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United States cannot shirk arms responsibility, 1956.

DR. SILVER

Israel, (Apr. 3, 1952)
at ZOA House
dinner to AHS

Mr. Chairman, ~~and~~ Honored Representatives of the State of Israel and of the World Zionist Movement and all the General Zionists ~~and~~ Good friends all:

In one way I must say that I came here with a wrong impression. I was told that I was to speak to you this evening, instead of which you spoke to me all evening. I am greatly honored to be here ~~this evening~~ and I need not say to you that I was deeply moved by the kind and the generous words which were spoken ~~me~~ ^{about} about my work and ~~me this evening~~. The State of Israel owes me nothing. The Jewish people owes me nothing. I owe everything to the Jewish people. The State of Israel, the Jewish people, the ~~Zionist~~ ^{Zionist} movement have given meaning to my life and have been the shir hashirim of my existence. ~~I am very happy to be here this evening.~~ I assume this celebration is part of the dedication of Kfar Silver. It is a very beautiful institution which you have established for the Israeli. ~~I am very happy to be in the ZOA House.~~ This is my first visit here. I was here some five years ago when this building was in the process of ~~its~~ construction. It is a very attractive building and I understand that it has been a very useful and serviceable center in the life of this community for culture, for art, for fellowship, and I am delighted to see it now with my own eyes. I will have occasion, perhaps tomorrow morning at a press conference to say something of ~~my~~ ^{the} impressions which I have gathered in these two weeks ⁱⁿ Israel and what I saw here. I would share some of these impressions with you this evening, but the hour is late. I am scheduled, or I was requested, to give what was announced as a political address this evening. I know very little what is meant by "political address", but I will give you some of my reactions to what is uppermost in our ~~heart~~ hearts and in our minds at this time. I do not speak ex-cathedra and I have no more information, I presume, than most of us

who are here this evening. I bring to you no information which I have gathered
_____, but like so many of us here I have watched the shifting political scene
with close attention and I have some reactions which I would like to share with
you. ¶ Our world, my dear friends, finds itself at this time in a prolonged his-
torical struggle which will last for decades and which will find no quick or
early solution. It might take generations before ~~the~~ a formula is finally evolved
which will enable both sections of our sharply divided world to live in compara-
tive peace on the same globe. The formula will undoubtedly be based on the prin-
ciple of live and let live, ^{and} 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 existence, if that can be called a choice at all. Intel-
lectually 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. ¶ 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 towards the is-
sues which are dividing them. They are still in the state of improvisation and
undulation. They ^{blow} ~~play~~ 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 un-
committed 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 man^eeu^vring, much storm and propa^{ganda}~~ganda~~, 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 befogged by the larger obfuscation which obscures the international relations of the Great Powers. ¶ A real searching of hearts is going on at the moment among the leaders of American political thought and in the ^{banks} 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} ~~out~~ 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 towards 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 worth^{while} intentions, but unacceptable performance. I am not inclined to accept a declaration that ["] ~~the~~ America^s 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} to make secure America's vast oil interests in Arab lands and 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~~ opportunities to achieve a package peace settlement in the Near East. 9 And even though the more realistic among our foreign policy makers are coming to realize that they whom they have been cultivating and ~~tempting~~ ^{pampering} are not dependable allies at all, but rather ~~sharp~~ ^{selfish and unprincipled} ~~sharp~~ 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} ~~with~~ 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 ~~that~~ ^{too} ~~we do not know how reliable that report is~~ ^{has} which 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. No member of the Western group can afford to isolate itself on an issue so vital and ~~the other~~ ^{of the other members} ~~members can~~ transfer upon their shoulders 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} ~~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 have} as they ^{proved} to be for the Western world. Under the slogan of positive
^{neutrality} ~~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 the reluctant
hand of this inconstant lady the international position of Israel will be fraught
with uncertainty and ^{peril} ~~danger~~. I should like to call your attention to this impor-
tant fact which has somehow been overlooked by many of our people here and in the
United States. The situation with regard to 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 sort of closed Western re-
serve. But even ^{then} you will recall ~~that~~ our efforts to enlist the support of the Amer-
ican Government to establish the State of Israel encountered the most violent op-
position within the State Department. People have a way of telescoping events
and overlooking chapters in history and thereby distorting the picture. I read
with great interest the recently published memoirs of President Truman, 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 for-
ever be grateful to Mr. Truman for the tremendous help which he gave to their
cause in the decisive hour and for having remained a consistent friend of the
State of Israel ever since. Mr. Truman refers in his memoirs in a sort of de-
precatory ~~way~~ vein to what he calls "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 the
Government of the United States to assist in this work and to grant recognition
to the State of Israel once it was established. Now the State of Israel was ex-
tablished 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

and in so doing he clearly endorsed the position taken by those whom he now calls "extreme" Zionists. ¶ Now what was extreme about these Zionists and what really is in back of ex-President Truman's mind? What was there extreme about these Zionists? Why, it was their unrelenting persistence, their unflagging effort, without which their cause might never have succeeded. Mr. Truman himself calls attention to the fact that the "specialists," ~~he calls them specialists~~ on the Near East in our State Department ~~— quote him —~~ "were almost with exception unfriendly to the idea of a Jewish State." He is sorry to report ~~— I quote him —~~ that there were ^{some} among them ~~those~~ who were also inclined to be anti-Semitic. ^{this} ~~this~~ is Mr. Truman speaking about the State Department under his administration — and that they almost succeeded in putting it over on him. I am again using his words.

¶ ~~Now~~ The responsible "extreme" Zionist leaders suspected this right along. They know the powerful forces which were lined up against them and the extent to which they would go to defeat ^{the} a great moral cause which had ~~themselves~~ received the endorsement of both political parties in the United States and of the American people ~~and~~ ^{in the State Department, in the oil lobby, in the missionary circles} When under pressure from these same hostile forces, the United States Government reversed itself in March of 1948, after the United Nations had voted for the partition scheme ^{and} ~~under~~ the establishment of a Jewish State, after the American government ~~reversed itself~~ under the pressure of these hostile forces in the State Department, ~~in the oil lobby, in the missionary circles~~ and requested a special session of the Assembly of the United Nations in order to reimpose a temporary "trusteeship" upon Palestine, it was these same "extreme" Zionists who, by their redoubled ~~efforts~~ efforts and powerful appeal to the citizens of America, averted what ~~was~~ would have been a political disaster and brought the policy of the Truman administration back to its just and sound ^{course} ~~course~~. Might I turn the pages back to that period in the history of our struggle for the establishment of the State of Israel to draw your attention to the fact that 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 ~~and that~~ there are still some anit-Semites among them and ~~that~~ 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~~ 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, ~~and~~ continue to grow and prosper. I ~~must~~ 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~~ the ways of peace. You are learning that which is very ^{difficult} for a new country to learn, but ~~it~~ ^{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 ~~must~~ overestimate ~~your strength~~ ^{it} and become reckless. You will understand that while you are a sovereign nation, you ~~are~~ like all sovereign nations today, great or small, ~~and~~ must depend upon the friendship and goodwill of other nations. No nation lives or can afford to live today alone.

There is ~~a~~ ^{your} deep reason for ~~the~~ 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 a 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, and 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. ~~Moments are darker at the present moment.~~ 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. There 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} ~~to~~ do their work behind the scenes ~~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 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, ~~from a belief~~ ^{but} I believe that the justice, the reasonableness of this cause of providing Israel with adequate defensive arms against clear threats to destroy it, ~~that this cause~~ will ultimately triumph in the United States of America and that weapons will be forthcoming, and I am working on that conviction. Whether I am right or wrong, I am not at all persuaded that the security of ~~many~~ this country ultimately depends ^{entirely} upon our ~~preventing~~ ^{should} curing the shipment of arms from the United States. It would be highly desirable that this ~~should~~ come about, and come about speedily. I believe that the ultimate security of this country lies ~~first~~ first and foremost in yourselves, in your people, in your perseverance and in an aroused moral sense of free peoples of the world who will ultimately come to see that the protection of ~~Israel~~ the State of Israel represents for them the one focal-point around which they must rally if they wish to regain political initiative in this part of the world. I go back to America greatly uplifted in spirit by what I ^{have} seen here. I go back to America with a strong resolve to do my utmost to assist the American people to have

a ~~fair~~ sense of justice and a sense of fair play ^{towards} ~~is~~ the legitimate needs and demands of the people of the State of Israel. Chazak V'ematz. Thank you very much for an enjoyable evening.



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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

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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 understanding

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

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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

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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.

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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.

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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 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. There 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.

Underscoring 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.