



## Abba Hillel Silver Collection Digitization Project

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### **MS-4787: Abba Hillel Silver Papers, 1902-1989.**

Series V: Writings, 1909-1963, undated.

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Manhattan Zionist Region, 1949.

The United Nations resolution of November 1947 was of profound moral significance for us. In that act the nations of the world overwhelmingly recognized our right to rebuild the Jewish State in Palestine. The importance of such international recognition is not to be underestimated and, therefore, the anniversary of that resolution will remain always a red-letter date in Jewish history.

Practically, however, it did not achieve the Jewish State. The United Nations was unable to implement its declaration. Its prestige and authority were not compelling enough to command compliance and it possessed no physical force with which to check the defiant Arab states who set out by invasion and violence to defeat the plan agreed upon.

In the long and instructive history of our people there is a parallel to what transpired in the last two years. The return of the Jews from the Babylonian exile to Judea was also preceded by a royal permissive decree which recognized their right to return and to rebuild their national home and their national sanctuary. But though the authority of the Persian Emperor was greater by far than the present power of the United Nations, it too was not sufficient to insure compliance. The Jews had to fight for their State and to defeat a confederation of their enemies which united against them before they could make secure their national life and independence. "With one of his hands he wrought the work and with the other he held the weapon" was how the builders of the new State built. It was not the royal decree which restored Judea, but the valor of the fighting men of Israel.

Similarly in our day it was the valorous men and women of Israel who, by their matchless courage and manifold sacrifices, re-established the Third Commonwealth of Israel. Accordingly, the truly great date in



our calendar will for all times be May 14, 1948. ↓

When I was privileged to announce to the United Nations on May 14, 1948 that on that day the State of Israel had been proclaimed by the Jewish people of Palestine, I said, "the Jewish State, in setting out upon its career, is conscious of ~~the~~ many grave problems, foreseen or unanticipated, which confront it." Time has revealed many of these grave problems. None of these has, as yet, been fully solved. The gravest of these was, of course, the one of military defense and physical survival in the war which was thrust upon it. The magnificent defensive and offensive fighting of its improvised forces in spite of their inadequate equipment constitutes a glowing and memorable epic of military prowess. These forces of fighting Israel stopped the enemy. As a result, there is an armistice peace today on the borders of Israel. But there is, as yet, no sign <sup>of</sup> peace, no demobilization of armies, no agreement on permanent boundaries or on the status of Jerusalem or on the explosive issue of the Arab refugees. One hears repeatedly from numerous Arab sources of the intention of the Arab states to renew their war on Israel at the first opportune moment. The embargo on the shipment of arms to the countries of the Near East has been lifted and they are rearming themselves at a furious pace. The embargo, which was so rigorously enforced by Great Britain and the United States all through the Palestine war at a time when it worked dangerously to the disadvantage of the struggling new State which had been invaded from all directions, and whose citizens were fighting in self-defense with their bare fists as it were, was very quickly lifted as soon as the armistice was declared to enable the Arab states whose combined strength proved insufficient to crash Israel, to acquire new weapons, more planes, more guns,



more war ships. It is clear that no power is threatening Egypt to necessitate that country to set up an unprecedented military budget and to acquire from Great Britain, most eager to cooperate, the latest in land, air and sea armaments. It is also clear that none of the other Arab states is being threatened. One can readily infer what <sup>was</sup> the actual motivation <sup>^</sup> ~~was~~ behind the precipitant lifting of the arms embargo.

The leaders of Israel have properly and repeatedly warned the world that the possibility of a renewal of the war in Palestine is not remote. This fact, my friends, must be the overriding consideration in all matters which affect the State of Israel in the proximate future and which must determine our relations to it. Israel must be made secure by being made strong in manpower, in industry, and in military defense. This is a prime requisite for its survival. Those who have reduced the idea of the rebuilding of the State of Israel to a charity level of bringing in so many of our homeless fellow Jews and of disposing of them in Israel, and who are, accordingly, clamoring today that local charity needs should take precedence over the needs of Jewish poor in what <sup>they choose</sup> ~~is used~~ to call a foreign country, simply do not grasp what is involved in the colossal, exacting and prolonged task of state-building and state-securing. It will be years before the State of Israel, born in agony and surrounded by unreconciled enemies on all sides, will be established, sufficiently firm and secure, to be able to turn its attention and to direct its energies completely to the enterprises of peace. It will require tremendous and continuing reinforcement to pass through unscathed the dangerous years ahead. It is for this long pull, that will involve considerable strain not only of a material, but also of an emotional nature, that those of us who planned



and struggled for a Jewish State and not merely for a place of refuge for homeless Jews, must be prepared.

It is for this reason that I urged time and again since the establishment of the State the imperative need not only of retaining, but of strengthening the Zionist movement and organization. I anticipated that many Jews who were swept into our orbit by the gravitational pull of the dramatic events of victorious fighting and the proclamation of a Jewish State, would swing out of the orbit again as soon as the swift, revolutionary excitement had slowed down, and that they would return to their earlier routines, their earlier interests, -charity and fighting anti-Semitism. This has happened much sooner than I expected. The process will soon reach the proportions of a stampede. The chief concern of these Jews from now on will be that <sup>to</sup> Zionism should not embarrass them with talk of American Jews going to Israel, and with ensuring priority for local charitable needs as they see them, over ~~and~~ against funds sent to Israel. Their spokesmen recently demanded such priority at a conference in Detroit and announced at another conference in Chicago that they had obtained <sup>in so many words</sup> the assurances from Zionist leaders in Israel and the United States not to talk in the future too much and too pointedly about American Jews going to Israel.

It is Zionists who must stem this tide. I am not at all sure whether even many Zionists possess any longer the toughness of fiber and the strength of conviction which in the past enabled them to withstand the pressures and propaganda from friends and foes alike, and who, accordingly, were able to move the Jewish world to face up to the clear mandates of the hour and of its destiny. With the flush of victory still on their



cheeks, I am afraid that the feet of many of them are already getting cold. Stop

While some professed friends of Israel have begun to talk about priority for local needs, erstwhile friends and former enemies are talking about stopping funds altogether to Israel. Many members of the American Council for Judaism adopted the practice some time ago of not contributing anything to the United Jewish Appeal because part of its funds was going to Israel. At a recent meeting of the Philadelphia chapter of this Council, Miss Dorothy Thompson, who was for so long a well-known and expensive figure on American Zionist platforms, warned "that Jews outside of Palestine cannot continue indefinitely to mask as humanitarian relief contributions to the economy of a foreign state or to allow a system to develop whereby a foreign state in effect levies taxes upon citizens of other states <sup>whom</sup> ~~which~~ they regard as, somehow, Diaspora nationals."

One is inclined to ask why it is wrong for Jews of the United States to contribute to the economy of the foreign State of Israel while, at the same time, it is perfectly proper for them to contribute as taxpayers through the Marshall Plan, "masked as humanitarian relief", to the economy of a dozen and more other foreign states. The American people and the American Government have throughout the years, and more especially, during the <sup>last</sup> ~~first~~ generation, contributed to the economy of other countries struggling for freedom or ravaged by war or other disasters. To declare that the State of Israel is, in effect, levying a tax upon the Jews of the United States is to be guilty of a contemptible libel. The contributions of the Jews of the United States have always been voluntary. American Jews have contributed to the relief of their fellow Jews all over the world in the last generation and for the care of Jewish refugees coming to the United States.



not because a tax was levied upon them by a foreign government, but because a tax was levied upon them by the <sup>tragic</sup> misfortunes and sufferings of their brethren, and by the compelling dictates of their own generous hearts. <sup>Under Marshall Plan funds</sup> Our monies are not being sent to <sup>any</sup> ~~the~~ Government ~~of Israel~~, but to the Jewish Agency for Palestine which is the instrumentality of World Jewry, charged with the responsibility of resettling the tens of thousands of Jews who have been moving in tidal waves to the little State of Israel which is itself unable, and which by itself should not be <sup>charged with the responsibility of bearing</sup> ~~expected to bear~~ the full burden of such immigration. It is the Jewish Agency which ~~is charged with~~ <sup>must</sup> ~~do~~ <sup>the responsibility by the Jews of the world to do</sup> all that is necessary for the absorption and integration of these immigrants into the economy of the country, and to assist in all ways, consistent with the fact that it is not the Government of Israel, in the upbuilding of the country.

The purpose of this infamous libel is, of course, to discourage American aid to Israel and thus to cripple the State economically and weaken it hopelessly for ultimate subjection to <sup>Arab</sup> ~~Israel~~ intransigence. This is the real aim behind the present efforts of those who are left within the beaten and discredited Council for Judaism. Having failed in their purpose to <sup>prevent</sup> ~~forestall~~ the establishment of the State of Israel, they intend now in a spirit of frustration and vindictiveness to embarrass the builders of the State in every way possible. They hope to terrorize the Jews of America by raising the scare of dual allegiance.

Here, too, Miss Dorothy Thompson did not fail them. "Jewish nationalists," she declared, "who are United States citizens will have to choose sooner or later between this country and Israel because no one can be a member of the American nation and of the Jewish nation at the same time."



What banality! What belaboring of the obvious, unless the purpose of proclaiming this self-evident truth, which no Zionist has ever challenged, at a meeting of bitter anti-Zionists was to endorse by innuendo and to give additional currency to the infamous charges of the Council that American Zionists are not wholeheartedly American in their loyalties and identification.

In this connection it is illuminating to recall what Miss Dorothy Thompson said in an address delivered at Carnegie Hall, in 1943, on the occasion of the celebration of the twenty-sixth anniversary of the Balfour Declaration. She stated, "It is curious, to me, that the nationhood of the Jews should be denied by Jews themselves . . . The problems of the Jews are, to my mind, traceable to a single phenomenon: They are a nation curiously afflicted by being without the tangible and visible expression of nationhood -- a nation without a country . . . It is said, 'But the Jews are no nation' -- said by Jews. What, then, are they? Why do those who deny their nationhood call themselves Jews? We are, they say, a religion. But of what is that religion the expression? . . . Judaism is the religion of the Jews. That is its very name! It does not call itself 'Mosaicism', as 'Christianity' calls itself by the exalted name of its founder. What are a people if they are not a nation? They are a minority deprived of nationhood. What does a minority deprived of nationhood do? It attempts to retain its cohesion through inner-group controls, or it passes entirely out of history. No nation, not one, has shown such remarkable tenure of life under the most disadvantageous of circumstances as have the Jews. . . Why have not the Jews passed? There is only one answer. Only one conceivable answer . . . They are alive today because they remembered Zion . . . How any Jew can divorce his religion from his nationhood is beyond my powers of comprehension.



"The fear exists that the recognition of this nationhood will prejudice the status of Jews as citizens of other countries. I hold that to be an exact perversion of the real situation . . . There happen to be more Irishmen in this country than there are in Ireland. No one doubts their rights as Americans, but no one finds the slightest discrepancy between this and the right of a free Ireland to exist!"

This is what Miss Thompson said a few years ago when she attacked the pseudo-philosophy which is the basis of the American Council for Judaism. I might add that Miss Thompson today, while impertinently pontificating to the Jews of America on their duties to the United States, is not pontificating at the same time from the platform to admonish the Irish of the United States that sooner or later they must choose between this country and Ireland because no one can be a member of the American nation and the Irish nation at the same time.

Coupled with a propaganda for priority for local needs in the name of the American Jewish community and with no support at all for Israel in the name of true Americanism, there is a further propaganda against any and every form of chaluziuth. No American Jew must talk or think about going to Israel to assist in its upbuilding. An unfortunate remark made by the Prime Minister of Israel has been seized upon and exploited to a degree calculated to scare the Jews of the United States from any consideration of the degree and manner in which they can contribute to the upbuilding of the State of Israel in terms of manpower. Our contributions, if any, must be exclusively ~~in~~ financial ~~terms~~ and only after <sup>the</sup> requirements of local priorities are met. I humbly submit that this is a betrayal of the Zionist ideal and an astounding new conception of the implications of citizenship in a free country.



I hold no brief for what must have been a hasty ~~declaration~~ <sup>remark</sup> by the Prime Minister and I am pleased that he has retracted it. Generally speaking, it would be advisable if leaders in Israel who contemplate making important statements involving the American Jewish community would first consult with their friends in the United States who are naturally closer to the situation and whose advice might obviate possible misunderstandings and embarrassments. It must be clear to everyone that American Jews will not be commanded or forced to do anything which they do not choose to do, and that they will not be impressed by ex cathedra pronouncements as to what they should or should not do. But surely the State of Israel has the right to invite settlers and colonists to come there. Many pioneering countries, including our own, have in the past invited and induced citizens of other countries to come and settle in their territories. And surely among the five million Jews in the United States there will be those who, moved by the challenge of the great historic enterprise in which the Jewish people is now engaged in rebuilding the State of Israel, will wish to contribute not alone of their substance, but also of their personal efforts, their skills and their talents to that end.

What is there un-American about this? America itself was founded by men and women who left their ancestral homes and settled here because they wanted to become part of a new republic in a new world. There is no stigma attached to men who exchange their nationality. Thousands of Americans annually leave the United States and settle in Canada and become citizens of that country. Between 1927 and 1930 one hundred thousand Americans



emigrated to Canada. In 1947, eleven thousand. In 1948, nine thousand. No one accuses these people of any lack of patriotism. One of the primary attributes which belongs to a free man in a free world is his right to choose a new home wherever new opportunities beckon him or a new interest prompts him. It might be well, in this connection, again to quote from the words of the most recent spokesman of the American Council for Judaism.

In the same address to which I referred a moment ago, Dorothy Thompson stated: "All people change their citizenship and nationhood as individuals from time to time. This nation is wholly composed of persons who have done so. They have naturalized themselves from their own nation to another. . . . My father became an American, transferring his entire loyalties from one nation to another. But he left his own nation behind him. He was not wrecking it by leaving it."

One should not anticipate any mass movement of American Jews to Israel. Mass emigration, which has been an almost constant factor throughout the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries in the lives of many peoples of Europe, is always the result of political and economic pressures. Such conditions fortunately do not exist here. And we prayerfully hope that life here will continue peaceful and prosperous for all the citizens of this beloved land and for its Jewish citizens as well. America is home for the American Jew and to it he will give in the future, as in the past, undivided loyalty both in peace and in war. <sup>however,</sup> If there are any American Jews who wish to emigrate to the new State of Israel and help in its upbuilding by their skills and talents or for whatever other reason, they should not be deterred from doing so by the fear that they are betraying either the country which has been good to them or by endangering the position



of their fellow Jews in the United States. On the contrary. By bringing with them to that part of the world American ideals and standards, and the traditions of the American way of life, they will be serving not alone Israel, but the ideals of American freedom and democracy. I hope that in the course of the years there will be many American Jews who will feel moved to help build Israel in the same way as pioneers from many countries helped build the United States of America.

I should like to revert for a moment to the matter of priorities in the allocation of <sup>the</sup> free will offerings of American Jews. The whole issue, I am afraid, is a fictitious one, and like most fictitious issues, is calculated to arouse a great deal of blind passion and partisanship. The issue raised presupposes that the amount which can be collected in the United States is a fixed one and that there must, accordingly, ensue strong competition as to allocations. This, however, need not be the case. In 1948 a sum of one hundred and fifty million dollars was raised by the United Jewish Appeal. In 1949 the sum raised in cash and pledges on account of the 1949 campaign was less than one hundred million dollars. This in spite of the high hope which was placed on the two miracle men whose violent re-appointment to the management of the campaign was necessary, <sup>So</sup> it was argued, to insure a repetition of the so-called success of the 1948 campaign. It is clear now that these miracle men did not produce the goods though they <sup>did</sup> have produced a hatful of assorted excuses. Now the economic conditions of our country in 1949 were not very much different from 1948. Our national income in 1948 was approximately 226.4 billions. The estimated income for 1949 is approximately 225 billions. This relatively small difference cannot explain the catastrophic drop in the income

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of the 1949 UJA. Where did the fifty or sixty million dollars which were not contributed to the UJA go? Into local needs? Not at all! There was no such marked increase in the capital outlays for Jewish community institutions in the United States or in increases in the income of our charity organizations. Where did the money go? Why, it remained in the pockets of the Jews of the United States!

There will be even less giving in 1950 unless American Jews are aroused and alerted to the clear dangers to all that they have been helping to achieve in Israel and to their community prestige here, <sup>which will be</sup> involved in the shrinkage of their contributions. To fight over who should get more of the inadequate amount raised is to waste precious energy and to divert attention from the real problem. To fight over priorities is to undermine giving, both for local and for <sup>Israeli</sup> ~~overseas~~ needs. The real task is to inspire our people to increase their contributions to meet both legitimate local needs and the needs of Israel. The money is surely there.

Another fictitious issue which is blown up from time to time and which gives American Zionists considerable concern is that Zionists in this country are trying to influence the policy of the Government of Israel through their organizations or through the control of funds. A recent dispatch from Tel Aviv quoting the Prime Minister seems by its vagueness to give credence to this charge. A correspondent of a local newspaper which has notoriously <sup>displayed</sup> ~~denounced~~ its friendship for me through the years cabled from Tel Aviv that the accusing finger of the Prime Minister reached all the way from Tel Aviv <sup>to Cleveland</sup> and pointed directly at me. An excellent reply to this exclusive dispatch, written by my dear friend, Dr. Emanuel Neumann,



was printed recently in that paper. The gentleman who first spread this canard in the United States was the same miracle man who master-minded the UJA campaign, though he was compelled publicly to retract his charges. But like a bad penny, they reappear from time to time. A few days ago they re-appeared in a reviewer's account of my book, "Vision and Victory" which was printed in the same aforementioned newspaper.

Much of this I suspect is kept alive by inter-party rivalry and strife. In my considered judgment Zionists both here and in Israel would do well to drop this issue completely and for all times. It is a false issue and a mischievous one. No one here is trying in any way to control or to direct the Government of Israel unless the existence of separate Zionist parties in the United States and throughout the world with their *inherited* separate programs as to the kind of state they would like to see in Israel -- parties and platforms which existed long before the State itself was established -- is in itself to be deprecated as an indirect interference with the Government of Israel. If that is the case <sup>then</sup> all Zionist parties, left, right and center, should be abolished. Perhaps the time has come for their liquidation and their amalgamation, as my friend Dr. Neumann suggested two years ago, into an all-inclusive organization of friends of Israel. But I note that the party in the United States which is closest to the dominant political party in the Government of Israel is the one which is most averse to such a solution and the one which is most active in propagating in the United States its special program for Israel. It ill behooves anyone to characterize the activities of any one Zionist party in the United States as any more interfering with the Government of Israel than another.



As for ourselves, we <sup>have</sup> scrupulously refrained from any such interference. You may recall how hard we labored <sup>at</sup> the meeting of the General Council of the World Zionist Organization last year to bring about a <sup>conflict</sup> decisive separation between the Government of Israel and the Jewish Agency. We did not wish either to trespass on the legitimate territory of the other. We have scrupulously lived up to that principle. But this principle of separation works both ways. We do not wish the leaders of the Government of Israel to intervene in matters which are the concern exclusively of the American Jewish community and the Zionist bodies in the United States, and our resignations <sup>5</sup> ten months ago <sup>was</sup> ~~was~~ a protest against such interference.

A proper regard for the division of authority and functions, and self-restraint in the exercise of competence will do much to dissipate this false issue and will greatly facilitate the manifold contacts which must be maintained between the Government of Israel, the Jewish Agency and the Zionist movement in the United States, speaking and acting for the Jews of America.

As General Zionists, we have urged upon the Government of Israel, knowing the temper and the thinking of our people here, to give maximum encouragement, consistent with the over-riding considerations of national and social well-being, to ~~the~~ investors of private capital and to abate any talk, even if such talk is not intended to be translated into law, of "socialism in our lifetime." Everyone realizes and acknowledges that Israel cannot be built up as rapidly as is necessary without large investments of foreign capital <sup>in order</sup> to create absorptive opportunities for the immigrants who are pouring into the country. It is not that we are



ideological foes of socialism. We fully understand, I believe, the trend of the times. But we are presently concerned with the upbuilding of the economy of a young and poor country and with the needs of rapid absorption of hundreds of thousands of immigrants. This belief of ours which we have voiced from time to time is surely not to be viewed in the nature of pres-

sure or interference. We are pleased that the Government of Israel is and is adopting measures to encourage foreign investment. progressively facing up to the needs of this situation. There has been

considerable discussion among our people here and elsewhere as to the fundamental relationship of the Jews of the Diaspora and the State of Israel. I am not now referring to political relationships which do not and cannot exist. I am referring to cultural and spiritual relationships. In all such matters clear-cut definitions are quite impossible and doctrinaire positions are not very helpful.

It is clear that a considerable part of the Jewish people, perhaps a majority, will continue to live outside of Israel in the indeterminate future. It is to the interest not alone of the State of Israel which will have to draw replenishment from this reservoir for years to come, but of the Jewish people as such and of Judaism, the noblest creation of the Jewish people and its supreme gift to mankind, that Diaspora Jewry shall ~~should~~ remain vital, vigorous, spiritually and culturally mobilized. Hence, all talk, however nobly and patriotically motivated, which derogates Diaspora Jewry or altogether writes it off, is harmful in the extreme. What our people possesses of the cultural treasures of the past have not been exclusively the creation of the Jews of Palestine. Even when there was a flourishing Jewish life in Palestine there were also flourishing Jewish communities in other countries. Thus, for example, Babylonian and



Palestine Jewries reinforced and enriched one another and both made significant, if not comparable, contributions to the sum total of Jewish life.

This may well be our guide for the future. Now that Herzl's political objective has been triumphantly consummated and the work of state-building and the in-gathering of our people is proceeding apace, our renaissance movement may well now move into the spiritual and cultural orbit identified with the name Ahad Ha-am. The ultimate objectives both of Herzl and Ahad Ha-am were never in any real opposition though in <sup>the</sup> practical life of our movement they clashed furiously from time to time. Herzl was impressed primarily with the physical and political problem of the Galut and sought a political solution for it in the creation of a Jewish State. Ahad Ha-am saw the spiritual problem of the Galut in terms of the threatened cultural and spiritual disintegration of our people, and sought a spiritual solution for it in the creation of a spiritual center for our people in Palestine.

It was fortunate for our people that the sound political vision and program of Theodor Herzl governed the course of our movement until the State was established. A premature over-emphasis in our movement of the concept of a spiritual center would have found us unprepared for the final political and military struggle without which the State could not have been established, and the in-gathering of myriads of our people could not have been accomplished. Ahad Ha-am discounted too much the value of practical work in Palestine and of political and diplomatic activity. He was too skeptical of the capacity of Palestine to absorb large masses of Jews and to absorb them quickly.



But Herzl's political triumph now paved<sup>2</sup> the way for the vision which was Ahad Ha-am's -- a radiant cultural and spiritual center in a reconstituted Jewish State which would serve as a stimulating and unifying influence throughout World Jewry. ~~He did not believe that~~ <sup>A total</sup> ~~kibbutz galuyoth, a total in-gathering of all Jews~~ <sup>Ahad Ha-am believed was not</sup> ~~was feasible or was~~

<sup>was it</sup> necessary for the spiritual influence which a reconstituted Jewish State, remaining true to the essential genius and character of historic Israel, could come to exercise in World Jewry.

The Jewish communities of the Diaspora will look eagerly for such influences emanating from Israel. <sup>But</sup> ~~The~~ Diaspora Jewry need not remain a mere passive recipient of outside cultural influences. It can become, as indeed in the past it <sup>did become</sup> ~~frequently was~~, creative in itself wherever the religion, language and literature of the Jewish people were fostered.

In 1909 Ahad Ha-am wrote in the Hashiloah, "It is necessary to improve and deepen our life as a people to the utmost possible degree in the Diaspora and, at the same time, to seek the complete and perfect solution beyond the Diaspora, in Palestine."

This is good doctrine for Jewish survival for all of us from here on. Israel and the <sup>continue to be united -</sup> ~~Diaspora will remain independent~~, spiritually inseparable. Both should be helped to become strong and creative.

In the days of King Hezekiah, when the Jews of Jerusalem anticipated the siege of their city by the Assyrians, they built a tunnel from the Spring Gihon in the Valley of Jehosaphat to a reservoir called Siloh<sup>a</sup>, in order to secure a water supply for the city. In 1880, an inscription was discovered hewn in the rock not far from this pool of Siloh<sup>a</sup>, written in ancient Hebrew characters and <sup>describing</sup> ~~telling~~ how the tunnel was hewn through the rocks in order to bring water to Jerusalem. It <sup>is</sup> ~~was~~ the famous Siloham.



inscription which is now in the museum of Istanbul. "This is the story of the tunnel" reads the inscription, "The axes of one group were opposite to those of the other. When they were but three cubits apart it was possible for one to call to the other for there was a fissure in the rock to the right and to the left. On the day of the completion of the tunnel the diggers struck, facing one another, axes facing axes, <sup>/527</sup> ~~from~~ <sup>in</sup> ~~the~~ <sup>a</sup> ~~the~~ <sup>the</sup> spring to the pool Siloh for a distance of 1200 cubits."

Moving from opposite directions but facing one another, axe facing axe, thus concertedly we shall strike through the rocks of separation, and thus we shall build the connecting spiritual and cultural conduit *which will* causing the waters of life and healing to flow uninterruptedly for the salvation of our people.





The United Nations resolution of November 1947 was of profound moral significance for us. In that act the nations of the world overwhelmingly recognized our right to rebuild the Jewish State in Palestine. The importance of such international recognition is not to be underestimated and, therefore, the anniversary of that resolution will remain always a red-letter date in Jewish history.

Practically, however, it did not achieve the Jewish State. The United Nations was unable to implement its declaration. Its prestige and authority were not compelling enough to command compliance and it possessed no physical force with which to check the defiant Arab states who set out by invasion and violence to defeat the plan agreed upon.

In the long and instructive history of our people there is a parallel to what transpired in the last two years. The return of the Jews from the Babylonian exile to Judea was also preceded by a royal permissive decree which recognized their right to return and to rebuild their national home and their national sanctuary. But though the authority of the Persian Emperor was greater by far than the present power of the United Nations, it too was not sufficient to insure compliance. The Jews had to fight for their State and to defeat a confederation of their enemies which united against them before they could make secure their national life and independence. "With one of his hands he wrought the work and with the other he held the weapon" was how the builders of the new State built. It was not the royal decree which restored Judea, but the valor of the fighting men of Israel.

Similarly in our day it was the valorous men and women of Israel who, by their matchless courage and manifold sacrifices, re-established the Third Commonwealth of Israel. Accordingly, the truly great date in



our calendar will for all times be May 14, 1948.

When I was privileged to announce to the United Nations on May 14, 1948 that on that day the State of Israel had been proclaimed by the Jewish people of Palestine, I said, "the Jewish State, in setting out upon its career, is conscious of the many grave problems, foreseen or unanticipated, which confront it." Time has revealed many of these grave problems. None of these has, as yet, been fully solved. The gravest of these was, of course, the one of military defense and physical survival in the war which was thrust upon it. The magnificent defensive and offensive fighting of its improvised forces in spite of their inadequate equipment constitutes a glowing and memorable epic of military prowess. These forces of fighting Israel stopped the enemy. As a result, there is an armistice peace today on the borders of Israel. But there is, as yet, no sign of peace, no demobilization of arms, no agreement on permanent boundaries or on the status of Jerusalem or on the explosive issue of the Arab refugees. One hears repeatedly from numerous Arab sources of the intention of the Arab states to renew their war on Israel at the first opportune moment. The embargo on the shipment of arms to the countries of the Near East has been lifted and they are rearming themselves at a furious pace. The embargo, which was so rigorously enforced by Great Britain and the United States all through the Palestine war at a time when it worked dangerously to the disadvantage of the struggling new State which had been invaded from all directions, and whose citizens were fighting in self-defense with their bare fists as it were, was very quickly lifted as soon as the armistice was declared to enable the Arab states whose combined strength proved insufficient to crush Israel, to acquire new weapons, more planes, more guns,



more war ships. It is clear that no power is threatening Egypt to necessitate that country to set up an unprecedented military budget and to acquire from Great Britain, most eager to cooperate, the latest in land, air and sea armaments. It is also clear that none of the other Arab states is being threatened. One can readily infer what the actual motivation was behind the precipitant lifting of the arms embargo.

The leaders of Israel have properly and repeatedly warned the world that the possibility of a renewal of the war in Palestine is not remote. This fact, my friends, must be the overriding consideration in all matters which affect the State of Israel in the proximate future and which must determine our relations to it. Israel must be made secure by being made strong in manpower, in industry, and in military defense. This is a prime requisite for its survival. Those who have reduced the idea of the rebuilding of the State of Israel to a charity level of bringing in so many of our homeless fellow Jews and of disposing of them in Israel, and who are, accordingly, clamoring today that local charity needs should take precedence over the needs of Jewish poor in what it used to call a foreign country, simply do not grasp what is involved in the colossal exacting and prolonged task of state-building and state-securing. It will be years before the State of Israel, born in agony and surrounded by unreconciled enemies on all sides, will be established sufficiently firm and secure, to be able to turn its attention and to direct its energies completely to the enterprises of peace. It will require tremendous and continuing reinforcement to pass through unscathed the dangerous years ahead. It is for this long pull that will involve considerable strain not only of a material, but also of an emotional nature, that those of us who planned



and struggled for a Jewish State and not merely for a place of refuge for homeless Jews, must be prepared.

It is for this reason that I urged time and again since the establishment of the State the imperative need not only of retaining, but of strengthening the Zionist movement and organization. I anticipated that many Jews who were swept into our orbit by the gravitational pull of the dramatic events of victorious fighting and the proclamation of a Jewish State, would swing out of the orbit again as soon as the swift, revolutionary excitement had slowed down, and that they would return to their earlier routines, their earlier interests, charity and fighting anti-semitism. This has happened much sooner than I expected. The process will soon reach the proportions of a stampede. The chief concern of these Jews from now on will be that Zionism should not embarrass them with talk of American Jews going to Israel, and with ensuring priority for local charitable needs as they see them, over and against funds sent to Israel. Their spokesmen recently demanded such priority at a conference in Detroit and announced at another conference in Chicago that they had obtained the assurances from Zionist leaders in Israel and the United States not to talk in the future too much and too pointedly about American Jews going to Israel.

It is Zionists who must stem this tide. I am not at all sure whether even many Zionists possess any longer the toughness of fiber and the strength of conviction which in the past enabled them to withstand the pressures and propaganda from friends and foes alike, and who, accordingly, were able to move the Jewish world to face up to the clear mandates of the hour and of its destiny. With the flush of victory still on their



cheeks, I am afraid that the feet of many of them are already getting cold.

While some professed friends of Israel have begun to talk about priority for local needs, erstwhile friends and former enemies are talking about stopping funds altogether to Israel. Many members of the American Council for Judaism adopted the practice some time ago of not contributing anything to the United Jewish Appeal because part of its funds was going to Israel. At a recent meeting of the Philadelphia chapter of this Council, Miss Dorothy Thompson, who was for so long a well-known and expensive figure on American Zionist platforms, warned "that Jews outside of Palestine cannot continue indefinitely to mask as humanitarian relief contributions to the economy of a foreign state or to allow a system to develop whereby a foreign state in effect levies taxes upon citizens of other states which they regard as somehow Diaspora nationals."

One is inclined to ask why it is wrong for Jews of the United States to contribute to the economy of the foreign State of Israel while, at the same time, it is perfectly proper for them to contribute as taxpayers through the Marshall Plan, "masked as humanitarian relief", to the economy of a dozen and more other foreign states. The American people and the American Government have throughout the years, and more especially, during the first generation, contributed to the economy of other countries struggling for freedom or ravaged by war or other disasters. To declare that the State of Israel is, in effect, levying a tax upon the Jews of the United States is to be guilty of a contemptible libel. The contributions of the Jews of the United States have always been voluntary. American Jews have contributed to the relief of their fellow Jews all over the world in the last generation and for the care of Jewish refugees coming to the United States,



not because a tax was levied upon them by a foreign government, but because a tax was levied upon them by the misfortunes and sufferings of their brethren, and by the compelling dictates of their own generous hearts. Our monies are not being sent to the Government of Israel, but to the Jewish Agency for Palestine which is the instrumentality of World Jewry, charged with the responsibility of resettling the tens of thousands of Jews who have been moving in tidal waves to the little State of Israel which is itself unable, and which by itself should not be expected to bear the full burden of such immigration. It is the Jewish Agency which is charged with the responsibility by the Jews of the world to do all that is necessary for the absorption and integration of these immigrants into the economy of the country, and to assist in all ways, consistent with the fact that it is not the Government of Israel, in the upbuilding of the country.

The purpose of this infamous libel is, of course, to discourage American aid to Israel and thus to cripple the State economically and weaken it hopelessly for ultimate subjection to Israel intransigence. This is the real aim behind the present efforts of those who are left within the beaten and discredited Council for Judaism. Having failed in their purpose to forestall the establishment of the State of Israel, they intend now in a spirit of frustration and vindictiveness to embarrass the builders of the State in every way possible. They hope to terrorize the Jews of America by raising the scare of dual allegiance.

Here, too, Miss Dorothy Thompson did not fail them. "Jewish nationalists," she declared, "who are United States citizens will have to choose sooner or later between this country and Israel because no one can be a member of the American nation and of the Jewish nation at the same time."



What banality! What belaboring of the obvious, unless the purpose of proclaiming this self-evident truth, which no Zionist has ever challenged, at a meeting of bitter anti-Zionists was to endorse by innuendo and to give additional currency to the infamous charges of the Council that American Zionists are not wholeheartedly American in their loyalties and identification.

In this connection it is illuminating to recall what Miss Dorothy Thompson said in an address delivered at Carnegie Hall, in 1943, on the occasion of the celebration of the twenty-sixth anniversary of the Balfour Declaration. She stated, "It is curious, to me, that the nationhood of the Jews should be denied by Jews themselves . . . The problems of the Jews are, to my mind, traceable to a single phenomenon: They are a nation curiously afflicted by being without the tangible and visible expression of nationhood -- a nation without a country . . . It is said, 'But the Jews are no nation' -- said by Jews. What, then, are they? Why do those who deny their nationhood call themselves Jews? We are, they say, a religion. But of what is that religion the expression? . . . Judaism is the religion of the Jews. That is its very name! It does not call itself 'Mosaicism', as 'Christianity' calls itself by the exalted name of its founder. What are a people if they are not a nation? They are a minority deprived of nationhood. What does a minority deprived of nationhood do? It attempts to retain its cohesion through inner-group controls, or it passes entirely out of history. No nation, not one, has shown such remarkable tenure of life under the most disadvantageous of circumstances as have the Jews. . . . Why have not the Jews passed? There is only one answer. Only one conceivable answer . . . They are alive today because they remembered Zion . . . How any Jew can divorce his religion from his nationhood is beyond my powers of comprehension.



"The fear exists that the recognition of this nationhood will prejudice the status of Jews as citizens of other countries. I hold that to be an exact perversion of the real situation . . . There happen to be more Irishmen in this country than there are in Ireland. No one doubts their rights as Americans, but no one finds the slightest discrepancy between this and the right of a free Ireland to exist!"

This is what Miss Thompson said a few years ago when she attacked the pseudo-philosophy which is the basis of the American Council for Judaism. I might add that Miss Thompson today, while impertinently pontificating to the Jews of America on their duties to the United States, is not pontificating at the same time from the platform to admonish the Irish of the United States that sooner or later they must choose between this country and Ireland because no one can be a member of the American nation and the Irish nation at the same time.

Coupled with a propaganda for priority for local needs in the name of the American Jewish community and with no support at all for Israel in the name of true Americanism, there is a further propaganda against any and every form of chalutzuth. No American Jew must talk or think about going to Israel to assist in its upbuilding. An unfortunate remark made by the Prime Minister of Israel has been seized upon and exploited to a degree calculated to scare the Jews of the United States from any consideration of the degree and manner in which they can contribute to the upbuilding of the State of Israel in terms of manpower. Our contributions, if any, must be exclusively in financial terms and only after requirements of local priorities are met. I humbly submit that this is a betrayal of the Zionist ideal and an astounding new conception of the implications of citizenship in a free country.



I hold no brief for what must have been a hasty declaration by the Prime Minister and I am pleased that he has retracted it. Generally speaking, it would be advisable if leaders in Israel who contemplate making important statements involving the American Jewish community would first consult with their friends in the United States who are naturally closer to the situation and whose advice might obviate possible misunderstandings and embarrassments. It must be clear to everyone that American Jews will not be commanded or forced to do anything which they do not choose to do, and that they will not be impressed by ex cathedra pronouncements as to what they should or should not do. But surely the State of Israel has the right to invite settlers and colonists to come there. Many pioneering countries, including our own, have in the past invited and induced citizens of other countries to come and settle in their territories. And surely among the five million Jews in the United States there will be those who, moved by the challenge of the great historic enterprise in which the Jewish people is now engaged in rebuilding the State of Israel, will wish to contribute not alone of their substance, but also of their personal efforts, their skills and their talents to that end.

What is there un-American about this? America itself was founded by men and women who left their ancestral homes and settled here because they wanted to become part of a new republic in a new world. There is no stigma attached to men who exchange their nationality. Thousands of Americans annually leave the United States and settle in Canada and become citizens of that country. Between 1927 and 1930 one hundred thousand Americans



emigrated to Canada. In 1947, eleven thousand. In 1948, nine thousand. No one accuses these people of any lack of patriotism. One of the primary attributes which belongs to a free man in a free world is his right to choose a new home wherever new opportunities beckon him or a new interest prompts him. It might be well, in this connection, again to quote from the words of the most recent spokesman of the American Council for Judaism.

In the same address to which I referred a moment ago, Dorothy Thompson stated: "All people change their citizenship and nationhood as individuals from time to time. This nation is wholly composed of persons who have done so. They have naturalized themselves from their own nation to another. . . . My father became an American, transferring his entire loyalties from one nation to another. But he left his own nation behind him. He was not wrecking it by leaving it."

One should not anticipate any mass movement of American Jews to Israel. Mass emigration, which has been an almost constant factor throughout the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries in the lives of many peoples of Europe, is always the result of political and economic pressures. Such conditions fortunately do not exist here. And we prayerfully hope that life here will continue peaceful and prosperous for all the citizens of this beloved land and for its Jewish citizens as well. America is home for the American Jew and to it he will give in the future, as in the past, undivided loyalty both in peace and in war. If there are any American Jews who wish to emigrate to the new State of Israel and help in its upbuilding by their skills and talents or for whatever other reason, they should not be deterred from doing so by the fear that they are betraying either the country which has been good to them or by endangering the position



of their fellow Jews in the United States. On the contrary. By bringing with them to that part of the world American ideals and standards, and the traditions of the American way of life, they will be serving not alone Israel, but the ideals of American freedom and democracy. I hope that in the course of the years there will be many American Jews who will feel moved to help build Israel in the same way as pioneers from many countries helped build the United States of America.

I should like to revert for a moment to the matter of priorities in the allocation of free will offerings of American Jews. The whole issue, I am afraid, is a fictitious one, and like most fictitious issues, is calculated to arouse a great deal of blind passion and partisanship. The issue raised presupposes that the amount which can be collected in the United States is a fixed one and that there must, accordingly, ensue strong competition as to allocations. This, however, need not be the case. In 1948 a sum of one hundred and fifty million dollars was raised by the United Jewish Appeal. In 1949 the sum raised in cash and pledges on account of the 1949 campaign was less than one hundred million dollars. This in spite of the high hope which was placed on the two miracle men whose violent re-appointment to the management of the campaign was necessary, it was argued, to insure a repetition of the so-called success of the 1948 campaign. It is clear now that these miracle men did not produce the goods though they have produced a hatful of assorted excuses. Now the economic conditions of our country in 1949 were not very much different from 1948. Our national income in 1948 was approximately 226.2 billions. The estimated income for 1949 is approximately 225 billions. This relatively small difference cannot explain the catastrophic drop in the income



of the 1949 UJA. Where did the fifty or sixty million dollars which were not contributed to the UJA go? Into local needs? Not at all. There was no such marked increase in the capital outlays for Jewish community institutions in the United States or in increases in the income of our charity organizations. Where did the money go? Why, it remained in the pockets of the Jews of the United States!

There will be even less giving in 1950 unless American Jews are aroused and alerted to the clear dangers to all that they have been helping to achieve in Israel and to their community prestige here, involved in the shrinkage of their contributions. To fight over who should get more of the inadequate amount raised is to waste precious energy and to divert attention from the real problem. To fight over priorities is to undermine giving, both for local and for overseas needs. The real task is to inspire our people to increase their contributions to meet both legitimate local needs and the needs of Israel. The money is surely there.

Another fictitious issue which is blown up from time to time and which gives American Zionists considerable concern is that Zionists in this country are trying to influence the policy of the Government of Israel through their organizations or through the control of funds. A recent dispatch from Tel Aviv quoting the Prime Minister seems by its vagueness to give credence to this charge. A correspondent of a local newspaper which has notoriously denounced its friendship for me through the years cabled from Tel Aviv that the accusing finger of the Prime Minister reached all the way from Tel Aviv and pointed directly at me. An excellent reply to this exclusive dispatch, written by my dear friend, Dr. Emanuel Himmelfarb,



was printed recently in that paper. The gentleman who first spread this canard in the United States was the same miracle man who master-minded the UJA campaign, though he was compelled publicly to retract his charges. But like a bad penny, they reappear from time to time. A few days ago they re-appeared in a reviewer's account of my book, "Vision and Victory" which was printed in the same aforementioned newspaper.

Much of this I suspect is kept alive by inter-party rivalry and strife. In my considered judgment Zionists both here and in Israel would do well to drop this issue completely and for all times. It is a false issue and a mischievous one. No one here is trying in any way to control or to direct the Government of Israel unless the existence of separate Zionist parties in the United States and throughout the world with their separate programs as to the kind of state they would like to see in Israel -- parties and platforms which existed long before the State itself was established -- is in itself to be deprecated as an indirect interference with the Government of Israel. If that is the case all Zionist parties, left, right and center, should be abolished. Perhaps the time has come for their liquidation and their amalgamation, as my friend Dr. Haimin suggested two years ago, into an all-inclusive organization of friends of Israel. But I note that the party in the United States which is closest to the dominant political party in the Government of Israel is the one which is most averse to such a solution and the one which is most active in propagating in the United States its special program for Israel. It ill behooves anyone to characterize the activities of any one Zionist party in the United States as any more interfering with the Government of Israel than another.



As for ourselves, we scrupulously refrained from any such interference. You may recall how hard we labored in the meeting of the General Council of the World Zionist Organization last year to bring about a decisive separation between the Government of Israel and the Jewish Agency. We did not wish either to trespass on the legitimate territory of the other. We have scrupulously lived up to that principle. But this principle of separation works both ways. We do not wish the leaders of the Government of Israel to intervene in matters which are the concern exclusively of the American Jewish community and the Zionist bodies in the United States, and our resignations ten months ago was a protest against such interference.

A proper regard for the division of authority and functions, and self-restraint in the exercise of competence will do much to dissipate this false issue and will greatly facilitate the manifold contacts which must be maintained between the Government of Israel, the Jewish Agency and the Zionist movement in the United States, speaking and acting for the Jews of America.

As General Zionists, we have urged upon the Government of Israel, knowing the temper and the thinking of our people here, to give maximum encouragement, consistent with the over-riding considerations of national and social well-being, to the investors of private capital and to abate any talk, even if such talk is not intended to be translated into law, of "socialism in our lifetime." Everyone realizes and acknowledges that Israel cannot be built up as rapidly as is necessary without large investments of foreign capital to create absorptive opportunities for the immigrants who are pouring into the country. It is not that we are



ideological foes of socialism. We fully understand, I believe, the trend of the times. But we are presently concerned with the upbuilding of the economy of a young and poor country and with the needs of rapid absorption of hundreds of thousands of immigrants. This belief of ours which we have voiced from time to time is surely not to be viewed in the nature of pressure or interference. We are pleased that the Government of Israel is progressively facing up to the needs of this situation. There has been considerable discussion among our people here and elsewhere as to the fundamental relationship of the Jews of the Diaspora and the State of Israel. I am not now referring to political relationships which do not and cannot exist. I am referring to cultural and spiritual relationships. In all such matters clear-cut definitions are quite impossible and doctrinaire positions are not very helpful.

It is clear that a considerable part of the Jewish people, perhaps a majority, will continue to live outside of Israel in the indeterminate future. It is to the interest not alone of the State of Israel which will have to draw replenishment from this reservoir for years to come, but of the Jewish people as such and of Judaism, the noblest creation of the Jewish people and its supreme gift to mankind, that Diaspora Jewry should remain vital, vigorous, spiritually and culturally mobilized. Hence, all talk, however nobly and patriotically motivated, which derogates Diaspora Jewry or altogether writes it off, is harmful in the extreme. What our people possesses of the cultural treasures of the past have not been exclusively the creation of the Jews of Palestine. Even when there was a flourishing Jewish life in Palestine there were also flourishing Jewish communities in other countries. Thus, for example, Babylonian and



Palestine Jewries reinforced and enriched one another and both made significant, if not comparable, contributions to the sum total of Jewish life.

This may well be our guide for the future. Now that Herzl's political objective has been triumphantly consummated and the work of state-building and the in-gathering of our people is proceeding apace, our renaissance movement may well now move into the spiritual and cultural orbit identified with the name Ahad Ha-am. The ultimate objectives both of Herzl and Ahad Ha-am were never in any real opposition though in practical life of our movement they clashed furiously from time to time. Herzl was impressed primarily with the physical and political problem of the Galut and sought a political solution for it in the creation of a Jewish State. Ahad Ha-am saw the spiritual problem of the Galut in terms of the threatened cultural and spiritual disintegration of our people, and sought a spiritual solution for it in the creation of a spiritual center for our people in Palestine.

It was fortunate for our people that the sound political vision and program of Theodor Herzl governed the course of our movement until the State was established. A premature over-emphasis in our movement of the concept of a spiritual center would have found us unprepared for the final political and military struggle without which the State could not have been established, and the in-gathering of myriads of our people could not have been accomplished. Ahad Ha-am discounted too much the value of practical work in Palestine and of political and diplomatic activity. He was too skeptical of the capacity of Palestine to absorb large masses of Jews and to absorb them quickly.



But Herzl's political triumph now paved the way for the vision which was Ahad Ha-am's -- a radiant cultural and spiritual center in a reconstituted Jewish State which would serve as a stimulating and unifying influence throughout World Jewry. He did not believe that a total kibbutz galuyoth, a total in-gathering of all Jews was feasible or was necessary for the spiritual influence which a reconstituted Jewish State remaining true to the essential genius and character of historic Israel could come to exercise in World Jewry.

The Jewish communities of the Diaspora will look eagerly for such influences emanating from Israel. The Diaspora Jewry need not remain a mere passive recipient of outside cultural influences. It can become, as indeed in the past it frequently was, creative in itself wherever the religion, language and literature of the Jewish people were fostered.

In 1909 Ahad Ha-am wrote in the Hahilonah, "It is necessary to improve and deepen our life as a people to the utmost possible degree in the Diaspora and, at the same time, to seek the complete and perfect solution beyond the Diaspora, in Palestine."

This is good doctrine for Jewish survival for all of us from here on. Israel and the Diaspora will remain independent, spiritually inseparable. Both should be helped to become strong and creative.

In the days of King Hezekiah, when the Jews of Jerusalem anticipated the siege of their city by the Assyrians, they built a tunnel from the Spring Gihon in the Valley of Jehosaphat to a reservoir called Siloh, in order to secure a water supply for the city. In 1880, an inscription was discovered here in the rock not far from this pool of Siloh, written in ancient Hebrew characters and telling how the tunnel was hewn through the rocks in order to bring water to Jerusalem. It was the famous Siloh



inscription which is now in the museum of Istanbul. "This is the story of the tunnel" reads the inscription. "The axes of one group were opposite to those of the other. When they were but three cubits apart it was possible for one to call to the other for there was a fissure in the rock to the right and to the left. On the day of the completion of the tunnel the diggers struck, facing one another, axes facing axes, <sup>in</sup> and then the water flowed and the spring to the pool Silah for a distance of 1200 cubits."

Moving from opposite directions but facing one another, axe facing axe, thus concertedly we shall strike through the rocks of separation, and thus we shall build the connecting spiritual and cultural conduit causing the waters of life and healing to flow uninterruptedly for the salvation of our people.





# "Israel Must Be Made Secure"

By DR. ABBA HILLEL SILVER

*The following are excerpts from an address delivered by the former chairman of the American Section of the Jewish Agency at a dinner of the Manhattan ZOA Region marking the second anniversary of the United Nations Palestine partition resolution adoption.—Ed.*

The United Nations Resolution of November 29, 1947 was of profound moral significance for us. In that act, the nations of the world overwhelmingly recognized our right to rebuild the Jewish State in Palestine. The anniversary of that resolution will always remain a red-letter date in Jewish history. But it should be remembered that the United Nations failed to implement its recommendations. Its authority and prestige were not great enough to command compliance and it possessed no physical force with which to check the Arab states who set out by invasion and violence to defeat the purposes of the United Nations.

It was the valor of the men and women of Israel who, by their matchless courage and manifold sacrifices, reestablished the state. Accordingly, the truly great date in our calendar for all times will be the date of the proclamation of the independence of Israel on May 14, 1948.

## Problems Not Fully Solved

When I announced to the United Nations on May 14, that the Jewish people of Palestine had proclaimed the establishment of their state, I said that the Jewish State, in setting out on its career, is conscious of the many grave problems which confront it. Time has revealed many of these problems. None of them has as yet been fully solved. The gravest of these was, of course, the one of mili-

tary defense and physical survival in a war thrust upon it. As the result of the magnificent fighting of the Israel forces, there is an armistice today on the borders of Israel. But there is as yet no signed peace, no demobilization of armies, no agreement on new boundaries, on the status of Jerusalem, or on the issue of Arab refugees. One hears frequently from Arab sources of the intention to renew the war at an appropriate moment. The United Nations was all too quick to remove the embargo on the shipment of arms to the countries of the Near East, an embargo which was so rigorously enforced by Great Britain and the United States when it worked dangerously to the disadvantage of the struggling state of Israel, which had been invaded from all sides and whose men were fighting, as it were, with bare fists for sheer survival and for the implementation of a plan approved by the United Nations.

The leaders in Israel properly warned the world of the possibility of a renewal of the war. This must be the over-riding consideration in all matters which affect the state of Israel and our relations to it in the proximate future. Israel must be made secure by being made strong in population, in industry and in military defense.

## Dangers of Attack

Those who have reduced the concept of the rebuilding of Israel to the charity level, of bringing in so many of our homeless fellow Jews and of disposing of them in Israel and who are today clamoring that local charity needs should take precedence over the needs of Israel, simply do not grasp what is involved in the colossal, exacting and prolonged task of build-

ing a state and making it secure. It will be years before Israel, born in the agony of war and surrounded by irreconcilable enemies on all sides, will feel itself sufficiently strong and secure to be able to divert its energies completely to the enterprises of peace.

While some are urging priority for local needs, others, Jewish self-haters of the stripe of the American Council for Judaism, are urging full stoppage of funds altogether for Israel. Recently someone addressing a chapter of the American Council for Judaism in Philadelphia was quoted in the press as having warned that the Jews outside of Palestine cannot continue indefinitely to mask as humanitarian relief contributions to the economy of a foreign state or to allow a system to develop whereby a foreign state, in effect, levies taxes upon citizens of other states whom they regard as somehow "Diaspora nationals."

One wonders somehow why it is wrong for Jews of the United States to contribute their own money to the economy of Israel and altogether proper for them to contribute as taxes through the Marshall Plan, masked as humanitarian relief, to the economy of a dozen or more foreign states. The American people and the American government have throughout the years, and more especially in the last generation, generously assisted the economies of other countries which were either struggling for freedom or ravished by war or other disasters.

## Contributions Voluntary

American Jews have contributed to the relief of fellow Jews all over the world in recent years and for the care of Jewish refugees coming to the United States,

not because a tax was levied upon them by a foreign government but because a tax was levied upon them by the tragic misfortune and suffering of their brethren and by the dictates of their own generous hearts.

Unlike Marshall fund monies, our funds are not sent to any government. They are sent to the Jewish Agency for Palestine, which is the instrumentality of world Jewry charged with the responsibility of resettling the myriads of Jews who are moving in tidal waves to the little state of Israel, which is itself unable and should not be charged with the responsibility of bearing the full burden of such immigration.

I should like to comment on a fictitious issue which has been blown up from time to time to the effect that American Zionists are attempting to pressure the government of Israel through the control of funds. In my considered judgment, Zionists both here and in Israel would do well to drop this issue once and for all. It is a false issue and a mischievous one. No one is trying to direct the policies of the government of Israel, unless the existence of separate Zionist parties in the United States and elsewhere, with their inherited programs which antedated by far the establishment of the state, is in itself a form of interference. In that case, all Zionist parties, left, right and center, should be abolished. Perhaps the time will soon come for their amalgamation into an all-embracing organization of friends of Israel. The ZOA has always insisted upon a decisive constitutional separation between the government of Israel and the Jewish Agency of the World Zionist Movement. We do not wish either to trespass upon the legitimate domain of the other. The principle of separation works both ways. We will not interfere in the policies of the government of Israel and we do not wish the leaders of the government of Israel to interfere in matters which are the exclusive concern of the American Jewish community and of the Zionist bodies in the United States.

## Need for Investment

As American General Zionists, knowing the temper and thinking of our people here, we have voiced the hope that maximum encouragement compatible with national interest will be given in the new state to the investment of private capital and that all talk of "socialism in our lifetime" will be abated. Everyone realizes that the economic life of the new state cannot be developed rapidly enough to create the absorptive opportunity for the immigration pouring into the country without vast investments of foreign capital. It is not because we are ideological foes of socialism but because we are presently concerned with the absorption of hundreds of thousands of immigrants and with the building up of the economy of a young and poor country. This thought, which we have voiced from time to time, is surely not in the nature of interference or pressure and we are very pleased that the government of Israel has been quick to face up to the needs of the hour and is adopting many measures to encourage and to give confidence to the investment of private capital in enterprises in Israel.



Some 700 Zionist leaders and key people from the metropolitan area and other parts of the country attended the dinner of the Manhattan Region at the Waldorf Astoria Hotel in New York on the second anniversary of the UN resolution for a Jewish state, which was given in honor of Dr. Abba Hillel Silver and Hon. Aubrey Eban. Some of the outstanding Zionist speakers are shown here from left to right: Dr. Emanuel Neumann, Mr. Eban, Jacques Torczyner, president of the Region, who was toastmaster, Dr. Silver and ZOA president Daniel Frisch.

Mr. Frisch, in his tribute to Dr. Silver, said that history will record that "Abba Hillel Silver was the architect of the Jewish victory at Lake Success. It was his design that prevailed. . . . Were it not for the sense of consecration, singleness of purpose, profound Jewish understanding, coupled with unceasing energy and relentless determination which characterizes one great Jew in America, which has been supplemented by

the heroic endeavors of the Yishuv and its leadership, this renewal of faith—which today inspires and makes possible the ingathering of exiles from all the corners of the earth—would still be a dream. That great Jew is Abba Hillel Silver." He also paid warm tribute to Mr. Eban, whom he hailed as "the man of great promise."

Dr. Neumann, in his address of tribute, said:

"Rarely indeed has it been given to any leader of a great political movement to begin and to conclude as Dr. Silver has done; to assume leadership in a time of crisis and confusion; to inaugurate a clear and comprehensive policy; to pursue that policy so consistently and relentlessly; to plan both the grand strategy and tactical operations; to lead his followers in a great offensive, wave after wave; to be their voice and inspiration throughout the struggle; to turn temporary defeats into brilliant victories and bring his work to a triumphant and glorious completion."



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Starlight Roof  
The Waldorf Astoria  
Fiftieth Street and Park Ave., New York City

DR. ABBA HILLEL SILVER • HON. AUBREY EBAN  
Speakers

proceeds to

ZOA ACTION FUND  
MANHATTAN REGION

R. S. V. P.  
Enclosed Card

Dietary Laws Observed

Couvert \$100  
Dress Informal



dinner  
on the  
SECOND ANNIVERSARY  
of the  
UNITED NATIONS  
PALESTINE PARTITION RESOLUTION  
under the auspices of the  
MANHATTAN REGION  
ZIONIST ORGANIZATION OF AMERICA  
at the  
WALDORF-ASTORIA  
on  
NOVEMBER 29, 1949



## PROGRAM

### *Invocation*

Rabbi Julius Mark  
Temple Emanuel, New York

*Star Spangled Banner  
and Hatikvah  
Bracha Zefira*

### *Opening Remarks*

Jacques Torczyner, *President*  
Manhattan Region

### *Greetings*

Daniel Frisch, *President*  
Zionist Organization of America

### *Address*

The Hon. Aubrey Eban  
*Representative of Israel to the United Nations*

### *Welcome to Dr. Silver*

Dr. Emanuel Neumann, *Former President*  
Zionist Organization of America

### *Address*

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver  
Former Chairman  
American Section, Jewish Agency for Palestine  
American Zionist Emergency Council

### *Hebrew Vocal Selections*

by Miss Zefira



# menu

Fresh Fruit Supreme

Filet of Whitefish Creole

Cucumbers Doria

Consomme Marie Antoinette

Hearts of Celery

Ripe and Green Olives

Prime Ribs of Beef, Hunter Style

With Mushrooms

Asparagus Tips Polonaise

Anna Potatoes

Frozen Souffle Alaska

With Raspberry and Pineapple Ices

Strawberries au Kirsch

Petits Fours

Demi Tasse



# officers

## MANHATTAN REGION

## ZIONIST ORGANIZATION OF AMERICA

JACQUES TORCZYNER, *President*

HYMAN J. REIT • IRVING GALT  
*Honorary Presidents*

LOUIS DINCE • HENRY GOLDBAUM • MILTON LUKASHOK  
RABBI JACOB POLISH • MILTON S. TAYLOR  
*Vice-Presidents*

CHARLES WOLF, *Treasurer*

IRVING HEISLER, *Assistant Treasurer*

LEO AUERBACH, *Secretary*

MICHELINE PADAWER, *Assistant Secretary*

JACOB N. GOLDENKOFF  
*Chairman, Administrative Council*

RAPHAEL PINCHAS  
*Vice-Chairman, Administrative Council*

LEONARD LIFTON, *Executive Director*

BERNARD ENDELMAN, *Public Relations Chairman*



*Where is the  
steak?*