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Second anniversary of Israel, 1950.

SECOND ANNIVERSARY OF ESTABLISHMENT OF THE STATE OF ISRAEL

New York City, May 11, 1950

Two years have elapsed since the re-establishment of the State of Israel. We cannot as yet have a true perspective on what has taken place and all of its tremendous implications, but enough has taken place to justify the joyous celebration here this evening and similar celebrations throughout the world.

It is customary and quite natural for us to think of what we have done for Israel. I should like to speak this evening briefly of what Israel has done, is doing and will continue to do for us. American Jewry has, of course, done much for Israel. Without the decisive political mobilization and action of American Jewry, the State of Israel would not now be in existence. Without its large and sustained economic support, the development of the State, the absorption of immigrants, as well as its military defense would have been nigh impossible. It will remain to the everlasting credit of the American Jewish community that the greatest challenge in Jewish history did not find it unprepared or reluctant to assume the burdens and responsibilities of leadership.

But great as were the services which we rendered to the State of Israel, greater by far have been the services which the State of Israel has rendered to us and to all the Jewish people in the Diaspora. What has transpired in the last 2 years is not only an impressive chronicle, but an inspiring epic. Close on to 400,000 homeless, menaced or war-ravaged Jews have been given a home in Israel. The great nations of the earth in possession of vast and empty territories did not offer any sanctuary to them. Israel, and Israel alone, opened its doors wide and welcomed these men and women, many of whom had languished for years in the concentration camps and the hell-holes of Europe. I recall that in 1943 at the American Jewish Conference I stated that the problem of Jewish refugees would never be solved until the Jewish State is established. There were practical men in those days and men of affairs who presumed to know better. They denounced us ^{as} political extremists for raising the issue of the Jewish state at a time when Jews should be concentrating all of their energies on the

demand for admission of Jewish refugees to Palestine. They withdrew from and destroyed the American Jewish Conference over this issue. But these men, who now pride themselves upon being the "leading guides" of the new State of Israel, were dangerously blind guides in those days, and it was fortunate that the Jews of America did not follow their leadership. The stone which they rejected ~~from~~ the Jewish State -- has now become the chief cornerstone in the solution of the world problem of Jewish refugees.

In order to absorb these hundreds of thousands of immigrants who have poured and are pouring into that little state, Israel has established 200 agricultural settlements, expanded its agriculture and industry, built tens of thousands of homes, and provided for them health, education and social services. These immigrants, be it remembered, are our charge, and the responsibility of Diaspora Jewry. It is we who shouldered this terrific economic burden upon the young republic, at a time when its resources were being heavily drained to maintain a large defense army, when it had to build from the ground up its administrative and parliamentary machinery, and wrestle with inflation, the high cost of living, and a most unfavorable balance of trade.

Israel gladly assumed the crushing immigration load, aware that it would force a lower standard of living ^{upon} its own people and a rigid regimen of austerity which would beggar even the austerity program of England during the war. In accepting this responsibility in the face of these besetting hardships and sacrifices, Israel has rendered a unique and unforgettable historic service to world Jewry. In two years Israel became the Eretz Miklat for world Jewry. It is prepared to continue to perform this service for still other Jews - Jews from Iraq, from Rumania, from Hungary, from Moslem countries where they are in imminent danger.

Before 1948 there was no place for such Jews to go except to the gas chambers. Today there is the free and welcoming land of Israel! When, therefore, I hear American Jews say, "How long will Israel continue to ask us for help?", I counter by

asking, "How long will world Jewry continue to ask Israel for help?"

The Jewish people established the State of Israel not merely in order to have a state. This in itself is important - to restore to the Jewish people a normal national existence and international status, which it had lacked for 2,000 years. It established the State in order that there might be a place of in-gathering for those of our people from all parts of the world who may have to go there or who may wish to go there. Having begun this tremendous and revolutionary enterprise, we cannot now stop midway. We assumed tremendous commitments when we set in motion those great forces which culminated in the establishment of the State. Because the men and women of Israel believed in the earnestness of our purpose not only to create a state, but to help maintain and defend it, they fought so valiantly, inspired not only by the justice of their cause, but also by the knowledge that behind them, in reserves, were the vast material and spiritual resources of the great Jewish community of America. In the same manner, they welcomed the overwhelming number of immigrants and risked all the ~~dangerous~~ ^{serious} complications to their economy not only out of a ~~sense~~ sense of Jewish loyalty and solidarity, but because they relied upon our continuous support.

The enemies of Israel are hopeful that we will now leave ~~them~~ ^{Israel} in the lurch, that we will grow tired of supporting Israel. This would lead to a political collapse, and this is what they are waiting for. This is the reason why they are ~~now~~ ^{not} now making peace with ~~the State of~~ Israel. They are waiting for that disastrous economic and political debacle which would be for them the signal for a new attack on Israel. In confident anticipation of such an eventuality, they are re-arming themselves to the teeth, with the aid of Mr. Bevin and with the quiet concurrence of our own State Department.

However, if I know my people - and I believe that I know them well - they are too loyal, too resolute, and too wise to fall into such a trap. They will not destroy with their own hands what they have so sacrificially and so lovingly built. On

the contrary. Our people will help Israel to take care not only of these hundreds of thousands whom they have already sent there, but of the many hundreds of thousands more who are yet to come ~~there~~. They will want Israel to become economically sound, politically stable, and numerically so strong as to discourage for all time the annihilationist hopes of all political adventurers in the neighboring Arab countries.

There were three things which we Jews had to do in recent years. First, we had to show the world that we wanted the State of Israel. On a vast scale we organized and made vocal the will of our people and persuaded men of good will everywhere of the sincerity and steadfastness of our purpose. Through many ways, athwart many obstacles, outmaneuvering many conspiracies, we pressed on indefatigably and relentlessly until the United Nations in November 1947 gave sanction to our historic claim for the re-establishment of ~~the~~ the State of Israel.

Our people
We then had to show the world that ~~we were~~ *I was* prepared to fight for the State of Israel. And so, unaided by any of the United Nations who sanctioned the establishment of the State, and seriously hampered by an arms blockade, our valiant sons and daughters in Israel for 8 months fought off and kept at bay and finally defeated decisively the armies of six invading Arab states. In the ~~sacrifices~~ *these Israeli Minute Men* and in their blood were the foundations of the State firmly laid.

And now we must demonstrate to the world and to ourselves - especially to ourselves - that we are prepared staunchly, resolutely, and patiently to sustain that State in all the difficulties and dangers which beset every young state newly come into being. *that we are prepared to help it with our resources both material and human*
It was Thomas Jefferson who said: "We are not to expect to be translated from despotism to liberty in a feather bed." Certainly we Jews are not to expect to be translated from homelessness, to nationhood, from servitude to ~~national~~ freedom in ~~a~~ a feather bed. ~~This has never been our good fortune.~~
lot
Never in all our history was our ~~lot~~ an easy one. We may be God's Chosen People, but we are certainly not God's Pampered People. Our ancestors under Joshua had to conquer Palestine foot by foot. ~~Our ancestors~~ *they* under Zerubabel had to rebuild Judea, with one hand laying the stones and the other ~~hand~~ holding the sword. Spiritually our history has

always been one of conflict and struggle - a life of swords. To wrestle with gods and men and to prevail - that is the meaning of the very name, Israel. We are not to be pitied because of this. The nature of ^{our} ~~this~~ experience through the ages has toughened us. ~~It has hardened us.~~ It has made us the "am k'she oreph", the stiff-necked people. It is that ^{quality} which enabled our people to rise from the ashes and ruins of two World Wars which wrecked and ravaged European Jewry and destroyed one-third of our people, ^{and} ~~to rise again~~, undefeated, ~~and~~ triumphantly to build in the midst of chaos and terror and battle a new State.

A few days ago, on the occasion of its second anniversary, the government of the State of Israel issued an Independence Day Proclamation in which, after recounting the truly remarkable and magnificent achievements since the establishment of the State, it stated: "However, the road ahead is still long and hard. Our enemies continue to threaten us, our very existence, our independence and the borders of our state."

The existence of the state of Israel is still being threatened. There is no peace on the borders of Israel. The majority of the Arab states have not yet reconciled themselves to the existence of the state of Israel. What is being done today by the unreconciled Mr. Bevin in shipping military aircraft, gun boats, tanks and other military supplies to Egypt, ^{and also} ~~and~~ Iraq ^{and Syria, with which Israel has no treaty} ~~and Jordan~~, and in refusing to supply arms to Israel until - and here is the bitter irony of it all - until "Israel is at peace with the Arab states", is not only not contributing to the reconciliation of these countries to the ineluctable fact of the existence of the State of Israel, ^{among them} but is encouraging desperate hopes for a ~~new~~ renewed offensive which might yield them now what was denied them a year or so ago.

One wonders why the Security Council of the United Nations was so precipitous last August in lifting the arms embargo in the Near East after the victories of the Jewish forces when it ^{had} so stubbornly refused to lift the embargo when Israel, dangerously unarmed, was fighting against the Arab armies who had ^{invaded} ~~invaded~~ Palestine ^{bent upon} ~~in an effort~~ ^{by violence} ~~to take~~ the ^{resolution} ~~decision~~ of the United Nations. If pacification of the Near

East was the real objective, why was not the embargo kept in force until peace treaties were finally concluded? And why did the United States support Great Britain in rushing through, against the earnest solicitations of the State of Israel, a premature abandonment of all restrictions on the shipment of arms to the Arab countries? Was not the covert intent to change radically the military balance between Israel and the Arab states? No foreign armies were threatening the peace and security of the Arab states. These states do not today need jet planes, bombers and fighters, tanks, heavy guns and warships to maintain domestic peace and security at home.

Does ~~anyone~~ ^{anyone} perhaps imagine that these arms are intended and will be used by the Arab states to defend democracy and freedom in the Middle East in any future emergency? Only purblind statesmen of short memory who have already forgotten the experience of the allied nations with these same Arab states during the last war will persist in entertaining such ~~fantastic~~ ^{bizarre} hopes. These states who welcomed the Fascist and Nazi enemies of the democracies and were the centers of revolt and sabotage against allied military operations ^{in the last war}, will prove broken reeds for a free world to lean on in any future conflict.

These arms are being assembled against Israel. Mr. Bevin is helping to prepare the next war against Israel. Our State Department, by ~~refusing to sell arms to the State of Israel~~ ^{withholding a reply to the request}, is helping to keep Israel weak in the face of the mounting rearmament threat of the surrounding Arab countries, and is encouraging, wittingly or unwittingly, their intransigence and their refusal to conclude an honorable peace with Israel.

There are forces in the State Department which have not reconciled themselves to the establishment of the State of Israel. It was these same forces which were responsible for the astounding reversal of our government in March of 1948, when after having voted for the partition resolution of the United Nations, it suddenly announced that it was no longer prepared to go along with it and demanded a special session of the United Nations to nullify that resolution. It is ~~the~~ ^{these} same forces

Do Americans really want peace applied to Israel to force it to take sides in the East-West argument, however?
Is this wise?

which are now supporting the supply of arms by Britain to the Arab states. It is the same forces which have been responsible ^{the ominous silence} up to now for non-acquiescence of our government ^{our} to the request of Israel to acquire arms in this country. The explanation given by ^{our} government spokesmen is specious and artful. It is maintained that the security of Israel, surrounded as it is by neighbors which refuse to make peace, which are heavily rearming themselves, which are maintaining a blockade against Israel, and which are propagating for a second round, is really not being threatened... *over*

Will the United States of America, which was the first country in the world to give official recognition to the newly-established State of Israel, stand idly by and see this menace of war ^{mount and} magnify until it is beyond control? Is it to the best interest of America to see the young state, ^{which everyone recognizes as} an outpost of freedom and democracy in that part of the world, weakened and endangered? Does the United States favor a continuation of the present policy of Arab rearmament ^{by} on the part of Great Britain, ^{which} ~~which~~ ^{is} rearmament could not go on without its tacit approval, thereby forcing the economically ^{hard-} ~~harassed~~ ^{pressed} State of Israel to continue to drain off so much of its limited resources on ^{arms} ~~armaments~~ ^{messing around} to insure its survival instead of using them for economic reconstruction and the needs of its vast immigration? Do the American people want it? ^{really} ~~ought~~ ^{in such a manner as} not the power and the prestige of our government be used ~~rather~~ to ensure that the Arab states shall negotiate a peace settlement with Israel forthwith, by bringing about a cessation of arms shipments to these Arab states, or by making it possible for the State of Israel to acquire arms in this country, thereby serving notice on the Arab states that any new military adventures on their part will ^{be} ~~be~~ no more successful and no less costly ^{to them} than their earlier futile attempts. *ful Israel fully exposed and will prove*

We owe it to Israel and to our own beloved country to make our voices heard so that an end may be put to this dangerous policy which is now being pursued by our government. *Bernie's way has always been the wrong way in Palestine the stupid and bloody way. Our government should not follow*
On this second anniversary let us give evidence ~~to~~ to the fine men and women of Israel that we are not unmindful of the problems which beset them, that we are deter-
the lead of this embittered politician whose Palestine policies have been so thoroughly discredited.

5; utterly disingenuous as the reply given by
the S. left. to the suggestion, 5/ Congressmen that
Point Four aid be extended only to Arab states which
have reached peace settlements with Israel. The
S. left expressed the belief that "it would be
unwise to use this program as an ^{instrument} ~~instrument~~ of political pressure". In ~~its~~ ^{their} name, ~~with~~ ^{surely upon}
~~withholding~~ aid to states which refuse to make
peace understandable and unjustified political
pressure? ~~Is~~ Is an government not using
its financial and material aid in other parts
of the world at this very time to exert political
pressure? What government ~~disassociates~~ ^{in the}
aid from foreign policy?

mined to stay with them through all their political and economic vicissitudes until security and peace finally come to them abidingly. Let us tell them of our gratitude for what they have done in such a generous and sacrificial ^{way} ~~spirit~~ for our fellow-Jews from so many parts of the world and for what they are ~~prepared~~ ^{ed} preparing to do. Let us tell them of our gratitude for what they have done for us - for the new dignity which they have brought into our lives. Who can estimate the worth to us and to our children of the new pride which has come into our souls? What is it worth to us that after the silence of the centuries, the voice of Israel can be heard again, free and authentic, speaking in the council of nations? We are moving proudly and hopefully into a new day because Israel is there! The road may be long, but it is the road which leads away from darkness to light, from debasement to dignity, ^{and} from insecurity to peace.



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But great as were the services which we rendered to the State of Israel, greater by far have been the services which the State of Israel has rendered to us and to all the Jewish people in the Diaspora. What has transpired in the last two years is not only an impressive chronicle, but an inspiring epic. Close on to 400,000 homeless, menaced or war-ravaged Jews have ^{been given} ~~found~~ a home in Israel. The great nations of the earth in possession of vast and empty territories ^{did not} ~~could~~ offer ^{any} ~~no~~ sanctuary to them. Israel, and Israel alone, opened its doors wide and welcomed these men and women, many of whom had languished for years in the concentration camps and ^{hells} ~~in~~ the hell of Europe. I recall that in 1943 at the American Jewish Conference I stated that the problem of Jewish refugees would never be solved until the Jewish State is established. There were ~~the~~ practical men in those days and ~~the~~ men of ^{great} ~~great~~ affairs who ^{presumed to know} ~~know~~ better. They denounced us ^{political extremists} ~~for~~ raising the issue of the Jewish State at a time when

~~Jews~~ ^{demand for} ~~we~~ should be concentrating all of ~~their~~ ^{their} energies on the admission of Jewish refugees to Palestine. They withdrew from and destroyed the American Jewish Conference over this ~~very~~ issue. But these men, who now pride themselves upon being the "leading guides" of the new State of Israel, were dangerously blind guides in those days, and it was fortunate that the Jews of America did not follow their leadership. The stone which they rejected - the Jewish State - has now become the chief cornerstone in the solution of the ^{world} ~~the~~ problem of Jewish refugees.

^{In order to absorb} ~~And for the absorption of~~ these hundreds of thousands of immigrants who have poured and are pouring into that little state, Israel has established 200 agricultural settlements, expanded ^{its} agriculture and industry, built tens of thousands of homes, ^{and for them} provided health, education and social services. These immigrants are our charge, the responsibility of ^{Jewry} ~~the~~ Diaspora. ^{be it remembered} It is we who ^{shouldered} ~~placed~~ this terrific ^{economic} burden upon the young republic, at a time when ^{its resources} ~~the resources of~~ that country were being heavily drained ^{from the ground up} ~~by its need~~ to maintain a large defense army, at a time when it had to build ^{up} ~~under pressure~~ its administrative and parliamentary machinery, ^{and} wrestle with inflation, ~~with~~ the high cost of living, ~~with the problem of low productivity~~ and a most unfavorable balance of trade.

Israel gladly assumed the crushing load of ~~this immigration responsibility~~, ^{would force a} ~~knowing full well~~ that it ~~involved the lowering of~~ ^{on} the standard of living ~~of~~ its own people and the ~~self-imposition~~ of a rigid regimen of austerity which ^{would} ~~even~~ the austerity program of England during the ~~last~~ war. ^{I'm accepting this responsibility} In spite of all besetting hardships and sacrifices, Israel has rendered ^{a unique and unforgettable} ~~world Jewry~~ that tremendous historic ^{to world Jewry} ~~service~~. ^{Israel became the} In two years ~~it became~~ the Eretz Miklat for world Jewry. It is prepared to continue to perform ^{this} ~~that~~ service for ^{the other Jews, Jews from} ~~the Jews of~~ Iraq, of Rumania, of Hungary, of ^{from} ~~of~~ Moslem countries where they are in imminent danger.

Before 1948 there was no place for such Jews to go except to the gas chambers. Today there is the free and welcoming land of Israel! When, therefore, I hear American Jews say, ^{continue to ask us for} ~~"How long will Israel be in need of our help?"~~, I counter by asking

continue to ask how far help
"How long will world Jewry be in need of Israel?" *established* The Jewish people ~~built~~ the State of Israel *in order to have this in itself as* for that very purpose, not merely to build a state which is in itself very important, ~~which~~ *a normal national existence and* to restore to the Jewish people international status, which is ~~has~~ *It established the state in order that there* lacked for 2,000 years, but ~~that that state~~ might be the place of in-gathering for our people from all parts of the world who may have to go there or who may wish to go there, ~~and~~ *now* having begun this tremendous and revolutionary enterprise, we cannot, ~~of course,~~ stop midway. We assumed tremendous commitments when we set in motion ~~great historic~~ *these* forces *which are* culminating in the establishment of the ~~new~~ state. Because the men and women of Israel believed in the earnestness of our purpose not only to create a state, but to help maintain and defend it ~~in the future, that~~ they fought so valiantly, ~~confident~~ *inspired* not only ~~by~~ the justice of their cause, but ~~heartened~~ *also* by the knowledge that behind them were the vast material and spiritual ~~reserves~~ *in reserves* of the great Jewish community of America. *for the same manner* They welcomed the overwhelming number of immigrants *and* not only ~~because~~ *out of a* their fine sense of Jewish loyalty and solidarity moved them to it, but ~~relying~~ *because they relied* upon our continuous support, ~~they~~ *the dangerous* risked all ~~the dangerous~~ complications *to their economy* which these tidal waves of immigrations would present to their economy.

Again, they relied upon the reserves of American Jewry.

The enemies of Israel are hopeful that we ~~would~~ *will* now leave them in the lurch, that we ~~would~~ *will* grow tired of supporting Israel. This would lead ~~ultimately~~ *a* to political collapse, and this is what they are waiting for. This is the reason why they are not now making peace with the State of Israel. They are waiting for ~~a~~ *that* disastrous economic and political debacle which would be for them the signal for a new attack *on Israel* and for a second round. And in confident anticipation of such an eventuality, they are re-arming themselves to the teeth, with the aid of Mr. Bevin and with the quiet concurrence of our own State Department. *R. H. H. H.* If I know my people - and I believe *that* I know *well* them - they are too loyal, too resolute, and too wise to fall into ~~the~~ *such a* trap. They will not with their own hands destroy what they have so sacrificially and so *lovingly* built. On the contrary. *our people* ~~they~~ will want to help Israel to take care not only of these

hundreds of thousands ^{which} ~~which~~ they have already sent there, but of the many hundreds of thousands ^{more} who are yet to come there. They will want Israel to become economically ^{strong} ~~strong~~, politically stable, and numerically so ^{strong} ~~great~~ as to discourage for all time the annihilationist hopes of ^{all} ~~the~~ political adventurers in the neighboring Arab countries.

There were three things which ^{Jews} ~~we~~ had to do in recent years. First, we had to show the world that we wanted the State of Israel, ~~to be established~~. On a vast scale we organized and made vocal the will of our people and persuaded men of good will everywhere of the sincerity and steadfastness of our purpose. Through many ways, athwart many obstacles, outmaneuvering many conspiracies, we pressed on indefatigably, ^{and} ~~re-~~ lentlessly until the United Nations ~~of the world~~ in November 1947 gave sanction to our historic claim for the re-establishment of the State of Israel.

~~That was not enough, however, we then had to show that we were prepared to fight for the State of Israel. And so we entered the military phase of our struggle when, unaided by any of the United Nations who sanctioned the establishment of the State, and seriously hampered by an arms blockade, our valiant sons and daughters in Israel for eight months fought off and kept at bay and~~ ^{finally} ~~defeated~~ decisively the armies of six invading Arab states. In their sacrifices and in their blood were the foundations of the State ~~of Israel~~ firmly ^{laid} ~~established~~.

And now we must demonstrate to the world and to ourselves - especially to ourselves - that we are prepared staunchly, resolutely, ^{and} ~~patiently~~ to sustain that State in all the difficulties, ^{and} ~~trials~~ and dangers which beset every young state ^{which} ~~newly~~ comes into being. It was Thomas Jefferson who ^{said!} ~~declared~~, "We are not to expect to be translated from despotism to liberty in a feather bed." Certainly we Jews are, not to expect to be translated from homelessness, to nationhood, ^{from servitude to} ~~to~~ national freedom in to a feather bed. This has never been our good fortune, ~~at any time in our history.~~

in our history
Never ~~was~~ our load as ~~a people~~ an easy one. We may be God's Chosen People, but we are certainly not God's ~~Pampered People~~. Our ancestors under Joshua had to conquer Palestine foot by foot. Our ancestors under ~~Zebulun~~ *Zerubabel* had to rebuild ~~Palestine~~ *Judea* with one hand laying the stones and with the other hand holding ~~a~~ *th* sword.

Spiritually our history has always been one of conflict and struggle. ~~The life~~ *of our people was always* a life of swords, *To* wrestle with gods and men and to prevail. *That* is the meaning of the *your* name, Israel. We are not to be pitied because of *this* ~~this~~. The nature of ~~our~~ *this* experience through the ages has toughened us, *It* has hardened us, *it* has made us the "am k'she oreph", the stiff-necked people. It is that which enabled our people to rise from the ashes and ruins of two World Wars which wrecked and ravaged ~~the whole of~~ European Jewry and ~~physically~~ destroyed one-third of our people, *again* *to* rise, undefeated, and triumphantly ~~and~~ to build in the midst of chaos and terror and battle a new State ~~of Israel~~.

A few days ago, on the occasion of its second anniversary, the government of the State of Israel issued an *Independence Day* proclamation in which, after recounting the truly remarkable and magnificent achievements since the establishment of the State, it stated: "However, the road ahead is still long and hard. Our enemies continue to threaten us, our very existence, our independence and the borders of our state."

The existence of the state of Israel is still being threatened. There is no peace on the borders of Israel. The majority of the Arab states have not yet reconciled themselves to the existence of the state of Israel. What is being done today by the unreconciled Mr. Bevin in shipping military aircraft, gun boat, tanks and other military supplies to Egypt and Iraq and Jordan, and in refusing to supply arms to ~~the State of~~ Israel until - and here is the *little* irony of it all - "Israel is at peace with the Arab states", is not only not contributing to the reconciliation of these countries to the ineluctable fact of the existence of the State of Israel, but is encouraging desperate hopes ~~among them~~ *with* for a renewed offensive which ~~would~~ yield

them now what was denied them a year or so ago.

One wonders why the Security Council of the United Nations was so precipitous last August in ~~raising~~ ^{lifting} the arms embargo in the Near East after the ~~Jewish~~ ^{of the Jewish force} victories when it so stubbornly refused to lift ~~that~~ ^{the} embargo when Israel, dangerously unarmed, was fighting against ~~the~~ ^{to} Arab armies who had invaded Palestine ^{in an effort} to undo by violence the decision of the United Nations. If pacification of the Near East was the real objective, ^{not} ~~then~~ why was the embargo kept in force until peace treaties were finally concluded. And why did the United States support Great Britain in rushing through, against the ^{earnest} solicitations of the State of Israel, a premature abandonment of all restrictions on the ^{shipment} ~~balance~~ of arms to the Arab countries? Was not the ^{covert} ~~clear~~ intent to change radically the military balance between Israel and the Arab states? No foreign armies were threatening the peace and security of the Arab states. These states do not today need jet planes, bombers and fighters, tanks, heavy guns and warships to maintain domestic peace and security at home. ^{Does one perhaps imagine that these arms are intended and will} ~~Nor will these arms~~ be used by the Arab states to defend democracy and freedom in the Middle East in any future ^{emergency?} ~~controversy~~. Only purblind statesmen of short memory who have already forgotten the experience of the allied nations with these ^{same} Arab states during the last war will persist in entertaining such fantastic hopes. ~~now~~. These states who welcomed the Fascist and Nazi enemies of the democracies and were the centers of revolt and sabotage against allied military operations, will prove broken reeds for ^a ~~the~~ free world to lean on in any future conflict.

These arms are being assembled against Israel. Mr. Bevin is helping to prepare the next war against Israel. Our State Department, by refusing to sell arms to the State of Israel, is helping to keep Israel weak in the face of the mounting rearmament ^{that} of the surrounding Arab countries and is encouraging, wittingly or unwittingly, their intransigence and their refusal to conclude an honorable peace with Israel.

There are forces in the State Department, ~~who~~ ^{same} which have not reconciled themselves to the establishment of the State of Israel. It was these forces which were responsible for the astounding reversal of our government in March of 1948 when, after having voted for the partition resolution of the United Nations, ^{it} suddenly announced that it was no longer prepared to go along with it and demanded a special session of the United Nations to nullify ~~the~~ ^{that} resolution, ~~of November 1947~~. It is the same forces which are now supporting the supply of arms by Britain to the Arab states. It is the same forces which have been responsible up to now for the ~~refusal~~ ^{non-acquiescence} of our government ~~to accede~~ ^{in the country} to the request of the State of Israel to acquire arms ~~on~~ ^{the} the ~~specific~~ ^{grounds} ~~that~~ the security of Israel, surrounded as it is by neighbors which refuse to make peace, which are heavily rearming themselves, which are maintaining a blockade against Israel, and which are propagating for a second round, is really not being threatened.

Will the United States of America, which was the first country ^{in the world} to give official recognition to the newly-established State of Israel, stand idly by and see this

~~mounting~~ ^{an outbreak of freedom and} menace of war magnify until it is beyond control? Is it to ^{the best} ~~its~~ interest ^{the United States} to see the young state weakened, ~~endangered~~ ^{endangered}? Does ~~it~~ ^{it} favor a continuation of the present policy of Arab rearmament on the part of Great Britain, which ^{recommended} could not go on without its tacit approval. ^{And thus, force} ~~And thus, force~~ the economically harassed State of Israel to continue to drain off so much of its limited resources on armaments ~~in order~~

to insure its survival. Do the American people want it? Ought not the power and the prestige of our government be used ^{rather} to ensure that the Arab states shall negotiate a peace settlement with Israel forthwith, ~~either~~ by bringing about a cessation of arms shipments to these Arab states, or by making it possible ~~forthwith~~ ^{for} the State of Israel to acquire arms in this country, thereby serving notice on the Arab states that any new military adventures on their part will be no more successful and no less ~~certainly~~ ^{certainly} ~~than~~ ^{future} their earlier attempts.

instead of using them for economic reconstruction and the needs of its vast unemployment?

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an end
so that ~~there~~ may be put to this dangerous policy which is now being pursued by our
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Israel that we are not unmindful of the problems which beset them, that we are de-
termined to stay with them through all their political and economic vicissitudes un-
til security and peace finally come to them abidingly. Let us tell them of our grat-
itude for what they have done in such a generous and sacrificial spirit for our fellow-
Jews from so many parts of the world and for what they are preparing to do. Let us
tell them of our gratitude for what they have done for us, for the new dignity which
they have brought into our lives. Who can estimate the worth to us and to our chil-
dren of the new pride which has come into our souls? What is ~~the~~ worth to us that
after the silence of the centuries, the voice of Israel can be heard again, free and
authentic, speaking in the council of nations? We are moving proudly and hopefully
into a new day because Israel is there. The road may be long, but it is the road
which leads away from darkness to light, from debasement to dignity, from insecurity
to peace.

investments. This will decrease as the oil companies, which account for a large share of it, finish their foreign developments. If the United States underwrites a bold new program of point 4 activity, it can be expected that, even in the initial stages, an expansion of private business investment will take place. If this basic underwriting is not provided soon, and in volume, then because of the unsettled condition of the world, no large amount of private investment in underdeveloped countries will be made.

Point 4 will probably become law in the United States within a few weeks now. The legislation which is likely to be passed will launch the new program, partly as a United Nations enterprise, partly as a bilateral technical-aid scheme conducted by the United States Government. But the measure will not provide the underpinning necessary to carry out the investment features outlined above. That essential part of the program will probably await action of the Eighty-second Congress next year.

The technical-aid bill will provide some funds for UN agencies, which should allow a small beginning after other nations have made their contributions. To this extent our action will implement point 4 at Lake Success. It will also provide funds for United States agencies operating in the same field. An attempt is being made by proponents of the program to provide the first machinery for cooperation and clearances between these two efforts. Most important of all, as this legislation passes and becomes operative under the direction of the UN and the President, we must make certain that we have launched an effort that is not prevented by law from advancing to fill the need in underdeveloped countries. But this will not happen without much organized understanding and support within both the United States and the other members of the world family of nations.

Address by Dr. Abba Hillel Silver on the Second Anniversary of Establishment of the State of Israel

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT A. TAFT
OF OHIO

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, May 17 (legislative day of
Wednesday, March 29), 1950

Mr. TAFT. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an address delivered by Dr. Abba Hillel Silver on the second anniversary of the establishment of the State of Israel. The address was delivered at Madison Square Garden, New York City, on May 11, 1950.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ADDRESS BY DR. ABBA HILLEL SILVER ON THE
SECOND ANNIVERSARY OF ESTABLISHMENT OF
THE STATE OF ISRAEL, MADISON SQUARE GAR-
DEN, NEW YORK CITY, MAY 11, 1950

Two years have elapsed since the reestablishment of the State of Israel. We cannot as yet have a true perspective on what has taken place and all of its tremendous implications, but enough has taken place to justify the joyous celebration here this evening and similar celebrations throughout the world.

It is customary and quite natural for us to think of what we have done for Israel. I should like to speak this evening briefly

of what Israel has done, is doing, and will continue to do for us. American Jewry has, of course, done much for Israel. Without the decisive political mobilization and action of American Jewry, the State of Israel would not now be in existence. Without its large and sustained economic support, the development of the state, the absorption of immigrants, as well as its military defense, would have been nigh impossible. It will remain to the everlasting credit of the American Jewish community that the greatest challenge in Jewish history did not find it unprepared or reluctant to assume the burdens and responsibilities of leadership.

But great as were the services which we rendered to the State of Israel, greater by far have been the services which the State of Israel has rendered to us and to all the Jewish people in the Diaspora. What has transpired in the last 2 years is not only an impressive chronicle, but an inspiring epic. Close on to 400,000 homeless, menaced or war-ravaged Jews have been given a home in Israel. The great nations of the earth in possession of vast and empty territories did not offer any sanctuary to them. Israel, and Israel alone, opened its doors wide and welcomed these men and women, many of whom had languished for years in the concentration camps and the hellholes of Europe. I recall that in 1943 at the American Jewish Conference I stated that the problem of Jewish refugees would never be solved until the Jewish State is established. There were practical men in those days and men of affairs who presumed to know better. They denounced us as political extremists for raising the issue of the Jewish State at a time when Jews should be concentrating all of their energies on the demand for admission of Jewish refugees to Palestine. They withdrew from and destroyed the American-Jewish Conference over this issue. But these men, who now pride themselves upon being among the guiding spirits of the new State of Israel, were dangerously blind guides in those days, and it was fortunate that the Jews of America did not follow their leadership. The stone which they rejected, the Jewish State, has now become the chief cornerstone in the solution of the world problem of Jewish refugees.

In order to absorb these hundreds of thousands of immigrants who have poured, and are pouring, into that little state Israel has established 200 agricultural settlements, expanded its agriculture and industry, built tens of thousands of homes, and provided for them health, education, and social services. These immigrants, be it remembered, are our charge and the responsibility of Diaspora Jewry. It is we who placed this terrific economic burden upon the young republic, at a time when its resources were being heavily drained to maintain a large defense army, when it had to build from the ground up its administrative and parliamentary machinery, and wrestle with inflation, the high cost of living, and a most unfavorable balance of trade.

Israel gladly assumed the crushing immigration load, aware that it would force a lower standard of living upon its own people and a rigid regimen of austerity which would beggar even the austerity program of England during the war. In accepting this responsibility in the face of these besetting hardships and sacrifices, Israel has rendered a unique and unforgettable historic service to world Jewry. In 2 years Israel became the Eretz Miklat for world Jewry. It is prepared to continue to perform this service for still other Jews—Jews from Iraq, from Rumania, from Hungary, from Moslem countries where they are in imminent danger.

Before 1948 there was no place for such Jews to go except to the gas chambers. Today there is the free and welcoming land of Israel. When, therefore, I hear American Jews say, "How long will Israel continue to

ask us for help?" I counter by asking, "How long will world Jewry continue to ask Israel for help?"

The Jewish people established the State of Israel not merely in order to have a state. This in itself is important—to restore to the Jewish people a normal national existence and international status, which it had lacked for 2,000 years. It established the state in order that there might also be a place of ingathering for those of our people from all parts of the world who may have to go there or who may wish to go there. Having begun this tremendous and revolutionary enterprise, we cannot now stop midway. We assumed tremendous commitments when we set in motion great forces which culminated in the establishment of the state. Because the men and women of Israel believed in the earnestness of our purpose not only to create a state but to help maintain and defend it, they fought so valiantly, inspired not only by the justice of their cause, but also by the knowledge that behind them, in reserve, were the vast material and spiritual resources of the great Jewish community of America. In the same manner, they welcomed the overwhelming number of immigrants and risked all the serious complications to their national economy not only out of a sense of Jewish loyalty and solidarity but because they relied upon our continuous support.

The enemies of Israel are hopeful that we will now leave Israel in the lurch, that we will grow tired of supporting Israel. This would lead to a political collapse, and this is what they are waiting for. This is the reason why they are not now making peace with Israel. They are waiting for that disastrous economic and political debacle which would be for them the signal for a new attack on Israel. In confident anticipation of such an eventuality, they are rearming themselves to the teeth, with the aid of Mr. Bevin and with the quiet concurrence of our own State Department.

However, if I know my people—and I believe that I know them well—they are too loyal, too resolute, and too wise to fall into such a trap. They will not destroy with their own hands what they have so sacrificially and so lovingly built. On the contrary. Our people will help Israel to take care not only of these hundreds of thousands whom they have already sent there, but of the many hundreds of thousands more who are yet to come. They will want Israel to become economically sound, politically stable, and numerically so strong as to discourage for all time the annihilationist hopes of political adventurers in the neighboring Arab countries.

There were three things which we Jews had to do in recent years. First, we had to show the world that we wanted the State of Israel. On a vast scale we organized and made vocal the will of our people and persuaded men of good will everywhere of the sincerity and steadfastness of our purpose. Through many ways, athwart many obstacles, outmaneuvering many conspiracies, we pressed on indefatigably and relentlessly until the United Nations in November 1947 gave sanction to our historic claim for the reestablishment of the State of Israel.

Our people then had to show the world that it was prepared to fight for the State of Israel. And so, unaided by any of the United Nations who sanctioned the establishment of the State, and seriously hampered by an arms blockade, our valiant sons and daughters in Israel for 8 months fought off and kept at bay and finally defeated decisively the armies of six invading Arab States. In the sacrifices and in the blood of these Israeli minute men were the foundations of the state firmly laid.

And now we must demonstrate to the world and to ourselves—especially to ourselves—that we are prepared staunchly, resolutely, and patiently to sustain that

State in all the difficulties and dangers which beset every young State newly come into being, that we are prepared to help it with our resources both material and human. It was Thomas Jefferson who said: "We are not to expect to be translated from despotism to liberty in a feather bed." Certainly we Jews are not to expect to be translated from homelessness, to nationhood, from servitude to freedom in a feather bed. Never in all our history was our lot an easy one. We may be God's chosen people, but we are certainly not God's pampered people. Our ancestors under Joshua had to conquer Palestine foot by foot. Under Zerubabel they had to rebuild Judea, with one hand laying the stones and the other holding the sword. Spiritually our history has always been one of conflict and struggle—a life of swords. To wrestle with gods and men and to prevail—that is the very meaning of the name, Israel. We are not to be pitied because of this. The nature of our experience through the ages has toughened us. It has made us the "am k' she oreph," the stiff-necked people. It is that quality which enabled our people to rise from the ashes and ruins of two world wars which wrecked and ravaged European Jewry and destroyed one-third of our people and undefeated triumphantly to build in the midst of chaos and terror and battle a new state.

A few days ago, on the occasion of its second anniversary, the Government of the State of Israel issued an independence day proclamation in which, after recounting the truly remarkable and magnificent achievements since the establishment of the State, it declared: "However, the road ahead is still long and hard. Our enemies continue to threaten us, our very existence, our independence, and the borders of our State."

The existence of the State of Israel is still being threatened. There is no peace on the borders of Israel. The majority of the Arab States have not yet reconciled themselves to the existence of the State of Israel. What is being done today by the unreconciled Mr. Bevin is shipping military aircraft—108 jet planes, more than half of them already delivered—gun boats, tanks, and other military supplies to Egypt, Iraq, and Jordan, and to Syria with which Great Britain has no treaty obligations and in refusing to supply arms to Israel until—and here is the bitter irony of it all—until Israel is at peace with the Arab States," is not only not contributing to the reconciliation of these countries to the ineluctable fact of the existence of the State of Israel, but is encouraging among them desperate hopes for a renewed offensive which might yield them now what was denied them a year or so ago.

One wonders why the Security Council of the United Nations was so precipitous last August in lifting the arms embargo in the Near East after the victories of the Jewish forces when it had so stubbornly refused to lift the embargo when Israel, dangerously unarmed, was fighting against the Arab armies who had invaded Palestine bent upon undoing by violence the resolution of the United Nations. If pacification of the Near East was the real objective, why was not the embargo kept in force until peace treaties were finally concluded? And why did the United States support Great Britain in rushing through, against the earnest solicitations of the State of Israel, a premature abandonment of all restrictions on the shipment of arms to the Arab countries? Was not the covert intent to change radically the military balance between Israel and the Arab States? No foreign armies were threatening the peace and security of the Arab States. These states do not today need jet planes, bombers, and fighters, tanks, heavy guns, and warships to maintain domestic peace and security at home.

Does anyone perhaps imagine that these arms are intended and will be used by the Arab States to defend democracy and freedom in the Middle East in any future emergency? Only purblind statesmen of short memory who have already forgotten the experience of the Allied Nations with these same Arab States during the last war will persist in entertaining such bizarre hopes. These states who welcomed the Fascist and Nazi enemies of the democracies and were the centers of revolt and sabotage against Allied military operations in the last war, will prove broken reeds indeed for a free world to lean on in any future conflict.

These arms are being assembled against Israel. Mr. Bevin is blunderingly helping to prepare the next war against Israel. Our State Department, by withholding a reply to the request of the Israeli Government to acquire arms in the United States is helping to keep Israel weak in the face of the mounting rearmament threat of the surrounding Arab countries, and is encouraging, wittingly or unwittingly, their intransigence and their refusal to conclude an honorable peace with Israel.

There are forces in the State Department which have not reconciled themselves to the establishment of the State of Israel. It was these same forces which were responsible for the astounding reversal of our Government in March of 1948, when after having voted for the partition resolution of the United Nations, it suddenly announced that it was no longer prepared to go along with it and requested a special session of the United Nations to nullify that resolution. It is these same forces which are now supporting and justifying the supply of arms by Britain to the Arab States. It is the same forces which have been responsible for the ominous silence of our Government on the request of Israel to acquire arms in this country. The explanation given by our Government spokesmen is specious and artful. It is maintained that the security of Israel, surrounded as it is by neighbors which refuse to make peace, which are heavily rearming themselves, which are maintaining a blockade against Israel, and which are propagating for a second round, is really not being threatened.

Similarly disingenuous was the reply given by the State Department to the suggestion of 51 Congressmen that aid under point 4 be extended only to those Arab States which have reached peace settlements with Israel. The State Department believes that it would be undesirable to use this program as an instrument of political pressure. In God's name, since when is the withholding of aid to states which refuse to make peace an undesirable and unjustified form of political pressure? Is our Government not using its financial and material aid in other parts of the world at this very time to exert political pressure? What government in the world today dissociates aid from foreign policy?

Will the United States of America, which was the first country in the world to give official recognition to the newly established State of Israel, stand idly by and see this menace of war mount and magnify until it is beyond control? Is it to the best interests of America to see the young state, which everyone recognizes as an outpost of freedom and democracy in the Near East, weakened and endangered? Does the United States favor a continuation of the present policy of Arab rearmament by Great Britain? This rearmament could not go on without its tacit approval. Does it wish the economically hard-pressed State of Israel to continue to drain off so much of its limited resources on arms instead of using them for its economic reconstruction and the pressing human needs of its vast immigration? Do the American people really want it? Ought

not rather the power and the prestige of our Government be used in such a manner as to insure that the Arab States shall negotiate a peace settlement with Israel forthwith by bringing about a cessation of arms shipments to these Arab States, or by making it possible for the State of Israel to acquire arms in this country, thereby serving notice on the Arab States that any new military adventures on their part will find Israel fully prepared and would prove no more successful and no less costly to them than their earlier futile attempts.

We owe it to Israel and to our own beloved country to make our voices heard so that an end may be put to this dangerous policy which is now being pursued by our Government. Bevin's way has always been the wrong way in Palestine, the stupid and bloody way. Our Government should not follow the lead of this embittered politician whose Palestine policies have been so thoroughly discredited.

On this second anniversary let us give evidence to the fine men and women of Israel that we are not unmindful of the problems which beset them, that we are determined to stay with them through all their political and economic vicissitudes until security and peace finally come to them abidingly. Let us tell them of our gratitude for what they have done in such a generous and sacrificial manner for our fellow Jews from so many parts of the world and for what they are prepared to do. Let us tell them of our gratitude for what they have done for us—for the new dignity which they have brought into our lives. Who can estimate the worth to us and to our children of the new pride which has come into our souls? What is it worth to us that after the silence of the centuries, the voice of Israel can be heard again, free and authentic, speaking in the council of nations? We are moving proudly and hopefully into a new day because Israel is there. The road may be long, but it is the road which leads away from darkness to light, from debasement to dignity, and from insecurity to peace.

Persons Naturalized in Fiscal Years 1948 and 1949

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. THEODORE FRANCIS GREEN OF RHODE ISLAND

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, May 17 (legislative day of
Wednesday, March 29), 1950

Mr. GREEN. Mr. President, I request unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD a copy of table 44, sent to me by Hon. Watson B. Miller, Commissioner of Immigration and Naturalization, listing by States the number of persons who have been naturalized and have become American citizens during 1948 and 1949. This table, I know, will be of interest to Members of the Congress.

In order to fulfill their obligations as American citizens these peoples should register so that they may participate in our National, State, and local elections. Let me give an illustration. To vote in Rhode Island, one must register before June 30 of an election year. My colleague the junior Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. LEAHY] and I are stressing very strongly the importance of regis-

May 11, 1950

נוסח מצא של נאום ד"ר א. ה. סיבר באסיפה הציונית ב"מדיסון סקוור"

ההזדיונות במזרח - תחליף גרוע להסכמי שלום

האם הכוונה היא שמדינת ישראל תתדלדל על ידי הוצאת כסף להתגוננות במקום להשתמש בו לקימום כלכלי?

למען ישראל ולמען אמריקה
גם למען ישראל וגם למען אמריקה עצמה עלינו להשמיץ את קולנו שיושם קץ למדיניות מסוכנת זו של ממשלת ארצות הברית. דרכו של בויין בארץ ישראל היתה תמיד דרך העוול, הטמטום והדם. אל תלך ממשלת אמריקה אחרי מר נפש זה! שכל כך נכשל במדיניותו הארציו-אמריקאית!
הבה ונזכיר ביום העצמאות של מדינת ישראל לבני ישראל ובנותיה, שאנחנו מבינים את הבקיעה שהם עומדים בפניה, שאנחנו נצטרך לזימן בכל סבלותיהם המדיניות והכלכליות עד שיבואו בשחון ושלום. הבה נביע להם תודתנו על מה שעשו ברוחב-לבב במסיבתם לאחיו היהודים מארבע כנסות עולם ועל מה שהם עוד מוכנים לעשות. הבה ונזכיר להם על מה שעשו למעננו, על הכבוד החדש שהכניסו לחינו. מי יכול להעריך את ערך הגאווה שבאה לנפשונו בשבילנו ובשביל בנינו אחריו? הרי אין עורך לדבר, שלאחר שהיית מאות בשנים שוב נשמע קול ישראל בחירות ובאמת, בסוד עמים. הגנו קמים בכל יום בגאווה ובתקווה מפני שישראל קיימת. יתכן, שהדרך ארוכה, אבל זוהי הדרך המוליכה מחושך לאור, משפל לכבוד, מחסור בשחון לשלום.

עיקף מנימות רבות לחמנו בלי ליאות ובלי הרף עד שהאומות המאוחדות אישרו בנובמבר 1947 את תביעתנו ההיסטורית להקמת מדינת ישראל.
אז צריך היה עמנו להראות לעולם, שהוא מוכן להלחם למען מדינת ישראל. וכך, בלי עזרה מצד שום אומה מן האומות המאוחדות, שאישרו את הקמת המדינה, ומתוך הפרעה רצינית על ידי איסור משלוח נשק לישראל נלחמו בנינו ובנותינו בישראל באומץ לב במשך שמונה חודשים עד שלבסוף הריכו את הצבאות של שש מדינות ערביות פולשות שוק על ירך. הקרבנות והדם של בני ישראל אלה הם יסודות המדינה.

עם נבחר אבל לא עם מפונק
ועכשיו עלינו להוכיח לעולם ולעצמנו - בייחוד לעצמנו - שאנחנו מוכנים לתמוך בכל מאורנו ובכל סבלותנו את המדינה בכל קשייה וסכנותיה. תומאס ג'פרסון אמר: "אין לעבוד משעבוד לחרות בתוך כסת רכה". יש שכן שאנחנו היהודים איננו יכולים לעבוד מחוסר מולדת למולדת, משעבוד לחרות בכסת רכה. מעולם בכל דברי ימי ישראל לא היה לנו גורל קל. אמנם אנחנו העם הנבחר, אבל איננו העם המפונק. אבות אבותינו בימי יהושע בן-נון הוכרחו לכבוש את ארץ-ישראל צעד אחר צעד. בימי דוד ודבאל היה עליהם לקומם את יהודה כשדורו האחר "עושה במלאכה ואחת מחזקת השלח". מבחינה רוחנית היו דברי ימינו תמיד דברי ימי מאבק. תמיד נאבק ישראל עם אלהים ואדם ובעל. ויסיון זה במשך דורות חי של אותנו ובעש איתנו לעם קשה עורף. תכונות אלה היו שהכשירה את עמנו לקום מתו האפר וההריסות של שתי מלחמות עול. שעשתה שמות ביהודי אירופה והשמידה שלוש עמנו, ולהקים בתוך החרב יבנה והמלחמה מדינה חדשה.
לפני ימים אחדים פרסמה ממשלת ישראל כרוז ליום העצמאות - שבו מנתה את ההישגים הגדולים באמת למן הקמת המדינה ובו נאמר:

"אם עוד רבה וקשה הדרך לפנינו, אינו בוינו וצוררנו עודם מתחילים לנו, לקימונו לעצמאותנו ולנבילות מדינתנו."
עדיין יש סכנה לקיום מדינת ישראל. אין שלום על גבול ישראל. רוב מדינות ערב עדיין לא השלימו עם קיום מדינת ישראל. מה שעושה כיום מר בויין במשלוח אוירונים איננו, טנקים ותחמושת צבאית אחת לערב לא זה בלבד. שאיננו תורם להשלמת מדינת ישראל עם העובדה של קיום מדינת ישראל, אלא מעודד את הקהלים להתקפה חדשה. שבה הם חושבים להשיג מה שלא השיגו לפני שנה או שנתיים.

לאינו מטרה ישמש הנשק הניתן לערבים?

האם מדמה מי שהוא בנפש, שנשק זה ישמש בידי הערבים להגנת הדמוקרטיה והחופש במזרח התיכון? רק מדינאים שחזו עינים, שכבר שכחו את הנסיון של מעצמות הברית עם הערבים במלחמת העולם השנייה יכולים לטפח תקוות שוא אלה. המדינות הערביות, שקיבלו בברכה את הנאצים ופאשיסטים, הן משעות קנה רצון יצו החדש, במאבק שיבוא.

הנשק מצטבר נגד ישראל. מר בויין עוזר למעשה להכניס סיבוב שני. ומיניסטריון החוץ בוואשינגטון עוזר להחלשת ישראל לעומת הזדיונות העמים הערבים ומעודד, מדעת או שלא מדעת, את עקשנותם "סירי" במעשיות שלום של כבוד עם ישראל.
יש פחות במיניסטריון החוץ בוואשינגטון, של השלימו עם הקמת מדינת ישראל. אף של הכחשת עצמם אחראים לנסיגת ממשלת ארצות הברית במרס 1948, והם הם התומכים במשלוח נשק בריטי לערבים.

כשפנו 51 צירי הקונגרס למיניסטריון החוץ בדרושה, שהסיוע לפי סעיף ד' של חוקי טרומן ינתן רק לאותן המדינות הערביות שיעשו שלום עם ישראל, ענה למיניסטריון, כי הוא סבור, כי לא יוצא להשתמש בתכנית טרומן לשם לחץ פוליטי. רבנו של עולם, מאימתי נחשבת אנטיצית ערבי למדינות מסרבות לשלום לחץ פוליטי בלתי מוצדק? האם איז הממשלה משתמשת בסיועה הכספי והחומרי ביהר חלקי העולם לשם לחץ פוליטי? ואינו ממשלה בעולם מפרדה כיום בין סיוע ומדיניות חוץ? האם רוצות ארצות הברית של אמריקה, שהן המדינה הראשונה בעולם שהכירה במדינת ישראל, לעמוד בטלה ולהסתכל באימת המלחמה הגוברת עד שאי אפשר יהיה לעצור בעדה? האם אמריקה מעוניינת לראות בחולשתה ובסכנתה של המדינה הצעירה, שהכל מכירים אותה בחלוצי החירות והדמוקרטיה בחלק זה של העולם? ויוון המדינה גות הערבות על ידי אנגליה לא יוכל להמר שן כלו אישור אמריקני. האם רוצה היא, שמדינת ישראל תתדרדר על ידי הוצאת כסף להתגוננות במקום להשתמש בכסף לקימום מדיני? וי-קיימת העובדה? האם זהו הציון העם האמריקאי? האם לא ראוי, שהעובדה שיש ממשלת אמריקה ויש מדינת ישראל, שיש ממשלת אמריקה ויש ממשלת ישראל, שיש שלום עם מדינת ישראל על ידי הפסקת משלוח נשק או על ידי מתן אפשרות לישראל לקנות נשק כן נשק באמריקה? עם זה יש להוויץ למדינת הערבות, כי כל הרפתקה צבאית מצדן תמצא את ישראל מורכב ומזומנה ולא יצליחו בה יותר מאשר בסיסונם הראשון שנכשל.

ישראל קיבלה ברצון את מעמסת העליה הלוהצת עליה מתוך הכרה ברורה, שהדבר יגרום להנמכת רמת החיים ולמשטר חמור של צצע, העולה על חומרת המשטר הבריטי בימי מלחמת העולם השנייה. היא קיבלה את האחריות לנוכח קשיים וסבלות אלה, ובה עשתה שירות היסטורי יחיד במינו ובלתי נשכח למען יהודי העולם. בשנתיים הפכה ישראל לארץ מקלט ליהודי העולם. היא מוכנה להמשיך ולעשות את השרות הזה גם ליהודים נוספים, מעיראק, מרומניה, מהונגריה, מן הארצות המוסלמיות, שהם שם בסכנה המידית.

"עד מתי?"
לפני שנת 1948 לא היה מקום ליהודים כאלה, אלא ללכת לכבשני הגאווה. כיום פתח זה לנתיים ארץ-ישראל. לפיכך כשאנו שומעים יהודי אמריקה אומרים: "עד מתי תוסיף ישראל דבקש מאי תנו עזרה?" או "אני עונה בשאנה עד מתי יוסיפו יהודי העולם לבקש עזרה מישראל?"

עם ישראל הקים את מדינת ישראל לא רק כדי שתהיה לו מדינה, אמנם הדבר חשוב כשהוא לעצמו - להשיג לעם ישראל קיום לאומי, תקין בעמדה בינלאומית, שלא היו לו זה אלפיים שנה. אבל המדינה החדשה כיום שיהיה מקום לקליטת אותם מאחינו מכל העולם המוסרחים לעלות או הרוצים לעלות. לאחר שקבלנו על עצמנו תפקיד עצום ומתכבד זה, איננו יכולים עכשיו לעמוד בחצי הדרך. קבלנו על עצמנו התחייבות עצומה כשהאנו את הכוחות, שהביאו לידי הקמת המדינה, מכיון שהאנשים והנשים בישראל האמינו ברצינות כוונתנו לא רק להקים מדינה, אלא גם להחזיק אותה ולהגן עליה. נלחמו באומץ לב כזה לא רק מתוך הכרת צדקתם, אלא גם מתוך הידיעה שאי חוריהם יש עתודות חומר רות של יהדות אמריקה הגדולה. כיוצא בזה קיבלו ברצון את העולים הרבים וסיכנו את הכלכלה שלהם לא רק מתוך רגש אחדות יהודים, אלא גם מפני ששמונו על חמיכתנו הממושכת.

לא נעודד את שונאינו
שונאי ישראל מקוים, שאנחנו נעזוב את ישראל לנפשה, שנתיקף מלחמות בישראל. דבר זה עלול להביא לידי התמוטטות מדינית, ולזה הם מצפים. למיניסטריון עצום שלום עם ישראל. הם מצפים לתבוסה מלכית ומדינית. שתתן להם את האו"ם להתקף שוב את ישראל. מתוך ציפי לכן הם מודיעים נים עד לשנייה בנתינת שלום בויין ומתוך הסכמה מחרישה של מיניסטריון החוץ בואשינגטון.

אבל אם אני מכיר את עמי - ואני סבור שאני מכיר אותו היטב - הרי הוא נאמן ומרוץ וחכם ביותר כדי לישול בשת כזה, לא נהרום כמו ידיו מה שהקימונו בקרבנות ובאבה רבה ארבה. עמנו יעזור לוי-ראל לא רק לראות למאות האזרחים ששכבר נשלחו שמה אלא גם למאות האזרחים הרבים הצעירים עוד דעי-ות. אנחנו רוצים שישאל את ההנהגה בבראיה מבחינה כלכלית, ויציבה מבחינה מדינית וחזקה מבחינה מוספרית כדי לשום האם ראוי לתמוך את תקוות ההמשמה של בני ההנהגה פתקים המדיניים במדיניות הערביות השכנות.

היה עלינו לעשות בשנים האחרונות שאלו שה דברים. ראשית להראות לעולם שאלו רוצים במדינת ישראל. אנחנו נתנו מה לרצון עמנו והוכחנו לבעלי הכוחה הרצויה בכל העולם את הנאמנות וההתמדה של שאיפתנו, בדרכים רבות, למרות מכשולים רבים, מתוך

הערת המערכות: נאום זה של ד"ר סילבר, לפני שבועיים באסיפה הציונית ב"מדיסון סקוור", בא במסגרת הלחץ המדיני של ציוני אמריקה על ממשלתם לשנות את מדיניותם בעניני ההזדיונות במזרח התיכון. והאמברגו על ישראל, לאחר שהחל סת שלש המעצמות להתיר מכירת נשק לישראל ולמדינות ערב גם יחד - יש כעת אקסואליות מיוחדת בני אומנו של סילבר, בייחוד באזהרה הכי לונה בדבריו שההזדיונות היא תחליף גרוע להסכמי שלום.

שנתיים עברו למן הקמת מדינת ישראל, עדיין אין לנו המרחק המספיק, כדי לעמוד על מה שקרה, אבל יש נימוקים מספיקים להצדיק את החגיגה הערב אצלנו ובכל העולם.
טבעי הדבר, שאנו חושבים על כך מה פעלנו למען ישראל. אבל אני אבחר לדבר הערב בקיצור על כך מה פעלה ישראל. מה עושה ומסיסה מדינת ישראל לעשות למעננו. ודאי יעשו יהודי אמריקה הרבה למען ישראל. בלי הגיוס המדיני והפעולה של יהודי אמריקה לא היתה מדינת ישראל קיימת. בלי התמיכה הכלכלית הגדולה לא היתה אפשרות ההסתחות המדינה, קלוטית העליה וכן גם התגוננותה הצבאית. יש לזי קוף לזכות יהודי אמריקה, שהתפקיד הגדול ביותר בדברי ימי ישראל לא מצא אותם בלתי מוכנים או מהססים לקבל על עצמם את הסבל והאחריות של המנהיגות.

אכן מאסו הבונים היתה לראש פינה

אבל בכל גודל השרות שניתן למדינת ישראל, הרי עוד יותר גדול השרות שנתנה מדינת ישראל לנו ולכל העם בגולה. מה שקרה בשנתיים האחרונות איננה סתם כרוז ניקה העושה רושם, אלא אפוס רב השראה. כ-400 אלף יהודים מאחורי מולדת, נתונים בסכנה או פליטי חרב, קיבלו מולדת בישראל. המדינות הגדולות בעולם, שיש להן שטחים רחבי-ידים ריקים, לא הציעו להן שום מקלט. ישראל, ורק ישראל, פתחה את שעריה לרווחתה וקיבלה בברכה אנשים ונשים אלה, שרבים מהם התענו במחנות הסגר, בשנת 1943 אמרתי בועידת יהודי אמריקה, כי בעית הפליטים היהודים לא תסתר לעולם עד שתוקם מדינת ישראל. היום אשמיטעשעש בימים ההם שחשבו, כי הם מבינים יותר, הם גינו אותנו כקיצונים מפני שהעלינו את שאלת מדינת ישראל בשעה שהיהודים צריכים היו לדעתם ללפן את כל מאמציהם רק ברישת עליה לארץ-ישראל. הם מוצעו את הועידה לרגל זה, אבל אנשים אלה המתגאים שהם "ראשי המודרייזם" למדינת ישראל היו בימים ההם מודרייזם עוורים, וטוב שיהודי אמריקה לא נתנו להם להיות כזו. היגים. אכן מאסו הבונים - מדינת ישראל - היתה לראש פינה בפתרון הבעיה העולית מית של הפליטים היהודים.

כדי לקלוט מאות אלפי עולים הורמים למדינה קטנה זאת הקימה מדינת ישראל 200 יישובים חקלאים, הרחיבה את חקלאותה ותעשייתה, הקימה רכבות בתים ונותנת לעיר לים שרותי בריאות, חינוך ועזרה סוציאלית. אל נשכח שהאחריות לעולים אלה מוטלת על יהודי הגולה. אנחנו העמסנו סבל כלכלי איום זה על הרויפוליקה הצעירה, בשעה שכל אוצרותיה נתונים להתקת צבא הגנה גדול, בשעה שעליה לבנות מיסודו את הפני גנון השלטוני והפרלמנטרי ולהאבק למען יציבות המטבע, נגד רמת המחירים ונגד מאי זן מסחרי בלתי-יציבה.

המעמד החגיגי ב"מדיסון סקוור"



— מאת סופר "הבוקר" בניירורק, י. גינזבורג —

הפגנת חיבה ספונטאנית לכבודו של ד"ר אבא הלל סילבר, נערכה בגושף העצמאות של מדינת ישראל בניירורק, ב-12.5.50. האולם הגדול של "מדיסון סקוור גארדן" היה מלא משה לפה בנשף שנערך על ידי ההסג תחרות הציונית באמריקה. לא היה אומן הראשון של הד"ר סילבר אחר ההפטרות מהנהלת הסוכנות. קהל של 20 אלף איש עמד על רגלי וחי יע לכבוד המנהיג הציוני בעלותו על הבמה.

היתה זו האסיפה הציונית הגדולה ביותר בשנתיים האחרונות - הדגישו ניונים ותיקים בניירורק, בעת נאומו הגדול של הד"ר סילבר נזכרו רבים בגאווה ההיסטורית בימי ההכרעה בלייקסאכסס ואח"כ ביום שנשא באותו האולם הענקי של "מדיסון סקוור" ביום הקמת המדינה. האדריכל כל המדיני של התנועה הציונית באמריקה הוזכר את חלקה של יהדות אמריקה בהקמת המדינה. אך חזר והדגיש כי יהדות אמריקה חייבת להמר שיה עזרתה הכלכלית והפוליטית לישראל כי למעשה אין יהדות העולם ונתנת דבר למדינת ישראל אלא, לה-סך, מדינת ישראל נתנת ליהדות הגולה בקבצה את קיבוץ הגלויות... פניה רשמית לד"ר סילבר לחזור לתת את ידו ותמיכתה לתנועה הציונית, היתה השמיה בהסתדרות הציונית גיה, מר בן בראודה. "הדושות לנו דרך הברוכות..." - אמר. מר בראודה מסר לסילבר לוח כבוד על פעולתו המדינית באמריקה, שהביאה את ההחלטה ההיסטורית של 28 לנובמבר 1947.

מושל מדינת ניוירורק, מר דוואי, אמר בראשית דבריו כי זה שנים מספר נזהר הוא מלנאום אחר סילבר, כי אין איש יכול להתחרות בו ובכשרו רגולתיו.