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## CARNEGIE HALL ANNOUNCEMENTS

MAY

- 4, Wed. 8:30 p.m.—American Zionist Emergency Council, Meeting
- 5, Thurs. 8:30 p.m.—Freedom Rally. Sponsored by Common Cause, Inc.
- 7, Sat. 8:30 p.m.—Victory Lodge No. 1481, B'nai Brith, Fifth Annual Gershwin Memorial Concert. Alec Templeton, *Pianist*
- 10, Tues. 2:30 p.m.—New York Youth Concerts; Wheeler Beckett, *Conductor*
- 13, Fri. 2:30 p.m.—New York Youth Concerts; Wheeler Beckett, *Conductor*
- 14, Sat. 8:30 p.m.—The First Piano Quartet
- 15, Sun. 3:00 p.m.—Lutheran Layman's League, Lutheran Hour Rally
- 22, Sun. 2:00 p.m.—Rev. Percy B. Crawford, Young People's Church of the Air
- 28, Sat. 8:00 p.m.—The Zionist Organization of America, Meeting
- 29, Sun. Music and Dance Festival, sponsored by The Ukrainian Metropolitan Area Committee of New York

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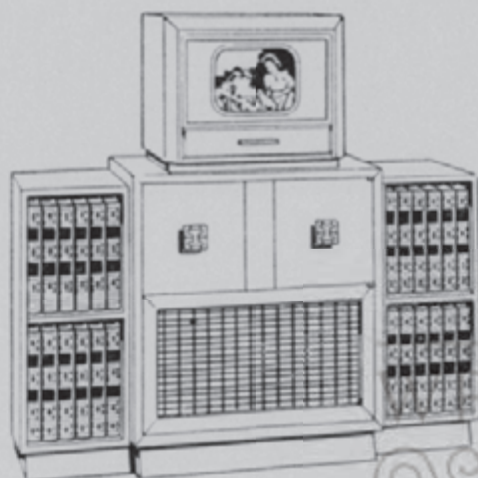
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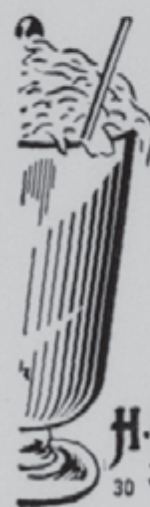
CHEMJO VINAVER, *Director*BRACHA ZEFIRA, *Contralto*Dr. ABBA HILLEL SILVER, *Chairman*

## PROGRAM

I.

Hymn of Freedom . . . . . *Julius Chajes*  
Chorus and Orchestra

Program Continued on Second Page Following

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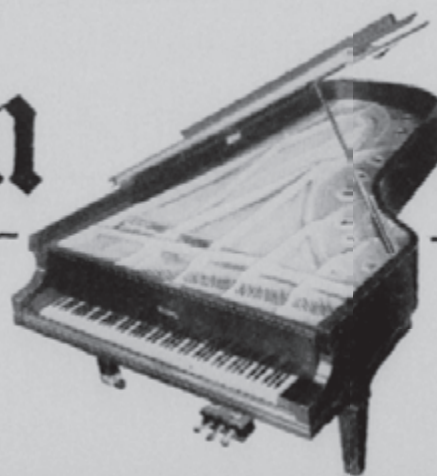
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PROGRAM CONTINUED

II.

Symphony No. 3 "Eroica".....Beethoven

I. Allegro con brio

II. Marcia Funebre: Adagio assai

III. Scherzo: Allegro vivace: Trio

IV. Finale: Allegro molto

Orchestra



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Program Continued on Second Page Following

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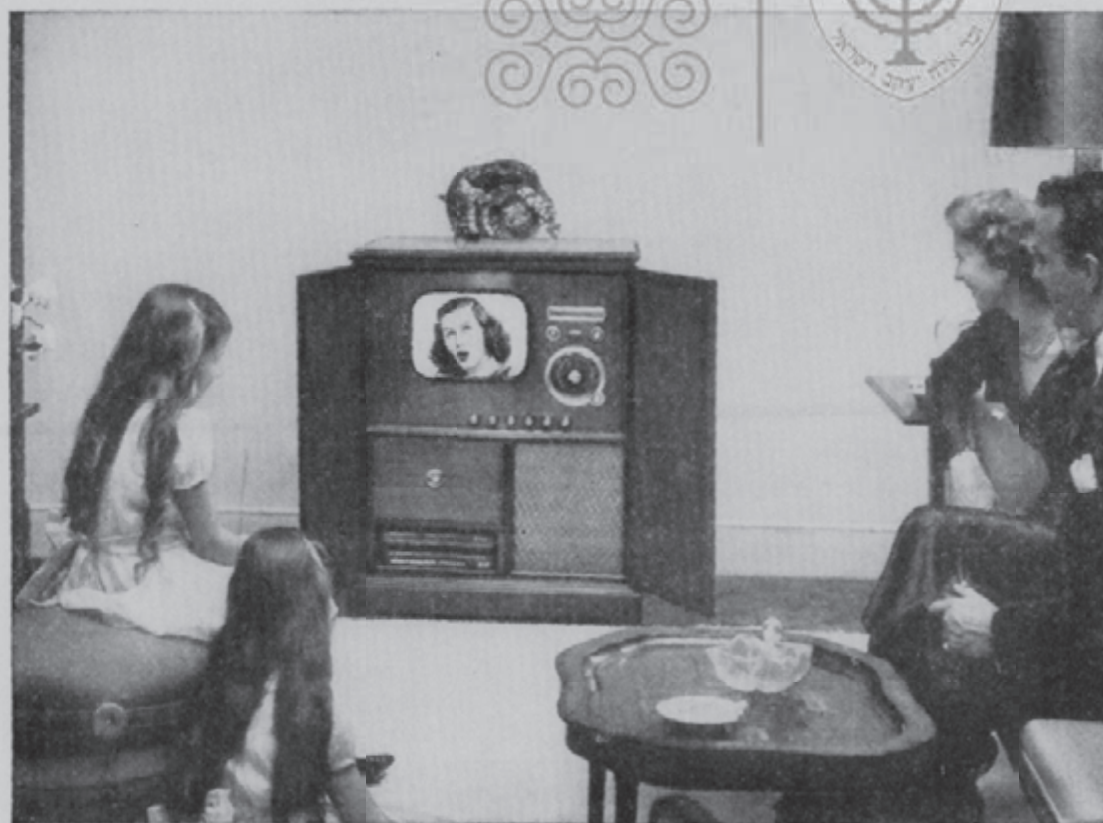


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## PROGRAM CONTINUED

### III.

Three Songs ..... *Chemjo Vinaver*  
El Yivneh Ha-Galil (Palestinian Hora)  
Yemenite Prayer (Traditional)  
Moshiach (Folk Song)  
Vinaver Chorus

### IV.

Renew Our Days as of Old (Traditional),  
*Arranged by Ben-Chaim*  
None So Great as the Lord (Traditional Hymn),  
*Arranged by Adon P.*  
Bracha Zefira

### V.

Hora from A Folk Symphony ..... *M. Mabler-Kalkenstein*  
Jewish Dance from "Uriel Acosta" ..... *Karol Rathaus*  
Orchestra

### VI.

Hatikvah ..... *Julius Chajes*  
Chorus and Orchestra

NOTE: This Concert-Meeting is under the sponsorship of the American Zionist Emergency Council. The program was incomplete at the time of printing.

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**REFRESHMENT BARS** are also located on the Dress Circle, and the Balcony floors.

**ELEVATORS** to Dress Circle and Balcony in studio entrances at 154 West 57th St. and 881 Seventh Av.

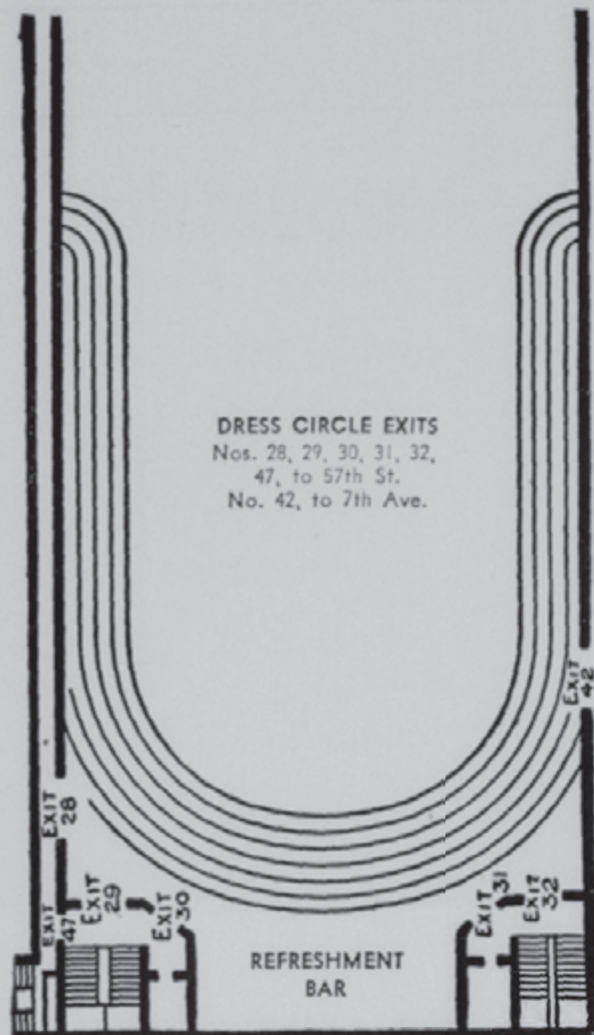
**SMOKING** is permitted only in the Gallery Bar, in the Buffet and on the Balcony and Dress Circle Stairways. Smoking and lighting of matches are forbidden in any other part of premises.

**TELEPHONES** are located in entrance lobby, at right of parquet near Seventh Avenue exit, west side of Second Tier; at the Dress Circle and Balcony check room, and east of lobby back of Box Office.

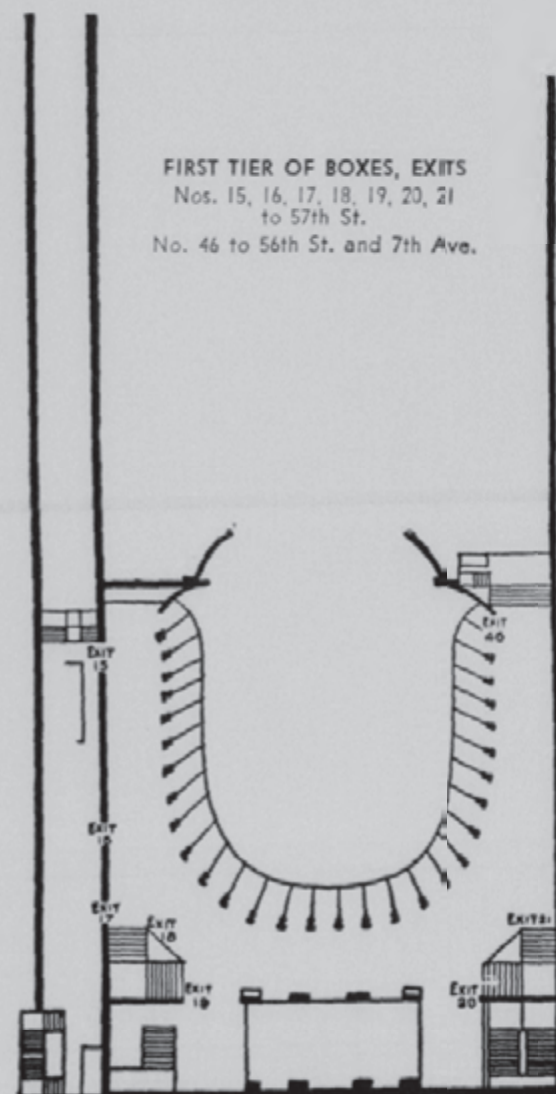
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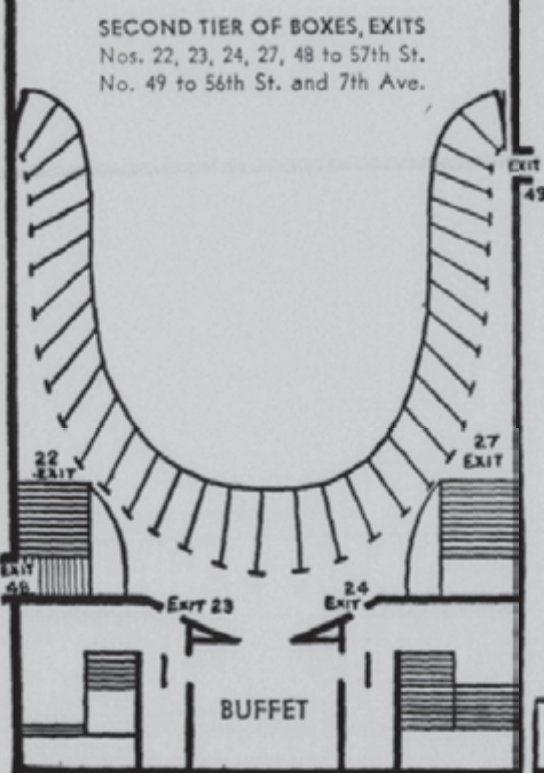
**EAR-PHONES**—A few seats have been wired for the hard-of-hearing. For information, see the House Manager.



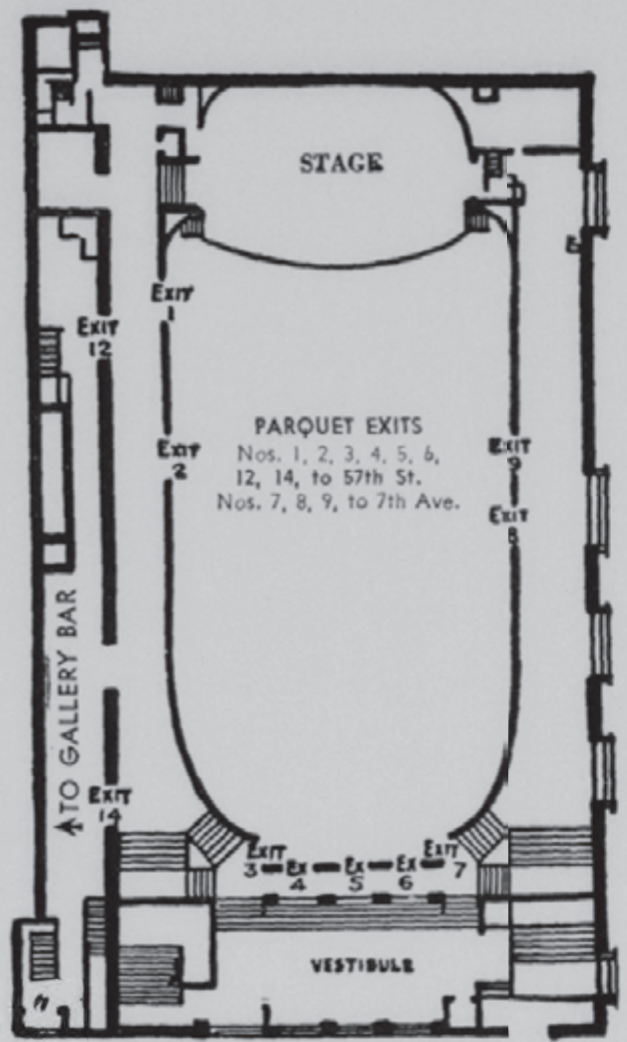
Men's Room at Exit 30, Ladies' at Exit 31



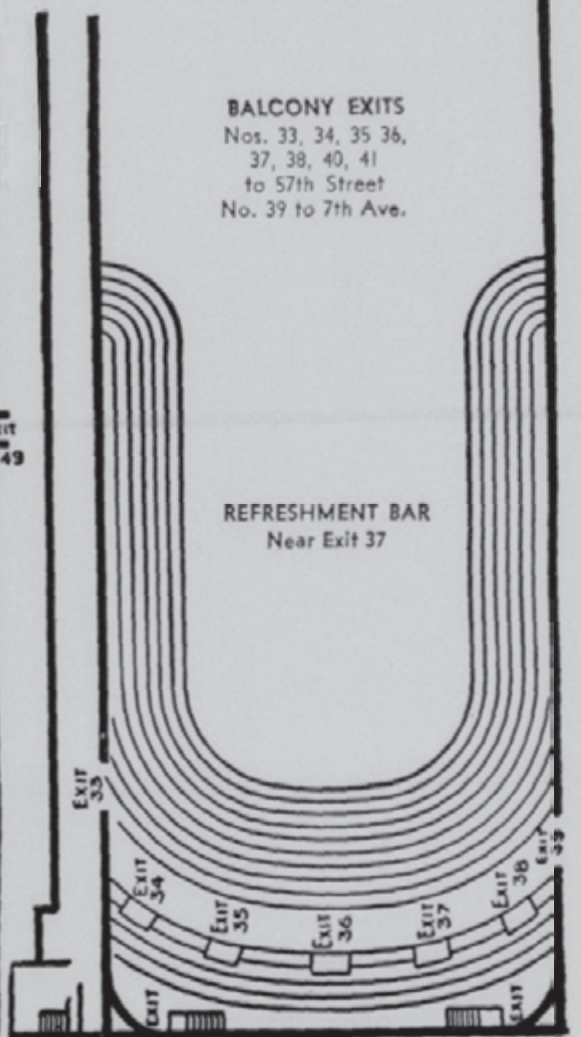
Ladies' Room at Exit 19



Men's Room at Exit 23, Ladies' at Exit 24



Ladies' and Men's Rooms at Exit 12



Ladies' Room at Rear Right Exit

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## The Philharmonic Goes Barnstorming



Now that its New York season is over, the New York Philharmonic-Symphony takes to the road for a fourteen-concert tour in the South and Midwest. The first seven concerts will be conducted by Leopold Stokowski, six will be conducted by Bruno Walter and one by Leonard Bernstein. The tour is being made under the sponsorship of Columbia Records, for whom the orchestra records exclusively.

Transportation and housing of the Philharmonic's hundred and four men, their priceless instruments and baggage and orchestral paraphernalia require considerable ingenuity and planning. The men will live on the train during the entire tour, leaving each night after the concert for a new city. During these weeks, their home will be six Pullmans and a special recreation car for reading, games and smoking. Two baggage cars are assigned to them, one for their personal luggage, the other, especially air conditioned, for their instruments (valued at more than a half-million dollars). As a recent article in the "American Magazine" pointed out, "The tour proves—if there were any skeptics still unconvinced—that symphonic music has become a dish which suits America's taste."

Coinciding with the orchestra's tour, Columbia Records has issued several of the Philharmonic's recordings of the works which will be played on the out-of-town programs. Recently released on Long Playing discs are the orchestra's recordings of the Dvorak Symphony No. 4 in G major, conducted by Bruno Walter, and the Shostakovich Symphony No. 9, conducted by Efrem Kurtz. Leopold Stokowski has conducted the Philharmonic in recently issued recordings of the "Magic Fire Music" and "Wotan's Farewell" from "Die Walküre," and in Tchaikovsky's "Francesca da Rimini," both of which are included on his current tour programs.



About

### CARNEGIE HALL

We can all agree that the great musicians who have appeared on Carnegie Hall's stage in the past 58 years have created a tradition for this hall that is unique in the history of public auditoriums. But it is perhaps not so well known that Carnegie Hall is an institution of traditions within traditions. We refer to the "dynasties" that have developed here.

For example, this program is published by Alfred Scott and his brother Stanley, and printed under the patient supervision of one of the most harassed craftsmen in the printing business, Stanley Hampton. The Scotts have been publishing the Carnegie Hall House Program all their lives, carrying on where their father left off. He was appointed to the task 'way back in 1879! Incidentally, not once, in all the years, have the Scotts missed the delivery of a program!

And the management of Carnegie Hall's Box Office has been in the capable hands of the same family ever since the Hall opened 58 years ago. The present "Heck Boys", as they are affectionately known to countless Carnegie Hall patrons, are the sons and grandsons of the original Rudolph C. Heck who first came to Carnegie Hall's Box Office in 1891.

Another Carnegie Hall dynasty is personified by the Totten family. John Totten, the House Manager, his father and his sons, have a record of service to Carnegie Hall going back 45 years.

The President of Carnegie Hall is also a member of the "Dynasty Club". Robert E. Simon, Sr., was President from 1925 until his death in 1935. His son, Robert E. Simon, Jr., was elected to the post of Vice President in 1935 and to the Presidency in 1938.

Drawing to the close of another concert season we salute these gentlemen and the fine traditions of service they represent, and thank them for their contributions to the growth of Carnegie Hall.



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# *The First Year*

The First Anniversary  
of the State of Israel

New York City, May 4, 1949







On May 4, 1949 the first anniversary of the establishment of the State of Israel was celebrated by the Jews of America in every community from coast to coast. In New York City an overwhelming sentiment of enthusiasm and dedication was expressed at two meetings under the auspices of the American Zionist Emergency Council. The first, held in the afternoon, was a mass demonstration in Madison Square Park, attended by over 150,000 persons. The second, held in the evening at Carnegie Hall, was a combined concert and meeting. The addresses delivered there are contained in this brochure. The concert program was furnished by seventy-five members of the New York Philharmonic Symphony Orchestra, under the direction of Izler Solomon; the Vinaver Chorus; and Bracha Zefira, the Israeli singer.





## PHOTOGRAPHS

*Front Cover:* The crowd of 150,000 jams Madison Square Park on the afternoon of May 4, 1949.

*Inside Front Cover:* The solemn vow, "If I forget thee, O Jerusalem," is taken by the great crowd in Madison Square Park, led by Chief Rabbi Herzog of Israel.

*Page Fifteen:* Seventy-five members of the New York Philharmonic Symphony Orchestra play at the Carnegie Hall meeting.

*Inside Back Cover:* Dr. Chaim Weizmann, President of Israel, addresses the Madison Square Park demonstration.





## *Peace upon Israel*

DR. ABBA HILLEL SILVER

**M**Y DEAR FRIENDS, a year ago this day I had the extreme honor of announcing, at the Political Committee of the General Assembly of the United Nations, the establishment of the State of Israel. As you may well imagine, it was a moment freighted with drama, and I felt the full impact of what one might call that messianic moment. And when a few short minutes after the proclamation of the State of Israel, word was flashed that the Government of the United States had extended de facto recognition to the newborn State, you may well imagine the joy that surged through my heart, and through the hearts of all our good friends there in the Assembly of the United Nations, and through the hearts of world Jewry, and men of good will of all faiths everywhere.

Now a year has elapsed since that memorable occasion, and world Jewry and their good friends everywhere are celebrating today the first anniversary of the founding of the Jewish State. And what a year this has been! How much of history has telescoped in these short twelve months! While all that has happened during this past year never wanted for the sustaining influence of the inspiration of the great political achievement, it was a year not free of anxiety, of bitter struggle, of fighting, of searching and testing problems. The old adage, frequently ignored but time and again vindicated by human experience, again proved true in this



instance: Freedom is never given, freedom is always won. Freedom is always purchased and the price is often very high in terms of human sacrifice. If the Israeli are free tonight, it is because they were prepared and ready to pay the highest price for their freedom and their independence. Our sages of old who knew the experience of their people and of other peoples very well, and who frequently crystallized the wisdom of the ages in an apt saying, declared: "The good God gave three things, three gifts unto Israel, but none of them without a full measure of sacrifice—the Torah, Immortality, and the Land of Israel."

Much blood was shed in the last twelve months, and many war casualties remain. Immediately after the proclamation of the State, five armies from the neighboring Arab States invaded the country in an effort to alter by force the decision of the United Nations of November 1947, and the United Nations was powerless to prevent the invasions, and the various successive truces which were ordered by the Security Council proved ineffective. Tel Aviv was bombed. Other centers of population were subjected to bombing. The Jewish quarter of the Old City of Jerusalem was attacked and destroyed. The City of Jerusalem itself with its one hundred thousand Jewish inhabitants was besieged and almost compelled by starvation to surrender, but it did not surrender.

And then, in July and August of last year, the forces of Israel began to fight back, and beat back the enemy. Poorly equipped, inadequately prepared for what everybody knew would be the inevitable attack, hand-fettered in preparation by the Mandatory regime before it left the country, nevertheless they compensated for their poor equipment by valor and skill and resourcefulness, by determination and a sacrificial valor which beat back the armies one after another across the borders. And last fall, in the battles of the Negev, the Israeli forces completely discomfited and defeated the enemy. A high price was paid, and yet, much as we sorrow for the losses, the human suffering, perhaps from the larger historic perspective it is better so. *Grateful as we are to the United Nations and to friends everywhere who assisted, it is, and will remain, an eternal source of pride for our people that Israel itself established Israel.* It is good for the soul of a people and it is good for the youth of a people, to know that what it has was not given as a gift, but achieved by its own blood and sweat and sacrifice.

And so we meet today, on this occasion of the first anniversary, to celebrate, first of all, the victories of the fighting armies of Israel within the last year.



**B**UT THE YEAR was not entirely spent in defensive fighting for freedom and survival. Much else, very much else, was accomplished. The Israelis in this brief period of time brought into operation a complete machinery of government. They set up the apparatus of self-government and all the institutions and the services needed for peaceful and progressive civilian life in a free democracy. In January of this year the first general elections were held in Israel, and a half million men and women turned out to vote—to vote for a Jewish government—and the manner of the voting and the orderliness of the procedure revealed a political maturity which made us all proud.

In February of this year, the first Constituent Assembly—the Knesseth Israel—met. A President was elected. A Ministry was set up. All the departments of government were brought into existence and functioned smoothly. The first draft of an Israeli Constitution was announced to the world. It is a model constitution, incorporating the most progressive, democratic ideas in government known to mankind, and we are proud of the fact. The Bill of Rights of the Constitution of the United States, the heroic ideals of freedom and the inalienable rights of man of our Declaration of Independence, are in essence reflected, completely reflected, in this Constitution of the State of Israel. The outreaching for equality, for non-discrimination between Jew and non-Jew, between races and creeds and sects and the sexes, for complete human equality and brotherhood; the outreaching for social justice, for those principles first proclaimed on the hills of Judea and in the cities of Samaria by the prophets of Israel—all those high notes of human civilization echo and reverberate through this new Constitution of this new State of Israel.

In setting up their government, the Israelis announced to the world that they want peace, and that they wish to be let alone to work out their destiny peacefully, without being drawn into the game of power politics, without being forced to choose between the perils of Scylla and the perils of Charybdis; they want to walk their own road, as a free people among the peoples of the earth.

**A**ND so they did much else than fight, albeit they fought magnificently, and they did even more than set their house in order—they made good on another promise, on another hope that we held for the State: in the last twelve months they gave sanctuary and haven and new life and a new hope to nearly 220,000 Jewish refugees. They are emptying the camps, the D. P. camps that defiled the face of Europe for so many years.



*The broken and the beaten, those who had wandered the broken highways of exile and homelessness across the face of Europe for so long, those who had languished, men, women and children, in those miserable camps for so long, have finally found a home among their own people. That refugee problem which all the great Powers on earth with their vast territories and the empty continents could not solve, the little State of Israel is completely solving today.*

At a great gathering here in the City of New York six years ago, when we first began to organize and mobilize our forces for the great battle which we knew would come, the battle for the liberation of Israel and the rebuilding of the national life of our people in its ancestral home, at a great gathering here in the City of New York of representatives of all sections of American Jewry, I, together with my friends, urged the adoption of a resolution in behalf of the establishment of the Jewish State, and we were urged not to make that demand; it is a maximal demand; it is a dangerous demand; let us concentrate, we were told, on the White Paper; let us ask for free immigration into Palestine, and only that, and no more than that. It was at this Conference that I and my friends argued that we cannot rescue the Jews of Europe unless we have free immigration into Palestine; we cannot have free immigration into Palestine unless our political rights are recognized there; our political rights cannot be recognized unless our historic connection with the country is acknowledged and our right to rebuild our national home is reaffirmed. These are inseparable links, I said, in the chain; the whole chain breaks if one of these links is missing.

Fortunately, those gathered there believed in this thesis, that only when the Jews had the key to Palestine would they be able to admit the refugees from Europe; that as long as a mandatory regime held control of the country, there would be no solution of the problem of Jewish immigration. And history has demonstrated how true that was, for the moment the State was proclaimed, a year ago, the doors of Israel were flung wide open, and today men, women and children are pouring in at the rate of a thousand a day—a thousand a day!

ISRAEL has already justified its existence in terms of this colossal social humanitarian achievement. But while this vast immigration is welcome, it has become a frightful burden upon the economy of the young republic. It is a crushing burden. The Israelis are taxing themselves to the bone. They are submitting themselves to a regime of austerity in



order to do their part to solve the problem, as they have done their fullest share to solve the total problem of national reconstruction. But we must not impose the whole of this burden upon them. They are too few in number; the State is too young and too poor to be able to expend the hundreds of millions of dollars which are necessary for the transportation, the reception, the housing, the care, the integration into the economic life of the country, of these myriads, literally, that are pouring in every month.

It is largely our problem, the problem of the Jews of the diaspora, the Jews outside of Israel. We wished, along with the Israelis, to put an end to the *galuth*; we asked for it; we labored for it. We are ending the *galuth*, we are making possible the *kibbutz galioth*, the ingathering of the scattered, of the exiled, the war-ravaged, the camp-wearied. Surely we want to pay our part of the cost, in making this possible.

Even as we are celebrating in a high mood of exaltation today, as we have every right to, we ought to remember this most pressing and urgent and immediate problem, with which the State of Israel and the people of Israel are being confronted at this moment.

THERE are other problems, good friends, confronting the new State on this, its first anniversary. Peace has not yet been entirely established. The boundaries have not been fixed. The status of Jerusalem has not been finally determined. There was a thought in the United Nations a year ago last November, that perhaps the best solution for Jerusalem would be internationalization. It has since become increasingly clear that this solution involves tremendous difficulties in implementation, and the belief is growing more and more in the thinking of responsible leaders in the United Nations that perhaps the solution lies not in the direction of internationalization, but in the direction of maximum international guarantees for the immunity of the sacred places of Jerusalem which are dear to the three great religions of mankind.

A few days ago, speaking here in the City of New York, the President of the State of Israel, Dr. Chaim Weizmann, declared—pledged, rather—that the State of Israel is prepared to ensure full security for religious institutions in the exercise of their functions, to grant the supervision of the holy places to those who hold them sacred, and to encourage and accept fullest international safeguards and controls for their immunity and protection: immunity and protection for the sacred places of the City of Jerusalem. The Jewish City of Jerusalem, the city built by Jews,



one hundred thousand of them, the holy city of Israel, *that* belongs in the State of Israel.

There is the grave problem of Arab refugees confronting not alone the State of Israel, but all the Arab and neighboring states, in fact, all men and women of good will. The Arabs who left the borders of Israel during the war, now find themselves in a desperate plight, similar to the plight of the Jewish refugees during the war years. The leaders of the Government of Israel have time and again expressed their deep concern with this problem and their willingness and readiness to cooperate with all peoples concerned, in a permanent solution of this problem. The thinking here, too, lies in the direction not of the return of all the Arab refugees to their original homes, a thing which is almost a physical impossibility today, but rather of finding new and satisfactory homes for them in parts of the Arab world which would be prepared for their reception, and of arranging, on a basis of voluntary population transfer, for the solution of their problem, as well as for the solution of the problem of the many Jews in Arab countries who wish or have to leave those countries, and who desire to go to Israel.

This plan has interested many leading Americans. Former President Herbert Hoover has been particularly interested in this solution of the problem. A few days ago, Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt, writing in her column, declared: "There was a time when perhaps the best solution would have been for these people to return to Israel. However, now with the great influx of Jewish immigration from Cyprus and Central Europe, the Arabs probably will be better off if the funds already at hand are used to resettle them in some of the Arab countries where there are vacant lands that need people to work them." And I believe that it is in this direction that this grave problem may peacefully find its ultimate solution.

THERE is the problem of the admission of the State of Israel in the United Nations. We have our representative here on the platform this evening, the chief spokesman of the Israeli delegation to the United Nations, Major Aubrey Eban, and I am confident that before many days are past, the State of Israel will be a member of the United Nations.

Almost exactly two years ago, when I first presented the case of Israel to the United Nations, I concluded my appeal to the assembled delegates, with the following words:

The Jewish people belongs in this society of nations. Surely the Jewish people is no less deserving than other peoples whose



national freedom and independence have been established, and whose representatives are now seated here. The Jewish people were your allies in a war and joined their sacrifices to yours, to achieve a common victory. The representatives of the Jewish people of Palestine should sit in your midst, representatives of a people and a land which gave to mankind spiritual and ethical values, inspiring human personalities, and sacred texts which are your treasured possessions. We hope that that people, now rebuilding again its national life in its ancient homeland, will be welcomed before long by you to this noble fellowship of the United Nations.

Now that the State of Israel has been established, and more than fifty nations have recognized the independence and the sovereignty of the State of Israel, surely there is no meaning in any further delay to the admission of the State into the United Nations.

And so, my good friends, we meet here tonight on a *yom tov*, as celebrants, our hearts brimful with gratitude to a kind Providence for this miraculous achievement, culminating the suffering and the hopes and the longings of two thousand years. And while we are mindful of the many grave problems which confront the newborn State, nevertheless we are confident that it will solve these problems with the same skill, with the same sacrificial loyalty, with the same determination and resourcefulness which enabled its people to win through on the battlefield this past year; which sustained them and enheartened them during the long, weary years which preceded the establishment of the State of Israel. They will solve their new problems because they have the amazing capacity of mind and soul to solve them; because they know that they are engaged in an act of destiny; because they know that the Jews of the world and men of goodwill the world over who believe in freedom and in the rights of small peoples and want to see justice done in the world, will stand by them and with them throughout the coming years.

So, from here we will send to them your greetings on this great day, greetings which may be summed up in three brief, beautiful words of our Bible: *Shalom al Yisrael*—Peace upon Israel.

MY GOOD FRIENDS, if the Government of the United States, when the great hour of decision arrived, stood with us, it is due almost entirely to public opinion, the public opinion of the American people



which was made vocal in the press and in the pulpit and most especially in the halls of Congress.

We went to the leaders of American political life and told them our story. To many of them our story was not entirely known. They wished to be informed. We found among them great hearts and understanding minds, in both political parties, and when we introduced in Congress the Palestine Resolution, expressing the approval of the Congress of the United States for the establishment of a Jewish National Home in Palestine, it was not difficult to find wholehearted support among the leaders both of the House and of the Senate, and in both political parties. Our appeal was never to partisan interest. Our cause had wholehearted, bipartisan support in Congress. And so we are extremely grateful this evening, and it is altogether fitting and proper this evening, that we have with us two distinguished members of the Congress of the United States, representing the two major political parties in American life who will speak to us this evening.

I should like to introduce first, a famous economist, a man who is known to all those who have worked in the field of economic justice, on behalf of social legislation in our country. I first met Senator Douglas years ago, when we were both fighting for unemployment insurance in the Middle West. Many of you know him as the distinguished Professor of Economics of the University of Chicago, and the former President of the American Economic Association. He was elected to the United States Senate last year and has already become one of the foremost liberal members of that distinguished body, the Senate of the United States.

Ladies and gentlemen, I have the great honor of presenting to you at this time, Senator Paul H. Douglas of Illinois.





## *In Praise of Liberty*

SENATOR PAUL HYDE DOUGLAS

**D**R. SILVER, my good friend and honored colleague, Senator Lodge, friends of Israel and fellow-Americans, the people of Israel have a particular claim to the event we are celebrating on this Fifth Day of Iyar 5709. But, in its larger sense, the Declaration issued at Tel Aviv one year ago, invites not merely a Jewish, but a universal celebration, for the search for freedom is never just a local one, nor are the results of that search only local. Whatever increases or diminishes the cause of freedom in one point of the globe does so throughout the globe. Among men who love freedom, what happens to a part of us happens to all of us. We mourn our losses together and we rejoice together in our triumphs.

Three centuries ago, the English poet, John Donne, wrote: "No man is an island unto himself; every man is a part of the continent, a piece of the main." And we can say now that no nation is an island unto itself; every nation is a part of the continent and a piece of the world.

Tonight, we who love liberty—Jews and non-Jews alike—have cause to rejoice together. For Israel lives, not only as an idea, not only as the theme for a prayer, but it lives as the Third Jewish Commonwealth. It lives despite all efforts to keep it from being born. It lives despite all efforts to crush its life when it was born. It lives because the ageless vitality of the Jews and their ageless love of liberty produced in our



day a generation of Joshuas and Maccabees, a generation that looked to its own faith and to its own strength to win a resting place for Israel in its own homeland.

In an age filled with practical men, in an age which looks with suspicion at any force other than barefaced physical force, the history of Israel in the past year calls us back to ancient truths. It reminds us that faith can still move mountains, when faith is joined as a hand-maiden to a love of liberty. It reminds us that acts of liberation are not achieved by men who make Machiavellian calculations about risks or favorable omens. The liberation of peoples, as Major Aubrey Eban said in Washington recently, (and when I wrote this I did not know that he was going to speak here tonight)—“is an act of faith rising up in defiance of logic and drawing its strength from the moral and spiritual impulses which are decisive in all areas of human conflict.”

In this single year, as Dr. Silver has said, the people of Israel had thrust upon them a complex of tasks which other nations have dealt with over many generations of growth. In Israel's case, however, there was no time to deal with them a nibble at a time. A dyke in history had suddenly burst open, and there poured over the Jewish people a torrent of all the pent-up problems that had gathered density since the first days of the Diaspora.

FIRST, there was the declaration of freedom announced one year ago tonight. That alone would command the respectful attention of history. But the year called for much more than a ringing manifesto. It called for much more than a reinforcement of all the established modes of government when the Mandatory Power vacated the land. The year called for deeds of valor, for a spirit of sacrifice, to drive back the invader whose falling bombs could be heard above the Declaration of Independence. It was contrary to all the primary teachings of Judaism to accept war as a solution to international problems. Israel did not invite war with its Arab neighbors. It pleaded for a chance to negotiate a peaceful settlement of the points at issue with them. But practical men, making practical calculations, felt there was much to be gained by launching an attack on the infant state. The present misery of countless thousands of Arabs was the bitter fruit of that venture.

War was thrust on the Israeli and they had no recourse but to face up to it. The results of the battles that followed made fools of the experts and realists who forgot that the trial of strength in the Holy Land was



not merely gun against gun, but rather spirit against spirit. It was a trial of strength between the spirit of the effendi on the one hand, and the men of the Haganah in whose hearts and minds there dwelt the souls of the six million sacrifices to Nazi barbarism. The latter mastered the field. The effendi fled.

Yet the military task was part of Israel's labors in the last year. While its port cities were being bombed, while its settlements were being attacked, while its resources were being heavily taxed to support the armies in the field, Israel faced the task of bringing into the land the scattered remnants who had survived the gas chambers and the crematoriums of Hitler's Germany. Some sense of the magnitude of this task—and it has only begun—can be grasped from a comparative figure: Within the last year alone, the rate of immigration to Israel—a total of 220,000—has been at a rate of twenty times as great as the flow of peoples to the United States at the peak of our immigration phase. This is a staggering feat. It is not without its trials and pains. But the rot of the Displaced Persons camps had to be ended.

When the total problem of immigration is mastered, the solution offered may prove to be one of the more important social inventions of our day. Many western states are now torn between a need for granting essential economic freedoms to their citizens while at the same time blending these freedoms into the social, economic, and political needs of the community as a whole. A harmony between the interests of the one and the many, between private and public interests, was achieved in Israel before the present wave of migration. And if that harmony can be maintained in the future, we may see another instance where the Law goes forth from Zion. Other nations might lay aside doctrinaire solutions which are now competing with one another for mastery over the peoples of the West and look to the way in which peace, justice, freedom and order have been achieved in the newest state in the family of nations.

THE declaration of an intention to be free, the fight in the field to ensure the physical integrity of the new state and the absorption of tens of thousands of immigrants who must be housed, fed, clothed and put to work, would alone have justified the hopes held for the future of Israel. But the people of that land still found the strength and the will to hew out a permanent cornerstone for future years. They elected a constituent assembly to draft a basic law by which the new state was to be governed. This is no easy task in tranquil times. For constitution-making is the most



exactng of political arts. But to undertake it at a time when external dangers were still present, to elect a representative government under conditions which other peoples have cited in justification of dictatorship, speaks volumes on where Israel stands in the ageless struggle between totalitarianism and freedom. By this act, Israel proves it does not pay mere lip service to freedom. It serves the cause of freedom by risking everything in its name.

I have spoken thus far on what the Israeli have done for themselves in past years. But it is appropriate in this hour to point out that Israel has lifted itself as far as it can by its own bootstraps. *President Truman has, of course, extended a powerful hand to Israel in the past. His trust in the new state has been more than justified. Americans of all creeds honor him for his deeds on behalf of the new state. But if the full hope held out for the future of Israel is to be realized, a further helping hand must be extended to it. The people of Israel have won a right to it. There is no reason why they should not get it.*

In measuring the consequences of any such help to Israel, two world needs should be borne in mind. First Israel has a compelling interest in maintaining the peace of the world. As Moshe Shertok pointed out, "There is no people today which in obedience to a sheer instinct of self-preservation dreads another world war more than the Jews." The facts behind Mr. Shertok's observations are self-evident. Israel rests at the crossroads of the world. Any outbreak of general hostilities would immediately engulf Israel and might lead to a ravaging of the new state. The foreknowledge that this would happen makes the maintenance of peace in the world a matter of life and death to the Israeli.

What follows is a corollary.

We know from experience that mass poverty in any nation, gross inequalities of wealth, ignorance, social backwardness and political instability are forces which breed revolution and war. Such nations either tempt the intervention of stronger ones, or they breed a race of adventurers who divert attention away from domestic problems by waging war on neighboring states. Because of its depressed condition, because it fits the classic description of a political powder-keg, the Middle East is marked with a giant danger sign for those who earnestly search for peace. The danger is not abated by maintaining the status quo as the English have tried to do. It is increased. But it can be abated if to the political sovereignty of the Middle East states there is added a policy of social and economic rehabilitation. Money is needed to do this. Technicians



are needed. But examples are also needed. And in this respect, Israel can be to the Middle East what Athens was once to the Greeks in the days of Pericles. The course of its own social and economic development may goad the pride of its neighbors to go and do likewise. And to the extent to which they do do likewise, the dangers of revolution and war are lessened.

**W**HAT do these general statements imply in specific terms?

As a first step, Israel belongs in the United Nations where its voice for peace can be heard. Article Four of the United Nations Charter sets forth the proposition that membership in that body is the right of all "peace-loving states which accept the obligations contained in the . . . Charter, and, in the judgment of the organization, are able and willing to carry out that obligation." Israel has repeatedly declared its acceptance of the obligations of the Charter. In many respects, it exceeds the qualifications of states who are now part of the United Nations. It is truly independent, while some nations are satellites to others. It is a true democracy, while some states are dictatorships. It has internal stability, while some states are torn internally either by large-scale civil war, or by repeated palace revolutions. Most of the members of the United Nations have already granted it individual recognition, and I fail to understand why it is so difficult for them to do collectively what they have done individually. I might add in passing that it seems ironic that the people who taught the world the doctrine of universal peace, should be kept waiting hat in hand outside the door of an organization formed to advance that doctrine.

In November of 1947, the United Nations declared that the State of Israel had a right to come into being. In May of last year, the United States was the first to recognize the new state. And ever after, when the United Nations for various reasons, wavered in its resolve, a strong word from the United States bolstered the wobbly legs. *A word from the United States on the matter of admitting Israel into the United Nations is needed now. I have every confidence that it will be forthcoming.*

**W**HILE Israel has won the right of membership in the United Nations, it has similarly won the right to have and hold the *new* portion of the city of Jerusalem. The area was built by Jews. It was defended by them against hopeless odds. And, in the absence of the Old City, it is the closest approximation to the city that forms the heart of Jewish dreams and prayers and hopes. A State of Israel without at least the New City



of Jerusalem would be as soulless as a body without a head. President Weizmann has offered what I believe to be a workable approach to the issue of the security of holy places that has been raised. Dr. Silver has quoted the statement in which President Weizmann pledges to preserve all the holy places and to safeguard them. In this connection I should like to observe that the keys to the Sepulchre have been entrusted to an Arab family for generations; I believe the world has every reason to be confident that the assurances given by President Weizmann on other holy places will be no less scrupulously honored. And if, for one reason or another, this solution is not possible for the Old City, it may be that with the New City in the hands of Israel, the Old City might be internationalized, so that Christians, Jews and Arabs may all have their holy places of worship under joint control.

In addition to a ratification of Israel's membership in the United Nations, and its rights to the New City of Jerusalem, there is one further point on which it needs outside help. The problem of Arab refugees, the problem of new migration to Israel, and indeed the problem of the economic and social rehabilitation of the whole of the Middle East, invites the application of Point Four in President Truman's inaugural address. It invites American technical assistance and a blend of private and public capital in the development of river authorities modeled after our own TVA. I wish that every American could go down into Tennessee and Alabama, and see the area covered by TVA, and how it has been transformed and infused with new life. Where it was formerly disease-ridden, impoverished and sparsely populated, it is now healthy, economically productive and capable of absorbing thousands of new settlers. The TVA model can be applied in the case of the Jordan River, with immeasurable benefits not only to Israel but to Transjordan as well. And it can also be applied in the case of the Tigris and Euphrates Rivers with immeasurable benefits to Iraq and Syria. These three rivers, around which so much of human history is woven, now invite a high union between technology and diplomacy. They offer themselves as a passageway to the solution of the population pressures of the Middle East, to their economic and social rehabilitation, and to their political stability. In the name of humanity, in the name of the peace of the world, we must offer our own special knowledge and resources to the full utilization of these three rivers.

*There is enough water in the Middle East for all; there is enough land which can be made fertile in the Middle East for all. There is enough oil*

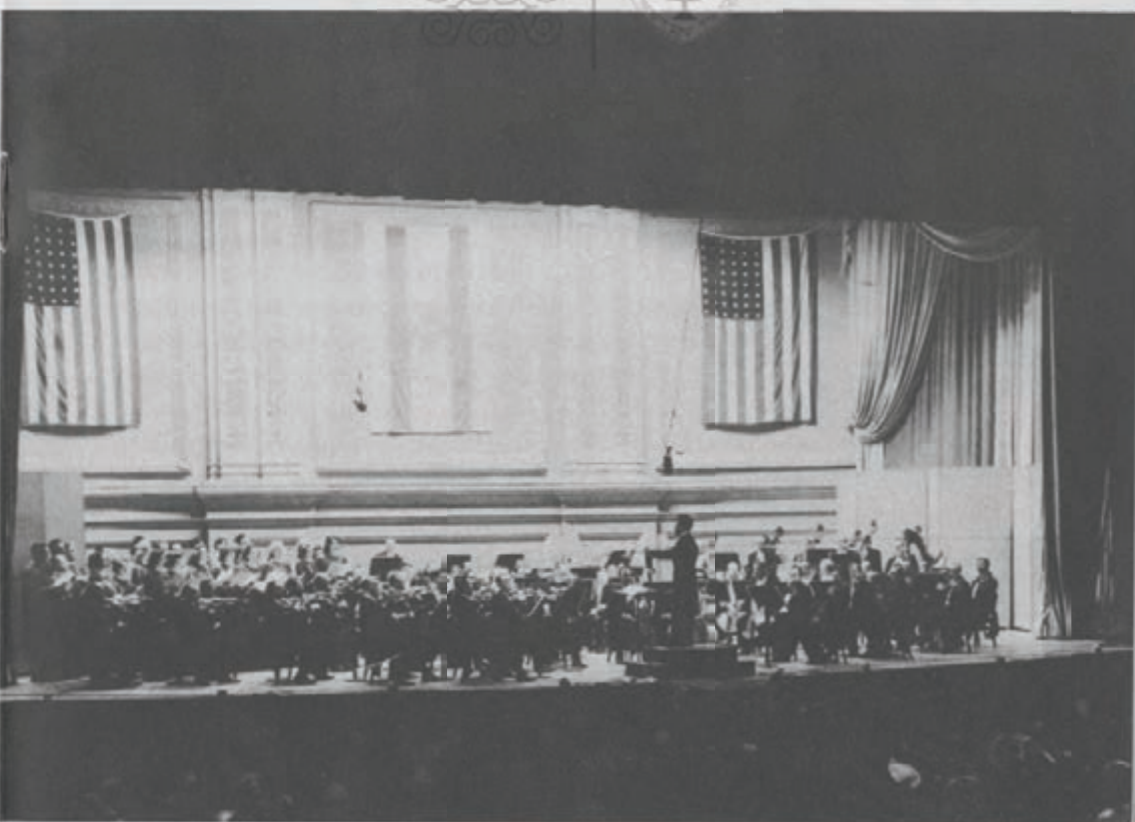


*in the Middle East for all. It is time that all should join together in plenty and abandon the old struggles based upon hatreds and jealousies.*

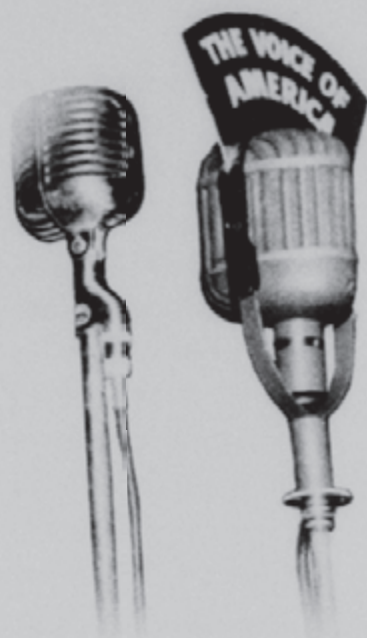
I close with the words of President Weizmann:

The glaring light of public attention is focused upon the state of Israel. More is expected of it than is usually demanded of such small states born in the throes of adversity and crisis. The cultural traditions of the Jewish people encourage the world to expect a corresponding achievement by Israel in modern times. It cannot hope to surprise the world with any manifestations of material power, and Israel has no deeper longing than to turn its energies into the arts of peace. In this generation, as always before, Israel must make its mark through the achievements of its mind and spirit. I pray that the coming year of independence will be not unworthy of the first, and that Israel will remain forever faithful to its most universal and significant ideals.

To these words of President Weizmann, I add the use of his first name: "L'Chaim"—"To Life!"







## *Courage or Calculation?*

SENATOR HENRY CABOT LODGE, JR.

WRHS



**CHAIRMAN SILVER:** *Thank you, Senator Douglas, for this richly-laden, thought-provoking, inspiring address.*

*A generation ago, dear friends, a name was written large into the annals of the Zionist Movement. The name was that of Senator Henry Cabot Lodge. It was under his leadership and by his political guidance and sagacity, that the first resolution favoring the establishment of the Jewish National Home in Palestine was adopted by the Congress of the United States, in 1922.*

*We are privileged tonight to have the grandson of that Senator here. A Senator in his own right, a distinguished American, one who has been a member of the United States Senate since 1936, with the exception of the time which he spent in war service, Senator Henry Cabot Lodge, Junior, was a man to whom we turned from time to time when we needed guidance, political help in Government. His name is now being written large in the annals of the American Zionist Movement, alongside of his distinguished grandfather.*

*Ladies and gentlemen, it gives me extreme pleasure to present to you at this time, Senator Henry Cabot Lodge, Junior, of Massachusetts.*



RABBI SILVER, Senator Douglas, Major Eban, ladies and gentlemen, you will admit that it is a tough assignment to make a speech after the two speakers you have just heard, but I do welcome this chance to say to you that to be a speaker at this first anniversary of the birth of the State of Israel, is one of the most distinguished honors which could have come to a man. A great man recently said that the birth of Israel was a "millennial event to be measured by the temporal values of thousands of years." To be associated with an occurrence which reaches so far into time is an honor which for me is without precedent.

One need not be a close student of history to feel the importance of the birth of the new State of Israel. Every school child knows the antiquity of Jewish civilization and the unique contribution which it has made to human culture. In fact, it is impossible for us to conceive of any culture, non-Jewish or otherwise, if there never had been any Jews. There are, of course, other great peoples who in antiquity contributed to building the foundation of our civilization, but most of them died and disappeared, leaving behind them, it is true, a marvelous memory, but nothing more.

The Jews, on the other hand, were not only a great people in the days of antiquity; they have proven themselves to be a great people in this dangerous and rapidly evolving modern world. In this respect—as in many others—they have proven themselves to be unique.

Let us look at the facts which speak louder than any eulogies of mine.

Look first at the condition of the Jews at the end of World War II. Six million Jewish people were buried in Europe, and a million Jewish children had been deliberately and unbelievably thrown into the furnace. Jewish manpower had been depleted by slaughter as unparalleled as it was vicious. It would have been only human for those dreadful trials to have weakened the fighting spirit of the Jewish people. Others have given up hope with far less cause.

But somehow or other, out of its agony, the Jewish people found within itself the force, the faith and the will to survive.

As Senator Douglas has told you, on the Fifth Day of Iyar Israel proclaimed its independence. It was besieged and blockaded. It had to advance without benefit of international recognition. Its institutions of government were necessarily disintegrating. On its frontiers stood the armies of five Arab States who had manpower, weapons, resources and military experience which many, if not most, observers believed would surely win the day.



If the Jewish leaders at that time had been shrewd and calculating men, they would have undoubtedly concluded that the odds were too unequal, and that it was the better part of valor to give up the struggle and make some sort of a "deal." But to their everlasting credit let it be said that these Jewish leaders were not defeatists. They did not take counsel of their fears. They turned a deaf ear to the voices of despair. Like George Washington at Valley Forge, they felt in their hearts that compromise was impossible, that their cause was right, and that sheer courage on their part would enable it to prevail.

Now you and I all know men whose lives are spent in being shrewd, in making a bet that they will win—in making predictions come true. Those men don't much care what the nature of their guess may be, just so long as they guess right. That is all they want.

Then there are the other kind of men, the men who never can make a living as crystal gazers or as prophets; men whose predictions are often wrong for the very simple reason that these men are not interested in guessing right, but are interested in making the right thing happen which is entirely different. They want to make the right thing happen no matter how difficult or how desperate it may appear. Those are the men who throughout history have really influenced the course of human events. It is a quality which every leader in war and in peace must have, or he becomes a speculator, and not a leader. For, if the leaders do not believe in victory, how can the rank and file be expected to advance?

And so the Jewish leaders made their stand in May 1948, and what happened thereafter?

They stood firm against an overwhelming invasion. They carried the war to the enemy. They sustained the crushing burdens of mobilization. They avoided the errors of most newly created nations in that they set up their army on the basis of the highest professional military standards and without flinching carried out a superbly conceived military plan which won the admiration of soldiers everywhere. So they won through to universal recognition. They established the organs and institutions of democratic administration within sound of the guns. They brought two hundred and twenty thousand fugitives and wanderers into Israel. They revived one of mankind's oldest cultures. They established democracy in that area known as the Near East or the Middle East where its ideals and institutions are practically unknown. They created a home of social



and scientific progress in that same sleepy, stagnant land of desperate squalor and degradation. *They made an international judgment of the United Nations into a reality.* And now they are working for a real Arab-Jewish peace which bids fair before long to be an accomplished fact.

**I** ASK: Was there ever in history a more convincing demonstration of vigor, courage, far-seeing intelligence and lofty idealism?

What was it, in essence that gave these men the victory? They had, as I have said, a fine plan; but it was not the plan. They had zealous friends abroad; but it was not those friends, greatly helpful as they were, who settled the issue.

The factor that won them their victory was the will to win of the individual soldier. He knew that for which he was fighting and quietly and soberly he was willing to die for it if need be. And before he died, he was determined to fight and, if necessary, to take some other people to eternity with him.

This, if I may venture a guess, was the factor which gave the Jewish leaders faith on that memorable May day in 1948 when they made their decision to be brave leaders rather than shrewd calculators. It appears now that almost everyone else was wrong, but that they were not.

The occurrence is similar to events which have taken place in the history of the United States. Before the two world wars the great powers of Europe were correctly informed about our ships and our tanks and our guns and our planes; they had accurate knowledge about our cotton and our wheat, and our oil; they knew exactly the number of men of military age as these were shown in the census reports. But they either had contempt for our manhood or else utterly failed to understand it. On no other basis can their unsuccessful attempts at European and world conquest be explained.

We cannot blame them for it is indeed hard to understand what it is that makes a man a hero. During World War II, I witnessed unbelievable acts of bravery and saw young Americans advance into almost certain death. I asked myself at that time: "What is it that makes these men so brave?" They were surely not enthused by the tinsel slogans of some fanatical dictator; they were not hypnotized by any politician's words. *They were brave because they had grown to manhood in a country in which the individual mattered, in which he was the master and not the servant of the state, a country in which their mothers, and their schools and their religious leaders had taught them that it mattered*



*greatly whether they behaved themselves or whether they did not; that it was a matter of the utmost importance whether they were good men or bad men, brave men or cowards.*

The thing that won the war for America and confounded all the estimates of these old nations of Europe, was the individual self-respect of the individual young men. What I have said about the United States must also be set down in the case of Israel. It was that individual self-respect, that belief in the dignity of man, that belief in the value of personalities that enabled them to win the day.

OF course it is more than enough to make every Jew feel proud of his heritage, and it is in all truth an event which causes deep satisfaction in the hearts of non-Jews who, in whatever way they could, extended their help. In fact, you will, I know, forgive me for thinking at this moment, of my own grandfather who on May 3, 1922, almost exactly twenty-seven years ago tonight, sponsored the Lodge Resolution which expressed the support of the United States for the setting up of a Jewish National Homeland, and which, we now realize, became the foundation of American policy on Palestine.

You will forgive me, perhaps, for saying also that the great mobilization of opinion and support and sympathy which occurred here in the United States would not have occurred if it had not been for the man who is modestly sitting here behind me—Rabbi Silver. You know, I have seen a good deal in Washington, in the Senate, of people who are advocating causes of one kind or another, and I say to you in all sincerity and not because he is here, that Dr. Silver is in a class by himself! I do not say that simply because he is a dynamo of energy and highly intelligent and very honorable and reliable, though he is all of those things. And I don't just take off my hat to him because he is working sixteen to eighteen hours a day for this cause — you see him in the Capital, then you see him at the Republican National Convention at Philadelphia, and probably at the Democratic National Convention, too, although I did not happen to see him there. And I don't say it because he is working all the time, and he is either on a boat, on a plane, or coming or going. The reason I say that he is unique is because he never for one second tries to advertise or exploit or in any way aggrandize himself. His mind is always on the Cause, and he is constantly thinking of what is going to help the Cause. He is the supreme illustration of the successful and happy man who submerges himself in something greater than himself.



To change the tone of my remarks a little bit, we may also view with approval, tempered perhaps with a few smiles, the international rush which is now under way to recognize the new Jewish State. Indeed, it was not ever thus, but we may charitably say, "Better late than never."

We now behold this people who are as old as antiquity and as modern as New York City, looking with its friends and neighbors, ahead into the future. We look to the negotiations to conclude peace between Israel and Egypt, and Israel and Lebanon, and Israel and Transjordan, and with all its Arab neighbors.

We look to the day which cannot be far off, when Israel will become the fifty-ninth nation among the members of the United Nations.

I read Major Eban's speech too; I did not know he was going to be here either, and I noted one remark that he made, that the State of Israel is the only nation which holds an international birth certificate from the United Nations, and that, he said, is something rare in the present political world of easy virtue.

Israel looks forward to the development of its parliamentary democracy and to the perfection of its administration. It contemplates great schemes of industrial and agricultural development which are absolutely essential if its country, which is not richly endowed by nature, is to be able to support its hardworking population. It looks forward to the fact that the development of Israel itself will have an improving effect on all the nations of the Middle East. The industry and the intelligence of the Jewish people will inevitably raise the standards of health and the standards of well-being for all people in that part of the world. The poverty, disease, illiteracy, and infant mortality which marks life for so many millions of people in the Near East may within the lifetime of us who are here this evening become a thing of the past.

These are a part of the glowing promise which the future holds.

AND SO, I conclude, what has happened in Israel is not only good for the Jews and good for the people of the Near East and good for the United States. It is, in all truth, good for the whole human race, because in rising from the depths of despair and suffering in which they were flung, to these heights of unbelievable and constructive achievements, the Jews have demonstrated a degree of tough and unbeatable courage which is surely one of the traits which gives man his spiritual dignity and proves the value of human personality.





## *Our Finest Hour*

MAJOR AUBREY EBAN

CHAIRMAN SILVER: *The next and final speaker to follow this perfectly admirable and exciting and, to me, embarrassing address of Senator Lodge, reminds me of the man who read the Bible for the first time and said, "I didn't realize how full of quotations this book is." It is a tribute to the man whom I am now introducing to you, that what he says is so meaty and so dexterously expressed that men treasure his comments and his observations, as I, too, have more than once.*

*The State of Israel is indeed fortunate in having as its representative and spokesman at the United Nations a man of such clarity of intellect, such moral fervor, such political scholarship, and such felicity and eloquence of expression as are combined in a truly remarkable manner in the person of the man whom I am about to present to you — Major Aubrey Eban.*

**D**R. SILVER, Senator Douglas, Senator Lodge, ladies and gentlemen, I have been the unoffending victim of so much Senatorial quotation, that I stand before you speechless and unarmed, with all my ammunition spent.



It is natural on this occasion, for our memories to evoke the sublime and lofty moment a year ago, when the State of Israel proclaimed its independence as a nation amongst the nations of the world. The mood of celebration was clouded by dark, forebodings of danger as Israel established its mission in Washington and in New York. In the early weeks of June we were to receive information from the country which indicated that the friends and the enemies of Israel alike might at any moment be expected to witness its imminent collapse, for Israel passed through emergencies of military stringency and administrative disruption which would have torn apart a state composed of less virile and resilient elements.

Today as Israel enters upon the second year of its independent national life, we appear as those who have emerged out of mortal danger, into the clear prospect of survival and advance. We have won a military victory against overwhelming odds. We have established the administrative foundations of a democratic society in an area given over to personal despotism and autocracy. We are entering upon the final consummation of our international position. The open doors of Israel receive the joyous influx of immigrants from every land. As the first portents of Arab-Jewish peace appear upon the horizon, the day comes near when the energies, the enthusiasms and the resources of Israel may be liberated from the paralysis of mobilization, and turned towards the tasks of social and economic regeneration, towards which our destiny summons us now.

And the whole of this achievement has been crowded into those twelve short and eventful months!

No wonder that this performance has bestowed upon every Jew, wherever he lives, a sense of heightened dignity, and deepened pride. No wonder that the civilized world stands before this performance, amidst all the manifestations of recognition and respect. For here is a performance of which only future generations will be able to measure the true perspective in the light of historic judgment.

My friends, on the bookstalls of this country, at the moment, a brave and magnificent work of literature is in widespread vogue. It is entitled, *Their Finest Hour*, a book in which the greatest of contemporary historians in the Western world, relates a chapter in the defense of liberty against monstrous despotism; the defense against the tyrant at the height of his greed. Every historic people has its "finest hour,"



when its qualities and capacities shine radiant and sublime, above the normal level of everyday achievement. In the life of this country they were the days, nearly two centuries ago, when the passion for liberty and union welded together the divergent elements of this continent in the creation of a new culture amongst men. In the life of France, it was the days of revolutionary fervor when the doctrine of national liberation swept across Europe and was later to infect the new world.

It is rash, it is impudent to anticipate the verdict of history, but can anybody who contemplates the long and colorful panorama of Jewish history entertain a serious doubt in his mind that we have lived through the finest hour in the history of the Jewish people?

We participated in those events which have vindicated the historic repute and prestige of one of the most ancient amongst the cultures of men. It is fitting, as the first year of celebration passes away, that we should emerge from the mood of honeymoon into a more routine and perhaps disillusioned phase of normal, everyday life. Without in any way obliterating the romance and the splendor of the past year, it is of the future with its challenges and hazards that I would speak to you tonight, for, despite the whole of this achievement, nothing has happened which should encourage anybody in Israel or any of Israel's sympathizers throughout the world, to relax one jot of that vigilance, to diminish one iota of that solidarity and tension which carried us through to victory in the past.

It is true a military victory has been won, yet it has not yet been crowned in peace. Our colleagues in Lausanne are embarked at this moment upon the most crucial adventure in Jewish diplomacy. Unless we can be successful in this, our previous successes may count for very little indeed. For no amount of support which Israel can elicit in the East or in the West, in Europe or in America, can compensate for the lack of a secure and stable relationship with the immediate world in which Israel must live, and with which its destiny must be increasingly bound up.

THROUGHOUT the dark and tedious years of the Mandatory regime, the Zionist Movement enunciated a doctrine of Arab-Jewish relationship. We constantly pleaded that nothing but equality of political status would create the objective conditions of Arab-Jewish partnership. As one Arab community after another emerged out of tutelage and trusteeship to full sovereign rights, it became a fantastic paradox that the Jewish



community alone amongst the distinctive cultural units of the Near East, a community no less advanced, to say the least, than the Bedouin of Jebel-Druse or the tribesmen of Yemen, should be the only community in the Near East without the prerogatives and the capacities of statehood, unable to take its own destiny in its own hands, and carve out its future in the image of its culture and tradition, upon a level of equality with all other nations in the human family.

The establishment of Jewish statehood abolished that paradox. In proclaiming Jewish independence, the United Nations was consciously creating the objective conditions of Arab-Jewish alliance, and, true enough, no sooner did a Jewish State exist in the Arab mind with every appearance of permanence and irrevocability, than it found itself around the table with Arab States, negotiating with them as an equal amongst equals for the regulation of conflicting interests.

We have found amongst our neighbors a growing sanity that often accompanies an unsuccessful war. For generations past our people have celebrated as the symbol of national liberation the Exodus of Israel from Egypt. This year we have reversed the process and future generations will celebrate the Exodus of Egypt from Israel, accompanied in their disordered retreat by all the other forces which fell upon us for the extermination of Israel and for the overthrow of the General Assembly's resolution by force.

Yet, until the system of armistice agreements, now being concluded upon our northern frontiers, is replaced by stable relations of peace, there can be no relaxation of military vigilance, and no release of Israel's energies for the tasks of scientific development which may revivify and revive the Near East. Similarly, in the administrative and political spheres our victory is not yet complete. Israel has shown itself able to establish parliamentary institutions in a desert of autocracy. Egyptian Prime Ministers become assassinated with monotonous regularity; the royal house of Yemen is engaged in a process of mutual extermination; recently the government of Syria was changed by drastic and eccentric methods. The French have a saying that it is only the provisional which endures, and throughout the past year the only government in the Middle East which showed symptoms of stability and permanence was the provisional government of Israel.

Now this society of Israel, in its earliest years, is being exposed to the drastic impact of mass immigration. The question arises: will the diver



gent elements of this immigrating flood submerge and drown the native culture and genius of Palestine Jewry, or does the native culture and language and effort of Israel already possess sufficient vitality to assimilate and to digest this great deluge which flows into our ports and harbors from every side?

THUS the economic stability and social relationships of Israel are being put to a severe test. The civilized world watches with breathless attention to see how the Jewish social experience, the unique Jewish historical tradition, will be expressed in free political and social institutions on a level of equality with all other nations in the human family.

But a few weeks ago there was an illusion in many minds that our arduous contest on the international field was over. The great volume of individual recognitions which crowded upon our embarrassed head, had given a false impression of Israel's international position. Those individual recognitions certainly implied that the international community recognizes a State of Israel, a separate distinctive and independent unit in its part of the world, but the international community does not yet recognize the State of Israel as we envisage it to be. It does not recognize Israel in its full territorial integrity. It has yet to recognize Israel in its organic and profound attachment to the City of Jerusalem. It has yet to recognize Israel in the demographic unity which is a condition both of its internal stability and of its prospect of collaborating with the neighboring world.

It is in that context that the debates now proceeding before the Assembly of the United Nations take on a deep political significance. We are not involved in an issue of procedure. More is at stake than a question of prestige. Israel is not like Italy, or Hungary, or Ceylon, or other non-member nations which are debarred from participation in the international community through the operation of certain articles of the Charter. Unlike Italy, Israel is no member of the Atlantic community; unlike Hungary, Israel is not a member of the European alliance; unlike Ceylon, it is not a member of the British Commonwealth of Nations. Israel, therefore, has no roof except the collective and comprehensive roof of the United Nations itself, and Israel is, therefore, the only nation in the world for which exclusion from the United Nations is equivalent to complete international isolation.

We may realize the ardor and vigor with which our adversaries pursue to the last resource their attempts to exclude us from the inter-



national community, for that exclusion is not envisaged by them as a mere delay in the consummation of Israel's final prestige; it is regarded as a prelude to the accumulation of international pressures upon Israel to surrender its territorial integrity, to abandon its rights in Jerusalem, and to have forced back upon it a pattern of ethnic diversity which would disrupt the unity of the society from within.

Such, then, are the issues that hang in the balance. No wonder that our Arab opponents clutch at every light straw of intricate procedure in an effort to stem Israel's political advance.

The effort will be vain. A mounting tide of international opinion is demanding that the nation which bequeathed to the world the doctrines upon which the Charter is based, should enter as a free member into the great international organization.

IT is said in many circles that before anybody can decide if Israel is a fit and loyal member of the civilized community of nations, it should clarify its position on the question of Jerusalem. *If anybody wishes to hear the story of Jerusalem, then, as far as the Government of Israel is concerned, he can hear it, for it is a story of Jewish devotion and of international neglect.*

This day last year the City of Jerusalem was still under the control of the Mandatory Power, holding it in trust for the civilized world, about to hand it over to the United Nations which had assumed solemn responsibility for the welfare and security of its population. A year ago Jerusalem was a scene of savage horror; bloodshed stalked through every street; fierce fighting went on in the holy places. A foreign army had come across Jordan and was throttling the transportation arteries of the city, cutting it off from its food supply by road and its water supply from the coast. Bombardment, pestilence, starvation and thirst stared the inhabitants of the Holy City in the face.

Today all that is different. All that is changed. Effective and orderly administration has been established under the auspices of the Government of Israel. The holy places are peaceful and serene and facilities of access to them are being increasingly opened up. The water supply of the country has been renewed, its food resources replenished, and all this at the cost of ardent young lives. As you travel from the coast up to Jerusalem along the hills of Judea, you see on the roadside at every ten yards the overturned hulk of a burned-out lorry, or car or truck, caught in the enemy fire on the hazardous gauntlet to Jerusalem with



food, at the peak of the city's agony. The ashes are not the ashes of inanimate vehicles alone, for hundreds of the best of our youth fell in the cause of Jerusalem's salvation and survival.

*Where there was chaos there is now order; where there was anarchy, there is now peace; where there was famine, there is now plenty; where there was sacrilege, there is now peaceful religious observance. When I compare this peace with that war, this plenty with that famine, this dignity with that reproach; when I compare Jerusalem this year with Jerusalem last year, I cannot listen to lectures from the representatives of other Powers about an alleged lack of Jewish concern or reverence for the future and the welfare of the City of Jerusalem.*

Accompanying the restoration of peace has been a growing integration of the life of the city into the life of the State with which its people are bound by every tie of natural allegiance. You cannot applaud the restoration of peace and deplore that process of integration which has accompanied and made possible the pacification of Jerusalem. And now, with Jerusalem at peace within itself, and harmoniously integrated into the processes of orderly government, Israel comes forward, with a deep and devout sense of the universal and religious interest attaching to its holy places, and surrenders to the international community all control and all jurisdiction over all the holy places under its control.

*Here then is an unexampled effort to reconcile a deep concern for the national sentiment of the city, with the universal interests arising from the holy places. We believe that the Jewish record in Jerusalem, far from being an item of reproach is perhaps the most glorious star imprinted on the banner of Israel's credit and success.*

THE problem of Arab refugees is also under discussion. No such problems, residual of the war, can possibly be understood for a single moment unless the question of initial responsibility is investigated. The reason why there are any political or military problems in that area at all is clear and simple. There is one cause alone: it is that the Arab States, six of them members of the United Nations, defied the resolution of the General Assembly by force and launched a war against the State of Israel for its extermination. *International morality and international law in our generation have established the principle that those who choose and will war, are responsible for all the consequences, all the suffering, all the anguish and bereavement inflicted on both sides in the deadly sequence of developments.* Therefore, the haplessness of



these innocent victims is a testimony to the criminal irresponsibility of that war, and if, nevertheless, Israel is willing to contribute generously to a solution of that problem, this does not signify any consciousness of responsibility or guilt, but it indicates Israel's responsibility to the will of the international community, its deep concern for the stability and prosperity of the Near East, and its earnest desire to collaborate in all schemes looking to the economic and social regeneration of its region.

I am satisfied that the statement which I have been authorized to make before the Political Committee tomorrow morning will illustrate Israel's magnanimity in victory; its determination to strive, irrespective of past rancors and antagonisms, to join in a common international effort for the solution of one of the gravest humanitarian problems of our time.

ENOUGH has been said to indicate that the State of Israel has need of its friends. It has need of their political and moral influence; it has need of their material support, for while this great flood of immigration, which previous speakers have so eloquently described, is a great epoch in the story of Jewish rehabilitation, there are other, more harsh and jarring aspects of that problem that have to be faced. The arrival within one year of a number of immigrants amounting to one-third of the original population of the State, at a time of war, when the entire manpower in the country is devoted to purposes of defense, when the field, farm and factory are denuded of the most vital manpower, when the crushing burden of taxation falls upon the State, when increasing encroachments have to be made upon existing standards of life—this phenomenon constitutes for Israel a burden which, if it is not shared, can still crush the State of Israel and submerge its economic foundations.

It is in that task that the Government and the people of Israel turn to the Jewish communities scattered throughout the world and invoke their solidarity and support.

Behind every wave of immigration there is the spectre of urgency. From the D.P. camps of Europe our people are being liberated from the associations of the worst suffering which human minds or bodies have ever survived. In the communities of Eastern Europe they are exercising a right of self-determination which in the growing pattern of crystallization may not be available for long. In the Arab-speaking countries they are escaping from degradation and squalor into the light of a new day. To make this ingathering possible, to convert it into a constructive and creative process is a task which the Jews of Israel cannot sustain alone.



We are certain that they can with confidence rely upon your continued solidarity and support.

My friends, upon the banner of this State which now celebrates its first anniversary, amidst the benevolence of liberal mankind, there are inscribed the martyrdom and the achievement of the newest among the republics of the earth.

Contemporary historians think of Israel as a force of modernity, exemplifying the best results of Western technological and scientific progress in the stagnant Middle East. Yet this vital and exuberant modern society also has spiritual roots deeply imbedded in the past. It is not an accident that the new coins of Israel invoke the days of Bar Kochbah and the Maccabees. It is no coincidence that the stamps of Israel associate us through the links of archaeology with previous periods in Israel's independent greatness. It is no idle circumstance that the language of the State evokes the memories of Israel's literary greatness in the past. This unique sense of continuity, allied to modernity, gives to the State of Israel its peculiar and most significant appeal.

We believe that the banner of Israel belongs in the free community of nations. We believe that it will add luster to that family, but whether it is received in their company now, or tomorrow, we shall cherish it above everything else, inscribe upon it the doctrines of progress, of democracy, of social advance, of peace. Thus the State of Israel in its international career will always be found upon the side of those forces which defend the human spirit against the corroding influences of conflict and despair.









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