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Zionist Organization of America, 1951.

whether you have seen the program or not, are aware of the next speaker. I have had the extreme honor and privilege of introducing him on a number of occasions.

Were I to combine all my introductions into a few succinct words I could say that in these most trying and critical days of our movement he is the silver lining which peers out on a heavily overcast sky.

My friends, silver is an element -- not an alloy. It is precious. It is pure. So is the man who bears this name. A great American, a great Jew, a great Zionist, a great leader.

Ladies and gentlemen, once again -- meet Dr. Abba Hillel Silver.

...[The Convention arose and applauded vigorously]...

DR. ABBA HILLEL SILVER: My dear friends, at the outset I should like to express my deep appreciation to the President of the Zionist Organization of America, Mr. Browdy, and I am sure that you would like me to express your own sense of appreciation for a year of faithful, competent, self-sacrificing service which he has rendered our beloved organization. [Applause]

It is never easy to lead an organization of

this character with its manifold activities and tasks, interests oftentimes conflicting. It was particularly difficult during this past year which two speakers have aptly characterized as a year of transition, rather a year of uncertainty, a year of groping.

I would like to share with you this evening some of my thinking on the problems and tasks which confront our movement, and I shall speak, as I always try to speak, quite frankly and quite forthrightly.

The major problem which confronts us in the future is the future of the Zionist movement. It is whether our movement has a future. It is as simple as all that.

There are those who would like to see our movement disbanded. There are those who would like to see its functions reduced and itself relegated to the background. There are those who would like to see a new organization created which would absorb our organization and in a sense neutralize it. All these proposals, in my humble judgment, are unwise, and will in the long-run hurt the young State of Israel, and what is equally important, the Jewish people.

The Zionist movement which was responsible for the creation of the State of Israel, in the face of violent opposition and large-scale indifference can alone be trusted to

carry through and implement the second part of its essential program, namely the in-gathering and the integration of millions of Jews who may have to go to Israel in the days to come, or who may wish to go there.

The solid and dependable core of our restoration movement has always been the World Zionist Organization. By its dogged persistence and its singleminded resoluteness, it succeeded in the course of time in drawing in, increasingly large sections of world Jewry and won their support and co-operation so that when the final hour of decision arrived, world Jewry was able to present a fairly united and consolidated front.

Thus, while the World Zionist Movement could not originally speak for the whole World Jewry, that seems to have become a kind of slogan today -- whether we can speak for World Jewry or not -- thus while the World Zionist Movement could not originally speak for the whole of World Jewry -- [the assembly broke into vigorous applause upon the arrival of Dr. Emanuel Neumann]

DR. SILVER [continuing]: I have only covered a few paragraphs, Dr. Neumann, and I am sure you would have agreed with all of them. [Laughter]

And so I repeat the last sentence now, for the

third time -- [laughter]

Thus, while the World Zionist Movement could not originally speak for the whole of Jewry, but only for its historic hopes and its essential genius, at the actual hour of consummation it was in fact able to speak for a united World Jewry.

With the establishment of the State this united front which had been achieved by our movement, has begun to weaken, and many late-comers are drifting back to their former indifference and apathy. Many of the political and economic problems which confront the new State are so urgent, so colossal as to require the same maximum mobilization, alertness and single-mindedness which made possible the great political achievement of 1948.

Only a strong World Zionist movement can assure for Israel that strength of support which the long, hard pull ahead will require.

If the State of Israel will in the future regard the World Zionist Organization as the authentic instrument of the Jewish people, endowed with authority and status to speak for and implement the remaining phase of the Zionist program, the World Zionist Organization will be in position to meet the challenge of the hour and to bring maximum support to Israel.

If its authority and scope are narrowed and undermined, the organization and the movement will steadily decline and disintegrate and the political and economic support of the new State will sharply decrease. There is no other competent agency or organization in the field now existing, or which can be created, which can take its place.

The issue is not whether the sovereignty of the State of Israel should be interfered with. That, my good friends, is a red herring. The issue is not whether the sovereignty of the State of Israel should be interfered with, but whether the Government of Israel should undermine the authority, prestige and effectiveness of the World Zionist Organization, [Applause] -- in the fond hope of finding some other body or some other bodies, which will contribute more politically or economically to it.

What I have just said, dear friends, is, of course, in sharp contradiction to what some of the Zionists believe in, and what the Prime Minister of the State of Israel on the eve of his departure for Israel, in so many words, and I am under the impression that some people expect me at the moment to engage in polemics with the Prime Minister over this issue.

I am afraid I shall have to disappoint them.

I see no reason for doing it. I cautioned against such views

at Zionist conventions two years ago, and again last year. At that time certain fellow-Zionists in our midst who shared these views, roundly denounced me for expressing my views, and ascribed all sorts of motives to them, most of them as you may well imagine, quite uncomplimentary.

These individuals, in the main, have since abandoned their views, and are expounding with rare vigor, the views which I expressed. They are plowing today with my heifer, and I have no objection. I have been waiting for some word of retraction or recantation, but I shall probably be disappointed in that.

Instead of my doing all of the polemicizing -- if I may use the word -- this evening I would like to have them do it, because they apparently seem to be even more aggrieved at what was said by the Prime Minister -- who they regarded as their political and ideological ally -- than some of us.

Some of them have led the world to believe that as a result of numerous and successful conferences held in Israel, they have come to an understanding with them about the future program and scope of the World Zionist Organization and that everything was in apple-pie order for the forthcoming Congress, and here came a rather unequivocal and resounding pronouncement which knocked all these declarations and arrange-

ments into a cocked hat.

4 I would like to have them for a change do the fighting. I understand some of them have been making speeches of unhappy vehemence and confused dudgeon since that time. Probably as a result of certain frantic cables sent abroad, and the unfavorable reaction in the public press, a statement, I understand, has been issued in Israel that what has been said here represents no change of attitude on the part of the Prime Minister with reference to a special status to be given to the World Zionist Organization.

This may be by way of oil being poured on troubled water, on the eve of the Zionist Convention, both here, and the Zionist Conference in Paris. Personally, I am too obtuse to follow all these involvements and these maneuvers. I have been unable to understand a declaration one day of socialism in our lifetime and a declaration another time of our economy being neither capitalist nor socialist. I have been unable to understand a pronouncement made one day that if you do not send us your children voluntarily we will reach out and take them from you, and on the other hand that migration to Israel rests with the free discretion of each individual.

Perhaps I am too obtuse, but I am unable to understand what is meant by saying that the Zionist movement

or the Zionist Organization is not the spokesman for the Jewish people, and in fact that the Zionist movement or Organization may actually be a wall, a separating wall between the State of Israel and the World Jewry, and on the other hand a statement made that we want a strong Zionist Organization and that we plan to give that Organization special status.

Why should special status be given to such an organization? Why should special status be given to an organization whose very name the Prime Minister forgot to mention during his visit to the United State?

I hear it said that there are still Zionists who have failed to recognize the existence of the Jewish State. What shall we say of one who has failed to recognize the existence of the Zionist movement and the Zionist Organization?
[Applause]

What special status is intended for the Zionist movement?

Two years ago some of you may recall at a convention I cautioned against a special status which might ultimately be assigned to us, and I quote:

"Those who steadily push for the absorption of all real authority and control by the Government, those who in practise treat the Zionist Organization

as just one among a number of Jewish bodies of equal and perhaps of greater importance, instead of regarding it as the representative body of the Jewish people which created the State of Israel and must now complete the implementation of the Zionist program, but who at the same time utter pietistic phrases about the need for a stronger Zionist movement, are either deluding themselves or are guilty of double-talk. I am afraid that what some of them actually have in mind is the desirability of continuing the Zionist Organization solely for the purpose of having some scolding address or a convenient whipping boy for the resentment and blame of whatever goes wrong."

I don't think I was so far wrong, and I understand that that very evening the Zionists of America were warned that they have something more to expect when the Prime Minister returns to the State.

Well, now, why do I say all these things? Not because I have any personal hostility to the Prime Minister or that I fail to recognize his historic contributions to our great cause or am unaware of the extraordinarily verile contribution which he is making today in the conduct of the affairs of the

State of Israel. Please do not reduce all this discussion to that kind of a personal level to which some individual somehow always have a desire to reduce serious discussions of great issues.

I am concerned not with any individual or with any individuals. I am concerned with a movement and a State and a people which are very dear to me as they are to you, as they are to the Prime Minister, as they are to every Jew, and if I see a movement into which generations have poured their life's blood, a movement which has served so well and so triumphantly, a movement which Israel and the Jewish people still stand in desperate need of for decades and generations to come, when I see a movement and an organization such as that threatened, I speak up. [Applause]

And I have a right to speak up. [Vigorous applause]

Two years ago I said to you, and I quote:

"The political backing of our movement will be needed by the State of Israel in the future as in the past, particularly in the critical negotiations which are now going on with the Arab States. It may be necessary again and again to rally American public opinion in defense of the political rights of Israel."

Has that been true? [Applause]

"Just as the Israeli are not free as yet to demobilize because their security has not yet been fully established, so must we not think of demobilizing for some time to come. There are those who believe that the time has again come to substitute quiet back-door stadlonuth in Washington, the sort of futile and self-deceiving stadlonuth which our movement had to abandon some six years ago for organized action. I should like to caution against it. The interest of the State of Israel in Washington until peace is fully established must be looked after not only by the official representatives of the State of Israel in Washington and at the United Nations, who have a competence and authority of their own and in whose sphere of action we should not meddle, but also by the continued, alerted and directed solicitude of organized American Jewry." [Applause]

Has that been necessary? I stated furthermore, and I quote from the record, uncorrected by a single comma,--

"Certain political circles in Washington who were never too favorable to us have under duress accepted the fact of the existence of the State of

5 Israel, what they want to see now is the liquidation of American Zionism on the American scene so that the organized public opinion which so frequently in the past exercised a restraining influence on their hostile maneuvers in the State Department, would not have to be reckoned with in the future. They, in the State Department, are opposed to what they call 'Zionist pressure' on American foreign policy. Other pressures, from oil interests, from missionary educational circles, from Arab or British sources are by them not considered pressures and are therefore immune from criticism. They want our Government to withdraw from all contacts with organized American Zionism. This trend is not without serious dangers. The State of Israel will be in need of political defense for a long time to come, especially here in the United States, for the attitude of our Government will continue to be decisive as far as the political fortunes of Israel are concerned.

"Opinion in Government circles on all matters relating to the State of Israel has never been of one piece. American Jewish opinion must therefore remain organized to defend the legitimate interests of the

State of Israel which it helped to bring into existence.

There is as yet no stability in Palestine -- (this was two years ago) -- no peace treaties have been signed -- (nor have they today) -- the boundaries of Palestine have not yet been fixed -- (they are not yet fixed) -- the status of Jerusalem has not yet been determined -- (it still is not yet determined) -- as you know, there is a powerful campaign on for the internationalization of the whole of Jerusalem. The explosive Arab refugee problem has not yet been solved and it may well plague the situation in the Near East for a long time to come.

"It is clear that much will yet have to be done in the purely political field to make secure what was achieved with so much effort and sacrifice.

"Liquidation of organized American Zionist political activities -- (and I understand what is asked for today is that the Zionists should limit themselves to education, to the teaching of Hebrew, to the things that the American Jewish Committee would approve of, but not dabble in political life, and leave the running of the economic activities of Israel to other and more competent hands) -- the liquidation of organized American Zionist political activity at this time would simply play into the hands of those

forces in Washington which have never been friendly to us, and as far as the economic problems involved in achieving the Zionist goal, that work, in a sense has just begun."

"If Zionism means Kibbutz Galiut, the ingathering not necessarily of all the Jews of the world, but certainly of all who wish to go to Israel or who must go there and their numbers will reach into the millions, then the year 1948-1949 will witness not the consummation of the Zionist ideal in terms of this ingathering, but only a substantial beginning. It will take years to achieve this goal, many years, and it will require a constant, sustained and costly effort on the part of World Jewry to make this possible, and this will have to be done in the face of the growing demands of the local needs of World Jewry (of which Mr. Redelheim spoke this evening) -- the local needs of World Jewry outside of Israel for its own cultural, religious and philanthropic life, and institutions, which will claim, and justly so, increasing attention of World Jewry, that means by and large American Jewry will have to be kept steadfastly organized, educated, inspired for this exacting and long-range program, and

I know of nobody in American Jewry that is better equipped and organized to perform this historic task -- the second phase of our national redemption -- than the Zionists who so magnificently helped in the performance of the first task -- the creation of the State of Israel."

[Applause]

If you have any doubt about it I call attention to the reports which were twice made this evening by Mr. Redelheim, by the President himself, concerning the driving force behind the Israeli Bond Issue.

The Zionist bodies in the United States were the only ones who pledged themselves and committed themselves wholeheartedly -- [applause] -- as of the moment, with possibly the largest contributions of the non-Zionists already in, nearly fifty per cent is the achievement of organized Zionists, and I venture to say --

PRESIDENT BROWDY [interjecting]: More.

DR. SILVER [continuing]: -- and I venture to say that for the future out of the remaining millions ninety per cent will come from the masses of organized Zionism.

[Applause]

The gentleman who forgot to mention the Zionist

Organization of America, did not minimize the address of the Zionist President in Israel when the pledge had to be asked for, for the Zionist Bonds.

"The non-Zionists, to be sure will help -- (this is two years ago) -- even as some Zionists helped in the final stages of the political struggle, although some of these non-Zionists used to forget, they would like the world to forget, how many obstacles they put in our way during the long, hard years of struggle, and how much they disrupted and disorganized the American Jewish effort on behalf of the establishment of the Jewish State.

"At a time when the Zionists were struggling to unite American Jewry in its behalf, how many stumbling blocks they put in the way of our political work in Washington, and how much residual mischief has been left in our communities by their former oppositional activities.

"The Jewish people will not hold it against them, but while recognizing and welcoming the services and cooperation of all Jews in the economic phase of our work, it would be a serious blunder to entrust the leadership and the direction of this work into the

hands of those who even at this late hour when the political objectives of Zionism have been achieved, still prefer to be known as non-Zionists."

[Applause]

This is the last quotation from my address to the Zionist Organization Convention two years ago:

"Some of these non-Zionists have been converted quite recently not to Zionism but to the inevitability of the State of Israel. They wish to have nothing to do with the Zionist Organization or agencies in the United States. They insist upon direct connections with the State of Israel and there are those in the State of Israel who for reasons best known to themselves welcome this direct connection even though it means bypassing and as a result also the ultimate liquidation, of organized Zionism in the United States, which has in the past and will alone in the future bear the heat and the brunt of the long, sustained effort on behalf of Israel.

"I believe that these leaders in Israel are penny wise and pound foolish. A strong Zionist organization with a solid core of tried and experienced Zionists, augmented by all such who as friends of

Israel are now, that the ideologic issue has been settled, ready to join, is essential to sustain the long-range interest of American Jewry in the economic needs of Israel to ensure that in the coming years when the Israeli honeymoon is over, the needs of Israel will not be pushed aside."

You will pardon this long quotation, but I could not re-state the situation any better today if I used other words, and I would like now to quote one or two paragraphs from the address which I delivered at the Zionist Convention in Chicago a year ago, for which, too, I was bitterly criticized as the enemy of the State of Israel, as a disappointed office-seeker, as a man who somehow misses the fleshpots of Egypt now that the Jewish people has left the surfdom and the bondage of Egypt and has moved to the Promised Land.

"There can be no powerful Zionist Organization nationally or internationally unless it is endowed with power, unless it is assigned a large and vital area and corresponding authority to carry through what has been called the second phase of the Zionist program which began with the establishment of the State. The strength of the Zionist movement and Organization will in the last analysis

correspond to the size and importance of the tasks which are specifically assigned to them.

"The assignee in each instance, directly or indirectly, is the Government of Israel. When the functions and authority and administrative scope in the field of fund-raising, resettlement, up-building are narrowed or erased, the vitality of the movement and the strength of its organization are correspondingly cut down. It is of interest to recall that the idea of a charter defining the rights and authority of the World Zionist Organization was first suggested by Prime Minister Ben Burion himself. That was before the decision was taken to eliminate all Ministers of the Government from the Executive of the Jewish Agency.

"It is clear that with the diminution of the status of the World Zionist Organization, the status also of the Zionist movement in the United States and of the Zionist Organization of America has automatically diminished. Don't fool yourselves about it.

"The decline of our membership is not due merely to the fact that our people have become bad; there

has been a slump in morale. When the State of Israel bypasses your movement and reaches out for other confederates and allies, what have you to say to your people?

"It is becoming increasingly less significant and less relevant, and American Jews are quick to realize and to react accordingly.

"If our organization has been reduced in status, authority and freedom of action, the remedy lies not with us here but with the Government of Israel -- (and so far the remedy has not come from the Government of Israel -- quite the contrary).

"The Government of Israel should make up its mind whether it really wants a strong Zionist movement to carry on for a considerable time in the future. I believe that it is to the advantage of Israel that a maximum of initiative, independence and authority be vested in the World Zionist Organization so long as such an organization is deemed necessary, and in my judgment it will be necessary for at least another generation if we are in earnest about bringing into Israel another two or three million Jews and work for their economic

integration and render the magnificent political support in the crises which are certain to arise in the life of this new republic.

"This is not a question of Zionists living outside of Israel trying to dictate to the Government of Israel. What a red herring this is, of trying to interfere with the sovereignty of the State of Israel.

"I have not observed any particular desire to meddle in the affairs of Israel. We are talking about the World Zionist Movement -- our Movement. I have not observed any particular desire to meddle in the affairs of Israel unless the survival of political parties in Zionism, which ante-dates the establishment of the State, each with its distinct program, each maintaining affiliation with some political party in Israel, the Mapai, the Mapam, the Mizrachi, the Revisionists, the General Zionists, and the Progressives may be said to constitute meddling. If that is the case then political parties in Israel, which constitute the State of Israel, should demand the liquidation of their party branches in the Diaspora.

[Applause]

"The Zionist Organization has indicated time and again that it would welcome such action provided it was concerted and uniform for all -- [applause] -- uniform for all parties -- [applause] -- not merely for the Zionist Organization of America.

"The question is not one of meddling at all, or of seeking credit. We can get credit in other directions of our work, in our professions. We do not have to get credit from Tel Aviv. The question is whether the World Zionists, and therefore its constituent parties such as the American Zionist Organization, be assigned the major responsibility for completing the total Zionist program and will be granted an adequate measure of authority and freedom to accomplish it." [Applause]

The answer -- I repeat -- does not lie with us or with the World Zionist Organization, nor with the Congress, nor in finding some subtle and dialectical definition of the word Zionism. The answer lies with the Government of Israel.

I don't want you delegates to the Zionist Congress -- many of you are here -- to have any delusions about what can transpire at the Congress.

I said then,

"The Congress of 1950 -- if it meets in 1950 -- (it did not meet in 1950, perhaps it will meet in 1951) -- the Congress of 1950 will be very unlike all the Congresses which preceded it. It won't be like that great Congress, the last one that you spoke about my good friend, Gordon, 1946. The former Congresses were in a sense the Parliament of the Jewish State in the Making; fortunately for us in 1950 there already exists a Jewish State which has its own Parliament, thus, the 1950-1951 Congress will not legislate for the State of Israel. It can only plan economic and political support for that State, further immigration, the mobilization of World Jewry for this task, and all such plans and decisions will naturally be subject to the approval of the Government of the State of Israel.

"It will not be the Congress who will determine the scope and the form of our movement but in a real sense a government of Israel. That is why I talk so much about the Prime Minister, because he is the head of the Government of Israel and unless the Government of Israel is prepared to allow the Congress -- that is the World Zionist Organization -- wide latitude

and authority, freedom and independence to carry on a precisely defined program of action, real action, it will be wiser not to convoke any Congress at all for the Zionist movement might very well emerge from such a Congress even more shaken and diminished than it is at present."

What is it that we want? What is it that we believe in?

We want a continuing and constructive and creative and dynamic Zionist movement for years to come -- [applause] -- a movement that will be charged with responsibility and authority for directing all the activities which the Diaspora Jewry needs to engage in on behalf of the State of Israel: fund-raising, investments, Aliyah, Chalutzit, education -- everything.

The World Zionist Movement must be the directing force, the coordinating force, the consolidating force -- "don't fence me in" -- don't reduce the scope of the World Zionist Movement; don't force it to play second fiddle in a large orchestra, let it be what it has always been: the director of the symphony of Jewish life in the world. [Applause]

Given such authority, which I am sure it will use wisely, such prestige, it will be in a position to render

maximum support to the Government of Israel regardless of who makes up the Government of Israel.

The World Zionist Organization will never undertake, will never dream of undertaking to dictate to the -- dictate the complexion of the Government of Israel.

I should like to call upon all Zionists the world over inside and outside of Israel and upon all parties inside and outside of Israel who believe as we do, to unite in a powerful alignment at the next Congress to save our Movement.
[Applause]

I should like to call upon all parties irrespective of all other differences which we may have, to unite on this one historic purpose: to persuade the State of Israel to recognize and to continue to recognize if you will, although there have been some lapses here and there, the World Zionist Movement as the instrumentality for carrying out the purposes and the needs and the fulfillment of the needs of the State of Israel in the Diaspora. No party in Israel will in the last analysis gain from a weakening of the Zionist Movement. It is short-sighted policy, and I should like to call again upon all General Zionists here, in Israel, and in the world, the world over, to forget their differences and to unite.

I understand that an appeal was recently issued

by the leaders of our Movement in some eight or ten countries of the world, including Canada, Australia, Mexico, France, Belgium, for the so-called General Zionist and the so-called Progressive Zionist to re-unite and to present a solid front.

This group which has stood above all other parties for the sense of unity in Israel and in our Movement, certainly should not remain disunited. When the Zionist Organization of America was invited to join the Confederation of General Zionists, it was on the plea that General Zionism needed the backing of the Zionist Organization of America, and we joined it with that understanding, and we have given General Zionism the consistent and loyal backing -- it is unfortunate that a group broke away. It is now time for the group to reunite with the parent body. There is room within the generous folds of an overriding general policy for all of us, for the ideological differences, however you label them, need a microscope to discover the real differences between one and the other.

I hope to go to the next Zionist Congress and to fight for these ideas. [Applause]

And my guess is that these ideas will prevail.

[Applause]

Perhaps it is a good omen that we are again entering a major controversy, using Atlantic City as a springboard

for it. [Applause and laughter]

I want to spend a moment or two with you before I close, on a much less contraversial subject.

I have just returned from a visit to Israel -- just returned last week. To me my visit to Israel was one long Yom tov. One beautiful holiday, not only because of the warm reception which I personally received there, which naturally warmed the cockles of my heart, because after all I am only a boss or be'Adam and I am very human and it is good, after you are told how much of an enemy you are of the State of Israel, to be welcomed by the people of Israel. [Laughter]

The way they welcomed me, evidently they have not been fooled, they have not been hoodwinked. They like me because they know I like them. Love's answer to love, and appreciation to appreciation. It was to me a yom tov because I realized that among the masses, the rank and file in Israel, there is full realization of the contribution which you Zionists have made to Israel. They do not mind mentioning the word Zionism or American Zionism. But what gave me the greatest anuah was that I was able to see with my own eyes, after two and a half years absence from that country, the unfoldment of one of the most marvelous and exciting dramas of history.

Believe me I use my words with restraint not with

exuberance. What moved me so profoundly, what gave me such a deep sense of spiritual contentment, was that I was able to see with my own eyes what the Jewish people can do on their own if given even half a chance.

In the face of the most forbidding, discouraging, spirit-breaking, frightening conditions and circumstances: the spirit of the people.

I heard after the fighting was over when the Jews of Israel gave such a magnificent accounting of themselves, especially the youth, the young men and the young women, that the reason they fought so bravely and so sacrificially was because they had no choice -- ain b'rerah, as they say.

I was never persuaded of that. I don't think that men really fight at their best in desperation, but assuming that that was so, ain b'rerah cannot account for what is going on today, for this amazing outpouring of energy, in building, this initiative, this enterprise, this confidence, this heroic outlook, this determination not to accept any defeat or for that matter any success, but to mount to higher levels all the time, ceaseless, aspiring, ceaselessly ever in motion.

That was a different kind of spirit than ain b'rerah. That is the spirit which we find in our Bible when the

spies came back and reported that the land was beautiful, fruitful, but the enemy is indefeasible, the fortresses beetle up to Heaven, we cannot conquer them, Joshua and Caleb said:

"We will overcome them!" [Applause]

We can go up and we can conquer. That is their spirit.

Why the whole country has been converted -- that little country -- into one great workshop from Metulleh to Elath -- every turn: houses and factories, roads, settlements, drilling irrigations, drainage, afforestation, tractors, bulldozers -- I shall never forget the time I saw in one of the settlements which was being prepared by the Jewish National Fund a huge bulldozer almost twice as high as I am tall, and on top of it was sitting a Yemenite Jew and as this bulldozer was working its way he was shaking and shivering, his little pointed beard and payoth floating in every direction -- here he was, Yemenite Jewish theology wedded with Yankee technology. That is irresistible. [Applause]

That is how they are building their State.

I was in the little colony made up of some Central and East European refugees, a young girl recently came to that settlement and she was sent out, as they all are, men and women -- they all work -- I will tell you in a moment about the work -- she was sent out to help clear the rocks away before

the plowing could begin, and in the heat of the day the removal of rocks is, as you may well imagine, not a very easy task, and when she returned toward evening they asked her: "Nu, Sara, sekalt?" -- did you remove it? And she said, "Nein, 'si heis" -- No, it is hot!

Jews at hard labor -- all kinds of labor -- and the reverent equality which exists among them all from the digger of the ditch, the bricklayer, the cement worker to the engineer, the professor and the civil servant and the statesman -- the fraternity of equality which comes to people who feel themselves all engaged simultaneously in one common, sacred task.

My good friends, I carried away this impression with me from Israel: it is a going concern. The going is hard; life is rugged; no one hungers but there are few comforts and no luxuries. Of course they would like it easier for themselves: who would not? But more than wishing it easier for themselves they would like more Jews to come, even if it means making it harder for themselves; even if it means the prolongation of their austerity.

I visited the Marbarot -- these crowded camps of transients. There are 110 of them in Israel, some of them very large. Life is awfully hard there and primitive. One

consolation is that life at home for many of them was not much easier, and of course they are all sustained by the hope that there is a people which cares for them, which is thinking of them, which is planning for a better tomorrow for them.

That, and the fact that they are at home in Israel almost compensates them for all their deprivations.

Our people in Israel are quite alert to the realities of the world in which they find themselves. They know that they live surrounded by unreconciled enemies and that therefore they are keeping their weapons handy and their powder dry. Their army -- and I saw little of it, not much, but what I saw of it gave me, a layman, the definite impression that that army will give an excellent accounting of itself. [Applause]

The Israeli, my good friends, will not be taken unaware; they will not be taken unprepared; they will not be driven into the sea; they will fight and they will win if attacked. [Applause]

They have made their land theirs by sacrifice and by sacrifice they are prepared to defend it. What they are afraid of is not a military breakdown. They are mobilized, young, middleaged men and women, what they are afraid of is an economic breakdown which might encourage second rounds and might delay political final decisions. This is their most dangerous front

today and we alone can give them the weapons with which to hold their economic front. If they hold their economic front their political front is secure; their future is secure.

We need to support them through the UJA; we need to support them through the Israeli Bonds; we need to support them by appealing to our Government to grant Israel maximum aid. [Applause]

In the last five or six years our gracious and generous country has given to any number of nations the world over, many of them much more prosperous than Israel, much older not to beset with refugees as Israel, in the last five or six years the United States of America has granted-in-aid \$45 billion of which Israel has not received a cent except some millions in food, --

A VOICE: Loans --

DR. SILVER: Loans have to be paid back, my dear freind, loans are obligations. They are temporary relief. There is a great danger that our appeal for \$150 million for a grant-in-aid may be lost in this overall omnibus bill which is now being pushed in Congress and Israel will emerge with a pittance, a crumb. Please be alert about this fact, and alert your Congressmen and your Senators and your Governors and your friends and make your voice heard.

We have to look to the economic front of Israel. They have many problems. I haven't the time -- it is too late to go into them now. I would not want to do it because they impinge upon contraversial matters.

I will only tell you how I feel about the whole situation. The problems are many, they are serious, some of them very grave and very urgent. I am persuaded that the people of Israel will ultimately solve them because I have confidence in them. I have confidence in their skill and in their ability and in their basic loyalties.

They have brought to that country from whatever country they came, they have brought with them, many of them rare skills, talent, appreciation, precious knowledge, all of which the country requires. Many of them have only their physical strength and their desire to work to the skin of their bones for the upbuilding of the country. They have brought to Israel, tragic memories many of them which are being translated and converted by the alchemy of Israel into glorious hopes.

I shall never forget two moments during my stay in Israel: one was the moment when I visited Mount Zion and was taken to what they call the Marcav ha'Shchar -- the Cavern of Disaster -- the cave of destruction -- and there, in the heart of the mountain in a cavern I saw 31 urns brought from 31

concentration camps in Europe, containing the dust of the unknown precious dead, the martyrs of our people, and in front of these 31 urns was a memorial light -- six branches, each branch for a million Jews who perished during the last World War. That was one moment.

That same evening I was taken to Mount Herzl, Har Herzl, where the body of the immortal prophet of our Movement lies in its final and revered resting place. It was dusk. The eve of Independence Day, just before darkness settled over Har Herzl, the Flag of Israel was raised in the midst of the solemn assembly and then as the Flag was raised and the assembly burst forth singing the national anthem, a huge fire was kindled on top of Mount Herzl which, when it was seen on the neighboring hills, causes other torches and fires to be kindled, until before long there were fires on every hill and mountain in the land of Israel, and joy and singing and independence day of a free, sovereign and happy people was ushered in.

My good friends, these two moments -- don't they tell the whole story? They did to me: how a people can build upon ruin; how life can emerge from death. Doesn't that tell the whole miracle of immortal Israel? That it is the spirit -- the spirit that one catches there. Those people are building upon their past, their memories, a new life, a new hope, and

surrounded as they are by all the inspiring and spiritually and exciting scenes of history, memories of seers and prophets and heroes, how can they help but produce something great and magnificent in the days to come.

I tell you that, out of that little State of Israel, if you can give them only for the next few years, that encouragement to carry on, that substance and sustenance to keep them from breaking down in these initial stages, these hard, desperate stages in which they find themselves, if we can stand by them why they will build a country, a culture and a civilization which will be not only a blessing to them and to their children, but to us and to our children and to mankind as a whole. [Vigorous applause]

As I went to my plane to return here I blessed that little country and that brave little people. I knew that everything which had been done here was oh, so worthwhile, and I went away resolved to do all that I could and to inspire others to do all that they could to help along, help along this great, historic enterprise, help these fine men and women who are doing so valiantly and so heroically for themselves and for us and for mankind.

Let us never lose sight of the fact -- whatever differences we may have as far as program and techniques, and

there will be and there are sharp differences -- let us never lose sight of what it is all about; let us never lose sight that we are the privileged men and women who have helped to bring all this into existence, and that we are determined at every cost to defend it, to advance it until the full dream is consummated.

...[The Convention arose and applauded vigorously at great length]...

