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American policy in the Middle East, 1954.

Excerpt from
Address of Dr. Abba Hillel Silver to the 57th ZOA Annual
Convention, at the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel

Thursday, June 24th, 1954

My dear friends:

Prior to the establishment of the State of Israel six years ago our people was burdened with a complex of grave problems which went with not having a state of its own. Since 1948 our people has been burdened with a complex of grave problems which come with having a State of its own. An existence without problems has never been vouchsafed to any people, certainly not to the Jewish people. The Jewish people may be God's chosen people it is certainly not God's pampered people.

There were those who fondly imagined that with the establishment of the State of Israel, the millenium will be ushered in - a long, unending Sabbath day of unbroken peace and rest. May I remind you that the Rabbis of old took great pains to point out that there would be nothing to distinguish the present time from Messianic times but one thing only - subjection to foreign domination. Indeed, what has taken place in the re-establishment of the State of Israel, is one of the greatest and most exalted moments in our history, but it has not changed the customary order of the world, except in that one regard. As regards all else -- Olam ke-minhago! There is no life without problems and no people in the world today, great or small, is exempt from trials, tensions and dangers.

There is a difference of course, a radical difference between the set of problems which we faced before, and the set which we have faced since the establishment of the State. The problems before the State was founded, were ~~Galuth~~ ~~problems~~, the century-old problems of national homelessness, of a people "robbed and despoiled", the problems of persecution, concentration camps, refugees-where to go, how to survive - all the desperate problems of an abnormal national existence.

The problems since 1948 have been ~~Yedina~~ ~~problems~~, the more or less familiar problems which any pioneering state must face and wrestle with as part of the routine of its establishment on firm and secure foundations. These are the problems of a normal national existence. They may be grave and serious problems, but the effort at solving them carries with it an eager challenge, a creative joy and a deep spiritual confidence.

As we passed from Galuth to Geulah, our people entered a new climate of existence and a new continent of tasks and rich opportunities. The new climate is one of dignity and of strength. With the re-establishment of the State of Israel, the ancient prophecy has come true: "Awake, awake, put on thy strength O, Zion, put on the garments of thy splendor." Not only those of our people who returned to Zion, but Jews everywhere have felt this new enveloping climate. They have exchanged "the grey spirit of heaviness for the mantle of Glory."

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Dr. Abba Hillel Silver

What these new tasks are is evident: they are the manifold and exciting tasks which have to do with nation building, with the construction of new homes and settlements, with bringing springs of water to dry lands, and gardens to the wilderness. They have to do with industry, trade and commerce, with mining and engineering, with seafaring and aviation, and with all the noble arts and enterprises of peace. They have to do with education, health and religion, and with a people's chosen way of life.

These new tasks are of necessity also concerned with national defense, - the world in which we live being the kind of a world it is, and the neighbors of Israel persistently refusing to make peace. Some of these tasks possess greater urgency than others; some are of longer duration than others; some of them will continue indefinitely since they are co-extensive with the life of a nation, ~~some are extremely heavy~~. None, however, is beyond the capacity of the State of Israel and of the Jewish people.

The Jewish people will assuredly match its great hour. It possesses the ability and the resourcefulness. In the long, hard school of experience through the centuries our people ^{have} learned how to build ~~from nothing, how to build~~ upon ruins, and how to build in the face of adversity. This is the Third Commonwealth we are building, not the first. Other nations succumbed when their governments were destroyed and their people uprooted. Israel surmounted the loss of its independence, ~~it~~ surmounted exile, dispersion and savage persecution, and returned to its ravaged land to rebuild it and ~~to rebuild its own~~ national life.

Our generation is learning the lessons which our forefathers learned in their day -- patience and perseverance; ~~it~~ how to run and not be wearied; how to renew its strength; how to be deeply concerned and greatly rejoicing at the same time.

When a nation finally settles down from its high revolutionary moments of exaltation and idealism which attends a liberation movement, to the less heroic day-by-day business of living, there sets in a perceptible emotional let-down. No people can collectively live indefinitely on the high plateaus of spirit. A leveling-off process inevitably follows. There is no ground here for serious concern unless it takes on the character of stagnation and demoralization which are the by-products of ~~total~~ spiritual exhaustion and disillusionment. Our people in Israel and in the Diaspora will, I am sure, wish to guard themselves against the dangers of such an emotional deflation. We must be determined to keep our minds firmly centered on the largely-uncompleted job of nation building still before us, which is still so full of challenge - a different kind of challenge to be sure -- but nevertheless one which can appeal to all that is noblest in our natures.

There are Jews in our midst who would like to see us quit right now -- not because they have become tired from the heavy burdens which they ^{have} carried in the

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process of helping to build the State of Israel. The only burdens which they carried were the rocks which they threw at the builders, like Shimei, the son of Gera, who threw rocks at David and cursed him when ~~the king~~ was in deep trouble fighting for his kingdom ~~and his throne~~. These Jews did everything in their power to prevent the establishment of the State of Israel. They put every conceivable stumbling block in the way. They joined forces with the enemies of Israel not of our faith. They knocked on every door to inform against their own people. Though they were themselves religiously indifferent, they suddenly discovered, as a shrewd part of their strategy, a vast devotion to abstract Judaism, and under that cloak, as ^{the} American Council of Judaism, they proceeded to spread their insidious political propaganda. ~~They lost out. The caravan of the builders moved on, but the dogs are still barking.~~

These unhappy Jews, like their Arab spiritual kinsmen, some of whom are prepared to sacrifice ten million Arab lives to wipe out the State of Israel, are unreconciled to the existence of the State. Since they cannot by wishing have it disappear from the face of the earth, they are trying their best to have it reduced in size, crippled, isolated, cut off from the sympathy and support of fellow-Jews in the rest of the world. They would like to see Israel a puny, hemmed-in Levantine statelet at the mercy of its Arab neighbors. No more immigration into Israel! No more spiritual identification of American Jewry with Israel. No intercession in its behalf with governments! From here on only Arab spokesmen and oil lobbyists and friends of the Middle East, and officers of the American Council for Judaism shall have access to ~~the ear of~~ the State Department!

Most assuredly, these people would like to have us quit right now! And, significantly enough, some officials in the Near Eastern Division of our State Department have been echoing their views recently. They have been preaching political sermons to the Jews of America which well could have been written by ghost writers hired by Mr. Lessing Rosenwald.

I do not believe that these officials represent the true sentiments of the leaders of our Government, the President of the U.S. or the Secretary of State, who have time and again given expression of their deep and sympathetic interest in the security and prosperity of Israel. I suspect, though of course I do not know, that the leaders of our Government, being otherwise engrossed at the moment in the present extremely difficult international situation, with wars and revolutions erupting, and with critical international conferences monopolizing their attention, have been compelled to leave the affairs of the ^{Middle} ~~Near~~ East largely in the hands of some people ^{though not entirely, not finally} in the Department of State who have in the past displayed such an amazing genius for guessing wrong and for bedevilling the political situation. It is the same people, you may recall, who a few short years ago backed the British mandatory regime in

Palestine to the bitter end, who tried to persuade our people that there was no room in Palestine for a single additional Jewish immigrant, and who have been building one Strong-Man myth after another to serve as the keystone in the arch of American foreign policy in the Middle East, only to see their tenuous diplomacy crumble into ruins. At the moment, we are persuaded to believe that salvation in the ^{Middle} Near East will come from the feudal government of Iraq, which is suddenly discovered to be a paragon of democratic virtue and most friendly disposed to the United States. Iraq is to be armed by our government, not, to be sure, with sufficient military equipment to be a threat to Israel, but with just enough military equipment to resist possible Soviet aggression! ~~Now~~ Iraq will ~~never~~ never use these American arms against Israel, we are assured, because it says so in the agreement, -- and agreements -- as you well know -- are never, never broken. It is not even clear whether there actually exists any such condition in the agreement. Iraqi spokesmen have ^{said} stated that the grant of arms to their government was unconditional.

These ^(same) officials, ~~who are~~ bent upon arming Iraq, are at the same time telling the Arab world that "there is some justification for their fears that if the population of Israel were to expand materially through further immigration, it would be humanly impossible to maintain those people within the confines of the present State." In other words, Israel would be forced to undertake wars of aggression against the neighboring Arab States. A statement to this effect was recently made by Mr. Arthur Z. Gardiner, chief political and economic advisor of the State Department's Near Eastern Division, testifying before the House Foreign Affairs Committee.

The press report which carried Mr. Gardiner's statement also reported that Representative Frances Bolton of Ohio, Chairman of the Near Eastern Sub-Committee of the Foreign Affairs Committee, who is well known ~~to us~~ from her earlier violent anti-Zionist activities, and who appears to be the ready mouth-piece in the House of Representatives for all pro-Arab propaganda, delivered herself of the following: "Israel has been re-shipping strategic materials to the Soviet Union, thereby violating the Battle Act." She queried innocently whether Israel is actually such a bulwark against Communism. She said, "Haifa was at one time the center of Russian propaganda." ^{She} ~~Mrs. Bolton~~ also accused the Israelis of letting their land lie fallow, refusing to do farm work, and expressed her expert judgment that Arabs are superior agriculturalists. All this, of course, is strongly reminiscent of anti-Zionist propaganda ante-dating the establishment of the State. Mrs. Bolton seems to be ignorant of the fact that the agricultural area of Israel has expanded in the last six years from 400,000 acres to nearly a million, and that agricultural scientists who get their information about agriculture from studying the soil and not from clipping

coupons, have extolled time and again Israel's farming and reclamation achievements as among the finest in the world. It is strange that in making these charges against the Israelis, Congressman Bolton had nothing to say about Arab boycotts and blockades which are seriously retarding the economic development of the entire Near East. While concerned with unfounded charges about Israel's reshipping strategic materials to the Soviet Union, she seems to be not the least concerned about the Arab blockade of the Suez Canal, which has made it impossible for Israel to obtain oil from nearby fields and has been compelled to purchase it from far away Venezuela which involves excessive transportation costs, and that Israel today must buy considerable oil from the Soviet Union, to save on these transportation costs.

What blind-spots these people develop when they come to ride a hobby or a lobby! How easily things get out of focus! And what dangerously unreliable guides they become for American foreign policy!

President Eisenhower and Secretary Dulles must know that Israel is no threat to the basic interests of American foreign policy in the Near East. They must know that Israel is a democracy, deeply rooted in the millennial democratic traditions of the Jewish people and Judaism, and that it will, to the last, defend its democratic way of life and institutions. They must know that there is a large reservoir of good-will and gratitude to the Government and people of the United States among the citizens of Israel for having helped so vitally in the establishment of their State and for the economic assistance which has been given to it to this day. They are too proud to put their friendship on the auction block or use it in any diplomatic game of blackmail. They must know that Israel wants peace with all her Arab neighbors, and has time and again asked for it, only to be rudely rebuffed. They must know that Israel is prepared to cooperate in the solution of all the outstanding issues between it and its neighbors in a spirit of good-will and is prepared to cooperate in any project such as the Jordan Valley Authority to benefit all the peoples involved, provided its own vital and legitimate interests are safe-guarded. From all that has transpired in recent years they must know that the Arab League is an instrument for perpetuating turmoil, discord and belligerency in the Near East, and that there is no way of appeasing its intransigence short of dismembering the State of Israel or liquidating it altogether. They must realize now that the New Look and the new approach which the above mentioned officials and their colleagues advocated in respect to Arab-Israeli relations have not only not improved matters, but have contributed to a very serious deterioration. These officials are now attempting to cover up this progressive deterioration with speeches and propaganda designed to force concessions from Israel, with no assurance whatsoever of any countervailing action on the part of the Arab governments.

Part of this unfriendly propaganda is to suggest to the American Government and people, that the United States has contributed to the State of Israel grants-in-aid far in excess of what it has contributed to the Arabs. In order to make their case more impressive, they have had the amazing effrontery to include in American subsidies to Israel what the Jews of the United States have ^{themselves} out of their own personal contributions and through the purchase of ~~the~~ Israeli Bonds, given to Israel; also what the German Government has contributed by way of reparations for Nazi depredations. Nothing is said by them of the hundreds of million of dollars in oil royalties which the Arab States have been receiving annually from American oil companies -- Iraq received in 1952, 110 million dollars; Saudi Arabia, 170 million; Kuwait, 139 million -- some of which millions at least might well have been contributed by these solicitious Arabs to the cause of the Arab refugees, in the same way that Jews have been contributing to Jewish refugees in Israel.

But this is never referred to by these spokesmen who wish it to be known that they are impartial, for this clearly would not be to the advantage of their pro-Arab propaganda.

The Arab States are committed to war against Israel. So long as they are so committed, they should not receive arms from the United States. They have violently resisted every effort that has been made inside and outside the United Nations to persuade them to sit down with Israeli representatives in order to iron out their difficulties and to achieve peace. Just a few weeks ago Jordan gave additional proof, if such were needed, of the unwillingness of any Arab State to reach a settlement with Israel. Jordan had presented complaints against Israel to the Security Council. The Council, after much wrangling, decided to go into the entire matter in the hope of improving procedures for carrying out the provisions of the Armistice so as to avoid future unfortunate incidents on the borders. Jordan, which is not a member of the United Nations, was asked whether she would abide by the decisions of the Council which, by the terms of the Charter, all member states are obliged to respect. Rather than to commit herself to accept any pacific settlement which the Council might recommend, Jordan withdrew. Previously Jordan had refused a direct meeting with Israel to which she was obligated by the terms of the Armistice Agreement which she signed. It is clear that arms sent to one or another of these war-minded and peace-resisting states cannot by any twist of diplomatic dialectics be interpreted as an encouragement of peace.

The State of Israel has done nothing to endanger the position of any Arab State in the Near East. It is threatening no one. It covets no one's territory. It has instituted no boycotts and no blockades against any Arab State. It seeks to live in peace with everyone. It is convinced that through friendly cooperation and the pooling of resources, the whole area of the Near East can be developed in such a

way as to bring prosperity and a higher standard of living, health and education to all the peoples there. Israel has not flirted with Moscow to embarrass Washington. Israel will not sacrifice any of its already sharply apocopated territory of 8,000 square miles in order to augment the 2,700,000 square miles of its Arab neighbors. It will not agree to close its doors to any future immigration -- to such who may wish to go there and may have to go there -- in order to assure Arab Governments that Israel will remain permanently weak and limited as to manpower while they get ready for their "second round". What folly to expect the Government of Israel to issue a Jewish ~~White~~ **P**aper against fellow Jews! Within its present borders, given proper industrial and agricultural development, Israel can well support a population of four to five millions.

These facts must be taken into consideration by any government or any statesman who wishes to be helpful in the situation. All those who ignore these facts will prove to be well-intensioned or ill-intensioned mischief makers.

I should like now to say a word on our own domestic relations -- Jew to Jew, Zionist to Zionist. There is still much work to be done, and we must do it. There is urgent need to expand our economic assistance to Israel, especially in terms of private capital investments and enterprises. The Government of Israel can do much more than it has done to encourage such economic activity on the part of the Jews of the Diaspora and to invite, welcome and encourage the private investor and entrepreneur.

There will be, for some years to come, need for the support of public funds such as American Jews have through the years contributed out of their generosity and their sense of Jewish loyalty. It is gratifying to know that the will of our people to help in the consolidation of the State of Israel has suffered so far no market abatement. American Jewry understands that the historic projects to which they have set their hands is a long range project and that they must see it through.

There is a need for increased and effective organization to defend the political interests of Israel in the field of government and public relations, taking into account the increasingly bold propaganda and activities both of the open and the covert enemies of Israel. These pressure groups would like the American people to believe that not they, but only the Zionists constitute a political pressure group in Washington. What cynicism and what utter nonsense! Every group of American citizens which feels keenly on any vital issue will naturally make itself heard and should make itself heard in government circles. This is the only way that a democratic government can discover how its citizens feel about any vital issue, what the climate of public opinion is, and be guided in its action. Our first duty, of course, is to America and the interest of our beloved country, are paramount. That

does not mean that every policy of our State Department at any given moment is flawless and beyond criticism. The policies of our Government in other parts of the world, not merely in the Near East, have in some instances not been as successful as had been hoped. They are being constantly subjected to re-study and revision, and to the earnest criticism of patriotic American citizens. Index

In conclusion, dear friends, may I say this: There are people who are calling for a new Zionism, for new definitions, and new philosophies. Unfortunately, I have none to offer you. I know that among those who tarry among the sheep-folds listening to the piping of the flocks, there has been great searchings of heart, - especially the hearts of other people. I assume that it all makes for good polemics and presumably also for good politics. I fear, however, that it does not bring a single new settler or a single new dollar to Israel. One can easily tell an American Jew or a Canadian Jew that he is not a good Zionist unless he goes to Israel. This Jew is not likely to lose any sleep over it. He will simply drop out of the Zionist organization. I believe that one can work devotedly for the State of Israel without definitions. I believe also that he will work better without scolding. It is clear that our Zionist program is far from completed. We do not as yet have any "safely assured home" politically or economically, in Israel. There is yet much to be done to achieve security, stability and self-sufficiency for Israel. This will require the consecrated labor of Jews everywhere, inside and outside of Israel, for a generation at least. Israel needs new settlers from the Diaspora, and ways should and can be found to attract Jews from free countries where they are not subject to any emigration pressures. These ways are practical ways of preparation and organization at both ends -- not matters of pronouncements and infectives. Israel also needs the vital support of the Jews who will remain in the Diaspora and who will undoubtedly constitute the majority of the Jews of the world. What we need is not a new philosophy but a renewed dedication to the great cause to which we, by our efforts in the past, have contributed so much but which is not yet fully consummated.

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AMERICAN ZIONIST COMMITTEE FOR PUBLIC AFFAIRS

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June 29, 1954

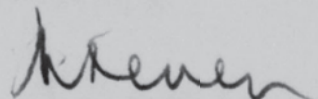
Dear Dr. Silver:

I enclose the text of your address with the revisions suggested by Mr. Lipsky as he made them himself. As you will note, there are not very many, and they were made with an eye to the Congressional audience rather than to the Zionist convention. I do not agree with one change that Mr. Lipsky has made, and which he makes in everything that I write as well--he insists on changing "Near East" to "Middle East" notwithstanding the fact that in Washington today Israel and the Arab states mean the Near East as distinguished from the definition used by the British Foreign Office.

I have transferred Mr. Lipsky's revisions to a text in the office, so that if you will telephone us Wednesday at Executive 3-1060 as soon as you are ready, it will be a very simple matter to receive your reactions to Mr. Lipsky's proposed changes. We plan to have this in the hands of all members of the Senate and the House as quickly as possible.

With best regards,

Cordially,



I. L. Kenen

Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver
The Temple
Ansel Road
Cleveland, Ohio

Enclosure

P. S. I also intend to publish Churchill's statement made at his press conference yesterday in the same issue of our Report.

P.S. 2- If I am on the Hill when you call, please
talk with Miss Schwartz who will take your
reactions.

CONSTITUENT ORGANIZATIONS

HADASSAH, WOMEN'S ZIONIST ORGANIZATION OF AMERICA

HAPOEL HAMIZRACHI

LABOR ZIONIST ORGANIZATION OF AMERICA-POALE ZION

MIZRACHI ORGANIZATION OF AMERICA

PROGRESSIVE ZIONIST LEAGUE-HASHOMER HATZAIR

UNITED ZIONIST LABOR PARTY (ACHDUT AVODAH-POALE ZION)

ZIONIST ORGANIZATION OF AMERICA

ZIONISTS-REVISIONISTS OF AMERICA



military strength alone, but the more important tripod on which American defense stands. One leg of this tripod is adequate training and production. The second is economic strength. The third leg is our spiritual attainments.

We must have great production in our mills and factories to provide the things needed by our Armed Forces and the civilian population. We need great production on the farms in order to have plenty of food.

We need more careful conservation of our natural resources—our soil, timber, minerals, oil, gas and water.

We must have a strong and sound economy to keep our workers gainfully employed and to maintain the American standard of living.

We must have a sound and stable dollar to protect the earnings and savings of our people against the destructive force of inflation. More nations have been destroyed by inflation than by guns.

And most important, we must have a great moral and spiritual revival that will rekindle the spirit of religion among every faith and every creed.

If we take our places on the side of God, with faith in the higher power that made and preserved us a nation, we can face the future confident and unafraid. We can have no stronger weapon against communism than the spiritual power of righteousness and obedience to the laws of man and God.

In planning our military power we must remember that it is only one phase of our defensive strength. In recent months there has been strong pressure to upset the budget plans of the Eisenhower administration for national defense. Those who oppose the so-called New Look of more defense for fewer dollars talk about more guns, ships, planes and soldiers.

They advocate an Army of such great size that it could not be armed, equipped and maintained without danger to our national economy.

I have given a great deal of study to this subject and I have reached the conclusion that we should not spread our forces all over the world.

In planning the military defense of our Republic, I believe we should have a highly trained Regular Army of modest size, based here at home. It should have the finest and most modern weapons and equipment. It should have the greatest mobility and the greatest firepower the world has ever known. It should be completely motorized and prepared to move by air and sea to any place where it might be needed.

Our National Guard should be under the control of the States until called into the Federal service. It should be trained by the best and most patriotic brains of the Regular Army. We should have a great Reserve Corps of citizens willing to continue their military training and they must also be under the supervision of the best the Army can provide.

Instead of maintaining a huge standing ground force at tremendous cost, I advocate building an Air Force so big and so powerful that we could have complete supremacy in the air and enough planes to carry our ground troops to any part of the world. With such an Air Force, American jet fighters and bombers, in the event of war, could speedily demolish the Communist lines of communication and could destroy the heart of the Communist military production.

We should build up the world's most powerful Navy so that we and our allies will have complete command of the sea. We should create the world's strongest merchant marine in readiness for the transportation of men and the materiel with which to fight.

I do not agree with those who favor a permanent policy of keeping ground troops garrisoned in foreign lands. That would require a standing army of such tremendous size that its cost could bankrupt our Nation in a short time.

I believe the more practical and effective plan would require that ground troops be provided by the anti-Communist countries of Europe and Asia. That would give us a well-rounded plan of defense when combined with the great air and sea power provided by the United States and our allies.

From its earliest beginnings America has been dedicated to the ways of peace.

Our way of life has always been under attack because the militarists and dictators of the world have opposed our concept of government based on freedom of the individual.

Our ideals of peace have made America the most productive area on earth, even though many other nations had more abundant natural resources. We have surpassed other nations with hundreds of years of background in spiritual and cultural development.

Let us think more of peace and less of war.

Let us get back to the plan of the Creator, standing together in faith, and working for peace through strength, honesty, and loyalty.

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. GEORGE H. BENDER

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 30, 1954

Mr. BENDER. Mr. Speaker, Dr. Abba Hillel Silver has for more than 37 years been the spiritual leader of the Temple in Cleveland, the largest liberal Jewish congregation in the United States.

He has been actively identified with many social movements of our day. He was an early champion of the rights of organized labor, and one of the first advocates in the United States of unemployment insurance. He served as chairman of the American section of the Jewish Agency for Israel, chairman of the American Zionist Emergency Council, and as president of the Zionist Organization of America. Dr. Silver is regarded as the foremost spokesman of Zionism in the United States. He represented the movement before the Assembly of the United Nations, and is one of the leaders who are responsible for the establishment of the State of Israel.

During the inauguration ceremonies of President Dwight D. Eisenhower on January 20, 1953, Dr. Silver delivered a prayer. He was recently honored in Life magazine as 1 of the 12 leading preachers in the United States.

Dr. Silver is author of several volumes on history and religion, notably his work on Religion in a Changing World and the World Crisis and Jewish Survival. His latest book, Vision and Victory, is a collection of his major addresses during the crucial years prior to the establishment of the State of Israel.

John Gunther, in his book, Inside U. S. A., speaks of Dr. Silver as "the first citizen of Cleveland."

Dr. Silver is a graduate of the Hebrew Union College, and was ordained in 1915. He served as president of the Central Conference of American Rabbis.

He holds honorary degrees from many American universities. In 1948 he re-

ceived the annual national service award of Phi Epsilon Rho; in 1949 he received the Cardoza memorial award; and in 1952 he received the award of merit of the Jewish War Veterans of the United States. In 1953 he received the annual award of the Zeta Beta Tau.

On June 29, 1954, a triangular parcel of land adjacent to the Temple on the West was dedicated as the Abba Hillel Silver Park. It is altogether fitting that this development, situated in the cultural heart of Cleveland, should be dedicated to this great man who stands for growth and progress and whose ideals are in keeping with the furthering of the interests of the community of Cleveland.

I should like to have reprinted in the RECORD at this point editorials which appeared in the three Cleveland (Ohio) papers honoring Rabbi Silver. The first appeared in the Cleveland Plain Dealer, June 30, 1954:

SILVER PARK HONORS A MAN AND AIDS A CITY

Every Clevelander, whatever his creed, should be happy that abiding honor has been paid to the internationally known spiritual leader of the temple in the announcement that a beautiful vista—the Abba Hillel Silver Park—will be constructed adjacent to the House of God at Ansel Road and East 105th Street.

Dr. Silver's rabbinate here of 37 fruitful years deserved such an honor. But in addition to this, creation of the park is one of the best examples of making a fine environment in a rapidly changing city that has ever occurred in Cleveland.

The plan to buy up properties in the vicinity of the temple to make room for the park will, at the same time, protect the area from the encroachment of a neighborhood which has been running down at the heels.

Thus, instead of fleeing from changing conditions, the temple will stand firm and through this farsighted policy will help to rebuild the entire community, for beauty is catching, and the whole area will benefit.

It is the sort of thing the Illinois Institute of Technology did so successfully in Chicago, as did the Michael Reese Hospital in the same city.

It is a wise, thoughtful, and worthy thing that has been done in honor of a great religious leader.

The second appeared in the Cleveland Press on June 29:

FOR THE COMMUNITY

Throughout his 37 years of service at the Temple, Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver's wisdom, leadership, and inspiration have reached far beyond the limits of his own congregation.

Thus it is especially appropriate that the tribute his congregation has planned for him—a large and beautiful park along Ansel Road—should also be something which the whole community can share and enjoy.

Rabbi Silver has always been a community asset of inestimable value. So, too, will this park, located near the cultural heart of the city, be a community asset of great and enduring value.

And the third was printed in the Cleveland News on June 29:

RABBI SILVER PARK: A FINE TRIBUTE

A surprise tribute of genuine affection for their spiritual leader is the announcement of the Temple's congregation that it is purchasing and dedicating in the name of Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver 3 acres of park near the synagogue. Last night's dinner saluted the work of this outstanding pastor and Zionist leader.

Citizens of all faiths will hail this \$735,000 memorial to Rabbi Silver, for he is identified

not only as a vigorous and penetrating religious scholar and orator, but a force in all movements for the development of Cleveland's cultural and welfare assets.

The Employment Picture

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. JOHN J. SPARKMAN

OF ALABAMA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Saturday, July 10, 1954

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. President, on yesterday I made a short statement for the RECORD relating to some of the rosy looks with reference to employment. In today's New York Tribune there is an editorial entitled "The Employment Picture," which makes the same approach to this subject that I made, and I believe it will be read with considerable interest and profit. I, therefore, ask unanimous consent to have the editorial printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

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

THE EMPLOYMENT PICTURE

Early in June, report the Commerce and Labor Departments, there were still nearly 3.5 million persons in this country without work, which represented an increase of 42,000 since May. More than 62 million were working, nearly a million more than in May, and most of these workers were on farms. Factory workers were putting in an average of 39.6 hours a week in June, a trifle more than the month before. By the end of June, the number of new claims for unemployment insurance dropped about as expected, when seasonal changes are considered, and by the 1st of July they stood at the lowest level since October.

What do the figures mean? The almost insignificant increase in unemployment was only about one-ninth as large as the average increase from May to June of previous years since 1945, and the smallest in 15 years. The long-term unemployed are finding jobs faster than at any time since the slight economic downturn began last fall. The horde of job seekers released in the economy at the end of each school year was nearly offset this year. As is normal in the summertime, many people without jobs were finding them in construction work. Farmers normally get new workers in the summer, too. But with all seasonal factors considered, the downtrend in all nonagricultural occupations appeared to be leveling off.

This generally encouraging picture, however, must be viewed within a long-term frame. Last week the National Planning Association reminded the country that if the present rate of economic activity is maintained, a \$25-billion gap would develop between actual production figures and the hypothetical figures which would be required for full employment. The association feels that this would mean that unemployment would double during the year to come if business continues at the present rate.

The only alternatives seen by this distinguished group of businessmen and economists were increased defense spending, which might have to be authorized by a special session of Congress next fall, or additional governmental measures to allow the economy to expand to full employment levels. This view of things seems to be shared by Arthur F. Burns, the president's chief eco-

nomics adviser, who remarked a month ago that unemployment figures of more than 3 million were definitely intolerable, and that if business should bump along at June levels for another 5 or 6 months, early Government action would be called for.

Texas Rural Minister of the Year

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. LYNDON B. JOHNSON

OF TEXAS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Saturday, July 10, 1954

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. Mr. President, a respected Texas minister recently was named by the Progressive Farmer magazine as rural minister of the year in my State. He is Dr. E. C. Cargill, pastor of the Park Presbyterian Church in Italy, Ellis County, Tex.

I join in paying honor to this fine Christian gentleman, and ask unanimous consent that a story about him, published in the Dallas Times-Herald, be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

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

An 82-year-old Presbyterian minister has been named Texas rural minister of the year by the Progressive Farmer, a southwide farm magazine, and the Town and Country School of Emory (Ga.) University.

He is Dr. E. C. Cargill, pastor of the Park Presbyterian Church in Italy, Ellis County, for more than 21 years.

Enthusiastic letters to the Progressive Farmer from people in Italy were determining factors in choosing Dr. Cargill to receive the award for outstanding service to his church and community. This is an annual presentation by the magazine.

One letter says: "He is the most respected and loved man in the community. The whole community takes pride in claiming him so long. He is one of those unusual men that no one ever gets around to criticizing."

The story of Dr. Cargill, which appears in the July issue of the magazine, points out: "Dr. Cargill was born on a farm in Red River Parish, La., in 1872, and his father was a Congregational missionary in the State."

"A product of the rural church he has given his life in service to rural and small-town churches."

"He came to Texas in 1916, serving as pastor in Italy and Forreton churches from 1916 until 1923. In 1940 he came back to Italy and since then has been pastor of the Italy and Avalon churches. He also served the Forreton church from 1940 to 1949."

"Called the community pastor by Italy folks, he rarely misses a school program or activity, is active in the Lions Club, and is past president of the Italy Club. School children are delighted when he plays the harp for them."

"Dr. Cargill has married many a couple, and often hears from couples he married years before. One couple sends him a gift equal in dollars to the number of years they have been married on each anniversary."

"While pastor at Clarendon, Ark., he was sent by his congregation to the World Sunday School Convention in Washington, D. C. He has served as synod chairman of foreign missions for 3 consecutive years, beginning in 1926, and was elected moderator of the Texas synod of the Presbyterian Church U. S. A. in 1933."

"In November 1949, the Italy community held an E. C. Cargill Day to pay tribute to Dr. Cargill and his wife. Sparked by the Lions Club, the occasion was a historic one. Over 700 persons attended."

"He was in ill health then—and eligible for retirement. But then and now he refused to cease work as long as he is physically able to carry on."

The Eisenhower Health Reinsurance Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. JOHN W. HESELTON

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, June 29, 1954

Mr. HESELTON. Mr. Speaker, yesterday the House Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce reported favorably H. R. 8356, which implements President Eisenhower's recommendation of a program to improve the public health by encouraging more extensive use of the voluntary prepayment method of insurance.

On Thursday it was announced by the Republican leadership that if the bill was reported it would be included in the program for next week.

Last night Secretary Hobby spoke over the NBC network about the President's health program and particularly as to the reinsurance plan. She made the objectives and the need for the proposal very clear. I am confident that all who will have the opportunity and responsibility of voting on this bill shortly will find the speech most helpful. I am glad to have the privilege of placing it in the RECORD.

Thank you, Mr. President.

Good evening, ladies and gentlemen. Tonight, I would like to talk about a subject of deep personal concern to you: the health security of you and your family.

Health security means the peace of mind that comes with the knowledge that you and your family will be able to pay the costs of medical and hospital care. As a mother, I know that health security lies at the very heart of a sound family life. It is important for you to know that if you or your loved ones should get sick or have an accident, it will be possible to get first-rate medical care without using your savings or mortgaging your future.

We believe that helping individuals meet personal disaster is a proper concern of the Federal Government. Therefore, we want to help you build greater health security. The Department of Health, Education, and Welfare is responsible for the Federal Government's efforts in this field.

Last January, President Eisenhower, in his state of the Union message, said:

"I am flatly opposed to the socialization of medicine. The great need for hospital and medical services can best be met by the initiative of private plans. But it is unfortunately a fact that medical costs are rising and already impose severe hardships on many families. The Federal Government can do many helpful things and still carefully avoid the socialization of medicine."

In a later message, the President recommended a four-point health program to help meet the needs of the people.

PUBLIC LAW 416

H. R. 5833, Hawaii: Another law for the exchange of the lands needed as the public lands for public schools.

PUBLIC LAW 417

H. R. 6888, Hawaii: Still another Hawaiian measure. This provides for the lease to native Hawaiians of irrigated pastoral lands in lots of from 40 to 100 acres.

PUBLIC LAW 418

H. R. 6800, Hawaii again: When the Legislature of Hawaii extended an electric light and power franchise on the island of Kauai it had to come to the Congress (under the organic act) for approval. Public Law 418 O. K.'s the act of the legislature.

PUBLIC LAW 419

H. R. 8092, Philippines: Under Public Law 419 nationals of the Republic of the Philippines coming to the United States as traders and investors will be issued nonimmigrant visas on the basis of a reciprocal agreement granting similar privileges to our nationals.

PUBLIC LAW 420

H. R. 6655, education of the deaf: Columbia Institution for the Deaf was incorporated by Congress in 1857. It consists of Gallaudet College, the only college in the world exclusively for deaf students, and Kendall School, an elementary and secondary school for the deaf. Although not a Federal instrumentality, it largely is supported by Federal appropriations and by law 1 Member of the Senate, 2 of the House serve on its board of directors.

Public Law 420 changes the name to Gallaudet College (after Rev. Thomas Hopkins Gallaudet, 1787-1851, a clergyman who established the first school for the deaf in America). It also provides a new charter under which the board of directors will have full authority in curriculum and other matters similar to that usually exercised by the boards of private and State universities. The objective is to make Gallaudet College adequate to give the advantages of higher education to applicants from all sections of the country who have no other place to receive college training. With new facilities and improved teaching personnel, as planned, the college is expected to have a standing sufficiently high to become accredited.

This is the character of legislation I especially am happy in supporting with the vote you have delegated me to cast for you.

PUBLIC LAW 421

H. R. 8044, Philippines—hospitalization of veterans: Part of the expense of taking care of hospitalized veterans of the Philippine Army who served with the Armed Forces of the United States in World War II is borne by the United States. A hospital, now under construction, was made possible by a \$22,500,000 grant from our Government. Public Law 865 of the 80th Congress (1947-48) authorized an annual appropriation of \$3,285,000 to aid the Philippine Government in the care of the veterans. Public Law 421 of this Congress, passed by the House by consent, extends this authorization another 5 years.

PUBLIC LAW 422

S. 1794, care of demented Indians: This authorizes the payment to the South Dakota State Hospital for the Insane of \$8,124 for care of demented Indian patients. Through inadvertence authority for hospitalization had not been cleared previously through the Bureau of Indian Affairs, as required, hence the necessity for another law. Passed by consent.

PUBLIC LAW 423

S. 2654, stone quarry in District of Columbia: In 1898 the District of Columbia purchased 17 acres in nearby Maryland for a stone quarry. It has been abandoned for

years. Public Law 423 gives the District Commissioners the go-ahead in selling it at public auction to the highest bidder. It required a law of Congress.

Cordially and sincerely,

BARRATT O'HARA,
Member of Congress.

American Policy In the Middle East

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GEORGE H. BENDER

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 15, 1954

Mr. BENDER. Mr. Speaker, I should like to have inserted in the RECORD the following speech delivered by Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver, of the Temple, Cleveland, Ohio, before the 57th annual convention of the Zionist Organization of America at the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel on Thursday, June 24, 1954, regarding the American policy in the Middle East:

There is a radical difference between the set of problems which we faced before, and the set which we have faced since, the establishment of the State of Israel. The problems before the State was founded were the century-old problems of national homelessness, of a people "robbed and despoiled," the problems of persecution, concentration camps, refugees—where to go, how to survive—all the desperate problems of an abnormal national existence.

The problems since 1948 have been the more or less familiar problems which any pioneering state must face and wrestle with as part of the routine of its establishment on firm and secure foundations. These are the problems of a normal national existence. They may be grave and serious problems, but the effort at solving them carries with it an eager challenge, a creative joy and a deep spiritual confidence.

These problems bring with them new tasks. What these new tasks are is evident: They are the manifold and exciting tasks which have to do with nation building; with the construction of new homes and settlements; with bringing springs of water to dry lands and gardens to the wilderness. They have to do with industry, trade, and commerce; with mining and engineering; with seafaring and aviation; and with all the noble arts and enterprises of peace. They have to do with education, health, and religion, and with a people's chosen way of life.

These new tasks are of necessity also concerned with national defense—the world in which we live being the kind of a world it is and the neighbors of Israel persistently refusing to make peace. Some of these tasks possess greater urgency than others; some are of longer duration than others; some of them will continue indefinitely since they are coextensive with the life of a nation. None, however, is beyond the capacity of the State of Israel and of the Jewish people.

THE CHALLENGE BEFORE US

The Jewish people will assuredly match its great hour. It possesses the ability and the resourcefulness. In the long, hard school of experience through the centuries our people have learned how to build upon ruins and how to build in the face of adversity. This is the third commonwealth we are building, not the first. Others nations succumbed when their governments were destroyed and their people uprooted. Israel surmounted the loss of its independence; surmounted exile, dispersion, and savage persecution; and returned to its ravaged land to

rebuild it and its national life. Our generation is learning the lessons which our forefathers learned in their day—patience and perseverance; how to run and not be wearied; how to renew its strength; how to be deeply concerned and greatly rejoicing at the same time.

When a nation finally settles down from its high revolutionary moments of exaltation and idealism which attend a liberation movement, to the less heroic day-by-day business of living, there sets in a perceptible emotional letdown. No people can collectively live indefinitely on the high plateaus of spirit. A leveling off process inevitably follows. There is no ground here for serious concern unless it takes on the character of stagnation and demoralization which are the by-products of spiritual exhaustion and disillusionment. Our people in Israel and in the Diaspora will, I am sure, wish to guard themselves against the dangers of such an emotional deflation. We must be determined to keep our minds firmly centered on the largely uncompleted job of nation building still before us, which is still so full of challenge—a different kind of challenge to be sure—but nevertheless one which can appeal to all that is noblest in our natures.

STUMBLING BLOCKS IN OUR WAY

There are Jews in our midst who would like to see us quit right now—not because they have become tired from the heavy burdens which they have carried in the process of helping to build the State of Israel. The only burdens which they carried were the rocks which they threw at the builders like Shimei, the son of Gera, who threw rocks at David and cursed him when he was in deep trouble fighting for his kingdom. These Jews did everything in their power to prevent the establishment of the State of Israel. They put every conceivable stumbling block in the way. They joined forces with the enemies of Israel not of our faith. They knocked on every door to inform against their own people. Though they were themselves religiously indifferent, they suddenly discovered, as a shrewd part of their strategy, a vast devotion to abstract Judaism, and under that cloak, as the American Council for Judaism, they proceeded to spread their insidious political propaganda.

These unhappy Jews, like their Arab spiritual kinsmen, some of whom are prepared to sacrifice 10 million Arab lives to wipe out the State of Israel, are unreconciled to the existence of the state. Since they cannot by wishing have it disappear from the face of the earth, they are trying their best to have it reduced in size, crippled, isolated, cut off from the sympathy and support of fellow-Jews in the rest of the world. They would like to see Israel a puny, hemmed-in Levantine statelet at the mercy of its Arab neighbors. No more immigration into Israel. No more spiritual identification of American Jewry with Israel. No intercession in its behalf with governments. From here on only Arab spokesmen and oil lobbyists and friends of the Middle East, and officers of the American Council for Judaism shall have access to the State Department.

AN AMAZING GENIUS FOR GUESSING WRONG

Most assuredly, these people would like to have us quit right now. And, significantly enough, some officials in the Near Eastern Division of our State Department have been echoing their views recently. They have been preaching political sermons to the Jews of America which well could have been written by ghost writers hired by Mr. Lessing Rosenwald.

I do not believe that these officials represent the true sentiments of the leaders of our Government, the President of the United States, or the Secretary of State, who have time and again given expression of their deep and sympathetic interest in the security and prosperity of Israel. I suspect, though of course I do not know, that the leaders of our

Government, being otherwise engrossed at the moment in the present extremely difficult international situation, with wars and revolutions erupting, and with critical international conferences monopolizing their attention, have been compelled to leave the affairs of the Middle East largely, although not entirely and not finally, in the hands of some people in the Department of State who have in the past displayed such an amazing genius for guessing wrong and for bedeviling the political situation. It is the same people, who a few short years ago backed the British mandatory regime in Palestine to the bitter end, who tried to persuade our people that there was no room in Palestine for a single additional Jewish immigrant, and who have been building one strong-man myth after another to serve as the keystone in the arch of American foreign policy in the Middle East, only to see their tenuous diplomacy crumble into ruins.

ARMS FOR IRAQ

At the moment, we are persuaded to believe that salvation in the Middle East will come from the feudal Government of Iraq, which is suddenly discovered to be a paragon of democratic virtue and most friendly disposed to the United States. Iraq is to be armed by our Government, not, to be sure, with sufficient military equipment to be a threat to Israel, but with just enough military equipment to resist possible Soviet aggression. Iraq will never use these American arms against Israel, we are assured, because it says so in the agreement—and agreements, as you well know—are never, never broken. It is not even clear whether there actually exists any such condition in the agreement. Iraqi spokesmen have said that the grant of arms to their Government was unconditional.

These officials, bent upon arming Iraq, are at the same time telling the Arab world that there is some justification for their fears that if the population of Israel were to expand materially through further immigration, it would be humanly impossible to maintain those people within the confines of the present state. In other words, they imply that Israel would be forced to undertake wars of aggression against the neighboring Arab States. A statement to this effect was recently made by Mr. Arthur Z. Gardner, chief political and economic adviser of the State Department's near eastern division, testifying before the House Foreign Affairs Committee.

PRO-ARAB PROPAGANDA

The press report which carried Mr. Gardner's statement also reported that Representative FRANCES BOLTON, of Ohio, chairman of the Near Eastern Subcommittee of the Foreign Affairs Committee, who is well known from her earlier violent anti-Zionist activities, and who appears to be the ready mouthpiece in the House of Representatives for all pro-Arab propaganda delivered herself of the following: "Israel has been reshipping strategic materials to the Soviet Union, thereby violating the Battle Act." She queried innocently whether Israel is actually such a bulwark against communism. She said, "Haifa was at one time the center of Russian propaganda." She also accused the Israelis of letting their land lie fallow, refusing to do farmwork, and expressed her expert judgment that Arabs are superior agriculturalists.

All this, of course, is strongly reminiscent of anti-Zionist propaganda antedating the establishment of the State. Mrs. BOLTON seems to be ignorant of the fact that the agricultural area of Israel has expanded in the last 6 years from 400,000 acres to nearly a million, and that agricultural scientists who get their information about agriculture from studying the soil and not from clipping coupons, have extolled time and again Israel's farming and reclamation achievements as among the finest in the world. It is

strange that in making these charges against the Israelis, Congresswoman BOLTON had nothing to say about Arab boycotts and blockades which are seriously retarding the economic development of the entire Near East. While concerned with unfounded charges about Israel's reshipping strategic materials to the Soviet Union, she seems to be not the least concerned about the Arab blockade of the Suez Canal, which has made it impossible for Israel to obtain oil from nearby fields and has been compelled to purchase it from faraway Venezuela which involves excessive transportation costs, and that Israel today must buy considerable oil from the Soviet Union, to save on these transportation costs.

What blindspots these people develop when they come to ride a hobby or a lobby. How easily things get out of focus. And what dangerously unreliable guides they become for American foreign policy.

A VERY SERIOUS DETERIORATION

President Eisenhower and Secretary Dulles must know that Israel is no threat to the basic interests of American foreign policy in the Near East. They must know that Israel is a democracy, deeply rooted in the millennial democratic traditions of the Jewish people and Judaism, and that it will, to the last, defend its democratic way of life and institutions. They must know that there is a large reservoir of good will and gratitude to the Government and people of the United States among the citizens of Israel for having helped so vitally in the establishment of their state and for the economic assistance which has been given to it to this day. They are too proud to put their friendship on the auction block or use it in any diplomatic game of blackmail. They must know that Israel wants peace with all her Arab neighbors, and has time and again asked for it, only to be rudely rebuffed. They must know that Israel is prepared to cooperate in the solution of all the outstanding issues between it and its neighbors in a spirit of good will and is prepared to cooperate in any project such as the Jordan Valley Authority to benefit all the peoples involved, provided its own vital and legitimate interests are safeguarded. From all that has transpired in recent years they must know that the Arab League is an instrument for perpetuating turmoil, discord, and belligerency in the Near East, and that there is no way of appeasing its intransigence short of dismembering the State of Israel or liquidating it altogether. They must realize now that the New Look and the new approach which the above-mentioned officials and their colleagues advocated in respect to Arab-Israel relations have not only not improved matters but have contributed to a very serious deterioration. These officials are now attempting to cover up this progressive deterioration with speeches and propaganda designed to force concessions from Israel, with no assurance whatsoever of any countervailing action on the part of the Arab governments.

Part of this unfriendly propaganda is to suggest to the American Government and people, that the United States has contributed to the State of Israel grants-in-aid far in excess of what it has contributed to the Arabs. In order to make their case more impressive, they have had the amazing effrontery to include in American subsidies to Israel what the Jews of the United States have themselves out of their own personal contributions and through the purchase of Israel bonds, given to Israel; also what the German Government has contributed by way of reparations for Nazi depredations. Nothing is said by them of the hundreds of millions of dollars in oil royalties which the Arab States have been receiving annually from American oil companies—Iraq received in 1952, \$110 million; Saudi Arabia, \$170 million; Kuwait, \$139 million—some of which millions at least might well have been con-

tributed by these solicitous Arabs to the cause of the Jewish refugees, in the same way that Jews have been contributing to Jewish refugees in Israel.

NO ARMS FOR THOSE COMMITTED

The Arab States are committed to war against Israel. So long as they are so committed, they should not receive arms from the United States. They have violently resisted every effort that has been made inside and outside the United Nations to persuade them to sit down with Israel representatives in order to iron out their difficulties and to achieve peace. Just a few weeks ago Jordan gave additional proof, if such were needed, of the unwillingness of any Arab State to reach a settlement with Israel. Jordan had presented complaints against Israel to the Security Council. The Council, after much wrangling, decided to go into the entire matter in the hope of improving procedures for carrying out the provisions of the armistice so as to avoid future unfortunate incidents on the borders. Jordan, which is not a member of the United Nations, was asked whether she would abide by the decisions of the Council which, by the terms of the Charter, all member states are obliged to respect. Rather than to commit herself to accept any pacific settlement which the Council might recommend, Jordan withdrew. Previously Jordan had refused a direct meeting with Israel to which she was obligated by the terms of the armistice agreement which she signed. It is clear that arms sent to one or another of these war-minded and peace-resisting states cannot by any twist of diplomatic dialectics be interpreted as an encouragement of peace.

ISRAEL SEEKS TO LIVE IN PEACE

The State of Israel has done nothing to endanger the position of any Arab state in the Near East. It is threatening no one. It covets no one's territory. It has instituted no boycotts and no blockades against any Arab state. It seeks to live in peace with everyone. It is convinced that through friendly cooperation and the pooling of resources, the whole area of the Near East can be developed in such a way as to bring prosperity and a higher standard of living, health, and education to all the peoples there. Israel has not flirted with Moscow to embarrass Washington. Israel will not sacrifice any of its already sharply apocopated territory of 8,000 square miles in order to augment the 2,700,000 square miles of its Arab neighbors. It will not agree to close its doors to any future immigration—to such who may wish to go there and may have to go there—in order to assure Arab governments that Israel will remain permanently weak and limited as to manpower while they get ready for their "second round." What folly to expect the Government of Israel to issue a Jewish white paper against fellow Jews. Within its present borders, given proper industrial and agricultural development, Israel can well support a population of four to five million.

These facts must be taken into consideration by any government or any statesman who wishes to be helpful in the situation. All those who ignore these facts will prove to be well-intentioned or ill-intentioned mischief makers.

OUR POLICIES ARE SUBJECT TO STUDY AND REVISION

There is a need for increased and effective organization to defend the political interests of Israel in the field of government and public relations, taking into account the increasingly bold propaganda and activities both of the open and the covert enemies of Israel. These pressure groups would like the American people to believe that not they, but only the Zionists constitute a political pressure group in Washington. What cynicism and what utter nonsense. Every group of American citizens which feels keenly on any vital issue will naturally make itself heard

'State Dept. Misrepresents U. S. Sentiments' - Silver

Blames Department's Near East Diplomats For Anti-Israel Line In Speech Before Z.O. Meet

New York, (Special) — Dr. Abba Hillel Silver of Cleveland, last week voiced his belief that the anti-Israel utterances expressed by certain officials in the Near Eastern Division of the State Department do not "represent the true sentiments of the leaders of our government who have time and again given expression of their deep and sympathetic interest in the security and prosperity of Israel." He laid the responsibility for anti-Israel sentiments upon "people in the State Department who have in the past displayed such a genius for guessing wrong and for bedeviling the political situation."

Addressing the fourth session of the 57th annual convention of the ZOA, Dr. Silver scathingly denounced Arab spokesmen and oil lobbyists and Friends of the Middle East, officers of the "American Council for Judaism" who "did everything in their power to prevent the establishment of the State of Israel" and "who are now trying their best to have it reduced, crippled, isolated, cut off from the sympathy and support of fellow-Jews in the rest of the world."

Of the "one or two officials in the Near East Division of our State Department who have been echoing their views recently", Dr. Silver had this to say:

"I do not believe that these officials represent the true sentiment of the leaders of our Government who have time and again given expression of their deep and sympathetic interest for the security and prosperity of Israel."

Explains Reasoning

"I suspect, but of course I do not know, that the leaders of our government, being otherwise engrossed in the present extremely difficult international conferences monopolizing their attention, have been compelled to leave the affairs of the Near East largely in the hands of people in the Department of State who have in the past, displayed a genius for guessing wrong and for bedeviling the situation."

Answering the recent "unfounded charges" made against Israel by Arthur Z. Gardiner, chief political and economic advisor of the State Department's Near Eastern Division and by Representatives Frances Bolton of Ohio, whom he described as "the mouthpiece in the House of Representatives for all pro-Arab propaganda", Dr. Silver declared:

"President Eisenhower and Secretary Dulles must know that Israel is no threat to the basic interests of American policy in the Near East. They must know that Israel is a democracy, deeply rooted in the millennial democratic traditions of the Jewish people and Judaism, and that it will to the last, defend its democratic way of life and institutions."

"They must know that there is a large reservoir of good-will and gratitude to the government and people of the United States among the citizens of Israel for having

helped so vitally in the establishment of their state and for the economic assistance which has been given to this day. They are too proud to put their friendship on the auction block or use it in any diplomatic game of blackmail.

"They must know that Israel wants peace with all her Arab neighbors, and has time and again asked for it, only to be rudely rebuffed. They must know that Israel is prepared to cooperate in the solution of all the outstanding issues between it and its neighbors in a spirit of good-will and is prepared to cooperate in any project such as the Jordan Valley Authority to benefit all the peoples involved, provided its own vital and legitimate interests are safeguarded.

Instrument Of Turmoil

"From all that has transpired in recent years, they must know that the Arab League is an instrument for perpetuating turmoil, discord and belligerency in the Near East and there is no way of appeasing its intransigence short of dismembering the State of Israel or liquidating it altogether."

Dr. Silver called attention to the "amazing effrontery" of those officials unfriendly to the State of Israel, in including in the figures on the American subsidies to Israel "what the Jews of the United States have of their own personal contributions and through the purchase of the Israeli Bonds, given to Israel; also what the German Government has contributed by way of reparations for Nazi depredations."

"Nothing is said by them", he continued, "of the hundreds of millions of dollars in oil royalties which the Arab States have been receiving annually from American oil companies—Iraq received in 1952, 110 million dollars, Saudi Arabia 170 Million, Kuwait 139 million—some of which millions might well have been contributed by these solicitous Arabs to the cause of Arab refugees, in the same way that the Jews have been contributing to the Jewish refugees in Israel."

"But this", he emphasized, "is never referred to by these spokesmen who wish it to be known that they are impartial, for this clearly would not be to the advantage of their pro-Arab propaganda."

Charging that "the Arab States are committed to war against Israel and should not receive arms from the United States so long as they are

so committed", Dr. Silver pointed out "that they have violently resisted every effort that has been made inside and outside the United Nations to persuade them to sit down with Israeli representatives in order to iron out their difficulties and to achieve peace." He cited as proof of this, Jordan's recent action before the United Nations, when, "after presenting complaints against Israel to the Security Council, she withdrew rather than commit herself to accepting any pacific settlement which the Security Council might recommend. Previously Jordan had refused a call to a direct meeting with Israel to which she was obligated by the terms of the Armistice Agreement which she signed."

"It is clear that arms sent to one or another of these war-minded and peace-resisting states cannot by any twist of diplomatic dialectics be interpreted as an encouragement of peace", he added.

Underlining Israel's earnest desire for peaceful relations with her neighbors, Dr. Silver declared:

"The State of Israel has done nothing to endanger the position of any Arab State in the Near East. It is threatening no one. It covets no one's territory. It has instituted no boycotts and no blockades against any Arab State. It seeks to live in peace with everyone. It has not flirted with Moscow to impress Washington."

Further defining Israel's position, he said:

"It will not sacrifice any of its already sharply apocopated territory of 8,000 square miles in order to augment the 2,700,000 square miles of its Arab neighbors. It will not agree to close its doors to any future immigration—to such who may wish to go there and have to go there—

in order to assure Arab governments that Israel will remain permanently weak and limited as to man-power while they get ready for their 'second round'."

The Zionist leader was confident that no task facing Israel "was beyond its capacity or the capacity of the Jewish people."

"The Jewish people will match its great hour", he stated. "It possesses the ability and the resourcefulness. In the long, harsh school of experience through the centuries our people learned how to build from nothing, how to build upon ruins, and how to build in the face of adversity. This is the Third Commonwealth we are building, not the first. Other nations succumbed when their governments were destroyed and their people uprooted. Israel surmounted the loss of its independence, it surmounted exile, dispersion and savage persecution and returned to its ravaged land to rebuild it and to rebuild its own national life."

Urges Effective Organization

He urged upon Zionists increased and effective organization "to defend the political interests of Israel in the field of government and public relations, taking into account the increasingly bold propaganda and activities both of the open and covert enemies of Israel."

"These pressure groups would like the American people to believe that not they but only the Zionists constitute a political pressure group in Washington. What cynicism and what utter nonsense", Rabbi Silver said.

"What we need in Zionism", he concluded, "is not a new philosophy but a renewed dedication to the great cause which we, by our efforts in the past contributed so much, but which has not yet been fully consummated."

BRINGING WATER TO GALILEE



THESE ISRAELI workmen build a new type of irrigation channel in the cotton fields of the Beisan Valley in the southern area of Galilee. Farmers in the valley grow many of the food products Israel exports abroad, including olives, grapes, bananas, citrus fruits, dates, figs, edible oils and numerous crops that are preserved and canned. In addition, irrigation has made possible the growth of a variety of new agricultural products.

report

FROM WASHINGTON

issued by AMERICAN ZIONIST COMMITTEE FOR PUBLIC AFFAIRS
1737 H Street, N.W. Washington 6, D.C. Executive 3-1060

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AMERICAN POLICY IN THE MIDDLE EAST

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Excerpts from an address delivered by Dr. Abba Hillel Silver of The Temple, Cleveland, Ohio, before the 57th Annual Convention of the Zionist Organization of America at the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel on Thursday, June 24, 1954.

There is a radical difference between the set of problems which we faced before, and the set which we have faced since, the establishment of the State of Israel. The problems before the State was founded were the century-old problems of national homelessness, of a people "robbed and despoiled", the problems of persecution, concentration camps, refugees—where to go, how to survive—all the desperate problems of an abnormal national existence.

The problems since 1948 have been the more or less familiar problems which any pioneering state must face and wrestle with as part of the routine of its establishment on firm and secure foundations. These are the problems of a normal national existence. They may be grave and serious problems, but the effort at solving them carries with it an eager challenge, a creative joy and a deep spiritual confidence.

These problems bring with them new tasks. What these new tasks are is evident: they are the manifold and exciting tasks which have to do with nation building, with the construction of new homes and settlements, with bringing springs of water to dry lands, and gardens to the wilderness. They have to do with industry, trade and commerce, with mining and engineering, with seafaring and aviation, and with all the noble arts and enterprises of peace. They have to do with education, health and religion, and with a people's chosen way of life.

These new tasks are of necessity also concerned with national defense—the world in which we live being the kind of a world it is, and the neighbors of Israel persistently refusing to make peace. Some of these tasks possess greater urgency than others; some are of longer duration than others; some of them will continue indefinitely since they are co-extensive with the life of a nation. None, however, is beyond the capacity of the State of Israel and of the Jewish people.

The Challenge Before Us

The Jewish people will assuredly match its great hour. It possesses the ability and the resourcefulness. In the long, hard school of experience through the centuries our people have learned how to build upon ruins, and how to build in the face of adversity. This is the Third Commonwealth we are building, not the first. Other nations succumbed when their governments were destroyed and their people uprooted. Israel surmounted the loss of its independence, surmounted exile, dispersion and savage persecution, and returned to its ravaged land to rebuild it and its national life. Our generation is learning the lessons which our forefathers learned in their day—patience and perseverance; how to run and not be wearied; how to renew its strength; how to be deeply concerned and greatly rejoicing at the same time.

When a nation finally settles down from its high revolutionary moments of exaltation and idealism which attend a liberation movement, to the less heroic day-by-day business of living, there sets in a perceptible emotional let-down. No people can collectively live indefinitely on the high plateaus of spirit. A leveling-off process inevitably follows. There is no ground here for serious concern unless it takes on the character of stagnation and demoralization which are the by-products of spiritual exhaustion and disillusionment. Our people in Israel and in the Diaspora will, I am sure, wish to guard themselves against the dangers of such an emotional deflation. We must be determined to keep our minds firmly centered on the largely-uncompleted job of nation building still before us, which is still so full of challenge—a different kind of challenge to be sure—but nevertheless one which can appeal to all that is noblest in our natures.

Stumbling Blocks in the Way

There are Jews in our midst who would like to see us quit right now—not because they have become tired from the heavy burdens which they have carried in the process of helping to build the State of Israel. The only burdens which they carried were the rocks which they threw at the builders, like Shimei, the son of Gera, who threw rocks at David and cursed him when he was in deep trouble fighting for his kingdom. These Jews did everything in their power to prevent the establishment of the State of Israel. They put every conceivable stumbling block in the way. They joined forces with the enemies of Israel not of our faith. They knocked on every door to inform against their own people. Though they were themselves religiously indifferent, they suddenly discovered, as a shrewd part of their strategy, a vast devotion to abstract Judaism, and under that cloak, as the American Council for Judaism, they proceeded to spread their insidious political propaganda.

These unhappy Jews, like their Arab spiritual kinsmen, some of whom are prepared to sacrifice ten million Arab lives to wipe out the State of Israel, are unreconciled to the existence of the State. Since they cannot by wishing have it disappear from the face of the earth, they are trying their best to have it reduced in size, crippled, isolated, cut off from the sympathy and support of fellow-Jews in the rest of the world. They would like to see Israel a puny, hemmed-in Levantine statelet

at the mercy of its Arab neighbors. No more immigration into Israel! No more spiritual identification of American Jewry with Israel. No intercession in its behalf with governments! From here on only Arab spokesmen and oil lobbyists and friends of the Middle East, and officers of the American Council for Judaism shall have access to the State Department!

An Amazing Genius for Guessing Wrong

Most assuredly, these people would like to have us quit right now! And, significantly enough, some officials in the Near Eastern Division of our State Department have been echoing their views recently. They have been preaching political sermons to the Jews of America which well could have been written by ghost writers hired by Mr. Lessing Rosenwald.

I do not believe that these officials represent the true sentiments of the leaders of our Government, the President of the United States, or the Secretary of State, who have time and again given expression of their deep and sympathetic interest in the security and prosperity of Israel. I suspect, though of course I do not know, that the leaders of our Government, being otherwise engrossed at the moment in the present extremely difficult international situation, with wars and revolutions erupting, and with critical international conferences monopolizing their attention, have been compelled to leave the affairs of the Middle East largely, although not entirely and not finally, in the hands of some people in the Department of State who have in the past displayed such an amazing genius for guessing wrong and for bevilling the political situation. It is the same people, who a few short years ago backed the British mandatory regime in Palestine to the bitter end, who tried to persuade our people that there was no room in Palestine for a single additional Jewish immigrant, and who have been building one Strong-Man myth after another to serve as the keystone in the arch of American foreign policy in the Middle East, only to see their tenuous diplomacy crumble into ruins.

Arms for Iraq

At the moment, we are persuaded to believe that salvation in the Middle East will come from the feudal government of Iraq, which is suddenly discovered to be a paragon of democratic virtue and most friendly disposed to the United States. **Iraq is to be armed by our government, not, to be sure, with sufficient military equipment to be a threat to Israel, but with just enough military equipment to resist possible Soviet aggression!** Iraq will never use these American arms against Israel, we are assured, because it says so in the agreement—and agreements, as you well know—are never, never broken. It is not even clear whether there actually exists any such condition in the agreement. Iraqi spokesmen have said that the grant of arms to their government was unconditional.

These officials, bent upon arming Iraq, are at the same time telling the Arab world that "there is some justification for their fears that if the population of Israel were to expand materially through further immigration, it would be humanly im-

possible to maintain those people within the confines of the present State." In other words, they imply that Israel would be forced to undertake wars of aggression against the neighboring Arab States. A statement to this effect was recently made by Mr. Arthur Z. Gardiner, chief political and economic advisor of the State Department's Near Eastern Division, testifying before the House Foreign Affairs Committee.

Pro-Arab Propaganda

The press report which carried Mr. Gardiner's statement also reported that Representative Frances Bolton of Ohio, Chairman of the Near Eastern Sub-Committee of the Foreign Affairs Committee, who is well known from her earlier violent anti-Zionist activities, and who appears to be the ready mouth-piece in the House of Representatives for all pro-Arab propaganda delivered herself of the following: "Israel has been re-shipping strategic materials to the Soviet Union, thereby violating the Battle Act." She queried innocently whether Israel is actually such a bulwark against Communism. She said, "Haifa was at one time the center of Russian propaganda." She also accused the Israelis of letting their land lie fallow, refusing to do farm work, and expressed her expert judgment that Arabs are superior agriculturalists. All this, of course, is strongly reminiscent of anti-Zionist propaganda ante-dating the establishment of the State. Mrs. Bolton seems to be ignorant of the fact that the agricultural area of Israel has expanded in the last six years from 400,000 acres to nearly a million, and that agricultural scientists who get their information about agriculture from studying the soil and not from clipping coupons, have extolled time and again Israel's farming and reclamation achievements as among the finest in the world. It is strange that in making these charges against the Israelis, Congresswoman Bolton had nothing to say about Arab boycotts and blockades which are seriously retarding the economic development of the entire Near East. While concerned with unfounded charges about Israel's re-shipping strategic materials to the Soviet Union, she seems to be not the least concerned about the Arab blockade of the Suez Canal, which has made it impossible for Israel to obtain oil from nearby fields and has been compelled to purchase it from far-away Venezuela which involves excessive transportation costs, and that Israel today must buy considerable oil from the Soviet Union, to save on these transportation costs.

What blind-spots these people develop when they come to ride a hobby or a lobby! How easily things get out of focus! And what dangerously unreliable guides they become for American foreign policy!

A Very Serious Deterioration

President Eisenhower and Secretary Dulles must know that Israel is no threat to the basic interests of American foreign policy in the Near East. They must know that Israel is a democracy, deeply rooted in the millennial democratic traditions of the Jewish people and Judaism, and that it will, to the last, defend its democratic way of life and institutions. They must know that there is a large reservoir of good-will and gratitude to the Government and people of the United States among

the citizens of Israel for having helped so vitally in the establishment of their State and for the economic assistance which has been given to it to this day. **They are too proud to put their friendship on the auction block or use it in any diplomatic game of blackmail.** They must know that Israel wants peace with all her Arab neighbors, and has time and again asked for it, only to be rudely rebuffed. They must know that Israel is prepared to cooperate in the solution of all the outstanding issues between it and its neighbors in a spirit of good-will and is prepared to cooperate in any project such as the Jordan Valley Authority to benefit all the peoples involved, provided its own vital and legitimate interests are safe-guarded. From all that has transpired in recent years they must know that the Arab League is an instrument for perpetuating turmoil, discord and belligerency in the Near East, and that there is no way of appeasing its intransigence short of dismembering the State of Israel or liquidating it altogether. They must realize now that the New Look and the new approach which the above mentioned officials and their colleagues advocated in respect to Arab-Israel relations have not only not improved matters, but have contributed to a very serious deterioration. These officials are now attempting to cover up this progressive deterioration with speeches and propaganda designed to force concessions from Israel, with no assurance whatsoever of any countervailing action on the part of the Arab governments.

Part of this unfriendly propaganda is to suggest to the American Government and people, that the United States has contributed to the State of Israel grants-in-aid far in excess of what it has contributed to the Arabs. In order to make their case more impressive, they have had the amazing effrontery to include in American subsidies to Israel what the Jews of the United States have themselves out of their own personal contributions and through the purchase of Israel Bonds, given to Israel; also what the German Government has contributed by way of reparations for Nazi depredations. Nothing is said by them of the hundreds of millions of dollars in oil royalties which the Arab States have been receiving annually from American oil companies—Iraq received in 1952, 110 million dollars; Saudi Arabia, 170 million; Kuwait, 139 million—some of which millions at least might well have been contributed by these solicitous Arabs to the cause of the Arab refugees, in the same way that Jews have been contributing to Jewish refugees in Israel.

No Arms for Those Committed to War

The Arab States are committed to war against Israel. So long as they are so committed, they should not receive arms from the United States. They have violently resisted every effort that has been made inside and outside the United Nations to persuade them to sit down with Israel representatives in order to iron out their difficulties and to achieve peace. Just a few weeks ago Jordan gave additional proof, if such were needed, of the unwillingness of any Arab State to reach a settlement with Israel. Jordan had presented complaints against Israel to the Security Council. The Council, after much wrangling, decided to go into the entire matter in the hope of improving procedures for carrying out the provisions of the Armistice so as to avoid future unfortunate incidents on the borders. Jordan, which is not a member of the United Nations, was asked whether she would abide by the decisions of the Council which, by the terms of the Charter, all member states are obliged to re-

spect. Rather than to commit herself to accept any pacific settlement which the Council might recommend, Jordan withdrew. Previously Jordan had refused a direct meeting with Israel to which she was obligated by the terms of the Armistice Agreement which she signed. It is clear that arms sent to one or another of these war-minded and peace-resisting states cannot by any twist of diplomatic dialectics be interpreted as an encouragement of peace.

Israel Seeks to Live in Peace

The State of Israel has done nothing to endanger the position of any Arab State in the Near East. It is threatening no one. It covets no one's territory. It has instituted no boycotts and no blockades against any Arab State. It seeks to live in peace with everyone. It is convinced that through friendly cooperation and the pooling of resources, the whole area of the Near East can be developed in such a way as to bring prosperity and a higher standard of living, health and education to all the peoples there. Israel has not flirted with Moscow to embarrass Washington. Israel will not sacrifice any of its already sharply apocopated territory of 8,000 square miles in order to augment the 2,700,000 square miles of its Arab neighbors. It will not agree to close its doors to any future immigration—to such who may wish to go there and may have to go there—in order to assure Arab Governments that Israel will remain permanently weak and limited as to manpower while they get ready for their "second round". What folly to expect the Government of Israel to issue a Jewish White Paper against fellow Jews! Within its present borders, given proper industrial and agricultural development, Israel can well support a population of four to five millions.

These facts must be taken into consideration by any government or any statesman who wishes to be helpful in the situation. All those who ignore these facts will prove to be well-intentioned or ill-intentioned mischief makers.

Our Policies Are Subject to Study and Revision

There is a need for increased and effective organization to defend the political interests of Israel in the field of government and public relations, taking into account the increasingly bold propaganda and activities both of the open and the covert enemies of Israel. These pressure groups would like the American people to believe that not they, but only the Zionists constitute a political pressure group in Washington. What cynicism and what utter nonsense! Every group of American citizens which feels keenly on any vital issue will naturally make itself heard and should make itself heard in government circles. This is the only way that a democratic government can discover how its citizens feel about any vital issue, what the climate of public opinion is, and be guided in its action. Our first duty, of course, is to America and the interests of our beloved country are paramount. That does not mean that every policy of our State Department at any given moment is flawless and beyond criticism. The policies of our Government in other parts of the world, not merely in the Near East, have in some instances not been as successful as had been hoped. They are being constantly subjected to re-study and revision, and to the earnest criticism of patriotic American citizens.

THE MUTUAL SECURITY ACT

The House of Representatives approved the Administration's 3.3 billion dollar 1954 Mutual Security Program on June 30 and sent the measure to the Senate, which is expected to act upon it early in July.

As approved by the House, the bill authorizes the Administration to spend \$130 million for development assistance in the Near East.

The amount to be authorized for Israel is not specified in the bill, but it is expected that the total will be something less than the \$52.5 million which was granted by the Administration in the last fiscal year.

The bill approved by the House provides that one-half of the funds for development assistance must be given in the form of loans, which may be repaid under conditions to be worked out by the Administration. Repayment is permitted in currencies of the recipient countries.

In its report on the legislation, the House Committee on Foreign Affairs declared:

"The State of Israel, struggling to build a secure foundation for its continued independence, has also had to deal with the mass immigration of several hundred thousand refugees from all over the world. American and other free-world Jewry have made significant contributions in this process. A loan of \$135 million has been made by the Export-Import Bank. In addition, large grants of assistance have been furnished under the Mutual Security Program. The Israel Government has taken extraordinary measures in recent months to put its economy on an orderly basis. These measures, plus a substantial increase in exports and the realization of German reparations payments, have brightened the economic outlook considerably, but not to a degree where further development assistance is no longer necessary.

"Funds for development assistance will be used to assist Israel to find homes and useful work for its people and to provide for modest capital development necessary for these and similar vital objectives."

The 1300-page transcript of the hearings before the House Committee disclosed that the Administration spokesmen made a strong case for continued economic assistance to Israel. They reported on the effective use which Israel has made of funds previously granted and on the progress which Israel has made towards economic independence. However, some of the testimony presented by officials of the Department of State revealed a regrettable tendency on the part of Administration spokesmen to shift responsibility for the lack of peace in the Near East from the Arab states to Israel.

The American Zionist Committee for Public Affairs submitted an analysis of the testimony to members of the House Foreign Affairs Committee. The memorandum declared that "it is not impartiality to bring pressure against one side and to pamper and coddle the other" and that "we shall not gain peace in the Near East if we are defeatist or if we gloss over the failure of the Arab states to respond to their international obligations."

"I AM A ZIONIST"—Sir Winston Churchill

During his press conference in Washington on June 28, 1954, Prime Minister Winston Churchill was asked to comment on the prospects for an Arab-Jewish peace.

Sir Winston replied as follows:

"I am a Zionist. Let me make that clear. I was one of the original ones, after the Balfour Declaration, and I have worked faithfully for it.

"I think it a most wonderful thing that this community should have established itself, so effectively turning the desert into fertile gardens and thriving townships, and should have afforded a refuge to millions of their co-religionists who had suffered so fearfully under the Hitler, and not only under the Hitler persecution. I think it is a wonderful thing.

"I also have a great liking for the Arabs. I was the man who appointed Abdullah to be King of Transjordan. I presented to the Cabinet that idea, and they put it into force. Alas, he had been murdered. But I have the greatest regard for the Arabs, too. Really, I think we ought to be able, somehow or other, to use our influence from every quarter to make them work out a plan together.

"It is so easy to reduce what little there is of that part of the world to the desert, to the level of the desert, and that is all that can be done by their quarrels; whereas by agreements and so forth, we may be able to greatly increase the population who can live in that area. There were far more 2,000 years ago than there are now in Palestine; and we not only can greatly increase the population in the area, but we can bring a harmony there which will be a security and not an element of anxiety in the Middle East. Let us be tolerant and let us be friendly, and let us support Arab rights and help forward the legitimate Zionist aspirations."