OF COURAGE, PERSEVERANCE AND LOYALTY WHICH I FOUND HERE.

THREE YEARS LATER I WAS BACK AGAIN IN ENGLAND. THIS TIME TO ATTEND THE ZIONIST GENERAL COUNCIL WHICH ASSEMBLED IN LONDON IN AUGUST, 1945. IT WAS THE FIRST TIME THAT THE ZIONIST GOVERNING BODY HAD MET SINCE THE LAST ZIONIST CONGRESS WHICH HAD BEEN HELD IN GENEVA IN 1939. THE SECOND WORLD WAR WAS NOW OVER. THE FULL STORY OF THE DISASTER WHICH THE WAR BROUGHT UPON EUROPEAN JEWRY WAS NOW FAIRLY WELL KNOWN -- THE STORY OF THE SIX MILLION WHO PERISHED, THE STORY OF MAIDANEK, TREBLINCKA AND AUSCHWITZ. THE FULL STORY, TOO, OF THE GRIM BATTLE WHICH WAS BEING WAGED BY THE JEWS OF PALESTINE AGAINST THE MANDATORY POWER COULD NOW ALSO BE TOLD. EMOTIONS AMONG THE DELEGATES RAN HIGH. THE PENT-UP BITTERNESS AND RESENTMENT OF THE WAR

YEARS NOW FOUND VENT IN DENUNCIATION NOT ONLY OF THE MANDATORY POWER AND ITS DISASTROUS POLICY OF THE WHITE PAPER, BUT ALSO OF THE OFFICIAL LEADERS OF OUR OWN ZIONIST MOVEMENT AND WHAT MANY CHARACTERIZED AS THEIR POLICY OF EXCESSIVE PATIENCE AND RESTRAINT. THE ISSUES WERE SHARPLY DRAWN, MODERATION VERSUS MILITANCY, REFUGEEISM VERSUS STATEHOOD, ONE HUNDRED THOUSAND CERTIFICATES VERSUS A JEWISH COMMONWEALTH. MANY DELEGATES FELT THAT IT WAS NOW OR NEVER. THE HOUR OF DECISION WAS FAST APPROACHING. A POINT HAD BEEN REACHED -- THE CRITICAL CROSS-ROAD IN OUR HISTORY-- WHERE OUR PEOPLE HAD TO THROW EVERYTHING IT HAD, ALL OF ITS FORCES, ALL OF ITS RESERVES INTO THE GREAT BATTLE. THEY HAD NOTHING TO LOSE NOW BUT THEIR ILLUSIONS.

ONE BRIGHT NOTE OF HOPE WAS SOUNDED AT THIS CONFERENCE. A SUDDEN CHANGE HAD COME ABOUT IN THE GOVERNMENT OF GREAT BRITAIN. THE LABOR PARTY HAD COME INTO POWER -- A PARTY WHICH HAD CONSISTENTLY FAVORED THE ZIONIST PROGRAM AND HAD EXPRESSED ITS OFFICIAL OPPOSITION TO THE WHITE PAPER. THIS NEW GOVERNMENT, IT WAS BELIEVED BY MANY, WOULD NOW SURELY REVERSE THE HOSTILE AND DISASTROUS TREND OF THE PAST YEARS. A NEW ERA WOULD BE INAUGURATED. THE DOORS OF PALESTINE WOULD NOW ~~BE OPENED~~ BE OPENED AND THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE JEWISH STATE WOULD PROCEED APACE.

THIS, AS YOU KNOW, WAS NOT TO BE. AN EVEN DARKER AND MORE DANGEROUS TIME FOR OUR MOVEMENT SET IN. THE LABOR GOVERNMENT

SHOCKINGLY REVERSED ITSELF. A PERIOD OF INTENSIFIED CONFLICT, VIOLENCE AND BLOODSHED IN PALESTINE QUICKLY FOLLOWED. UNABLE TO COPE WITH THE SITUATION ANY LONGER, THE MANDATORY GOVERN-
MENT FINALLY DECIDED TO PUT THE PALESTINE ISSUE IN THE LAP OF THE UNITED NATIONS. THE POLITICAL BATTLE-GROUND NOW SHIFTED FROM LONDON TO WASHINGTON AND FLUSHING MEADOWS. THE LARGE AND INFLUENTIAL AMERICAN JEWISH COMMUNITY MOBILIZED ITSELF ALMOST TO A MAN FOR THE CULMINATING POLITICAL EFFORT. THERE FOLLOWED THE DRAMATIC TRIUMPH OF OUR CAUSE IN THE UNITED NATIONS ON NOVEMBER 29, 1947, AND THE PROCLAMATION OF THE STATE OF ISRAEL ON MAY 14, 1948.

AND NOW IN 1963, I AM IN YOUR MIDST AGAIN, AND ON BEHALF OF THE SAME CAUSE WHICH BROUGHT ME TO YOU TWENTY YEARS AGO AND FORTY YEARS AGO, BUT, WHEREAS IN THOSE YEARS THERE WAS ONLY THE HOPE OF PALESTINE TO SUMMON AND CHALLENGE US, TODAY THERE IS THE REALITY OF THE STATE OF ISRAEL. THROUGH ALL THOSE HARD YEARS OF STRUGGLE, FRUSTRATION AND UNCERTAINTY, WE WITNESSED WHAT OUR CABALISTS MIGHT HAVE CALLED A SERIES OF EVOLVING WORLD^S OF EMANATION, WHICH AT LONG LAST LED TO THE FINAL STAGE, TO THE WORLD OF "ASIAH", THE WORLD OF FULFILLMENT, REALIZATION AND ACTION WHICH WE BEHOLD TODAY.

THROUGHOUT THOSE YEARS, THE ZIONIST IDEAL REMAINED STRONG AND CONSTANT AMONG YOU. UNDER ALL CHANGING CIRCUMSTANCES YOUR LOYALTY AND ZEAL WERE UNFLAGGING. YOU GAVE OUR MOVEMENT

UNFORGETTABLE LEADERS AND FOREMOST AMONG THEM, DR. CHAIM WEIZMANN. EVEN WHEN ONE WAS CONSTRAINED TO DIFFER WITH YOUR LEADERS ON TACTICS AND STRATEGY, ONE NEVER QUESTIONED THEIR SINCERITY AND DEDICATION. YOU ALSO GAVE OUR MOVEMENT UNWEARIED VIGILANCE AND GENEROUS FINANCIAL SUPPORT. WHEN THE OCCASION DEMANDED IT, YOU DID NOT HESITATE EVEN TO CHALLENGE YOUR OWN GOVERNMENT IN BEHALF OF WHAT YOU BELIEVED TO BE THE JUSTICE OF OUR CAUSE. THE JEWS OF GREAT BRITAIN HAVE WRITTEN A PROUD AND NOBLE CHAPTER IN THE HISTORY OF OUR PEOPLE AND OUR TIMES.

IT IS NOW FIFTEEN YEARS SINCE WE MOVED INTO THE ORBIT OF THE "ASIYAH" WORLD. THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE STATE OF ISRAEL IN 1948, AFTER NEARLY TWO THOUSAND YEARS OF NATIONAL HOMELESSNESS, MARKED A DECISIVE BREAK-THROUGH IN JEWISH HISTORY -- THE TREMENDOUS CONSEQUENCES OF WHICH ONLY THE FUTURE WILL FULLY REVEAL. BUT IT IS CLEAR, EVEN NOW, THAT A NEW DAY HAS BEGUN FOR OUR PEOPLE. THE GALUT HAS COME TO AN END AND WITH IT MUCH OF THE SPIRITUAL AND PSYCHIC EVILS WHICH ATTENDED IT. AN INNER REVOLUTION HAS TAKEN PLACE IN THE LIVES OF OUR PEOPLE EVERYWHERE -- A NEW OUTLOOK, NEW ATTITUDES, A REDISCOVERED DIGNITY, A REBORN PRIDE.

THESE FIFTEEN YEARS HAVE BEEN TREMENDOUS YEARS FOR OUR PEOPLE IN ISRAEL, GLORIOUS IN PLANNING, IN ACHIEVEMENT, IN DEFENSE. NO AGE IN JEWISH HISTORY IS QUITE COMPARABLE TO IT.

SO MANY FEARS HAVE BEEN PROVED GROUNDLESS, SO MANY HOPES HAVE BEEN EXCEEDED, SO MANY MYTHS HAVE BEEN EXPLODED.

THESE FIFTEEN YEARS HAVE BEEN YEARS OF TESTING. WE ^{HAD} WRESTED FROM A RELUCTANT WORLD THE RIGHT TO BECOME ONCE AGAIN A FREE AND SOVEREIGN PEOPLE IN ITS OWN HOME. NOW IT WAS UP TO US TO DEMONSTRATE OUR TALENT AND ENDOWMENTS FOR THE ROLE IN WHICH WE WERE NOW CAST. THE WORLD AND WE, OURSELVES, WAITED TO SEE WHETHER THE JEWISH PEOPLE POSSESSED THE CAPACITY, THE COURAGE, THE PERSEVERANCE WHICH ARE REQUISITE FOR THE BUILDING OF A STATE. THROUGH THESE YEARS, THE WORLD AND WE, OURSELVES, WITNESSED WITH MOUNTING WONDER AND ADMIRATION AN UNFOLDING DRAMA OF A PEOPLE'S INGATHERING AND OF NATIONAL RECONSTRUCTION SUCH AS MANKIND HAD SELDOM, IF EVER, WITNESSED. DURING THESE YEARS ISRAEL HAS MADE GOOD, AND IN A BREATH-TAKING WAY, ON LAND, ON SEA AND IN THE AIR, IN CITY, TOWN AND VILLAGE. IN SWAMP AND WILDERNESS, IN SCHOOLS AND ACADEMIES, IN SOCIAL SERVICES, IN THE REVIVAL OF A LANGUAGE AND A LITERATURE. ISRAEL HAS ALSO MADE GOOD ON THE BATTLE-FIELD, TO THE AMAZEMENT OF ITS FRIENDS AND THE CONFOUNDING OF ITS ENEMIES.

MANY PROBLEMS STILL REMAIN -- SOME OF THEM VERY GRAVE ONES INDEED. BUT THEY ARE OF AN ALTOGETHER DIFFERENT NATURE FROM THOSE OF FORMER TIMES. THEY ARE NO LONGER THE DESPERATE PROBLEMS WHICH FLOWED OUT OF OUR CONDITION OF NATIONAL HOMELESSNESS AND STATELESSNESS. RATHER ARE THEY THE CONCRETE PROBLEMS OF DEVELOPING, DEFENDING AND MAKING PROSPEROUS A

NATIONAL HOMELAND WHICH IS ALREADY IN EXISTENCE. WE CAN PROCEED TO SOLVE THESE PROBLEMS, ONE BY ONE, WITH DELIBERATENESS AND HOPEFULLY, NOW THAT THE MAJOR PROBLEM HAS BEEN SOLVED. WE CAN NOW OPERATE FROM A POSITION OF INDEPENDENT STRENGTH AND ALSO AS A MEMBER OF A SOCIETY OF NATIONS.

IT IS THE NEED TO SOLVE SOME OF THESE CONCRETE PROBLEMS OF THE STATE OF ISRAEL'S DEVELOPMENT, DEFENSE AND ECONOMIC STABILITY THAT BRINGS ME HERE IN THE HOPE OF ASSISTING IN THE CAMPAIGN FOR THE J. P. A., WHICH YOU HAVE LAUNCHED.

MY DEAR FRIENDS: WHENEVER I ATTEND AN OCCASION SUCH AS THIS, WHETHER IN YOUR COUNTRY OR MINE, I AM MOVED TO MARVEL AT CERTAIN QUALITIES IN OUR PEOPLE'S CHARACTER WHICH SUCH OCCASIONS MAKE MANIFEST. I HAVE LIVED AND WORKED AMONG JEWS, AS YOU MAY WELL IMAGINE, FOR A LONG TIME. I HAVE SEEN THEM AT CLOSE RANGE, BOTH IN MUFTI AND ON DRESS PARADE.

THERE ARE TIMES, I MUST CONFESS, WHEN THEY BAFFLE AND TROUBLE ME. THERE ARE OCCASIONS WHEN I FIND MYSELF ENTERTAINING SOME UNHAPPY THOUGHTS ABOUT THEM -- THOUGHTS WHICH, FORTUNATELY, I QUICKLY DISCARD. FOR NO ONE CAN SERVE HIS PEOPLE WHO DOES NOT LOVE THEM EVEN IN THEIR IMPERFECTIONS.

BUT MY CONFIDENCE AND PRIDE ARE ALWAYS RENEWED WHEN I SEE THEM ENGAGED IN ACTS OF GROUP LOYALTY SUCH AS YOU ARE ENGAGED IN THIS EVENING. THESE ACTS REVEAL TO ME A VERY PRECIOUS QUALITY IN OUR PEOPLE'S CHARACTER.

THE ORGANIZED AND LONG-CONTINUING RESPONSE ON THE PART OF OUR PEOPLE TO THE NEEDS OF THEIR FELLOW-JEWS ALL OVER THE WORLD AND IN ISRAEL IS WHAT FILLS ME WITH ADMIRATION. IT IS ALL SO VOLUNTARY! THERE IS NO COMPULSION OF ANY KIND! THERE IS NO ONE WITH ANY AUTHORITY TO IMPOSE A TAX! THE ONLY DICTATION COMES FROM THE HEARTS OF MEN AND WOMEN WHO APPRECIATE THE PRIVILEGE OF BEING NEEDED AND WHO ARE AWARE OF THEIR HISTORIC RESPONSIBILITY.

AGAIN, THIS VOLUNTARY GIVING OF TIME, THOUGHT AND SUBSTANCE TO A NOBLE CAUSE HAS BEEN AND IS A MASS ENTERPRISE. IT IS NOT THE EXCLUSIVE PROJECT OF A FEW WEALTHY PHILANTHROPISTS. OUR ZIONIST CAUSE WAS NEVER THAT. THE COLLECTIVE SOUL OF OUR PEOPLE MOVED INTO ACTION, AND LEADERS WERE NOT WANTING TO DIRECT AND INSPIRE IT. IN ANCIENT DAYS, TOO, THE SANCTUARY WHICH OUR PEOPLE BUILT IN THE WILDERNESS ON THEIR WAY TO THE PROMISED LAND WAS SIMILARLY BUILT, WE ARE TOLD, OUT OF THE FREE-WILL OFFERINGS OF EVERY MAN AND WOMAN AMONG THE PEOPLE WHOSE HEART WAS WILLING. IT IS INDEED A TIME-HONORED TRADITION OF OUR PEOPLE, BUT I MARVEL THAT IT STILL MANIFESTS ITSELF ON SO LARGE A SCALE AND SO LATE IN OUR HISTORY, AFTER SO MANY ALIEN FORCES HAD BEEN WHITTLED AWAY AT OUR TRADITIONAL STANDARDS AND OUR WAY OF LIFE.

THIS STRONG BOND OF GROUP SOLIDARITY AND RESPONSIVENESS WHICH OUR PEOPLE MANIFESTED TIME AND AGAIN IN THE PAST, AND

WHICH PROVED SO DECISIVE A FACTOR IN OUR ZIONIST TRIUMPH, MUST AND, I AM SURE, WILL STAND US IN GOOD STEAD IN THE ON-COMING YEARS. AND THERE WILL BE MUCH NEED FOR IT. THE DAYS IMMEDIATELY AHEAD OF US ARE NOT LIKELY TO BE CHARACTERIZED BY THAT QUIET AND SECURITY WHICH WE WOULD WISH FOR OUR PEOPLE EVERYWHERE.

LET US BEAR IN MIND THAT THESE ARE DANGEROUS, ERUPTIVE AND UN-PREDICTABLE TIMES FOR ALL PEOPLES. THEY ARE LIKELY TO CONTINUE SO FOR SOME TIME. PASSIONS ARE RUNNING HIGH IN OUR WORLD. DARK TIDES ARE SWEEPING ALL AROUND US. HATES AND FEARS ARE BEING STIRRED UP. PREJUDICE IS STILL A FORMIDABLE WEAPON IN THE HANDS OF UNSCRUPULOUS POLITICAL ADVENTURERS, OF MEN WHO FAN THE DESTROYING WINDS AND FILL THE QUIVERS OF HATE. WE ALL PRAYERFULLY HOPE THAT THE FORCES OF REASON WILL COME TO PREVAIL, AND THAT THE DESPERATE EFFORTS OF NATIONS TO PRESERVE PEACE WILL SUCCEED. BUT IN THE MEANTIME, THE COLD WAR IS BEARING DOWN MOST HEAVILY UPON OUR DEFENCELESS PEOPLE IN MANY PARTS OF THE WORLD. IN NORTH AFRICA, IN THE MIDDLE EAST AND IN LATIN-AMERICA, OUR PEOPLE ARE ITS PRINCIPAL VICTIMS, AND EVEN IN THE FREE COUNTRIES OF THE WEST, THE CONFLICT WITH COMMUNISM IS EXPLOITED BY GROUPS OF NEO-NAZIS AS AN EXCUSE TO WAGE WAR UPON OUR PEOPLE. UNSETTLED TIMES ARE ESPECIALLY DANGEROUS FOR MINORITY GROUPS, AND EVEN MORE SO FOR THE JEWISH GROUP, WHICH HISTORICALLY HAS SUFFERED MOST IN PERIODS OF SOCIAL, POLITICAL OR ECONOMIC UNREST. BECAUSE JEWS ARE NEARLY EVERYWHERE, THEY ARE ALWAYS IN THE CENTER OF WORLD EVENTS, AND, AS THE RABBIS PUT IT, IN COMMENTING UPON THE FATE

OF OUR PEOPLE AT SUCH TIMES, "WHEN THE STONE FALLS UPON THE VESSEL, THE VESSEL IS BROKEN, AND WHEN THE VESSEL FALLS UPON THE STONE, IT IS THE VESSEL AGAIN WHICH IS BROKEN."

IN SUCH TIMES -- AND THESE ARE SUCH TIMES -- OUR ONLY SALVATION AS A PEOPLE LIES IN SOLIDARITY, IN CLOSING RANKS, IN STRENGTHENING OUR DEFENCES. WE DARE NOT RELAX OUR ALERTNESS, WE DARE NOT BE TARDY IN RUSHING AID, ECONOMIC OR POLITICAL, TO ANY HARD-PRESSED SECTOR OF OUR PEOPLE ANYWHERE. WE MUST RE-ENFORCE EVERY THREATENED SEGMENT OF OUR FAR-FLUNG LINE. THIS HAS BEEN OUR STRATEGY OF SURVIVAL IN THE PAST. IT MUST BE CONTINUE TO BE SO IN THE FUTURE, A FUTURE WHOSE REMOTE HORIZONS NO ONE CAN GLIMPSE.

THERE ARE JEWS TODAY WHO LIVE IN LANDS OF TYRANNY AND VIOLENT DISORDER, WHOSE BREAD IS THE BREAD OF TEARS AND WHOSE WATER IS THE WATER OF BITTERNESS.

MANY OF THESE JEWS ARE ABANDONING THESE LANDS OF INTOLERABLE CONDITIONS AND DARK PROSPECTS. MANY OF THEM ARE COMING TO ISRAEL IN THE HOPE OF FINDING THERE THE PEACE AND THE DIGNITY WHICH THE WORLD DENIED THEM. IN THE LAST FIFTEEN YEARS, THE YOUNG STATE WELCOMED OVER A MILLION SUCH IMMIGRANTS FROM ALL PARTS OF THE WORLD. ISRAEL, WHICH IS, AS YOU WELL KNOW, A VERY SMALL STATE, HAS EXERTED ITSELF TO THE UTMOST TO ABSORB THESE NEWCOMERS, MOST OF THEM PENNILESS, _____

MANY OF THEM WITHOUT SKILLS OR VOCATIONS, SOME AGED AND INFIRM, TO REBUILD THEIR LIVES AND TO BECOME INTEGRATED INTO THE ECONOMY OF THE PIONEERING COUNTRY. FROM ALL ACCOUNTS, AN INCOMPARABLY FINE JOB HAS BEEN DONE BY THE YOUNG STATE IN MEETING THE ENORMOUS PROBLEMS WITH WHICH THIS IMMIGRATION TAXED IT, THANKS TO THE IMAGINATION, DEDICATION AND ENTERPRISE OF ITS LEADERS AND PEOPLE.

ISRAEL HAS ACCOMPLISHED SO MUCH, INCREDIBLY SO MUCH! BY ITS FAITHFUL ALLEGIANCE TO THE FREE WORLD, THE DEVELOPMENT OF ITS EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM AND ITS INSTITUTIONS OF HIGHER LEARNING, ITS ADVANCED SOCIAL LEGISLATION, THE AID WHICH IT HAS EXTENDED TO THE NEWLY EMERGENT STATES OF AFRICA AND ASIA, AND THE MAINTENANCE OF PEACE, IN THE FACE OF BOYCOTT, BLOCKADE AND THE CONTRIVANCES OF ITS UNRECONCILED NEIGHBORS, IT HAS REVEALED TO THE WORLD THE GROUND-TONE OF ITS CHOSEN WAY OF LIFE, ITS FUNDAMENTAL PURPOSES AND DOMINANT INTERESTS AS A NATION. ALL THIS, WHICH IS IN SUCH COMPLETE ACCORD WITH THE NOBLE TRADITIONS OF OUR PEOPLE, HAS FILLED US WITH INESTIMABLE PRIDE. IT HAS BEEN FOR US A RARER GIFT THAN THE GOLD WHICH WE HAVE GIVEN TO MAKE ITS FOUNDATIONS STRONG. OUR CHILDREN HAVE RE-DISCOVERED THE PRIDE OF THEIR HERITAGE, AND HONOR HAS COME BACK TO DWELL IN THEIR HEARTS. EVERYONE WHO HAS HAD A HAND IN HELPING TO BRING ISRAEL INTO BEING, AND TO ASSIST IN ITS GROWTH -- AS YOU HAVE ASSISTED THROUGH THE ^{JOINT} ~~PALESTINE~~ PALESTINE APPEAL -- MAY FEEL PROUD AND GRATEFUL AND DEEPLY SATISFIED.

BUT ISRAEL KNOWS THAT ITS HISTORIC TASK IS FAR FROM BEING OVER --
AND WE KNOW THAT OUR TASK IS FAR FROM BEING OVER.

GREAT DEMANDS HAVE BEEN MADE UPON US IN THIS GENERATION,
THE MOST MOMENTOUS IN JEWISH HISTORY, WHICH GAVE US THE SECOND
WORLD WAR, HITLER, AND THE RE-BIRTH OF ISRAEL -- A CUP OF
STAGGERING AND A CUP OF SALVATION. IT HAS BEEN A TIME WHEN THE
LIGHT WAS NEVER DIVIDED FROM THE DARKNESS. WE SAW OUR PEOPLE
IN TWO KINDS OF CAMPS -- THE CONCENTRATION CAMPS OF TORTURE AND
DEATH, AND THE MAHABAROT, THE TEMPORARY CAMPS IN ISRAEL,
THE GATEWAY TO NEW LIFE AND FREEDOM. IN ONE PART OF THE WORLD
WE WATCHED THE HOMES AND TOWNS AND ALL THAT OUR PEOPLE HAD
BUILT IN A THOUSAND YEARS CONSUMED BY FIRE AND SWORD AND LAID
WASTE IN RUINS. IN ANOTHER PART OF THE WORLD WE WATCHED THE
RUINS OF A THOUSAND YEARS BEING RE-BUILT, AND WHAT HAD BEEN
WASTED AND RAVAGED BEING RECLAIMED BY THE TOIL AND LABOR OF
OUR PEOPLE. NO SUCH APOCALYPTIC HORRORS WERE EVER VISITED
UPON ANY GENERATION OF OUR PEOPLE, AND SELDOM HAS SUCH
MESSIANIC GLORY SHOWN UPON ANY GENERATION FROM THE SHADOW
OF DEATH, LIGHT WAS BROUGHT FORTH. THE GRAVES WERE MANY.
THERE WERE MILLIONS OF OUR MARTYRED DEAD. BUT AN ANCIENT
PROPHECY WAS ALSO FULFILLED: "BEHOLD, I WILL OPEN YOUR GRAVES,
AND CAUSE YOU TO COME UP OUT OF YOUR GRAVES, O MY PEOPLE; AND
I WILL BRING YOU INTO THE LAND OF ISRAEL."

THE DAYS TO COME WILL CONTINUE TO MAKE GREAT DEMANDS UPON OUR LOYALTY AND PERSEVERANCE, BOTH ON ISRAEL'S PART AND ON OURS. ISRAEL WILL NOT BE ABLE TO ESCAPE THE POLITICAL TENSIONS AND PRESSURES OF THE WORLD OF WHICH IT IS A PART. GRAVE, UNSOLVED PROBLEMS -- INTERNAL AND EXTERNAL -- STILL REMAIN. DANGER LURKS UPON ITS BORDERS, AMONG ITS TURBULENT NEIGHBORS.

THERE IS MUCH WORK STILL TO BE DONE! ISRAEL MUST BE MADE STRONG, STRONG ENOUGH TO WITHSTAND PRESSURES, STRONG ENOUGH TO ABSORB THOSE WHO WILL WISH TO GO THERE, OR THOSE WHO WILL HAVE TO GO THERE, STRONG ENOUGH TO FULFILL ITS DESTINY WHICH WAS LONG AGO ASSIGNED TO IT -- THAT OF A SMALL COUNTRY WHICH IS TO BE MADE GREAT BY THE INTELLECTUAL AND SPIRITUAL ENTERPRISE AND THE SOCIAL VISION OF ITS PEOPLE.

YOU AND I BELONG TO A PRIVILEGED GENERATION, IN THAT WE HAVE BEEN THE CHOSEN TOOLS IN THE HANDS OF GOD FOR THE SALVATION OF HIS PEOPLE. WE WERE CONFRONTED WITH HISTORIC TASKS, AND WE WERE GREATLY CHALLENGED. WE HAVE TRIED FAITHFULLY TO MATCH OUR HOUR. WE WERE GIVEN AN HISTORIC ASSIGNMENT AND WE SET ABOUT EXECUTING IT TO THE BEST OF OUR ABILITIES. WE ARE HUMBLY GRATEFUL IN NOT HAVING FAILED. THE MEASURE OF OUR REWARD IS THE DEGREE OF OUR SUCCESS.

BUT WE MUST CARRY ON, FOR MUCH REMAINS TO BE DONE. WE MUST CARRY ON UNTIL THE FOUNDATIONS OF ISRAEL ARE SECURELY LAID -- ITS WALLS AND BULWARKS MADE STRONG AND SECURE AND UNTIL THE LAND FINDS REST FROM ITS ENEMIES. WE MUST CARRY ON UNTIL THE WINTER IS PAST AND THE FLOWERS APPEAR ON THE EARTH, AND THE TIME OF SINGING IS COME.

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WITH HIM ON ^{political} TACTICS AND STRATEGY, ONE NEVER QUESTIONED HIS VISION, HIS DEDICATION AND HIS HISTORIC CONTRIBUTIONS, YOU ALSO GAVE OUR MOVEMENT UNWEARIED VIGILANCE AND GENEROUS FINANCIAL SUPPORT. WHEN THE OCCASION DEMANDED IT, YOU DID NOT HESITATE ~~EVEN~~ TO CHALLENGE YOUR OWN GOVERNMENT IN BEHALF OF WHAT YOU BELIEVED TO BE THE JUSTICE OF YOUR CAUSE. THE JEWS OF GREAT BRITAIN HAVE WRITTEN A PROUD AND NOBLE CHAPTER IN THE HISTORY OF OUR PEOPLE AND OUR TIMES.

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THESE FIFTEEN YEARS HAVE BEEN TREMENDOUS YEARS FOR OUR PEOPLE IN ISRAEL, GLORIOUS IN PLANNING, GLORIOUS IN ACHIEVEMENT, GLORIOUS IN DEFENSE. NO AGE IN JEWISH HISTORY IS QUITE COMPARABLE TO IT. SO MANY FEARS HAVE BEEN PROVED GROUNDLESS, SO MANY HOPES HAVE BEEN EXCEEDED, SO MANY MYTHS HAVE BEEN EXPLODED.

THESE FIFTEEN PROLOGUE YEARS HAVE BEEN YEARS OF TESTING. WE HAD WRESTED FROM A RELUCTANT WORLD THE RIGHT TO BECOME ONCE AGAIN A FREE AND SOVEREIGN PEOPLE IN ITS OWN HOME. NOW IT WAS UP TO US

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TO DEMONSTRATE OUR TALENT AND ENDOWMENTS FOR THE ^{new} ROLE IN WHICH WE WERE NOW CAST. THE WORLD AND WE, OURSELVES, WAITED TO SEE WHETHER THE JEWISH PEOPLE POSSESSED THE CAPACITY, THE COURAGE, THE PERSEVERANCE WHICH ARE REQUISITE FOR THE BUILDING OF A STATE. THROUGH THESE FIFTEEN YEARS, THE WORLD AND WE, OURSELVES, WITNESSED WITH MOUNTING WONDER AND ADMIRATION THE UNFOLDING DRAMA OF A PEOPLE'S INGATHERING AND OF ^a NATIONAL RECONSTRUCTION SUCH AS MANKIND HAD SELDOM, IF EVER, WITNESSED.

DURING THESE YEARS ISRAEL ~~HAS~~ MADE GOOD, AND IN A BREATH-TAKING WAY, ON LAND, ON SEA, AND IN THE AIR, IN CITY, TOWN AND VILLAGE, IN SWAMP AND WILDERNESS, IN SCHOOLS AND ACADEMIES, IN SOCIAL SERVICES, IN THE REVIVAL OF A LANGUAGE AND A LITERATURE. ISRAEL ALSO MADE GOOD ON THE BATTLE-FIELD, TO THE AMAZEMENT OF ITS FRIENDS AND THE CONFOUNDING OF ITS ENEMIES.

AND THE YOUNG STATE, BY ITS FAITHFUL ALLEGIANCE TO THE FREE WORLD, THE DEVELOPMENT OF ITS EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM AND ITS INSTITUTIONS OF HIGHER LEARNING, ITS ADVANCED SOCIAL LEGISLATION, THE AID WHICH IT HAS EXTENDED TO THE NEWLY EMERGENT STATES OF AFRICA AND ASIA, AND THE MAINTENANCE OF PEACE IN THE FACE OF BOYCOTT, BLOCKADE AND THE CONTRIVANCES OF ITS UNRECONCILED NEIGHBORS, IT HAS REVEALED TO THE WORLD THE GROUND-TONE OF ITS CHOSEN WAY OF LIFE, ITS FUNDAMENTAL PURPOSES AND DOMINANT INTERESTS AS A NATION. ALL THIS HAS FILLED US WITH INESTIMABLE PRIDE. IT HAS BEEN FOR US A RARER GIFT THAN

MY DEAR FRIENDS: IT IS NOW FIFTEEN YEARS SINCE THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE STATE OF ISRAEL IN 1948. THIS MARKED A DECISIVE TURNING POINT IN JEWISH HISTORY -- A BREAKTHROUGH -- THE TREMENDOUS CONSEQUENCES OF WHICH ONLY THE FUTURE WILL FULLY REVEAL.

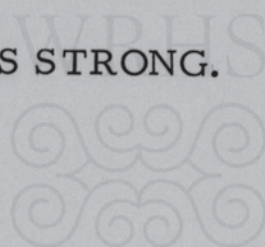
THESE FIFTEEN YEARS HAVE BEEN TREMENDOUS YEARS FOR OUR PEOPLE IN ISRAEL, GLORIOUS IN PLANNING, GLORIOUS IN ACHIEVEMENT, GLORIOUS IN DEFENSE. NO AGE IN JEWISH HISTORY IS QUITE COMPARABLE TO IT. SO MANY FEARS HAVE BEEN PROVED GROUNDLESS, SO MANY HOPES HAVE BEEN EXCEEDED, SO MANY MYTHS HAVE BEEN EXPLODED.

THESE FIFTEEN PROLOGUE YEARS HAVE BEEN YEARS OF TESTING. WE HAD WRESTED FROM A RELUCTANT WORLD THE RIGHT TO BECOME ONCE AGAIN A FREE AND SOVEREIGN PEOPLE IN ITS OWN HOME. NOW IT WAS UP TO US TO DEMONSTRATE OUR TALENT AND ENDOWMENTS FOR THE NEW ROLE IN WHICH WE WERE NOW CAST. THE WORLD AND WE, OURSELVES, WAITED TO SEE WHETHER THE JEWISH PEOPLE POSSESSED THE CAPACITY, THE COURAGE, THE PERSEVERANCE WHICH ARE REQUISITE FOR THE BUILDING OF A STATE. THROUGH THESE FIFTEEN YEARS, THE WORLD AND WE, OURSELVES, WITNESSED WITH MOUNTING WONDER AND ADMIRATION THE UNFOLDING DRAMA OF A PEOPLE'S GATHERING AND OF A NATIONAL RECONSTRUCTION SUCH AS MANKIND HAD SELDOM, IF EVER, WITNESSED.

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P THE ISRAELI ARE RECONCILED TO A LONG ARAB-ISRAEL~~/~~ STALEMATE. THE ARAB STATES ARE EVIDENTLY NOT INTERESTED IN SOLVING THE REFUGEE PROBLEM EXCEPT ON THE CONDITION OF ~~LIQUIDATING~~ ^{the} ~~the~~ ^{removal of} THE STATE OF ISRAEL. WRITING IN THE APRIL ISSUE OF "FOREIGN AFFAIRS" ON "THE ARAB REFUGEES", DON PERETZ, THE AUTHOR OF "ISRAEL AND THE PALESTINE ARABS", STATES:

"AS FOR THE POLITICAL PROBLEM OF PALESTINE, WE MUST RECONCILE OURSELVES TO SEEING IT CONTINUE FOR A GENERATION OR MORE. IT IS AN UNPLEASANT FACT OF INTERNATIONAL LIFE THAT THE ARAB-ISRAEL CONFLICT HAS PROGRESSED BEYOND A STAGE WHERE SOME NEW BLUEPRINT CAN HELP. THE BEST THAT CAN BE HOPED FOR UNDER EXISTING CIRCUMSTANCES IS TO CONTAIN THE CONFLICT THROUGH THE EFFORTS OF THE UNITED NATIONS AND THE LARGER MEMBER STATES. ALTHOUGH CONCILIATION IS NO LONGER POSSIBLE, AGENCIES SUCH AS THE U.N. TRUCE SUPERVISION ORGANIZATION AND EMERGENCY FORCE CAN CONTINUE TO LIMIT BORDER TENSIONS AND CAN PREVENT THEM FROM ERUPTING INTO MAJOR WARFARE.

AMERICANS OFTEN HOPE TO RESOLVE INTERNATIONAL PROBLEMS THROUGH SOME MAKESHIFT MECHANICAL DEVICE -- A PEACE COMMISSION OR AN ECONOMIC PLAN. THE ARAB-ISRAEL⁺ DISPUTE IS TOO COMPLEX AND ITS EMOTIONS TOO DEEP TO YIELD TO SUCH AN APPROACH. THE PROBLEM IS NOT ONE MADE UP OF SPECIFIC ISSUES. IT IS, RATHER, A DEEP-ROOTED IDEOLOGICAL CONFLICT IN WHICH BOTH SIDES FEEL THAT COMPROMISE WILL LEAD TO IRREPARABLE LOSS OF FAR MORE SIGNIFICANCE THAN A FEW MILES OF TERRITORY, THE RETURN OF A FEW THOUSAND INDIVIDUALS TO THEIR HOMES OR COMPENSATION FOR THE LOSS OF THEIR PROPERTY. "

a peaceful and

*and which in point of fact, it helps
to bring into existence.*

SOVEREIGN STATE WHICH THE AMERICAN GOVERNMENT HAS RECOGNIZED?

^ has is any proposal for the way to

NO PROPOSAL TO THE NATIONS OF THE WORLD TO JOIN IN AN AGREEMENT TO

KEEP THE MIDDLE EAST FREE OF WEAPONS OF MASS DESTRUCTION?

THE PEOPLE OF ISRAEL ARE DEEPLY CONCERNED AND TROUBLED
BY THIS COOL, FORWARD^{mal}, STAND-OFFISH ATTITUDE OF OUR STATE

DEPARTMENT. *in a situation which calls for action and
leadership.*



BEEN UNWILLING OR UNABLE TO CARRY OUT THE CLEAR INTENT OF THE MANDATE UNDER WHICH IT GOVERNED THE COUNTRY, THAT IT WAS HOPELESS TO CONTINUE TO WALK ON THAT WEARY, UNAVAILING DIPLOMATIC TREAD-MILL, AND THAT THE POLITICAL BATTLE-GROUND HAD DEFINITELY SHIFTED FROM LONDON TO WASHINGTON AND LAKE SUCCESS.

IT BECAME CLEAR TO THE ZIONISTS OF AMERICA THAT THE LARGE AND INFLUENTIAL AMERICAN JEWISH COMMUNITY WOULD NOW HAVE TO ASSUME THE MAJOR RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE CONDUCT OF OUR MOVEMENT, THAT IT WOULD HAVE TO BE ALERTED AND MOBILIZED FOR THE CULMINATING POLITICAL EFFORT NOW THAT THE END OF THE WAR WAS APPROACHING. IF WE FAILED NOW, THEN THE BATTLE WOULD BE LOST -- AND WHO KNOWS FOR HOW LONG?

WE PROCEEDED TO WORK ON THREE FUNDAMENTAL PREMISES. FIRST, THAT OUR CAUSE WAS JUST, INCONTESTABLY JUST AND MORAL. WE COULD, THEREFORE, TELL OUR STORY FRANKLY AND HOPEFULLY TO ALL MEN OF GOOD WILL IN OUR COUNTRY -- REGARDLESS OF CLASS, POLITICAL PARTY OR RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION. WE COULD APPEAL TO THEIR SENSE OF JUSTICE AND THEIR HUMANITY. IT SHOULD NOT BE TOO DIFFICULT TO TELL OUR STORY TO THE AMERICAN PEOPLE AT A TIME WHEN AMERICA WAS WAGING A WAR IN BEHALF OF HUMAN RIGHTS AGAINST THE VERY NAZIS WHO WERE SEEKING TO EXTERMINATE OUR PEOPLE AND WERE DRIVING HUNDREDS OF THOUSANDS OF THEM OUT UPON THE BROKEN HIGHWAYS OF WANDERING AND HOMELESSNESS. IT WAS CLEAR THAT WE MUST FIRST

WIN THE ACTIVE SUPPORT AND SYMPATHY OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE. IF WE COULD PERSUADE THE AMERICAN PEOPLE OF THE JUSTICE OF OUR CAUSE, WE MIGHT THEN ALSO PERSUADE OUR GOVERNMENT, WHERE WE WERE CONFRONTED WITH A STATE DEPARTMENT WHICH HARBORED A SIZEABLE CORE OF ANTI-ZIONIST OFFICIALS, AND WITH A PRESIDENT WHOSE ATTITUDE REMAINED CONTINUOUSLY SHROUDED IN AN IMPENETRABLE CHARM. IN OUR STRUGGLE WE MUST FIRST WIN OVER THE AMERICAN PEOPLE. ITS VOICE SHOULD BE HEARD IN WASHINGTON. THIS IS THE DEMOCRATIC PROCESS BY WHICH A FREE PEOPLE ALWAYS OPERATES. AND IT WAS CLEAR, TOO, THAT THE VOICE OF THE UNITED STATES WOULD BE DECISIVE AFTER THE WAR.

THE SECOND PREMISE UPON WHICH WE PROCEEDED WAS THAT IT WAS EITHER NOW OR NEVER. THE HOUR OF DECISION WAS RAPIDLY APPROACHING. WE HAD REACHED THE CRITICAL CROSS-ROADS IN OUR HISTORY. WE, THEREFORE, HAD TO THROW IN EVERYTHING WE HAD, ALL OUR POWER, ALL OUR RESOURCES, ALL OUR RESERVES. THIS WAS TO BE THE CRUCIAL BATTLE. THERE WAS NOTHING TO LOSE NOW BUT OUR ILLUSIONS. HITLER WAS BRUTALLY AND SYSTEMATICALLY DESTROYING EUROPEAN JEWRY. ENGLAND WAS WAGING WAR UPON OUR DEFENSELESS REFUGEES WHO WERE BEING TURNED AWAY FROM THE VERY SHORES OF PALESTINE TO PERISH IN THE STRUMAS, OR TO LANGUISH ON THE "EXODUSES". IN THIS CHAOS OF TERROR AND INHUMANITY, OF CONCENTRATION CAMPS AND GAS CHAMBERS, THERE

WAS BUT ONE HOPE LEFT FOR OUR DISTRAUGHT PEOPLE -- AND THAT WAS A FREE AND INDEPENDENT HOMELAND FOR OUR PEOPLE, FOR NOW, FOR TOMORROW, FOR ALL THE DAYS TO COME. AN ELEMENT OF IMMEDIACY AND OF DRIVING URGENCY MUST, THEREFORE, INFORM ALL OUR ACTIVITIES. WE SIMPLY MUST NOT LOSE THE HISTORIC MOVEMENT.

AND THE THIRD PREMISE UPON WHICH WE PROCEEDED WAS THAT THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMUNITY ITSELF HAD TO BE AROUSED TO EXERT ITSELF TO THE UTMOST AND TO WORK IN EVERY DIRECTION BUT NOT MERELY FOR AN INCREASED NUMBER OF CERTIFICATES FOR REFUGEES WHO WOULD BE ADMITTED INTO PALESTINE, BUT FOR A JEWISH STATE. THE ROOT OF OUR MILLENIAL TRAGEDY WAS OUR NATIONAL HOMELESSNESS. THERE IS BUT ONE SOLUTION FOR NATIONAL HOMELESSNESS. THAT IS A NATIONAL HOME. OUR PEOPLE MUST NOT BE DEFLECTED FROM THIS MAIN OBJECTIVE. IT MUST NOT ACCEPT MAKE-SHIFT COMPROMISES UNDER THE SPURIOUS APPEAL NOT TO DIVIDE THE HOUSEHOLD OF ISRAEL OVER THE ISSUE OF A SOVEREIGN JEWISH STATE.

THE MAJOR BATTLE OVER THIS ISSUE TOOK PLACE AT THE AMERICAN JEWISH CONFERENCE , WHICH MET IN THE SUMMER OF 1943. IT WAS THE FIRST DEMOCRATICALLY ELECTED BODY, WHICH IN ITS COMPOSITION REPRESENTED THE TOTALITY OF AMERICAN JEWRY -- ZIONIST AND NON-ZIONIST ALIKE. THE PRINCIPLE ISSUE AT THIS CONFERENCE WAS WHETHER TO ADOPT OR REJECT A RESOLUTION

FAVORING THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A JEWISH COMMONWEALTH IN PALESTINE. AFTER PROLONGED AND UNREPRESSED DEBATE, THE DELEGATES VOTED ALMOST UNANIMOUSLY IN FAVOR OF THE JEWISH COMMONWEALTH RESOLUTION. THERE WERE ONLY FOUR DISSENTING VOTES OUT OF A TOTAL OF MORE THAN FIVE HUNDRED. THE ZIONIST MOVEMENT COULD NOW SPEAK WITH AUTHORITY TO THE AMERICAN PEOPLE AND GOVERNMENT IN THE NAME OF THE ENTIRE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMUNITY.

TO WIN THE SUPPORT OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE AND GOVERNMENT, THE AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL, WHICH REPRESENTED ALL ZIONIST BODIES IN THE UNITED STATES, THEN LAUNCHED A NATION-WIDE PUBLIC RELATIONS PROGRAM. ABLE AND DEDICATED MEN, SOME OF THEM EXCEPTIONALLY GIFTED IN THEIR SEVERAL FIELDS, WERE QUICKLY MARSHALLED INTO SERVICE. HEADQUARTERS WERE ESTABLISHED IN NEW YORK AND WASHINGTON. EFFECTIVE UNITS WERE ORGANIZED IN EVERY PRINCIPLE CITY IN THE UNITED STATES. A SPECIAL CHRISTIAN PRO-PALESTINE COMMITTEE OF OUTSTANDING CHRISTIAN CLERGY AND LAYMEN WAS FORMED. A NATION-WIDE CAMPAIGN OF EDUCATION THROUGH BOOKS, LECTURES, MAGAZINES AND RADIO BROADCASTS WAS INAUGURATED. NUMEROUS CONFERENCES, AND LITERALLY THOUSANDS OF MEETINGS WERE HELD IN ALL PARTS OF THE COUNTRY. MASS DEMONSTRATIONS AND OPEN-AIR RALLIES ATTENDED BY TENS OF THOUSANDS OF PEOPLE WERE ADDRESSED BY LEADING AMERICAN PERSONALITIES. IN A CRITICAL MOMENT, A MARCH OF THOUSANDS OF WAR VETERANS, JEWISH AND NON-JEWISH, CONVERGED ON WASHINGTON.

NUMEROUS LOCAL DELEGATIONS CONTACTED THEIR PUBLIC OFFICIALS, THEIR GOVERNORS, CONGRESSMEN AND SENATORS IN THEIR SEVERAL STATES. MANY STATE LEGISLATURES WERE INDUCED TO ADOPT PRO-PALESTINE RESOLUTIONS AND TO FORWARD THEM TO WASHINGTON. WE SIMPLY KNOCKED AT EVERY DOOR -- THE CONVENTIONS OF BOTH POLITICAL PARTIES WHICH WERE MOVED TO INCLUDE A PRO-PALESTINE RESOLUTION IN THEIR NATIONAL PLATFORMS; THE HALLS OF CONGRESS WHERE A PRO-PALESTINE RESOLUTION WAS INTRODUCED AND FINALLY ADOPTED. WE KNOCKED ON THE DOORS OF THE STATE DEPARTMENT AND OF THE WHITE HOUSE. WE ENLISTED THE ACTIVE SUPPORT OF KEY PEOPLE IN EVERY WALK OF LIFE, AUTHORS, JOURNALISTS, COLUMNISTS, EDUCATORS, CLERGY, *Labor* ~~POLITICAL~~ LEADERS -- PEOPLE WHO HERETOFORE HAD BEEN INDIFFERENT TO OUR CAUSE. WE SPENT ENDLESS HOURS WITH MINISTERS AND AMBASSADORS OF FOREIGN STATES WHO WERE MEMBERS OF THE UNITED NATIONS AND ARRANGED FOR IMPORTANT CONTACTS TO BE MADE WITH THEIR GOVERNMENTS BACK HOME. IN THIS WE WERE ASSISTED BY THE CONCURRENT LABORS OF THE AMERICAN SECTION OF THE JEWISH AGENCY.

IF WE FINALLY SUCCEEDED IN PERSUADING OUR GOVERNMENT TO ENDORSE THE 1947 RESOLUTION OF THE UNITED NATIONS WHICH FAVORED THE ESTABLISHMENT OF AN INDEPENDENT JEWISH STATE IN A PART OF PALESTINE -- IT WAS THE RESULT OF THIS MASSIVE AND SUSTAINED

EFFORT ON THE PART OF THOUSANDS UPON THOUSANDS OF DEDICATED MEN AND WOMEN, WORKING UNDER THE GUIDANCE AND LEADERSHIP OF THE AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL. IT WAS THE RESULT OF THE FRIENDLY AND SYMPATHETIC AMERICAN PUBLIC OPINION WHICH WAS FINALLY AROUSED AND MADE VOCAL.

WHEN FOUR MONTHS LATER, AND AS A RESULT OF PRESSURE FROM THE OIL INTERESTS AND OTHER BODIES HOSTILE TO OUR CAUSE, AN ATTEMPT WAS MADE TO SCRAP THE UNITED NATIONS NOVEMBER RESOLUTION WHICH FAVORED THE CREATION OF A JEWISH STATE, AND TO REPLACE IT WITH A NEW TRUSTEESHIP OVER PALESTINE, WHEN OUR ADMINISTRATION SHARPLY REVERSED ITSELF AND ACTUALLY REQUESTED THE SUMMONING OF A SPECIAL SESSION OF THE ASSEMBLY OF THE UNITED NATIONS TO DO JUST THAT -- AND WHEN OUR WORK HAD TO BE BEGUN ALL OVER AGAIN -- IT WAS AGAIN THESE SAME WORKERS, USING THE SAME TECHNIQUES OF EDUCATION, APPEAL AND PERSUASION, WHO RETURNED TO THEIR TASKS WITH REDOUBLED ENERGY AND DETERMINATION, AND WHO FINALLY SUCCEEDED IN INDUCING OUR GOVERNMENT TO RETURN TO ITS NOVEMBER POSITION, AND TO RECOGNIZE THE STATE OF ISRAEL WHEN THE ISRAELI PROCLAIMED IT ON May 15, 1948.

IT SHOULD, THEREFORE, NEVER BE FORGOTTEN THAT IT WAS AMERICAN JEWRY, RISING MAGNIFICENTLY TO THE CHALLENGE OF THE HOUR, WHICH WAS RESPONSIBLE FOR THE VICTORIES IN WASHINGTON AND IN LAKE SUCCESS -- NOT THE INTERVENTION OF SOMEONE WHO WAS

SMUGGLED IN ONE DAY INTO THE WHITE HOUSE THROUGH A BACK DOOR, AND WHO BY THE MAGIC OF HIS PERSONALITY WON OVER THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES, AND PRESTO, IT WAS ALL DONE. THIS AND SIMILAR LEGENDS ARE A NAIVE AND FANCIFUL RECONSTRUCTION OF HISTORY.

THE FINAL VALIDATING SEAL UPON THESE POLITICAL VICTORIES WHICH WERE WON HERE WAS SET BY THE MILITARY VICTORIES OF THE GREATLY OUT-NUMBERED AND POORLY EQUIPPED FIGHTING FORCES OF THE ISRAELI THEMSELVES -- THE TZ'VA HAGANAH LE-YISRAEL. WITHOUT THEIR VICTORIES, OUR POLITICAL VICTORIES WOULD HAVE BEEN IN VAIN. WITHOUT OUR VICTORIES THEIR MILITARY VICTORIES WOULD PROBABLY ALSO HAVE BEEN IN VAIN.

ALL THIS SHOULD BE REMEMBERED AS WE FACE THE FUTURE. FOR WHILE THE PRIMARY ZIONIST OBJECTIVE HAS BEEN ACHIEVED, AND THE STATE OF ISRAEL IS AN ACCOMPLISHED FACT, THE NEED FOR DEFENDING IT POLITICALLY AND MILITARILY WILL NEVER DISAPPEAR, AT LEAST NOT IN OUR GENERATION. ISRAEL WILL NOT BE ABLE TO ESCAPE THE POLITICAL TENSIONS AND PRESSURES OF THE REGION OF THE WORLD WHICH IT IS A PART. DANGER LURKS UPON ITS BORDERS, AMONG ITS TURBULENT ARAB NEIGHBORS. OUR WORK IS NOT OVER BY ANY MEANS, AND THOSE WHO WOULD RELY IN ALL FUTURE EMERGENCIES ON THE INSTANT RESPONSE OF UNORGANIZED SO-CALLED FRIENDS OF ISRAEL, WHOSE COMMITMENTS ARE SO VAGUE AND WHOSE STAYING-POWER SO UNCERTAIN, ARE NOT WISE GUARDIANS, IF AM AFRAID, OF THE BEST INTERESTS OF THE STATE OF ISRAEL.

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Israel Bonds, London; appeal; Mar. 1963 HMM 700

Ty. fragments, Ty.

3. Joint Palestine appeal
(England)
1. Israel
2. Zionism