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Series V: Writings, 1909-1963, undated.

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Kfar Silver dedication, 1956.

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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 a Council for Judaism, they proceeded to spread their *insidious* political propaganda. They lost out. The caravan ^{of the blinders} 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 ~~from now on~~ have access to the ear of the State Department!

Most assuredly, these people would like to have us quit right now! And, significantly enough, ^{not all} ~~one or two~~ officials in the Near Eastern Division of our State Department have been ~~echoing~~ ^{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. - & the Secy of State or of other key} who have time and again given expression of ^{human in the}
their deep and sympathetic interest ^{in the} security and prosperity of Israel. ^{Dept. of State}
^{I know that they wish to be helped in every way.}
I suspect, though ~~but~~ of course I do not know, that the leaders of our Govern- ^{a in the field}
ment, 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 Near East largely ^{though not entirely and not finally} in the hands of people in the Department of State
who have in the past displayed such ^{an amazing} a genius for guessing wrong and for bedevilling
the political situation. It is the same people, you ^{in any} recall, who ^{a few short years} ~~not so long~~
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 on Shoup-Mann} ~~built one strong arm~~ myth after another
^{to serve} as the keystone in the arch of American foreign policy in the Middle East, only
to see their ^{tenacious} ~~cunning~~ diplomacy crumble into ruins. At the moment, we are ^{persuaded}
instructed to believe that salvation in the 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!!.....Iraq ^{we are told} will never, never use these American arms against Israel,
because it says so in the agreement, and agreements -- as you well know -- are
never, never ^{broken} ~~ignored~~. It is not even clear whether there actually ^{exists} ~~is~~ any such
a condition in the agreement. ~~The~~ Iraqi spokesmen have stated that the grant of
arms to their government ^{was} ~~is~~ unconditional. If it is ~~necessary~~ ^{to give}
arms to Iraq let them be given after Iraq has
made peace with Israel, and abandoned her avowed
belligerent intentions towards that country.

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 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." 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 acres, and that agricultural scientists who get their

information about agriculture from studying the soil and not from clipping coupons, have ~~extolled~~ time and again ^{praised} Israel's farming and ^{reclamation} ~~colonizing~~ 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 ^{where} ~~involving~~ 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 ^{to it} ~~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, ^{as the Honorable Robert Murphy stated in his address this evening} 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 ^{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 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.

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~~ to reach a settlement with Israel. Jordan had presented complaints against Israel to the Security Council. The Council, after much wrangling, decided to go ~~after~~ ^{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 ~~of~~ ^{states} ~~its~~ members 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 ~~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.

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

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per [unclear]
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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 man-power 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-intensioned or ill-intensioned mischief makers.

There is crystal clear to me. American policy with Soviet anywhere only if it is morally motivated, inspired by great human ideals.

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, ^{consolidation} through the years. It is gratifying to know that the will of our people to help in the ~~salvation~~ of the State of Israel has suffered so far no marked abatement. American Jewry understands that the historic

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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 ~~open~~ 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. *Silver - big partner - sticking ya*
~~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. *- will not be allowed*
 Our first duty, of course, is to America and the interest of our beloved country are paramount. *WRHS* 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 *ed* subject to re-study and revision, and to the earnest criticism of patriotic American citizens.

In conclusion, dear friends, may I say this: ~~That~~ 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 ¹'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~~ 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 incentives. 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 which we, by our efforts in the past, have contributed so much but which is not yet fully consummated.

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Address
Delivered on the occasion of
The Dedication of Kfar Silver

March 29, 1956

by

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver

My dear friends: I feel greatly honored and privileged to be here today and to take part in the formal dedication ceremonies of Kfar Silver. It would be a pleasure for me to attend the inauguration of any new school of training and education in the land of Israel; for each such agency is an additional source of strength, both economic and cultural to the new State and a welcome promise for the future.

How much greater must be my satisfaction in being present at the dedication of an agricultural school in Israel which bears my name. I am not beyond enjoying this personal compliment and I am grateful to the General Zionists of Israel and to the Zionist Organization of America for having established Kfar Silver and for having associated my name with this enterprise.

I have for more than forty years been identified with the profession of Rabbi and teacher which brought me in constant contact with young people of all ages. As I look back over the ways of my life I find that they have always been thronged with young people and children whom I sought to teach and to guide and by whom I was frequently, and quite unconsciously, taught and guided. You can readily understand my double measure of satisfaction today that my name will now be connected with an institution in Israel which will be devoted to young people - to their education and

training and their preparation for fine manhood and womanhood in the service of their country and people.

The emphasis here will be on agriculture in its many branches - upon what the great American, Thomas Jefferson, called, "The first and most precious of all the arts." You will recall that the return of our people to the soil was one of the chief motifs of our Renaissance Movement from its very inception. It was clearly understood by the founders of our movement that the way towards National Restoration was the pioneering way of the spade and the plow. It was also clearly grasped by them that the economic imbalance of our people's life in the Galut, its excessive urbanization and its alienation from the soil which had been forced upon it either by hostile governments or by the conditions of its migratory existence had to be corrected if a normal and wholesome life was to be achieved by our people in its own land. Our national tragedy was always not merely the fact that we were but that we were also . It was Theodore Hertzl, you will recall, who proclaimed,--and in so doing he echoed the conviction of many who preceded him, --

Hence the ancient summons which was heard in the very early days of Israel's entrance into Canaan was again sounded in the ranks of the Bilu and the Hoveve Zion and of those who followed them.

Their first efforts were directed towards colonies and farming settlements. Tradesmen, school-men and city dwellers proceeded to remodel their lives and to convert themselves, not without considerable strain and toil, into competent agriculturists, as their personal contribution to the ideal of national rebirth.

There have been many brilliant pages written by the builders of Zion in the last eighty years, in all fields of labor and enterprise - industrial and cultural - and more especially on the battlefield in defense of Israel. But none, I am sure, exceeds in sustaining romance and heroism, the saga of their colonization performance. It is an imperishable story of rare human courage and perseverance and of the triumph of the spirit of man over the stubborn and adverse forces of nature - a story which is equalled by very few and exceeded by none in all the recorded annals of mankind. It will remain the imperishable story and the example to the young men and women who will come here from all parts of the world to learn how to carry on, - under more favorable conditions to be sure - what these earlier pioneers have so nobly begun. Their achievement made the whole Jewish world proud and gave Jews everywhere a new sense of dignity and self-worth. Not by words, but by the incontrovertible proof of deeds -- a wilderness turned by Jewish hands into a flowering land; pestilential marshes drained and made fit for human habitation; dessert wastes irrigated and made to bloom and to nurture life; water brought forth, as it were, out of the flinty rock; valleys cleared of mountains of stone, and denuded hills reforested; -- it was by these extraordinary accomplishments, stretching all the way from the Gallil to the Negev, that the enemies and traducers of our people who had spread wide the lie that Jews were unfit for agriculture and for the hard pioneering life in a new land, were thoroughly rebuked. All men of good will came to be filled with admiration for this skill and enterprise of these Jews. Their notable achievements spoke eloquently for us when we came to present our cause and our case before the tribunal of the world.

To this day, though the State of Israel has now been established, the expansion and development of its agricultural economy remains one of its most vital and indispensable needs. Of course much else besides agriculture is required for a sound national economy. But where there is lacking an adequate base in agriculture, a country's economy can never be said to be either truly sound or stable. And so I congratulate the men and the women of the General Zionists and of the Zionist Organization of America, whose foresight and judgement have now brought this new Agricultural School into existence. By so doing they have made a significant contribution to the future of Israel. I pray that the school will grow from year to year and prosper

. I congratulate also those who will administer this school, its officers and its faculty. Most especially do I congratulate the students who are now here and those who will in the days to come be privileged to come here to study. I hope that young people in numbers will also come from the United States. Some I hope will be inspired by the love of the land which they will acquire here, to remain in Israel permanently. Others will carry back with them the music and the inspiration of the land to the American Jewish Community and thus will serve as emissaries of good will and understanding.

I pray that the instruction which will be given here will always be the instruction of truth and the example of love; and that which will be learned here will be learned in eagerness and selflessness and in a spirit of dedication.

My dear friends: Israel finds itself at the moment in a grave political crisis.

The times are full of global tensions for all nations and especially for small and young nations which have additional regional problems of their own, in themselves sources of tension.

Our world finds itself in a prolonged historic struggle which will last for decades and which will find no quick or early solution. It might take generations before a formula is finally evolved which will enable both sections of our sharply divided world to live in peace on the same globe. The formula will undoubtedly be based on the principle of live and let live, on compromise and mutual adjustments. For it will be realized that the choice before the nations of the world is one of co-existence or no existence, if that can be called a choice at all. Intellectually this fact is being grasped even now by the leaders of the Great Powers. They have been unwilling however, or unable as yet to draw the practical corrolaries from this new axiom which the A bomb and the H bomb have posited.

The international conferences of the past year, both the Summit Conference and that of the Foreign Ministers at Geneva, have indicated that the leaders both of the East and the West are not yet ready to adopt a clear and consequential line towards the issues which are dividing them. They are still in the state of undulation and improvisation. They blow hot and cold at the same time, talk peace and threaten war, take three steps forward and two steps backward. In the West there is a growing concern with the strategy of containment and exclusive reliance on military pacts which they have been persuing and in the East there is taking place a considerable revision both in dogma and method. But while this stock-taking is taking place and piece-meal adjustments and closer and freer contacts are explored,

the power struggle goes on, if anything with increased intensity. Each power-bloc is seeking at all costs to penetrate the pre-empted areas of the other and to win over the neutral and uncommitted countries by means of economic or military aid and other allurements. The competitive tempo has been accelerated at the very time that the ultimate goals of the two power groups have become increasingly more vague and antiquated. Thus there is going on today everywhere hectic diplomatic maneuvering, much storm and propaganda thunder and lightning, but no healing and fructifying rain. No wonder that the international position of a small state like Israel is befogged by the larger obfuscation which obscures the international relations of the Great Powers.

A great searching of heart is going on at the moment among the leaders of American thought and in the ranks of Government, relative to American foreign policy, not only as regards the Middle East, but other parts of the world as well. No one, ~~except our Secretary of State~~, seems to be impressed with the ^{complete} success of our foreign policies in ~~most~~ ^{many} parts of the world. The recent events here in the Middle East have simply pointed up dramatically the measure of our lack of success.

In all fairness it should be said that the attitudes of the heads of the American government towards Israel is not, nor has it ever been, unfriendly. I believe that it has, at times, been unwise and misguided. It has been a case of They want to hold the Arab world in the Western orbit. In their eagerness to make secure America's vast oil interests in Arab lands and to build up a Middle East front against the Soviet, they have made one disastrous concession after another to the Arab States, and have missed one opportunity after another to achieve a package settle-

ment for peace in the Near East.

Even though the more realistic among them are coming to realize that they whom they have been cultivating and pampering are not dependable allies at all, but rather sharp, selfish and unprincipled bargainers who are not interested at all in joining any anti-Soviet bloc, or in defending the basic interests of the West, they refuse to face up to the facts frankly and to adopt a new policy which would be more consistent with them and with the fundamental interests of America. They will have to face these unpalatable facts sooner or later. They believe that they can do better in the Middle East than they British, that they are less suspect by the Arab as an imperial power, that the Arabs will come to trust them and work with them. They will learn the hard way what the British and French have learned and what the Soviet Union, too, I am sure, will learn in due time, as it moves deeper into the Arab world. The Soviet will find that the Arab States are the same broken reeds that they have proved to be for the Western world. Under the slogan of positive neutrality the Arabs will continue to play off both ends against the middle. They have no commitments of loyalty to anyone or to any basic system of political or economic thought.

As long as the eager suitors will continue to compete for the reluctant hand of this inconstant lady, the international position of Israel will be fraught with uncertainty and peril.

The situation with regards Israel in the United States is not very much unlike that which existed under the previous administration -- with one vital difference -- Russia had not yet thrown the weight of its power and prestige to the side of the Arabs. The Middle East was still a closed Western reserve. But even then, you will recall, our

efforts to enlist the support of American government for the establishment of the State of Israel, encountered the most violent opposition within the State Department. I have read with great interest ex-President Truman's Memoirs, especially those parts which relate to the events which led up to the proclamation of the State of Israel.

The Israeli and the Jewish people throughout the world will forever be grateful to Mr. Truman for the tremendous help which he gave to their cause in the decisive hour and for having been a consistent friend of the State of Israel ever since.

Mr. Truman refers in his Memoirs, deprecatorily, to the "extreme" Zionists. I do not know what he means by "extreme Zionists. Presumably the reference is to those Zionists who worked for the establishment of an independent Jewish State, who urged our Government to assist in this work, and to grant recognition to Israel once it was established. The State of Israel was established and our Government did recognize it. In fact, it was Mr. Truman himself who, as President of the United States, gave the first recognition to the new State. In so doing he clearly endorsed the position taken by those whom he now calls "extreme" Zionists.

What was extreme about these Zionists was their unrelenting persistence and unflagging efforts without which their cause might never have succeeded. Mr. Truman himself calls attention to the fact that the specialists on the Near-East in our State Department "were almost without exception unfriendly to the idea of a Jewish State." He is sorry to report "that there were some among them who were also inclined to be anti-Semitic" and that they almost succeeded in putting it over on him.

The responsible Zionist leaders suspected this all along. They

knew the powerful forces which were lined up against them and the extent to which they would go to defeat the great moral cause which had received the endorsement of both political parties in our country and the American people.

When, under pressure from those same forces, our Government reversed itself in March of 1948, and requested a special session of the Assembly of the United Nations in order to re-impose a "temporary" trusteeship on Palestine, it was these same "extreme" Zionists who, by their redoubled efforts and powerful appeal to the citizens of our country, averted what would have been a political disaster and brought the policy of the Truman administration back to its sound and just course.

Our State Department at the present time still harbors these same "specialists" on the Near East and that they are still, almost without exception, unfriendly to the idea of a Jewish State. They are still trying to "put it over."

The basic attitudes have not changed much but the diplomatic position of Israel has become far more involved and our efforts to overcome these attitudes far more difficult because of Russia's political alignment with the Arabs. More involved and more difficult but far from hopeless!

I am strongly of the belief that the State of Israel which is soon to celebrate its eighth anniversary, will, in spite of present increased tensions and enmities, continue to grow and prosper.

I know that you are firm in your moral integrity and in your resolve to defend yourselves and your country. You are steadily building for strength and security while at the same time seeking the ways of peace. You are learning that which is very difficult for a young country to learn but which must be learned: how to

exercise maximum restraint in the face of constant provocation and how to keep on building under the most severe threats and dangers. You will not underestimate your strength and become fearful. You will not over-estimate it and become reckless. You will understand that while you are a sovereign nation, you are, like all other nations today, great or small, dependent upon the friendship and good will of other nations. No nation moves or can afford to move alone today. It will be helpful to remember that neither the East nor the West wants war, either global or regional, and that the United Nations, while not as strong as it should be, is not quite helpless either. As long as you remain strong in your morale and alert in your preparedness -- your unreconciled neighbors will think twice and thrice before they will attack you. They may come to realize that it might be, to use Benjamin Franklin's apt phrase, "too high a price to pay for the whistle." Wiser heads may come to prevail among them and perhaps, who knows, they may come to see the desirability of working with Israel towards a just and peaceful settlement of all outstanding issues and for a friendly cooperation in the development of the Middle East for the benefit of all.

As far as the Jews of America are concerned, it is clear that the call today must be for maximum mobilization to see to it that in the midst of the readjustments of America's foreign policy, the just and basic interests of Israel are not sacrificed. The Jews of America are fully alert to the situation. They accept without reservation the oft-repeated declaration of our President and the Secretary of State that the preservation of the State of Israel is a basic tenet of American foreign policy and one of its goals; that Israel will not be left alone and defenseless in the face of armed aggression. We are working with that as our starting point, our

justification and our objective. We are doing our utmost to convince our government that now is the time to insure that Israel will not be left defenseless by enabling it to acquire weapons which will increase its security and will act as a deterrent to aggression. We are urging upon our government the wisdom of a mutual security pact with Israel and all neighboring Arab states who truly want peace. As yet, we have registered very little success. The way is not easy. The forces arrayed against us are not inconsiderable. But we are far from discouraged. We experienced such moments in the past when we were fighting for the establishment of the State.

There is no occasion at the moment for excessive optimism, certainly not for pessimism. There is occasion for greater and ever greater action. The State of Israel was established in spite of the unfriendly attitude of certain people in the government of the United States. Their opposition was met, challenged and overcome. It will happen again. Efforts have been made to silence the proponents of Israel's cause on the American scene, under the spurious plea of a by-partisan foreign policy. There are those who would like to take the issue of Israel and of the Middle East out of the political arena. This, of course, would enable the manipulators who do their work against us quietly and often conspiratorily, in the circles of government to have their way. American Jews, I assure you, will decline to sacrifice their rights as free citizens. They will continue to make their voices heard on this great moral issue, which is of vital importance not alone to Israel but to America.

I am confident that the Jews of America will stand by the Jews of Israel in the days to come as they have heretofore. I know the five million Jews of America. I have lived among them. I have worked among them. I know their temper. I know how they rise to the challenge of a great hour and with what generosity of spirit and substance they respond.



Address delivered on the occasion of the dedication
Kfar Silver - March 29-1956. (5th Cir 51 1015)
by
Dr. Abba Hillel Silver

My dear friends, I feel greatly honored and privileged to be here today and to take part in the formal dedication ceremonies of Kfar Silver. It would be a pleasure for me to attend the inauguration of any new school of training and education in the land of Israel; for each such agency is an additional source of strength, both economic and cultural to the new State and a welcome promise for the future.

How much greater must be my satisfaction in being present at the dedication of an agricultural school in Israel which bears my name. I am not beyond enjoying this personal compliment and I am grateful to the General Zionists of Israel and to the Zionist Organization of America for having established Kfar Silver and for having associated my name with this enterprise.

I have for more than forty years been identified with the profession of Rabbi and teacher which brought me in constant contact with young people of all ages. As I look back over the ways of my life I find that they have always been thronged with young people and children whom I sought to teach and to guide and by whom I was frequently, and quite unconsciously, taught and guided. You can readily understand my double measure of satisfaction today that my name will now be connected with an institution in Israel which will be devoted to young people - to their education and training and their preparation for fine manhood and womanhood in the service of their country and people.

The emphasis here will be on agriculture in its many branches - upon what the great American, Thomas Jefferson, called, "The first and most precious of all the arts."

You will recall that the return of our people to the soil was one of the chief motifs of our Renaissance Movement from its very inception. It was clearly understood by the founders of our movement that the way towards National Restoration was the pioneering way of the spade and the plow. It was also clearly grasped by them that the economic imbalance of our people's life in the Galut, its excessive urbanization and its alienation from the soil which had been forced upon it either by hostile governments or by the conditions of its migratory existence had to be corrected if a normal and wholesome life was to be achieved by our people in its own land. Our national tragedy was always not merely the fact that we were * * * * *

זוהי מציאות

but that we were also * * * * *. It was Theodore Hertzl, you will recall, who proclaimed, - and in so doing he echoed the conviction of many who preceded him, -

זוהי מציאות של אדם אחד
המחליט להילחם בזה
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Hence the ancient summons which was heard in the very early days of Israel's entrance into Canaan was again sounded in the ranks of the Bilu and the Hoveve Zion and of those who followed them. * * * * *. Their first efforts were directed towards colonies and farming settlements. Tradesmen, school-men and city dwellers proceeded to remodel their lives and to convert themselves, not without considerable strain and toil, into competent agriculturists, as their personal contribution to the ideal of national rebirth.

There have been many brilliant pages written by the builders of Zion in the last eighty years, in all fields of labor and enterprise - industrial and cultural - and more especially on the battlefield in defense of Israel. But none, I am sure, exceeds in sustaining romance and heroism, the saga of their colonization performance. It is an imperishable story of rare human courage and perseverance and of the triumph of the spirit of man over the stubborn and adverse forces of nature - a story which is equalled by very few and exceeded by none in all the recorded annals of mankind. It will remain the imperishable story and the example to the young men and women who will come here from all parts of the world to learn how to carry on, - under more

favorable conditions to be sure, what these earlier pioneers have so nobly begun. Their achievement made the whole Jewish world proud and gave Jews everywhere a new sense of dignity and self-worth. Not by words, but by the incontrovertible proof of deeds — a wilderness turned by Jewish hands into a flowering land; pestilential marshes drained and made fit for human habitation; desert wastes irrigated and made to bloom and to nurture life; water brought forth, as it were, out of the flinty rock; valleys cleared of mountains of stone, and denuded hills reforested; -- it was by these extraordinary accomplishments, stretching all the way from the Gallil to the Negev, that the enemies and traducers of our people who had spread wide the lie that Jews were unfit for agriculture and for the hard pioneering life in a new land, were thoroughly rebuked. All men of good will came to be filled with admiration for ^{the} ~~this~~ skill and enterprise of these Jews. Their notable achievements spoke eloquently for us when we came to present our cause and our case before the tribunal of the world.

To this day, though the State of Israel has now been established, the expansion and development of its agricultural economy remains one of its most vital and indispensable needs. Of course much else besides agriculture is required for a sound national economy. But where there is lacking an adequate base in agriculture, a country's economy can never be said to be either truly sound or stable. And so I congratulate the men and the women of the General Zionists and of the Zionist Organization of America, whose foresight and judgement have now brought this new Agricultural School into existence. By so doing they have made a significant contribution to the future of Israel. I pray that the school will grow from year to year and prosper ^{לכל שנה וכל שנה יגדל ויפריח} ~~*****~~ I congratulate also those who will administer this school, its officers and its faculty. Most especially do I congratulate the students who are now here and those who will in the days to come be privileged to come here to study. I hope that young people in numbers will also come ~~here~~ from the United States. Some I hope will be inspired by the love of the land which they will acquire here, to remain in Israel permanently.

הנה אנו מביאים

Others will carry back with them ~~***~~ the music and the inspiration of the land to the American Jewish Community and thus will serve as emissaries of good will and understanding.

I pray that the instruction which will be given here will always be the instruction of truth and the example of love; ^{and that which} ~~what~~ will be learned here will be learned in eagerness and selflessness and in a spirit of dedication. ~~***~~

ואנחנו מביאים את המוזיקה וההשראה



Begin a new page

-5-

My dear friends:

Israel finds itself at the moment in a grave political ^{crisis} situation.

The times are full of global tensions for all nations and especially for small and young nations which have additional regional problems of their own, ⁱⁿ ~~which~~ are themselves sources of tension.

Our world finds itself in a prolonged historic struggle which will last for decades and which will find no quick or early solution. It might take generations before a formula is finally evolved which will enable both sections of our sharply divided world to live in peace on the same globe.



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The formula will undoubtedly be based on the principle of live and let live, on compromise and mutual adjustments. For it will be realized that the choice before the nations of the world is one of co-existence or no existence, if that can be called a choice at all. Intellectually this fact is being grasped even now by the leaders of the Great Powers. They have been unwilling however, or unable as yet to draw the practical corollaries from this new axiom^{um} which the A bomb and the H bomb have ~~manifested~~ ^{posited}.

The international conferences of the past year, both the Summit Conference and that of the Foreign Ministers at Geneva, have indicated that the leaders both of the East and the West⁺ are not yet ready to adopt a clear and consequential line towards the issues which are dividing them. They are still in the state of undulation and improvisation. They blow hot and cold at the same time, talk peace and threaten war, take three steps forward and two steps backward. In the West there is a growing concern with the strategy of containment and ^{exclusive} reliance on ~~the~~ military pacts which they have ^{been} ~~persuaded~~ ^{very} and in the East there is taking place a considerable revision both in dogma and method. But while this stock-taking is taking place and piece-meal adjustments and closer and freer contacts are explored, the power struggle goes on, if anything with increased intensity. Each power-bloc is seeking at all costs to penetrate the ~~pre-empted~~ ^{pre-empted} areas of the other⁺ and to win over the neutral and uncommitted countries by means of economic or military aid and other allurements. The competitive tempo has been accelerated at the very time that the ultimate goals of the two power groups have become increasingly ^{more} vague and antiquated. Thus there is ^{going on} today everywhere ^{hectic} ~~much~~ diplomatic maneuvering, much storm and propaganda thunder and lightning, ~~but~~ no healing and fructifying rain. No wonder that the international position of a small state like Israel is befogged by the larger obfuscation which obscures the international relations ~~of the Great Powers~~ of the Great Powers.

~~A~~ Great searching of heart is going on at the moment among the leaders of American thought and in the ranks of Government, relative to American foreign policy, not only as regards the Middle East, but other parts of the world as well. No one, except our Secretary of State, seems to be impressed with the success of our foreign policies in most parts of the world. The recent events here in the Middle East have simply pointed up dramatically the measure of our lack of success.

In all fairness it should be said that the attitudes of the heads of the American

government towards Israel is not, ^{not} has it ever been, unfriendly. I believe that it has, at times, been unwise and misguided. It has been a case of *إسرائيل ليست حليتنا*
 They want ~~to~~ to hold the Arab world in the Western orbit. In their eagerness to make secure America's vast oil interests ^{in the Arab lands} and to build up ^{a Middle East} front against the Soviet, they have made one disastrous concession after another to the Arab States, and have missed one opportunity after another to achieve a package settlement for peace in the Near East. ^{the more realistic among them} Even though ~~they~~ are coming to realize that they whom they have been cultivating and pampering ^{are} not dependable allies at all, but ^{rather selfish} sharp and unprincipled bargainers, who are not interested at all in joining any anti-Soviet bloc, or in defending the basic interests of the West, they refuse to face up to the facts frankly and to adopt a new policy which would be more consistent with the fundamental interests of America. They will have to face these unpalatable facts sooner or later. They believe that they can do better in the Middle East than the British, that they are less suspect ^{both Arab} as an imperial power, that the Arabs will come to trust them and work with them. They will learn the hard way what the British and French have learned and what the Soviet Union, ^{due} I am sure, will learn in time, as it moves deeper into the Arab world. ^{an} It will find that the Arab States ~~will prove to be~~ the ^{same} broken reeds that they ^{known to be} ~~are~~ for the Western world. Under the slogan of positive neutrality the Arabs will ^{continue to} play off both ends against the middle. They have no commitments of loyalty to anyone or any basic system of political or economic thought.

As long as the eager suitors ^{will continue to} ~~are~~ compete for the reluctant hand of this inconstant lady, the international position of Israel will be fraught with uncertainty and peril. The situation ^{with regard to Israel in the United States} is not very much unlike that which existed ~~in the United States~~ under the previous administration--with one vital difference, Russia had not yet thrown the weight of its power and prestige to the side of the Arabs. The Middle East was still a closed Western reserve. But even then, you will recall, our ^{efforts} ~~efforts~~ to enlist the support of American government ^{for} the establishment of the State of Israel, encountered the most violent opposition within the State Department. (Add page five of printed article in American Zionist ^{See attached clip (copy)})

The basic attitudes have not changed much but the diplomatic position of Israel has become far more involved and our efforts to overcome these attitudes ^{has} more difficult because of Russia's political alignment with the Arabs.

More involved and *were* difficult but far from hopeless!

I am strongly of the belief that the State of Israel which is soon to celebrate its eighth anniversary, will, in spite of present increased tensions and enmities, continue to grow and prosper.

I know that you are firm in your moral integrity and in your resolve to defend yourselves and your country. You are steadily building ² for strength and security while at the same ^f time seeking the ways of peace. You are learning that which is very difficult for a young country to learn but which must be learned: how to exercise maximum restraint in the face of constant provocation and how to keep on building under the most severe threats and dangers. You will not under ^{estimate} your strength and become fearful. You will not over-estimate it and become reckless. You will understand that while you are a sovereign nation, you are like all ^{other} nations today, great or small, dependant upon the friendship and good will of other nations. No nation ^{moves or} can afford to move alone today. It will be helpful to remember that neither the East nor the West wants war, either global or regional, and that the United Nations while not as strong as ^{WRHS} is helpless either. As long as you remain strong in your morale and ^{and} stand firm against your unreconciled neighbors will think twice ^{and} thrice before they will attack you. They may come to realize that it might be, to use Benjamin Franklin's phrase, "too high a price to pay for the whistle". Wiser heads may come to prevail among them and perhaps, who knows, they may come to ~~see~~ the desirability of working with Israel towards a just and peaceful settlement of all outstanding issues and for a friendly cooperation in the development of the ~~the~~ Middle East for the benefit of all.

As far as the Jews of America are concerned, it is clear that the call today must be for maximum mobilization to see to it that in the midst of the readjustments of ^{Americans} ~~our~~ foreign policy, the just and basic interests of Israel are not sacrificed. The Jews of America are fully alert to the situation. They accept without reservation the oft-repeated declaration of our President ^{the} and Secretary of State that the preservation of the State of Israel is a basic ⁱⁿ ~~tenet~~ of American foreign policy and one of its goals; that Israel ^{will} not be left alone and defenceless in the face of armed aggression. We are working with that as our starting point, our justification and our objective. We are doing our utmost to convince our government that ^{now} ~~this~~ is the time to insure that Israel will not be defense- ^{left}

9.
less, by enabling it to acquire weapons which will increase its security and ^{will} act as a deterrent to aggression. We are urging upon our government the wisdom of a mutual security pact with Israel and all ~~the~~ neighboring Arab states who truly want peace. As yet, we have registered very little success. The way is not easy. The forces arrayed against are not inconsiderable. But we are far from discouraged. We experienced such moments in the past when we were fighting for the establishment of the State.

There is no occasion at the moment for excessive optimism, certainly not for pessimism. There is ~~an~~ occasion ^{for} great ^{or} and ever greater ^{action}. The State of Israel was established in spite of the unfriendly attitude of certain people in the government of the United States. Their opposition was met, challenged and overcome. It will happen again. Efforts ^{have been} ~~being~~ made to silence the proponents of Israel's cause on the American scene, under the spurious plea of ^a by-partisan foreign policy. There are those who would like to take the issue of Israel and of the Middle East out of the political arena. This, of course, would enable the manipulators who do their work ~~against us~~ ^{and} quietly often conspiratorily, in the circles of government to have their way. American Jews, I ^{continue} ~~will~~ decline to sacrifice their rights as free citizens. They ^{will} ~~will~~ their voices heard on this great moral issue, which is of vital importance not alone to Israel but to America.

I am confident that the Jews of America will stand by the Jews of Israel in the days to come as they have heretofore. I know the five million Jews of America. I have lived among them. I have worked among them. I know their temper. I know how they rise to the challenge of a great hour and with what generosity of spirit and substance they respond.

3/1/56

My dear Friends, I feel greatly honored and privileged to be here today and to take part in the formal dedication ceremonies of Kfar Silver. It would be a pleasure for me to attend the inauguration of any new school of training and education in the land of Israel, for each such agency is an additional source of strength, both economic and cultural to the new State and a welcome promise for the future.

How much greater must be my satisfaction in being present at the dedication of an agricultural school in Israel which bears my name, ~~which adds to my general satisfaction an element of personal pride.~~ I am not beyond enjoying this ^{personal} compliment and I am grateful to the General Zionists of Israel and to the Zionist Organization of America for having established Kfar Silver and for having associated my name with this ~~fine~~ enterprise.

I have for more than forty years been identified with ^{the} profession ~~which as~~ ^{P. Rabin and} teacher ~~and rabbi~~ ^{which} brought me in constant contact ~~(for long periods an almost daily contact)~~ with young people of all ages. As I look back over the ways ^{to my life} which I have ~~walked over the years~~ ^{through}, I find that they have always been thronged with young people and children, whom I sought to teach and to guide and by whom I was frequently ^{and} taught and guided, quite unconsciously. You can readily understand my double measure of satisfaction today, that this institution ^{my name will now be connected with an} which will bear my ~~name is~~ ^{in Israel which will be} devoted to young people - to their education and training ^{and} their preparation for fine manhood and womanhood ⁱⁿ the service of their ~~beloved~~ country and people.

The emphasis here will be on agriculture in its many branches. ^{Upon what the great} American Thomas Jefferson, called, "The first and most precious of all the arts."

You will recall that the return of our people to the soil was one of the chief motifs of our Renaissance Movement from its very inception. It was clearly understood ^{by the founders of our movement} that the way towards National Restoration was the pioneering way of the spade and the plow. It was also clearly grasped ^{by them} ~~by the founders of our movement~~ that the economic ⁱⁿ ~~un~~balance of our people's life in the ~~lands of the~~ Galut, ~~the~~ ^{its} excessive urbanization, and ~~the~~ ^{its} alienation from the soil which had been forced upon it ^{either} by hostile governments ~~and~~ ^{or} by the conditions of its migratory existence had to be corrected if ~~it~~ a normal and wholesome life ^{was} ~~was~~ to be achieved by our people in its own land. Our national tragedy was ~~not~~ always not merely the fact that we were * * * * * ~~that~~ that we were also * * * * *. It was Theodore Hertzl, you will recall, who proclaimed, and in so doing he echoed the conviction of many who preceded him, * * * * * ^(Bene a few lines) Hence the ancient summons which was very heard in the/early days of Israel's entrance into Canaan was again sounded in the ranks of the ^{Bible and the Hebrew Z'ion} ~~Belou~~ (?) ~~and of those who followed them.~~ * * * * *

~~Their~~ first efforts were directed towards the ~~establishment of colonies and farming settlements.~~ ^{and city dwellers} ~~Tradesmen and school-men proceeded to remodel their lives to convert~~ ^{and} ~~them, not without much strain and toil to convert themselves not without much strain~~ ^{convertible} ~~and toil into competent agriculturists, as their personal contribution to the (rest~~ ^{of national rebirth.}

There have been many brilliant pages written by the builders of Zion, in the last eighty years, in the ^{all} ~~various~~ fields of labor ^{and outer peace -} industrial and cultural - and ^{also} ~~also~~ on the battlefield. ^{in defense of Israel} But none, I am sure, exceeds in ^{sustained} ~~romance~~ and heroism, the saga of their colonization performance. It is an imperishable story of rare human courage and perseverance and of the triumph of the spirit of man over the stubborn and adverse forces of nature, a story which is equalled by very few and excelled by none in all the recorded ^{annals} ~~annals~~ of mankind. It will remain the imperishable story and the example ^{to} ~~of~~ the young men and women who will come here from all parts of the world to learn how to carry on, under more favorable conditions to be sure, what these earlier pioneers have so nobly begun. Their achievement made the whole Jewish world proud ^{and gave Jewish people a new sense of dignity and self-worth.} ~~not by words, but by the convincing proof of deeds -- a wilderness, turned~~ ^{converted} by Jewish hands, into a flowering land, pestilential marshes drained and

An Answer**Unflagging Persistence — N***by Dr. Abba Hillel Silver*

I have read with great interest ex-President Truman's Memoirs, especially those parts which relate to the events which led up to the proclamation of the State of Israel.

The Israeli and the Jewish people throughout the world will forever be grateful to Mr. Truman for the tremendous help which he gave to their cause in the decisive hour and for having been a consistent friend of the State of Israel ever since.

Mr. Truman refers in his Memoirs, deprecatorily, to the "extreme" Zionists. I do not know what he means by "extreme" Zionists. Presumably the reference is to those Zionists who worked for the establishment of an independent Jewish State, who urged our Government to assist in this work, and to grant recognition to Israel once it was established. The State of Israel was established and our Government did recognize it. In fact, it was Mr. Truman himself who, as President of the United States, gave the first recognition to the new State. In so doing he clearly endorsed the position taken by those whom he now calls "extreme" Zionists.

What was extreme about these Zionists was their unrelenting persistence and unflagging efforts without which their cause might never have succeeded. Mr. Truman himself calls attention to the fact that the specialists on the Near East in our State Department "were almost without exception unfriendly to the idea of a Jewish State." He is sorry to report "that there were some among them who were also inclined to be anti-Semitic" and that they almost succeeded in putting it over on him.

The responsible Zionist leaders suspected this all along. They knew the powerful forces which were lined up against them and the extent to which they would go to defeat the great moral cause which

had received the endorsement of both political parties in our country and the American people.

When, under pressure from those same forces, our Government reversed itself in March of 1948, and requested a special session of the Assembly of the United Nations in order to re-impose a "temporary" trusteeship on Palestine, it was these same "extreme" Zionists who, by their redoubled efforts and powerful appeal to the citizens of our country, averted what would have been a political disaster and brought the policy of the Truman administration back to its sound and just course.

~~Needless to say that our State Department at the present time still harbors these same "specialists" on the Near East and that they are still, almost without exception, unfriendly to the idea of a Jewish State. They are still trying to "put it over" on the President and our Secretary of State.~~

The State of Israel was established in spite of the unfriendly attitude of these people, in spite of the violent opposition and sabotage of Great Britain and the armed attacks of Arab Governments. I am strongly of the belief that the State of Israel, which is soon to celebrate its eighth anniversary, will, in spite of all these continuing oppositions and conspiracies, continue to grow and prosper. Its people are firm in their moral integrity and in their resolve to defend themselves and their country at all costs. They are steadily building for strength and security, while at all times seeking the ways of peace. They are learning that which is very difficult for a young state to learn—how to exercise restraint in the face of constant provocation, and how to keep on building under severe threat and danger.

We are reminded of the words of the Psalmist:

"Much have they afflicted me from

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Address
Delivered on the occasion of
The Dedication of Kfar Silver

March 29, 1956

by

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver

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2 are explored, the power struggle goes on, if anything with increased
3 intensity. Each power-bloc is seeking at all costs to penetrate the
4 pre-empted areas of the other and to win over the neutral and un-
5 committed countries by means of economic or military aid and other
6 allurements. The competitive tempo has been accelerated at the very
7 time that the ultimate goals of the two power groups have become in-
8 creasingly more vague and antiquated. Thus there is going on today
9 everywhere hectic diplomatic maneuvering, much storm and propaganda
10 thunder and lightning, but no healing and fructifying rain. No
11 wonder that the international position of a small state like Israel
12 is befogged by the larger obfuscation which obscures the internation-
13 al relations of the Great Powers.

14 A great searching of heart is going on at the moment among
15 the leaders of American thought and in the ranks of Government,
16 relative to American foreign policy, not only as regards the Middle
17 East, but other parts of the world as well. No one seems to be
18 impressed with the complete success of our foreign policies in
19 many parts of the world. The recent events here in the Middle East
20 have simply pointed up dramatically the measure of our lack of
21 success.

22 In all fairness it should be said that the attitudes of the
23 heads of the American government towards Israel is not, nor has it
24 ever been, unfriendly. I believe that it has, at times, been unwise
25 and misguided. It has been a case of *"worthy intentions but"*
26 They want to hold the Arab world in the Western orbit. In their
27 eagerness to make secure America's vast oil interests in Arab lands
28 and to build up a Middle East front against the Soviet, they have
29 made one disastrous concession after another to the Arab States,

and have missed one opportunity after another to achieve a package settlement for peace in the Near East.

Even though the more realistic among them are coming to realize that they whom they have been cultivating and pampering are not dependable allies at all, but rather sharp, selfish and unprincipled bargainers who are not interested at all in joining any anti-Soviet bloc, or in defending the basic interests of the West, they refuse to face up to the facts frankly and to adopt a new policy which would be more consistent with them and with the fundamental interests of America. They will have to face these unpalatable facts sooner or later. They believe that they can do better in the Middle East than the British, that they are less suspect by the Arab as an imperial power, that the Arabs will come to trust them and work with them. They will learn the hard way what the British and French have learned and what the Soviet Union, too, I am sure, will learn in due time, as it moves deeper into the Arab world. The Soviet will find that the Arab States are the same broken reeds that they have proved to be for the Western world. Under the slogan of positive neutrality the Arabs will continue to play off both ends against the middle. They have no commitments of loyalty to anyone or to any basic system of political or economic thought,

As long as the eager suitors will continue to compete for the reluctant hand of this inconstant lady, the international position of Israel will be fraught with uncertainty and peril.

The situation with regards Israel in the United States is not very much unlike that which existed under the previous administration -- with one vital difference -- Russia had not yet thrown the weight of its power and prestige on the side of the Arabs. The Middle East was still a closed Western reserve. But even then,

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3 you will recall, our efforts to enlist the support of American
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5 government for the establishment of the State of Israel, encountered
6
7 the most violent opposition within the State Department. I have
8
9 read with great interest ex-President Truman's Memoirs, especially
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11 those parts which relate to the events which led up to the procla-
12
13 mation of the State of Israel.
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15 The Israeli and the Jewish people throughout the world will
16
17 forever be grateful to Mr. Truman for the tremendous help which
18
19 he gave to their cause in the decisive hour and for having been
20
21 a consistent friend of the State of Israel ever since.
22

23 Mr. Truman refers in his Memoirs, deprecatorily, to the
24
25 "extreme" Zionists. I do not know what he means by "extreme" Zion-
26
27 ists. Presumably the reference is to those Zionists who worked for
28
29 the establishment of an independent Jewish State, who urged our
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31 Government to assist in this work, and to grant recognition to Israel
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33 once it was established. The State of Israel was established and our
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35 Government did recognize it. In fact, it was Mr. Truman himself
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37 who, as President of the United States, gave the first recognition
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39 to the new State. In so doing he clearly endorsed the position
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41 taken by those whom he now calls "extreme" Zionists.
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43 What was extreme about these Zionists was their unrelenting
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45 persistence and unflagging efforts without which their cause might
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47 never have succeeded. Mr. Truman himself calls attention to the
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49 fact that the specialists on the Near-East in our State Department
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51 "were almost without exception unfriendly to the idea of a Jewish
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53 State". He is sorry to report "that there were some among them
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55 who were also inclined to be anti-Semitic" and that they almost
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57 succeeded in putting it over on him.
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60 The responsible Zionist leaders suspected this all along. They
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1 knew the powerful forces which were lined up against them and the
2 extent to which they would go to defeat the great moral cause which
3 had received the endorsement of both political parties in our
4 country and the American people.

5 When, under pressure from those same forces, our Government
6 reversed itself in March of 1948, and requested a special session
7 of the Assembly of the United Nations in order to re-impose a
8 "temporary" trusteeship on Palestine, it was these same "extreme"
9 Zionists who, by their redoubled efforts and powerful appeal to
10 the citizens of our country, averted what would have been a politi-
11 cal disaster and brought the policy of the Truman administration
12 back to its sound and just course.

13 Our State Department at the present time still harbors these
14 same "specialists" on the Near East. They are still, almost
15 without exception, unfriendly to the idea of a Jewish State. They
16 are still trying to "put it over".

17 The basic attitudes have not changed much but the diplomatic
18 position of Israel has become far more involved and our efforts to
19 overcome these attitudes far more difficult because of Russia's
20 political alignment with the Arabs. More involved and more diffi-
21 cult but far from hopeless!

22 I am strongly of the belief that the State of Israel which is
23 soon to celebrate its eighth anniversary, will, in spite of present
24 increased tensions and enmities, continue to grow and prosper.

25 I know that you are firm in your moral integrity and in your
26 resolve to defend yourselves and your country. You are steadily
27 building for strength and security while at the same time seeking
28 the ways of peace. You are learning that which is very difficult

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3 for a young country to learn but which must be learned: how to
4 exercise maximum restraint in the face of constant provocation
5 and how to keep on building under the most severe threats and
6 dangers. You will not underestimate your strength and become
7 fearful. You will not over-estimate it and become reckless. You
8 will understand that while you are a sovereign nation, you are,
9 like all other nations today, great or small, dependent upon the
10 friendship and good will of other nations. No nation moves or can
11 afford to move alone today. It will be helpful to remember that
12 neither the East nor the West wants war, either global or regional,
13 and that the United Nations, while not as strong as it should be,
14 is not quite helpless either. As long as you remain strong in
15 your morale and alert in your preparedness -- your unr reconciled
16 neighbors will think twice and think thrice before they will attack you.
17 They may come to realize that it might be to use Benjamin Franklin's
18 apt phrase, "too high a price to pay for the whistle".
19 Wiser heads may come to prevail among them and perhaps, who knows,
20 they may come to see the desirability of working with Israel towards
21 a just and peaceful settlement of all outstanding issues and for a
22 friendly cooperation in the development of the Middle East for the
23 benefit of all.

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As far as the Jews of America are concerned, it is clear that
the call today must be for maximum mobilization to see to it that
in the midst of the readjustments of America's foreign policy, the
just and basic interests of Israel are not sacrificed. The Jews
of America are fully alert to the situation. They accept without
reservation the oft-repeated declaration of our President and the
Secretary of State that the preservation of the State of Israel is

1 a basic tenet of American foreign policy and one of its goals; that
2 Israel will not be left alone and defenseless in the face of armed
3 aggression. We are working with that as our starting point, our
4 justification and our objective. We are doing our utmost to
5 convince our government that now is the time to insure that
6 Israel will not be left defenseless by enabling it to acquire
7 weapons which will increase its security and will act as a de-
8 terrent to aggression. We are urging upon our government the
9 wisdom of a mutual security pact with Israel and all neighboring
10 Arab states who truly want peace. As yet, we have registered very
11 little success. The way is not easy. The forces arrayed against
12 us are not inconsiderable. But we are far from discouraged. We
13 experienced such moments in the past when we were fighting for
14 the establishment of the State.

15 There is no occasion at the moment for excessive optimism,
16 certainly not for pessimism. There is occasion for greater and
17 ever greater action. The State of Israel was established in spite
18 of the unfriendly attitude of certain people in the government of
19 the United States. Their opposition was met, challenged and over-
20 come. It will happen again. Efforts have been made to silence
21 the proponents of Israel's cause on the American scene, under the
22 spurious plea of a by-partisan foreign policy. There are those
23 who would like to take the issue of Israel and of the Middle East
24 out of the political arena. This, of course, would enable the
25 manipulators who do their work against us quietly and often con-
26 spiratorily, in the circles of government to have their way.

27 American Jews, I assure you, will decline to sacrifice their
28 rights as free citizens. They will continue to make their voices
29 heard.

heard on this great moral issue, which is of vital importance
not alone to Israel but to America.

I am confident that the Jews of America will stand by the
Jews of Israel in the days to come as they have heretofore. I
know the five million Jews of America. I have lived among them.
I have worked among them. I know their temper. I know how they
rise to the challenge of a great hour and with what generosity
of spirit and substance they respond.



Dr. Silver Speaks at Dedication:

56-2

It would be a pleasure for me to attend the inauguration of any new school of training and education in the land of Israel; for each such agency is an additional source of strength, both economic and cultural, to the new State and a welcome promise for the future.

How much greater must be my satisfaction in being present at the dedication of an agricultural school in Israel which bears my name. I am not beyond enjoying this personal compliment and I am grateful to the General Zionists of Israel and to the Zionist Organization of America for having established Kfar Silver and for having associated my name with this enterprise.

I have for more than forty years been identified with the profession of Rabbi and teacher which brought me in constant contact with young people of all ages. As I look back over the ways of my life I find that they have always been thronged with young people and children whom I sought to teach and to guide and by whom I was frequently, and quite unconsciously, taught and guided. You can readily understand my double measure of satisfaction today that my name will now be connected with an institution in Israel which will be devoted to young people—to their education and training and their preparation for fine manhood and womanhood in the service of their country and people . . .

To this day, though the State of Israel has now been established, the expansion

and development of its agricultural economy remains one of its most vital and indispensable needs. Of course much else besides agriculture is required for a sound national economy. But where there is lacking an adequate base in agriculture, a country's economy can never be said to be either truly sound or stable. And so I congratulate the men and the women of the General Zionists and of the Zionist Organization of America, whose foresight and judgment have now brought this new Agricultural School into existence. By so doing they have made a significant contribution to the future of Israel. I pray that the school will grow from year to year and prosper. I congratulate also those who will administer this school, its officers and its faculty. Most especially do I congratulate the students who are now here and those who will in the days to come be privileged to come here to study. I hope that young people in numbers will also come from the United States. Some I hope will be inspired by the love of the land, which they will acquire here, to remain in Israel permanently. Others will carry back with them the music and the inspiration of the land to the American Jewish community, and thus will serve as emissaries of good will and understanding.

I pray that the instruction which will be given here will always be the instruction of truth and the example of love; and that which will be learned here will be learned in eagerness and selflessness and in a spirit of dedication.

Peace Settlements Must Replace Truce

by Dr. Abba Hillel Silver

AMERICAN OCT-
ZIONIST NOV 52

We earnestly hope that the defeat which the West has suffered in connection with the Suez Canal fiasco in recent months has brought home to its political leaders a few elementary truths which they should have learned a long while ago.

In the Middle East the West is dealing now not with the legitimate demands of a nascent Arab nationalism. The national ambitions of these Arab countries have been fully realized. They are recognized as independent and sovereign states and are in complete control of their domestic and foreign affairs. What the West confronts today is the unbridled ambition of an Egyptian dictator and adventurer who seeks to augment his power and his prestige and to establish his hegemony over the whole Arab world. Some Arab countries have come to realize and to resent it. Nasser is a dictator whose sympathies are clearly with Moscow and Peiping and whose techniques are exactly those which Hitler found useful in his rise to power. Nasser, like Hitler, has been helped by the West to rise to his present position of bold and arrogant intractability in the fond hope of using him to check the spread of communism. Communism, of course, has not been checked. Nasser has actually proved to be the key which opened the Middle East to communist infiltration and to a realization of the historic Russian expan-

(Continued on Page 14)

Peace Settlements, Not Truce

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sionist in the Mediterranean.

Another elementary truth which should by now be clear to the statesmen of the free world is that the problems of the Middle East cannot be solved without reference to the State of Israel. Such attempts have unfortunately been made time and again. This was the case with the Baghdad pact and with the arming of some Arab countries while imposing a virtual arms embargo upon Israel. More recently, international conferences were called and Associations were set up in connection with the seizure of the Suez Canal which pointedly excluded Israel. Such attempts to achieve peace and stability in a region of the world of which Israel is a vital part and to ignore Israel are doomed to failure. Israel must be regarded as a focal point in any peace strategy in the Middle East. The Western world will recover the diplomatic initiative which it lost in that part of the world as soon as it comes to acknowledge this simple fact.

It should also be clear to the statesmen of our own country that any role of leadership which it intends to play in that troubled area will not succeed unless our country is prepared to assume definite and specific commitments. A major foreign policy which does not carry with it definite and calculated involvements is foredoomed to failure. We will not be able to lead the world by proxy. If our Government is persuaded that the vast armaments which the Soviet Government has poured into Egypt and other Arab lands in the Near East have seriously endangered the young and democratic State of Israel which the United States helped to establish and was the first to recognize, and that the situation for urgent rectification, then it should not pass the buck to other governments to correct the imbalance. Such a position possesses the virtue neither of rightness nor of forthrightness.

This, too, is an elementary truth which should be acknowledged. The free world cannot on the one hand undertake to

sell or to give arms to countries in all parts of the world as part of an over-all policy to strengthen them against possible aggression—realizing that an arms race of vast proportions is on between the East and the West—and on the other hand deny the right to the young republic of Israel to acquire weapons to defend itself against threatened aggression on the ground that this would encourage an arms race!

It should also be frankly acknowledged that the agreements which were negotiated through the commendable efforts of the Secretary of United Nations to observe the truce on the borders of Israel and her Arab neighbors have not yielded the peace which it was hoped would result from them. They are unrealistic in the extreme. They cannot take the place of a peace settlement. Nations which do not want peace will not long observe a truce. Neither the United Nations nor the Western powers have ever used their full power and authority to induce the Arab states to negotiate a peace settlement with Israel any more than they used their full authority and the sanctions indicated in the Charter of the United Nations to compel Egypt to lift the blockade against Israeli shipping in the Suez Canal.

Israel has never been the aggressor against any of its Arab neighbors. It serves no purpose at all to brand every act of self-defense on the part of the Israelis an act of reprisal. Just what is expected of the people of Israel? Is it expected of them that they should sit there on the borders as clay pigeons to be shot at at will by Arab terrorists and then to have the families of the slain and wounded comforted by the fact that a representative of the United Nations has rebuked the nation to which the assailant belonged? And is this to continue indefinitely?

Clearly the events of the past few years on the borders of Israel have shown that these acts of premeditated murder are not the result of any isolated Arab soldier going berserk, but of Arab governments gone berserk—governments who day by day incite their populations with

inflammatory propaganda against Israel, who refuse to negotiate a peace settlement and who never grow tired of proclaiming that their firm resolve is to wipe Israel off the face of the earth.

To help the Arab governments to regain their political sanity and to check the unbridled ambitions and adventures of Arab dictators who are playing Moscow's game in the Middle East, the State of Israel should not only be helped to arm itself to a point where its preparedness will act as a deterrent to would-be aggressors, but should be given the security of a binding military pact with the free world. This is far more important than arms, for the cost of military preparedness for a small state like Israel is an economic burden almost too difficult to bear.

Greet Kfar Silver Dedication

The meeting also unanimously adopted a resolution expressing the greetings of the entire organization to Kfar Silver and to Dr. Abba Hillel Silver on the occasion of the official dedication ceremonies of the agricultural training institute which were held in Israel on March 29.

Extending the warmest greetings to the large and distinguished gathering which assembled to celebrate the formal dedication of Kfar Silver, the resolution said:

"We send our heartfelt felicitations to the great leader of our Movement whose name adorns the Agricultural Training Institute which has been established by the joint efforts of the ZOA and the General Zionist Organization in Israel. May the future be one of ever-greater achievement for both Abba Hillel Silver and Kfar Silver."

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U.S. Cannot Shirk Arms Responsibility

by Dr. Abba Hillel Silver

Our world finds itself at this time in a prolonged historic struggle which will last for decades and which will find no quick or early solution. It might take generations before a formula is finally evolved which will enable both sections of our sharply divided world to live in comparative peace on the same globe. The formula will undoubtedly be based on the principle of live and let live, on compromise and mutual adjustments, for it will be realized sooner or later that the choice before the nations of the world is one of co-existence or no

(Continued on Page 2)

Form New Religious Anti-Israel Front

by Robert Crowley

The so-called American Friends of the Middle East (AFME)—but in reality the enemies of Israel, have set up a new front given the long, high-sounding name of the Continuing Committee on Muslim-Christian Cooperation (CCMCC). It purportedly was to bring about closer understanding between Christians and Muslims on a high spiritual level and was to exclude politics. The Christian leaders are mostly Protestant clergy. There are no Catholics, but included are several lesser sects such as Waldensians and Copts. Their opposite numbers include both Sunni and Shia Muslims from Africa and Asia, with a notable majority of Arabs.

Since organized in 1954, CCMCC has held two conferences in Arab countries, and organized several propaganda tours of Muslim and Christian leaders. Several Protestant clergy have been touring about the Arab countries bolstering up Arab morale. A propaganda team including an authentic Sheikh from Mecca and Damascus and a Muslim scholar coupled with two American Protestant clergy has just completed a tour of the United States. Parading a Sheikh in turban and full regalia, even though he speaks not a word of English, is good news picture copy and looks exotic on TV. Their avowed program for better under-

Crowley is the pen-name of a noted Christian publicist and friend of Israel.

Kremlin Blueprint: Share of Mideast

by Judd L. Teller

Seasoned observers of international affairs are agreed that Soviet policy, for the time being at least, inclines to substitute Dale Carnegie for Genghis Khan and salesmanship and economic penetration for violent upheaval and war. While Stalin's self-righteous one-time aides-at-the-guillotine execrate his "excesses," they very significantly extol his excommunication of Trotsky who had become the symbol of unrestrained violent world revolution. Communist partisan forces throughout Asia have either slowed down to reflex motion or completely suspended

(Continued on Page 4)



Premier David Ben Gurion converses with Dr. Abba Hillel Silver at the head table in the dining hall of Kfar Silver during the dedication ceremonies of the Agricultural Training Institute named for Dr. Silver. In the background can be seen the Druze Sheikh who presented Dr. Silver with an abayah and cane.

standing on the spiritual level opened many doors of churches and schools which otherwise would have been closed to anti-Israel propagandists.

Let's take a look at just what CCMCC is, what they purport to do, and what they are actually accomplishing. AFME has turned out over

100 pages of expensive literature in English and Arabic defining the high aims of CCMCC. The two Faiths are "united in devotion to one God as the creator and preserver of the world." The common denominator of the two Faiths is their belief in one God. Hopkins

(Continued on Page 6)

Israel Determined To Defend Integrity

by Isaac Remba

TEL AVIV.—Israel celebrates its eighth anniversary amidst conditions of tension unequalled in any other country. From the day of its declared independence, which was ushered in with bombs from Arab enemy planes, to the present day, Israel has had no real peace or tranquility at the hands of its adversaries, who avow openly and shamelessly their intention to destroy Israel and "to thrust its Jewish citizens into the sea." Israel casualties killed and wounded in 1955 alone amounted to 258. The total number of casualties as a result of Arab attacks over the last five years was 884 killed and wounded.

True, Israel repaid in kind, and the Israeli army taught the enemy that Jewish blood cannot be shed recklessly. But that is no great consolation, because Israel does not want to shed the blood of others any more than it wants its own lives taken.

On the threshold of its ninth year, the mood of the Israeli people is that of absolute determination to resist any encroachment of its territory by the enemy. The terroristic attacks and murders committed by the Egyptian Fedayeen have more firmly united the Israeli people than in any other period of its existence in their utter resolve to battle the aggressor and defend with the help of every man, woman and child, the security and territorial

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U.S. Cannot Shirk Arms Responsibility

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existence, if that can be called a choice at all. Intellectually this fact is being grasped even now by the leaders of the Great Powers. They have been unable, however, or unwilling as yet, to draw practical corollaries from the new axiom which the A-bomb and the H-bomb have posited.

Blow Hot and Cold

The international conferences of the past year, both the Summit Conference and that of the Foreign Ministers at Geneva, have indicated that the leaders both of the East and of the West are not yet ready to adopt a clear and consequential line toward the issues which are dividing them. They are still in the state of improvisation and undulation. They blow hot and cold at the same time, talk peace and threaten war, take three steps forward and two steps backward. In the West there is a growing concern about the inadequacy of the strategy of containment and exclusive reliance on military pacts which they have been pursuing, and in the East there is taking place a considerable, one might say a startling, revision both in dogma and in method. Even as this stock-taking is taking place and piecemeal adjustments and closer contacts are being explored, the power struggle goes on, if anything, with increasing intensity. Each power bloc is seeking at all costs to penetrate the heretofore pre-empted areas of the other and to win over the neutral and uncommitted countries by means of economic and military aid or by other allurements. The competitive tempo has been accelerated at the very time that the ultimate goals of the two power groups have become increasingly more vague and antiquated. Thus there is going on today everywhere a hectic diplomatic maneuvering, much storm and propaganda, thunder and lightning, but as yet no healing and fructifying rain. No wonder then that the international position of a small state like Israel is be-fogged by the larger obfuscation which obscures the international relations of the Great Powers.

New Political Formula

A real searching of hearts is going on at the moment among the leaders of American political thought and in the ranks of government relative to American foreign policy, not only as regards the Middle East, but other parts of the world as well. No one in our country seems to be impressed with the complete success of our foreign policies in many parts of the world, and the recent events here in the Middle East have pointed up dramatically the measure of our lack of success; and even while this revision is proceeding there is as yet no clear direction and therefore there is considerable fumbling. You ought to bear this in mind. A great nation is seeking its way to a new political formula in an important part of the world, and the process is going on today; and it will take some time before this great nation fixes upon, if it does fix upon, a new and definite policy; and when the President of that country requests a measure of patience and mutual confidence I think there is much thought that might be given to that request.

In all fairness it should be said that the attitude of the heads of the American Government toward Israel is not, nor has it ever been, unfriendly. I believe that it has at times been misguided. It appears that it has been a case of worthwhile intentions, but unacceptable performance. I am not inclined to accept a declaration that "America has deceived us." The framers of American foreign policy want to hold the Arab world in the Western orbit and at the same time want to do nothing that will hurt or endanger Israel. In their desire, however, to make secure America's vast oil interests in Arab lands

and to build up a Middle East front against the Soviet Union, they have made some disastrous concessions to the Arab states and have lost several opportunities to achieve a package peace settlement in the Near East.

And even though the more realistic among our foreign policy makers are coming to realize that they whom they have been cultivating and pampering are not dependable allies at all, but rather sharp, selfish and unprincipled bargainers who are not interested at all in joining an anti-Soviet bloc or in defending the basic interests of the West, they have nevertheless not yet faced up to these facts frankly and fully. Nor have they adopted as yet a new policy which will be more consistent with the fundamental interests of America. Sooner or later, I believe, they will have to face these unpalatable facts. They are clinging to the belief that they can do better in the Middle East than the British, that they are less suspect by the Arabs as an imperial power, that the Arabs will therefore come to trust them and work better with them. This fatuous belief seems to be the motive behind the recent report which has appeared in the public press—that the United States favors arms for Israel but would like to see their Western allies make these arms available. They would like to see the United States free, as they believe, for a major role as a peacemaker in this part of the world. I call this a fatuous belief, a policy which in my humble judgment lacks candor and moral integrity, and therefore I do not believe it represents the final word of the American Government on this question of arms to Israel.

Both Ends Against the Middle

No member of the Western group can afford to isolate itself on an issue so vital and transfer upon the shoulders of the other members the responsibility for doing what certainly the leaders of the Government of the United States have come to realize has to be done in order to avoid a great disaster in this part of the world. Sooner or later these framers of our foreign policy will learn, and they are learning the hard way, what the British and French have learned and what the Soviet Union, I am sure, will learn in due time as it moves deeper into the Arab world. The Soviet Union too will find that the Arab states are for them the same broken reeds that they have proved to be for the Western world. Under the slogan of positive neutrality, the Arabs will continue to play both ends against the middle, for they have no commitments or loyalty to anyone or to any basic system of political thought. But as long as the eager suitor will continue to compete for



Dr. Silver affixes mezuzah at entrance to dining hall at Kfar Silver.

the reluctant hand of this inconstant lady the international position of Israel will be fraught with uncertainty and peril.

(Dr. Silver dwelt here on the statement contained in the memoirs of former President Truman that the State Department harbored Near East specialists who were unfriendly to the idea of the Jewish State and inclined toward anti-Semitism.)

Our State Department at the present time still harbors almost the same "specialists" on the Near East, and many of them are still unfriendly to the idea of a Jewish State, even if the Jews own a Jewish State. There are still some anti-Semites among them and they are still trying, to use Mr. Truman's words, "to put it over." The basic situation has not changed much, but the diplomatic position of Israel has become far more involved and our efforts to overcome these attitudes far more difficult. Because of Russia's political alignment with the Arabs our work today is, indeed, much more difficult and requires a much greater mobilization and concentration of forces. I say more involved and more difficult, but far from hopeless.

I am firmly of the belief that the State of Israel, which is soon to celebrate its eighth anniversary, will, in spite of the present increased tension and enmity, continue to grow and prosper. I know that you are firm in your resolve to defend yourselves and your country. I know that you are steadily building for strength and security while at the same time seeking the ways of peace. You are learning that which is very difficult for a new country to learn, but which must be learned—to exercise maximum restraint in the face of constant provocation, to keep on building under the most severe threats and dangers. You will not underestimate your strength and become fearful. You will not overestimate it and become reck-

less. You will understand that while you are a sovereign nation, you—like all sovereign nations today, great or small—must depend upon the friendship and goodwill of other nations. No nation lives or can afford to live alone today.

There is deep reason for your concern, but nowhere did I find panic. I found a spirit of determination to carry on regardless. I had the rare privilege of talking to some of the army people and some of the youth from the various military branches of Israel. I found among them a pride and determination, a fearlessness that speaks well for the ultimate security of the country.

As far as the Jews of America are concerned, it is clear that the call today must be for maximum mobilization, to see to it that in the midst of the readjustment of American foreign policy which is now going on, the just and basic interests of Israel are not sacrificed. I believe that the Jews of America are fully alert to the situation. They accept without reservation the oft-repeated declaration of our President and of the Secretary of State that the preservation of the State of Israel is a basic tenet of American foreign policy and that Israel will not be left alone and defenseless in the face of armed aggression. We are working with that as our starting point, our justification and our objective.

We are doing our utmost to convince our Government that now is the time to show that Israel will not be left defenseless, that now is the time to enable it to acquire weapons which will increase its security and will at the same time act as a deterrent to aggression. We are warning our Government time and time again of the danger of repeating the disastrous embargo on arms which destroyed the Spanish Republic and ushered in the Second World War. Unfortunately, it was part of the policy of the free world, including the United States of America, which strangled the Spanish Republic and which made that country the proving ground of Nazism and Fascism and prepared the way for World War II. We are urging upon our Government the wisdom of a mutual security pact with Israel and with all neighboring Arab states who truly want peace. As yet we have registered very little success. We know it is not easy. The forces arrayed against us are not inconsiderable, but we are far from being discouraged. We experienced such moments in the past when we were fighting for the establishment of the state.

Time for Action

There is no occasion at the moment for excessive optimism, certainly not for pessimism. It is an occasion for greater and ever-greater action—political action on the part of an organized and alerted Jewish community. Efforts have been made to silence the proponents of Israel's cause on the American scene under the spurious plea of a bi-partisan foreign policy. These are those who would like to take the issue of Israel and of the Middle East out of the political arena and this, of course, would enable the manipulators who do their work behind the scenes—often conspiratorily—in the circles of government to have their way. American Jews, I assure you, will decline to sacrifice their rights as free citizens. They will continue to make their voices heard on this great issue which confronts us at the moment and which is of vital importance not alone to Israel but to America.

I am confident that American Jewry will stand by your side and—if I may express a conviction of mine, not a certainty but a belief—I believe that the justice, the reasonableness of this cause of providing Israel with adequate defensive arms against clear threats to destroy it will ultimately triumph in the United States of America, and that weapons will be forthcoming, and I am working on that conviction.

This article is based on excerpts of Dr. Silver's address at the Kfar Silver dinner tendered him at the ZOA House in Tel Aviv on the eve of his return to the U.S.

Silver Assails State Department's Lack of Morality

In his first public address following his return from Israel, Dr. Silver, speaking in Cleveland, Ohio, on April 8, sharply assailed the American embargo of arms to Israel and strongly criticized the U.S. program of referring Israeli pleas for defensive arms to other nations. He says it was highly improbable that other nations would do what the world's leader for freedom failed to do.

"I feel this does not represent leadership or morality. This is not America speaking—it is the oil interests," he said.

Underlining that America had shipped arms to Iraq, Saudi Arabia and other Arabian countries, Rabbi Silver said: "The United States does not fear an arms race there, but to Israel is thrown the spurious argument of an arms race. Why was it trotted out only in the case of Israel and never before?"

Dr. Silver stressed that Israel was not asking American intervention or soldiers, but only seeking to purchase weapons against an imminent danger that threatened her survival.

No one is impressed with the "chivalry, morality or candor" of the State Department's new attitude, he said, his voice heavy with bitterness.

He attacked the contention that the Middle East was properly the concern of the United Nations by asserting that a strong Soviet bloc, plus Russia's veto, would be enough to slow up UN action in case of sudden war until tiny Israel was a shambles.