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Metropolitan Zionist District, 1957.

Address delivered before the
METROPOLITAN ZIONIST DINNER

Waldorf-Astoria Hotel New York City
November 25, 1957

by

DR. ABBA HILLEL SILVER

The United Nations' Resolution on Palestine on November 29, 1947 came in the second year of the existence of that organization. It remains, to this day, its most notable moral achievement. For the Jewish people it was a turning point in its history, the realization of a bi-millennial hope and the culmination of generations of struggle and sacrifice. Forever honored in the annals of our ancient people will remain the names of those friendly governments and statesmen who came to our aid. Who, having been privileged to witness, can ever forget those tense, dramatic days which preceded the passage of the Resolution, the waves of emotion which swept over the Assembly time and again, the agitation which filled the lobbies and the corridors at Flushing Meadows and the unleashed jubilation of that climactic moment when the vote was finally announced! Who, among our people, will ever forget ^{the 33 governments who voted affirmatively for the Resolution} ~~the dramatic personae~~, the principal actors in that historic drama: ^{the ever fair and just} Aranha of Brazil; Granados of Matamala; Fabregat of Uruguay; Evatt of Australia; Pearson of Canada; Parodi of France; Gromyko of the Soviet Union; ^{and Herscher Johnson} Austen of the United States and ~~the ever just and ever fair~~ Secretary-General of the United Nations, Trygve Lie?

And who ever can measure the pride and thanksgiving which filled the hearts of our own representatives, guardians of the age-old dream, the ~~tried but~~ undeterred defenders of a hope which most men called forlorn. Nothing can dim the glory of that great hour of decision, and nothing can minimize its immense significance and its continuing impact upon history.

Unfortunately, the United Nations was subsequently restrained from implementing its Resolution and from seeing it through. It remained for the poorly equipped but fearless and determined fighting forces of Palestine Jewry to uphold

it and to carry it into effect in the face of the combined resistance of the Arab Governments who resorted to war to defeat it, and in the face also -- we must regretfully acknowledge -- of British obstructionism and American indecision, sudden reversals and a crippling arms embargo.

Had the United Nations not failed in this, its first major test involving its authority and prestige, or, to put it more accurately, had Great Britain and the United States not inhibited the United Nations from acting firmly ^{to} carrying out its Resolution which had been overwhelmingly adopted after prolonged study and debate, the entire subsequent history of the Middle East, and of the United Nations itself, and its role in other critical international situations which followed, might have been far different indeed. A United Nations Commission had, in February 1948, reported that "powerful Arab interests both inside and outside Palestine are defying the Resolution of the General Assembly and are engaged in a deliberate effort to alter by force the settlement envisaged therein". It was clear to everyone that the provisions outlined in the Charter of the United Nations to meet just such brazen defiance had now to be applied if its position ^{of the U.N.} were not to be gravely compromised.

But British foreign policy in the Middle East had long before then been caught and held helpless in the quagmire of Arab appeasement and American foreign policy was just then beginning its ill-fated descent into the self-same bog and for the self-same reasons. Both convergent policies, ~~because of~~ ^{through} their gropings and ambivalence, ~~contributed to a paralysis of~~ ^{contributed to a paralysis of} ~~conspired to paralyze~~ the world organization. It should be remembered that this took place at a time when the sharp struggle for the Middle East ~~had not yet arisen~~ ^{had not yet arisen.} between the East and the West. In those years the Soviet Union stood solidly behind the United Nations' Partition Resolution and consistently favored its full implementation.

When its authority ^{was} challenged and flouted by the Arab governments, the United Nations was not permitted to act in a manner sufficiently swift and forceful to convince these governments that the United Nations' decision was final and that they must accommodate themselves to it, if for no other reason than to fulfill

their obligations under the Charter of the United Nations of which they were members. The Arab governments threatened and then resorted to war, and the powerful governments of the West side-tracked their clear responsibilities. The United Nations was forced to go through a meaningless routine of futile gestures and declarations which only served to encourage the aggressor. A precedent was thus established for analogous action in the future and a reputation for ineffectiveness which has bedeviled the United Nations in all its subsequent interventions not only in the Middle East, but in other areas of the world.

It may be reasonably argued that the entire series of events in the Middle East in recent years culminating in the Soviet Union's fateful penetrations into that area can be traced back directly to these early failures in resolute purpose and effective action. There might have been no need at all for a Baghdad Pact, a Sinai-Suez Campaign or an Eisenhower Doctrine. It was the inevitable chain-reaction to appeasement which finally put the Kremlin into Cairo and Damascus -- and the end is not yet.

Some day the United Nations will be granted the full authority to which it is entitled in power as well as in counsel. It will be permitted to speak and act in such a way that all nations will hearken and obey. It will then become what its founders envisaged it to be -- and what mankind prayerfully hopes that it ~~will~~^{may} become -- the true and dependable instrument for international peace. The United Nations, which paved the way for the establishment of the State of Israel, may yet be able to bring peace to that greatly disturbed area of the Middle East if the great power blocs of the East and the West will permit it to act independently of their own competing interests, and in conformity with its own ^{firm} principles.

X Many of the major problems of ten years ago remain unsolved. The Palestine war is not ended. Only a troubled armistice exists, but no peace. The presence of United Nations' forces on the Israel-Egyptian borders is proof, if proof were needed, that no peace exists. Blockades and boycotts continue in force against Israel. Israel's security is constantly threatened by the vast stores of arms which the Arab nations are acquiring, mostly, though not exclusively, from Soviet

sources, and by the unabated war-mongering Arab propaganda. Israel has been compelled by circumstances to divert much of its national income from social construction to defense. The poverty-stricken Arab peoples have been deprived by the diversionary military adventures of their power-hungry governments, of what might have been ^{for them} a decade of economic development and progress ~~for them~~ and a steady ^{as} improvement in their standard of living.

The Arab refugee problem has not been solved. More consideration has been given by the West to Arab governments and their military purposes than to Arab peoples and their dire human needs. Israel has been willing, in spite of its own pressing refugee problem, to make a major contribution to the solution of the Arab refugee problem which was created, not by Israel, but by the belligerency of the Arab governments and their military defiance of the United Nations' Resolution. Israel has been waiting long for a peace conference, which the Arab governments have consistently spurned, where the subject of the refugees ^{could} be discussed and concrete proposals agreed upon, or for some initiative on the part of governments, friendly both to the Arabs and the Israeli, ^{which} ~~who~~ are prepared to give priority to the human factors involved over ~~their own~~ ^{strategic} political maneuvering.

While many major problems of ten years ago still remain unsolved some of the most urgent have been solved. The State of Israel has been established. Close on to a million Jewish refugees, fleeing from Hitler's ravaged Europe and from persecutions in Arab countries, have found a home there. There are no more concentration camps of helpless Jewish refugees to defile the face of the earth. A welcoming Jewish homeland, whose doors are wide open, now stands as a beacon of hope and reassurance. ((The agricultural and industrial progress of the country in a brief decade has amazed the world. While many things still remain incomplete and imperfect, every impartial observer bears witness to the fact that Israel has made good in nearly every area requisite for a civilized national existence. The people of Israel, coming from all parts of the earth, have demonstrated not only skill in pioneering but remarkable valor in the defense of their country as well as an admirable hardihood and a capacity for sacrifices. In all this

there is presage of hope for tomorrow.

In very truth, those who had a hand in the adoption of the United Nations' Resolution in November 1947 ought to experience a deep sense of gratification.

The work, of course, is unfinished. No state is built in ten years and certainly no permanent stability can be achieved by any small state in a situation of terrific tension and strain, and Israel has been caught, in recent years, in the maelstrom of conflicting world forces. For the next ten years, and for all the years to come, Israel earnestly hopes for three things:))

In my address before the United Nations on October 2, 1947, I stated:

" * * * We mean to be good neighbors, not only to the Arab State of Palestine, but to the Arab States throughout the Middle East. And certainly we mean scrupulously to respect the equal rights of the Arab population in the free and democratic Jewish State. With the removal of political friction and bitterness which we hope will eventually result from the setting up of these two independent states, each people master in its own home, it should be possible to usher in an era of progress and regeneration which would be a boon to all the peoples in that important part of the world. What the Jewish people has already achieved in Palestine in a short time and in the face of enormous obstacles is indicative of what it hopes to do in the future along with, and in fullest cooperation with, all of its neighbors.

Neighborliness, however, is a two-sided affair. Sincerely and without reservations, we bring the offer of peace and friendship. If it is met in the same spirit, rich and abundant blessings will redound to all. * * * "

This is the first thing that Israel prayerfully hopes for as it enters the second decade of its existence: peace with all its neighbors - - an opportunity to work with them for the peaceful development of an area of the world in which they have common interests. The existence and prosperity of the State of Israel

are not and will never be a threat to the Arab world. Only irresponsible demagogues, bent upon deflecting the attention of the poor Arab masses from demands for desperately needed domestic reform and ^{an} ~~the~~ ^{to the} ~~end of an~~ economic and political feudalism which has exploited them for centuries, will resort to this kind of baseless propaganda. The destruction of the State of Israel would in no way end the appalling conditions of poverty, misery and illiteracy ^{among} ~~of~~ the exploited Arab people.

^{13 under} ✓ The second great hope of Israel is that the Soviet Union, which so often speaks of the rights of ^{small} ~~all~~ nations and of the evils of imperialism, will not continue to use Israel as a pawn in its own imperialistic activities to extend its influence in the Middle East. Israel is not a world power and cannot contend with world powers. Its moral right to be established and to exist was fully recognized by the Soviet Union, not only by the fact that it was among the first to grant recognition to the State of Israel, but also by the fact that its spokesman in the United Nations was the very first among the great powers to defend the right of the Jewish people to an independent State in Palestine. You may recall the words spoken by Mr. Gromyko before the United Nations delegates:

✓ "We should not forget here that during the last war the Jewish people suffered exceptional calamities and sufferings. In territories dominated by Hitler, the Jews, as is known, underwent nearly complete physical extermination. Nearly half of the Jewish population of Europe was exterminated. Enormous numbers of the Jews of Europe were deprived of their fatherland, of shelter and of means of subsistence. It is necessary to take care of the necessities of a people which has suffered such tortures. All this explains why the Jews strive to create their own state, and it would be unjust to deny the Jewish people the right to fulfill this desire. The question of the creation of a Jewish state is a wholly mature and urgent problem. * * * "

Nothing has changed since that day when the Soviet representative uttered these words. The State of Israel, during its ten years of existence, has attended strictly to its own affairs and to its own defense. It has fulfilled the expectations of all of its friends even as it has disappointed all of its enemies. It has abided faithfully by the terms of the armistice in spite of numerous provocations. In the Sinai campaign it struck at the clear and present menace to its very existence in the vast armaments for a campaign of destruction which the dictator of Egypt had amassed avowedly for that purpose, -- armaments supplied to it by the Soviet Union. It is morally reprehensible, to say the least, for the head of the Soviet Union to utter threats of annihilation against the small State of Israel which at no time has given any evidence of hostility towards the government of the Soviet Union or its people. *any offense to* *Bundes* *SSTP*

And finally, Israel hopes that the United States will ^{soon} finally decide, as a measure of enlightened self-interest, if for no other reason, to give it concrete assurances of protection in case of unprovoked attack -- the kind of assurances which it has given to so many other nations. Heretofore our government has tried to meet the Israel-Arab situation with slogans and pronouncements rather than with commitments. These improvised slogans "our objective is peace" "no arms race in the Middle East" "a new look" - while unexceptional in themselves are, unfortunately, quite unrealistic. Our government ^{did make} made certain commitments to some of the Arab countries to offset Soviet influence and this has, to a degree, helped the American position in the Middle East. But, in the case of Israel, no commitments of ^{any} binding character have been made, so that Israel today lacks a sense of security, and its neighbors the deterrant force of such commitments. Israel, by its outlook, tradition and way of life, is oriented westward, but it is today beset with grave doubts and questions as to whether this orientation may not in the end prove a disastrous liability to it. Already strong voices are being raised in Israel in behalf of that self-same neutralism which has proved so costly to the West. They ask whether, in fact, neutralism would not be the wiser course for a small state which earnestly wishes to belong to the free world,

but which the free world is unwilling to include in its collective defence.

Perhaps the next decade will witness a rapprochement between the East and the West, consequent upon a realization that neither bloc can destroy the other without destroying itself. Perhaps the world will ^{soon come to} weary of the war-obsessed in both camps and of their incessant war-cries and war scares. Perhaps a new climate of ideas will come to prevail which will make the concept of co-existence of the great powers, which is now regarded by many as a dark heresy and disloyalty, not only acceptable, but even mandatory. Sputnik may yet prove to have been the surprising overture to the pacification of our world. In that event the political fortunes of Israel as well as of all small nations will brighten considerably.

Bonds

I should like to conclude my remarks this evening with the words which I spoke before the United Nations General Assembly on April 28, 1947:

" * * * We are an ancient people and though we have often, on the long, hard road which we have travelled, been disillusioned, we have never been disheartened. We have never lost faith in the sovereignty and the ultimate triumph of great moral principles." * *

This faith, my dear friends, sustains the hopes and the hearts of the people of Israel today as it looks back ^{not without pride} upon ten years of achievement and struggle and as it looks forward to the coming years which will undoubtedly also be years of struggle, but ^{it} we hope also years of even greater and ampler achievement.

Address delivered before the

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The United Nations' ^{Resolution} ~~decision~~ on Palestine on November 29, 1947 came in the second year of the existence of that organization. It remains, to this day, its most notable moral achievement. For the Jewish people it was a turning point in its history, the realization of a bi-millennial hope and the culmination of generations of struggle and sacrifice. Forever honored in the annals of our ancient people will remain the names of those friendly governments and statesmen who came to our aid. ^{over} Nothing can dim the glory of that great hour of decision and nothing can minimize its immense significance and its continuing impact upon history.

Unfortunately, the United Nations was subsequently restrained from implementing its ^{resolution} ~~decision~~ and from seeing it through. It remained for the poorly equipped but ^{fearless and} determined fighting forces of Palestine Jewry to uphold ^{it} and to carry ^{it} into effect ~~the decision of the United Nations~~ in the face of the combined resistance of the Arab Governments who resorted to war to defeat it, and in the face also ^{- we must regretfully acknowledge} of British obstructionism and American indecision, ^{sudden} reversals and a crippling arms embargo.

Had the United Nations not failed in this, its first major test ~~which~~ involved ^{ing} its authority and prestige, or, to put it more accurately, had Great Britain and the United States not inhibited the United Nations from acting ^{bravely} ~~soo-~~ ^{resolution} ~~lately~~ in carrying out its ~~decision~~ which had been overwhelmingly adopted after prolonged study and debate, the entire subsequent history of the Middle East, and of the United Nations itself, and its role in other critical international situations ^{which followed} might have been far different indeed. A United Nations Commission

my record to encourage the assessor.



Some day the United Nations will be granted the ^{full} authority to which it is entitled in power as well as in counsel. It will be permitted to speak and act in such a way that all nations will ^{and obey} hearken. It will then become what its founders envisaged it to be -- and what mankind prayerfully hopes that it will become -- the true and dependable instrument for international peace. The United Nations ^{which} paved the way for the establishment of the State of Israel, [✓] If the great power blocs of the East and the West will ~~not~~ permit it to act independently of their ^{and in conformity with its own principles} own competing interests ~~in the Middle East~~, it may yet be able to bring peace to that greatly disturbed area of the world. ^{Middle East}

Many of the major problems of ten years ago remain unsolved. The Palestine war is ~~really~~ not ended, ^{only} a troubled armistice exists, but no peace. The presence of United Nations' forces on the Israel-Egyptian borders is proof [✓] that no peace exists. Blockades and boycotts continue in force against Israel. Israel's security is constantly threatened by the ^{most stark & cruel} ~~sharply~~ augmented arming ^{which} of the Arab nations, ^{are acquiring} mostly, though not exclusively, from Soviet sources, and by the unabated war-mongering Arab propaganda. Israel has been compelled by circumstances to divert much of its national income from social construction to defense. The poverty-stricken Arab peoples have been deprived by the diversionary military adventures of their power-hungry governments, of what might have been a decade of economic development and ^{for them} progress ^{as} and improvement in their standard of living.

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In very truth, those who had a hand in the adoption of the United Nations' Resolution in November 1947 ought to experience a deep sense of gratification.

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In my address before the United Nations on October 2, 1947, I stated:

" * * * We mean to be good neighbors, not only to the Arab State of Palestine, but to the Arab States throughout the Middle East. And certainly we mean scrupulously to respect the equal rights of the Arab population in the free and democratic Jewish State. With the removal of political friction and bitterness which we hope will eventually result from the setting up of these two independent states, each people master in its own home, it should be possible to usher in an era of progress and regeneration which would be a

In all this there is promise of hope for to-morrow.



boon to all the peoples in that important part of the world.

What the Jewish people has already achieved in Palestine in a short time and in the face of enormous obstacles is indicative of what it hopes to do in the future along with, and in fullest cooperation with, all of its neighbors.

Neighborliness, however, is a two-sided affair. Sincerely and without reservations, we bring the offer of peace and friendship. If it is met in the same spirit, rich and abundant blessings will redound to all. * * * "

This is the first thing that Israel prayerfully hopes for as it enters the second decade of its existence: peace with all its neighbors -- an opportunity to work with them for the peaceful development of ~~that vast and important area~~ ^{in which they have common interests} ~~of the world.~~ ^{in which} The existence and prosperity of the State of Israel are ~~in no way~~ ^{not and will never} a threat to the Arab world. Only irresponsible demagogues bent upon deflecting the attention of the poor Arab masses from demands for ~~domestic reform~~ ^{desperately needed} and the end of an economic and political feudalism which has exploited them for centuries will resort to this kind of baseless propoganda. The destruction of the State of Israel would in no way end the ~~conditions~~ ^{appalling} of poverty, misery and illiteracy of the exploited Arab people.

The second great hope of Israel is that the Soviet Union, which so often speaks of the rights of ^{all} nations and of the evils of imperialism, will not ~~be~~ ^{be} ~~content~~ ^{continue} tempted to use Israel as a pawn in its own ~~transparent maneuvers~~ ^{imperialistic activities} to extend its influence in the Middle East. Israel is not a world power and cannot contend with world powers. Its moral right to be established and to exist was fully recognized by the Soviet Union, not only by the fact that ~~it~~ ^{the U.S.} was among the first to grant recognition to the State of Israel, but ^{also by the fact} that its spokesman in the United Nations was the very first among the great powers to ~~proclaim~~ ^{defend} the right of the Jewish people to an independent State in Palestine. ^{You may recall} ~~I quote the words of Mr. Gromyko:~~ ^{spoken}
by Mr. Gromyko before the U.N. delegates:

"We should not forget here that during the last war the Jewish people suffered exceptional calamities and sufferings. In territories dominated by Hitler, the Jews, as is known, underwent nearly complete physical extermination. Nearly half of the Jewish population of Europe was exterminated. Enormous numbers of the Jews of Europe were deprived of their fatherland, of shelter and of means of subsistence. It is necessary to take care of the necessities of a people which has suffered such tortures. * * *

All this explains why the Jews strive to create their own state, and it would be unjust to deny the Jewish people the right to fulfill this desire. The question of the creation of a Jewish state is a wholly mature and urgent problem. * * "

Nothing has changed since the day when the Soviet representative uttered these words. The State of Israel, during its ten years of existence, has attended strictly to its own affairs and to its own defense. It has fulfilled the expectations of all of its friends even where it has disappointed all of its enemies.

It has abided faithfully by the terms of the armistice in spite of numerous provocations. In the Sinai campaign it struck at the clear and present menace ^{to its very existence} of

^{which} the dictator of Egypt who had amassed vast armaments for a campaign ^{is the} to destroy ^{destruction} the State of Israel -- armaments supplied to it by the Soviet Union. It is morally reprehensible, to say the least, ^{to have} the head of the Soviet Union ^{to} utter threats of annihilation against the small State of Israel which at no time has given any evidence of hostility towards ^{the government of that State or its people.} the Soviet Union.

And finally, the ~~third sovereign~~ hope of the State of Israel ^{is} that the United States ^{will finally decide as a measure of enlightened self-interest, if in} would finally give it concrete assurance ^{of protection in case of} unprovoked attack -- the kind of assurance which it has given to so many other ^{as other} nations. Heretofore our government has tried to meet the Israel-Arab situation with slogans and pronouncements rather than with commitments. These improvised

slogans "our objective is peace" "no arms race in the Middle East" "a new look" - while unexceptional in themselves are, unfortunately, quite unrealistic. Our

government made certain commitments to some of the Arab countries to offset Soviet influence and this has, to a degree, helped the American position in the Middle East. But, in the case of Israel, no commitments of a ~~sure and~~ binding

character have been made, so that Israel today lacks a sense of security, and its neighbors the deterrant force of such commitments. Israel, by its ^{entire, freedom and} ~~whole~~ way of life ~~and its outlook~~, is oriented westward, but it is beset today with serious ~~grave~~ doubts ^{and questions as to} whether this orientation ~~will~~ ^{may not} in the end prove a ~~terrific~~ ^{disastrous} liability to it.

Already strong voices are being raised in Israel ^{in behalf of that self-same} that neutralism which has proved so costly to the West, ^{whether, neutralism} ~~may not~~, in fact, be the wiser course for a small state which wishes to belong to the free world, but which the free world is ^{unwilling} ~~not pre-~~ ^{pared to defend, to} include in its collective defenses.

^{Point} I should like to conclude my remarks this evening with the words which I spoke before the United Nations General Assembly on April 28, 1947:

" * * * We are an ancient people and though we have often, on the long, hard road which we have travelled, been disillusioned, we have never been disheartened. We have never lost faith in the sovereignty and the ultimate triumph of great moral principles." * *

This faith, my dear friends, sustains the hopes and the hearts of the people of Israel today as it looks back upon ten years of achievement and struggle and as it looks forward to the coming years which will undoubtedly also be years of achievement and struggle. ^{but we have also seen years of further and greater achievement}

Perhaps the next decade will witness a rapprochement between
the East and the West consequent upon a realization ~~of their~~
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Sputnik may ^{yet} prove to have been the overture to
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Perhaps the world will weary of the war-obsessed
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(Part) Letter to Barbaraach (1/21/57)

57-1

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Unfortunately, the United Nations was subsequently restrained from implementing its decision and from seeing it through. It remained for the poorly equipped but determined fighting forces of Palestine Jewry to uphold and to carry into effect the decision of the United Nations in the face of the combined resistance of the Arab Governments who resorted to war to defeat it, and in the face also of British obstructionism and American indecision, reversals and a crippling arms embargo.

Had the United Nations not failed in this, its first major test which involved its authority and prestige, or, to put it more accurately, had Great Britain and the United States not inhibited the United Nations from acting resolutely in carrying out its decision which had been overwhelmingly adopted after prolonged study and debate, the entire subsequent history of the Middle East, and of the United Nations itself, and its role in other critical international situations

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over

But British foreign policy in the Middle East had long before then been caught helpless in the quagmire of Arab appeasement and American foreign policy was just then beginning its descent into the self-same bog and for the self-same reasons. Both convergent policies in their uncertain gropings and ambivalence, conspired to paralyze the world organization. It should be remembered that this took place long before the sharp differences over the Middle East ~~which~~ developed between the East and the West, ~~rendered the United Nations helpless~~. In those years the Soviet Union stood solidly behind the United Nations' Partition ^{resolution} decision and called for its full implementation.

When its authority was flouted by the Arab governments, the United Nations was not permitted to act in a manner sufficiently swift and forceful to convince these governments that the United Nations' decision was final and that they must accommodate themselves to it, in fulfillment of their clear obligations as members of the United Nations. The Arab governments threatened and then resorted to war and the powerful governments of the West side-tracked their responsibilities. The United Nations was forced to capitulate. A precedent was established for analogous action in the future as well as a reputation for weakness and ineffectiveness which has tragically bedeviled all its subsequent urgent interventions not only in the Middle East but elsewhere in the world.

It may well be argued that the entire series of events in the Middle East in recent years culminating in the Soviet Union's fateful penetrations into that area can be traced back directly to these early blunders and failures in resolute purpose and in effective action. There might have been no need at all for a Baghdad Pact, a Sinai-Suez Campaign or an Eisenhower Doctrine. It was the chain-reaction to appeasement which finally put the Kremlin into Cairo and Damascus -- and the end is not yet.

Some day the United Nations will be granted the ^{authority} sovereignty to which it is entitled in ^{power} ~~might~~ as well as in counsel. It will be permitted to speak and act in such a way that all nations will hearken. It will then become what its founders

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envisaged it to be -- and what mankind prayerfully hopes that it will become -- the true and dependable instrument for international peace. The United Nations paved the way for the establishment of the State of Israel. If the great power blocs of the East and the West will now permit it to act independently of their own competing interests in the Middle East, it may yet be able to bring peace to that greatly disturbed area of the world.

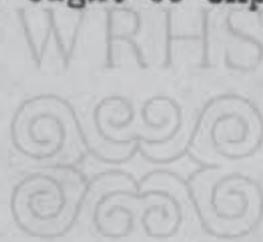
Many of the major problems of ten years ago remain unsolved. The Palestine war is really not ended -- a troubled armistice exists, but no peace. The presence of United Nations' forces on the Israel-Egyptian borders is proof that no peace exists. Blockades and boycotts continue in force against Israel. Israel's security is constantly threatened by the sharply augmented arming of the Arab nations, mostly, though not exclusively, from Soviet sources, and by the unabated war-mongering Arab propaganda. Israel has been compelled by circumstances to divert much of its national income from social construction to defense. The poverty-stricken Arab peoples have been deprived by the diversionary military adventures of their power-hungry governments, of what might have been a decade of economic development and progress and improvement in their standard of living.

The Arab refugee problem has not been solved. More consideration has been given to Arab governments and their military purposes than to Arab peoples and their dire human needs. Israel has been prepared, in spite of its own pressing refugee problem, to make a major contribution to the solution of the problem of Arab refugees, created by the belligerency of their governments and their military defiance of the United Nations' decision. It has been waiting long for a peace conference, which the Arab governments have consistently spurned, where the subject can be discussed and concrete proposals agreed upon; or for some initiative on the part of important governments, friendly both to the Arabs and the Israeli, who are prepared to give priority to the human factors involved over political maneuvering.

While many major problems of ten years ago still remain unsolved some of the

most urgent have been solved. The State of Israel has been established. Close on to a million Jewish refugees fleeing from Hitler's devastated Europe and from persecutions in Arab countries, have found a home there. There are no more concentration camps of helpless Jewish refugees defiling the face of the earth. A welcoming Jewish homeland, whose doors are wide open, now stands as a beacon of hope and reassurance. The remarkable agricultural and industrial progress of the country in a brief decade have amazed the world. While many things still remain incomplete and imperfect, every impartial observer bears witness to the fact that Israel has made good in nearly every area of a civilized national existence. The people of Israel, coming from all parts of the earth, have demonstrated not only skill in pioneering but remarkable valor in the defense of their country as well as an admirable hardihood and a capacity for sacrifices.

In very truth, those who had a hand in the adoption of the United Nations' Resolution in November 1947 ought to experience a deep sense of gratification.



ADDRESS DELIVERED BEFORE THE UNITED NATIONS

OCTOBER 2, 1947

* * *

We mean to be good neighbors, not only to the Arab State of Palestine, but to the Arab States throughout the Middle East. And certainly we mean scrupulously to respect the equal rights of the Arab population in the free and democratic Jewish State. With the removal of political friction and bitterness which we hope will eventually result from the setting up of these two independent states, each people master in its own home, it should be possible to usher in an era of progress and regeneration which would be a boon to all the peoples in that important part of the world. What the Jewish people has already achieved in Palestine in a short time and in the face of enormous obstacles is indicative of what it hopes to do in the future along with, and in fullest cooperation with, all of its neighbors.

Neighborliness, however, is a two-sided affair. Sincerely and without reservations, we bring the offer of peace and friendship. If it is met in the same spirit, rich and abundant blessings will redound to all. If not, we shall be compelled to do what any people must do under such circumstances, defend our rights to the utmost. We have builded a nation in Palestine. That nation now demands its independence. It will not be dislodged. Its national status will not be denied. We are asked to make an enormous sacrifice to attain that which, if uninterfered with, we would have attained long ago. In sadness, and most reluctantly, we are prepared to make this sacrifice. Beyond it we cannot, we will not go.

* * *

Address delivered before the

METROPOLITAN ZIONIST DINNER

Waldorf-Astoria Hotel

New York City

November 25, 1957

by

DR. ABBA HILLEL SILVER

The United Nations' Resolution on Palestine on November 29, 1947 came in the second year of the existence of that organization. It remains, to this day, its most notable moral achievement. For the Jewish people it was a turning point in its history, the realization of a bi-millennial hope and the culmination of generations of struggle and sacrifice. Forever honored in the annals of our ancient people will remain the names of those friendly governments and statesmen who came to our aid. Who, having been privileged to witness, can ever forget those tense, dramatic days which preceded the passage of the Resolution, the waves of emotion which swept over the Assembly time and again, the agitation which filled the lobbies and the corridors at Flushing Meadows and the unleashed jubilation of that climactic moment when the vote was finally announced! Who, among our people, will ever forget the dramatis personae, the principal actors in that historic drama: Aranha of Brazil; Granados of Guatamala; Fabregat of Uruguay; Evatt of Australia; Pearson of Canada; Parodi of France; Gromyko of the Soviet Union; Austen of the United States and the ever just and ever fair Secretary-General of the United Nations, Trygve Lie?

And who ever can measure the pride and thanksgiving which filled the hearts of our own representatives, guardians of the age-old dream, the tried but undeterred defenders of a hope which most men called forlorn. Nothing can dim the glory of that great hour of decision and nothing can minimize its immense significance and its continuing impact upon history.

Unfortunately, the United Nations was subsequently restrained from implementing its Resolution and from seeing it through. It remained for the poorly equipped but fearless and determined fighting forces of Palestine Jewry to uphold

it and to carry it into effect in the face of the combined resistance of the Arab Governments who resorted to war to defeat it, and in the face also -- we must regretfully acknowledge -- of British obstructionism and American indecision, sudden reversals and a crippling arms embargo.

Had the United Nations not failed in this, its first major test involving its authority and prestige, or, to put it more accurately, had Great Britain and the United States not inhibited the United Nations from acting firmly in carrying out its Resolution which had been overwhelmingly adopted after prolonged study and debate, the entire subsequent history of the Middle East, and of the United Nations itself, and its role in other critical international situations which followed, might have been far different indeed. A United Nations Commission had, in February 1948, reported that "powerful Arab interests both inside and outside Palestine are defying the Resolution of the General Assembly and are engaged in a deliberate effort to alter by force the settlement envisaged therein". It was clear to everyone that the provisions outlined in the Charter of the United Nations to meet just such brazen defiance had now to be applied if its position were not to be gravely compromised.

But British foreign policy in the Middle East had long before then been caught and held helpless in the quagmire of Arab appeasement and American foreign policy was just then beginning its ill-fated descent into the self-same bog and for the self-same reasons. Both convergent policies because of their gropings and ambivalence conspired to paralyze the world organization. It should be remembered that this took place at a time when the sharp struggle for the Middle East had not yet arisen between the East and the West. In those years the Soviet Union stood solidly behind the United Nations' Partition Resolution and consistently favored its full implementation.

When its authority/^{was} challenged and flouted by the Arab governments, the United Nations was not permitted to act in a manner sufficiently swift and forceful to convince these governments that the United Nations' decision was final and that they must accommodate themselves to it, if for no other reason than to fulfill

their obligations under the Charter of the United Nations of which they were members. The Arab governments threatened and then resorted to war, and the powerful governments of the West side-tracked their clear responsibilities. The United Nations was forced to go through a meaningless routine of futile gestures and declarations which only served to encourage the aggressor. A precedent was thus established for analogous action in the future and a reputation for ineffectiveness which has bedeviled the United Nations in all its subsequent interventions not only in the Middle East, but in other areas of the world.

It may be reasonably argued that the entire series of events in the Middle East in recent years culminating in the Soviet Union's fateful penetrations into that area can be traced back directly to these early failures in resolute purpose and effective action. There might have been no need at all for a Baghdad Pact, a Sinai-Suez Campaign or an Eisenhower Doctrine. It was the inevitable chain-reaction to appeasement which finally put the Kremlin into Cairo and Damascus -- and the end is not yet.

Some day the United Nations will be granted the full authority to which it is entitled in power as well as in counsel. It will be permitted to speak and act in such a way that all nations will hearken and obey. It will then become what its founders envisaged it to be -- and what mankind prayerfully hopes that it will become -- the true and dependable instrument for international peace. The United Nations, which paved the way for the establishment of the State of Israel, may yet be able to bring peace to that greatly disturbed area of the Middle East if the great power blocs of the East and the West will permit it to act independently of their own competing interests and in conformity with its own principles.

Many of the major problems of ten years ago remain unsolved. The Palestine war is not ended. Only a troubled armistice exists, but no peace. The presence of United Nations' forces on the Israel-Egyptian borders is proof, if proof were needed, that no peace exists. Blockades and boycotts continue in force against Israel. Israel's security is constantly threatened by the vast stores of arms which the Arab nations are acquiring, mostly, though not exclusively, from Soviet

and by the transparent ^{hoax} objectives behind the belligerency of Arab States

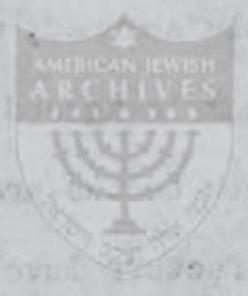
sources, and by the unabated war-mongering Arab propaganda. Israel has been compelled by circumstances to divert much of its national income from social construction to defense. The poverty-stricken Arab peoples have been deprived by the diversionary military adventures of their power-hungry governments, of what might have been a decade of economic development and progress for them and an improvement in their standard of living.

The Arab refugee problem has not been solved. More consideration has been given by the West to Arab governments and their military purposes than to Arab peoples and their dire human needs. Israel has been willing, in spite of its own pressing refugee problem, to make a major contribution to the solution of the Arab refugee problem which was created, not by Israel, but by the belligerency of the Arab governments and their military defiance of the United Nations' Resolution. Israel has been waiting long for a peace conference, which the Arab governments have consistently spurned, where the subject of the refugees can be discussed and concrete proposals agreed upon or for some initiative on the part of governments, friendly both to the Arabs and the Israeli, who are prepared to give priority to the human factors involved over their own political maneuvering.

over

While many major problems of ten years ago still remain unsolved some of the most urgent have been solved. The State of Israel has been established. Close on to a million Jewish refugees fleeing from Hitler's ravaged Europe and from persecutions in Arab countries, have found a home there. There are no more concentration camps of helpless Jewish refugees to defile the face of the earth. A welcoming Jewish homeland, whose doors are wide open, now stands as a beacon of hope and reassurance. The agricultural and industrial progress of the country in a brief decade has amazed the world. While many things still remain incomplete and imperfect, every impartial observer bears witness to the fact that Israel has made good in nearly every area requisite for a civilized national existence. The people of Israel, coming from all parts of the earth, have demonstrated not only skill in pioneering but remarkable valor in the defense of their country as well as an admirable hardihood and a capacity for sacrifices. In all this

These problems mean on thing - ~~away other~~ - our work is not done. The second decade will clamor for their solution. Until they are solved - then
(Cont. on p. 4)



1952

there is presage of hope for tomorrow.

In very truth, those who had a hand in the adoption of the United Nations' Resolution in November 1947 ought to experience a deep sense of gratification.

The work, of course, is unfinished. "No state is built in ten years and certainly no permanent stability can be achieved by any small state in a situation of terrific tension and strain and Israel has been caught, in recent years, in the maelstrom of conflicting world forces. For the next ten years, and for all the years to come, Israel earnestly hopes for three things:

In my address before the United Nations on October 2, 1947, I stated:

" * * * We mean to be good neighbors, not only to the Arab State of Palestine, but to the Arab States throughout the Middle East. And certainly we mean scrupulously to respect the equal rights of the Arab population in the free and democratic Jewish State. With the removal of political friction and bitterness which we hope will eventually result from the setting up of these two independent states, each people master in its own home, it should be possible to usher in an era of progress and regeneration which would be a boon to all the peoples in that important part of the world. What the Jewish people has already achieved in Palestine in a short time and in the face of enormous obstacles is indicative of what it hopes to do in the future along with, and in fullest cooperation with, all of its neighbors.

Neighborliness, however, is a two-sided affair. Sincerely and without reservations, we bring the offer of peace and friendship. If it is met in the same spirit, rich and abundant blessings will redound to all. * * * "

This is the first thing that Israel prayerfully hopes for as it enters the second decade of its existence: peace with all its neighbors -- an opportunity to work with them for the peaceful development of an area of the world in which they have common interests. The existence and prosperity of the State of Israel

are not and will never be a threat to the Arab world. Only irresponsible demagogues bent upon deflecting the attention of the poor Arab masses from demands for desperately needed domestic reform and the end of an economic and political feudalism which has exploited them for centuries will resort to this kind of baseless propaganda. The destruction of the State of Israel would in no way end the appalling conditions of poverty, misery and illiteracy of the exploited Arab people.

"The second great hope of Israel is that the Soviet Union, which so often speaks of the rights of all nations and of the evils of imperialism, will not continue to use Israel as a pawn in its own imperialistic activities to extend its influence in the Middle East." Israel is not a world power and cannot contend with world powers. Its moral right to be established and to exist was fully recognized by the Soviet Union, not only by the fact that it was among the first to grant recognition to the State of Israel, but also by the fact that its spokesman in the United Nations was the very first among the great powers to defend the right of the Jewish people to an independent State in Palestine. You may recall the words spoken by Mr. Gromyko before the United Nations delegates:

"We should not forget here that during the last war the Jewish people suffered exceptional calamities and sufferings. In territories dominated by Hitler, the Jews, as is known, underwent nearly complete physical extermination. Nearly half of the Jewish population of Europe was exterminated. Enormous numbers of the Jews of Europe were deprived of their fatherland, of shelter and of means of subsistence. It is necessary to take care of the necessities of a people which has suffered such tortures. All this explains why the Jews strive to create their own state, and it would be unjust to deny the Jewish people the right to fulfill this desire. The question of the creation of a Jewish state is a wholly mature and urgent problem. * * * "

Nothing has changed since that day when the Soviet representative uttered these words. The State of Israel, during its ten years of existence, has attended strictly to its own affairs and to its own defense. It has fulfilled the expectations of all of its friends even as it has disappointed all of its enemies. It has abided faithfully by the terms of the armistice in spite of numerous provocations. In the Sinai campaign it struck at the clear and present menace to its very existence in the vast armaments for a campaign of destruction which the dictator of Egypt who had -- armaments supplied to it by the Soviet Union. "It is morally reprehensible, to say the least, for the head of the Soviet Union to utter threats of annihilation against the small State of Israel which at no time has given any evidence of hostility towards the government of the Soviet Union or its people."

And finally, Israel hopes that the United States will finally decide, as a measure of enlightened self-interest, if for no other reason, to give it concrete assurances of protection in case of unprovoked attack -- the kind of assurances which it has given to so many other nations. Heretofore our government has tried to meet the Israel-Arab situation with slogans and pronouncements rather than with commitments. These improvised slogans "our objective is peace" "no arms race in the Middle East" "a new look" - while unexceptional in themselves are, unfortunately, quite unrealistic. Our government made certain commitments to some of the Arab countries to offset Soviet influence and this has, to a degree, helped the American position in the Middle East. But, in the case of Israel, no commitments of a binding character have been made, so that Israel today lacks a sense of security, and its neighbors the deterrent force of such commitments. Israel, by its outlook, tradition and way of life, is oriented westward, but it is today beset with grave doubts and questions as to whether this orientation may not in the end prove a disastrous liability to it. Already strong voices are being raised in Israel in behalf of that self-same neutralism which has proved so costly to the West. They ask whether, in fact, neutralism would not be the wiser course for a small state which earnestly wishes to belong to the free world,

but which the free world is unwilling to include in its collective defence.

Perhaps the next decade will witness a rapprochement between the East and the West, consequent upon a realization that neither bloc can destroy the other without destroying itself. Perhaps the world will weary of the war-obsessed in both camps and of their incessant war-cries and war scares. Perhaps a new climate of ideas will come to prevail which will make the concept of co-existence of the great powers which is now regarded by many as a dark heresy and disloyalty, not only acceptable, but even mandatory. Sputnik may yet prove to have been the surprising overture to the pacification of our world. In that event the political fortunes of Israel as well as of all small nations will brighten considerably.

I should like to conclude my remarks this evening with the words which I spoke before the United Nations General Assembly on April 28, 1947:

" * * * We are an ancient people and though we have often, on the long, hard road which we have travelled, been disillusioned, we have never been disheartened. We have never lost faith in the sovereignty and the ultimate triumph of great moral principles." * *

This faith, my dear friends, sustains the hopes and the hearts of the people of Israel today as it looks back upon ten years of achievement and struggle and as it looks forward to the coming years which will undoubtedly also be years of struggle, but we hope also years of even greater and ampler achievement.

Address delivered before the

METROPOLITAN ZIONIST DINNER

Waldorf-Astoria Hotel New York
November 25, 1957

by

DR. ABBA HILIEL SILVER

The United Nations' decision on Palestine on November 29, 1947 came in the second year of the existence of that organization. It remains, to this day, its most notable moral achievement. For the Jewish people it was a turning point in its history, the realization of a bi-millennial hope and the culmination of generations of struggle and sacrifice. Forever honored in the annals of our ancient people will remain the names of those friendly governments and statesmen who came to our aid. Nothing can dim the glory of that great hour of decision and nothing can minimize its immense significance and its continuing impact upon history.

Unfortunately, the United Nations was subsequently restrained from implementing its decision and from seeing it through. It remained for the poorly equipped but determined fighting forces of Palestine Jewry to uphold and to carry into effect the decision of the United Nations in the face of the combined resistance of the Arab Governments who resorted to war to defeat it, and in the face also of British obstructionism and American indecision, reversals and a crippling arms embargo.

Had the United Nations not failed in this, its first major test which involved its authority and prestige, or, to put it more accurately, had Great Britain and the United States not inhibited the United Nations from acting resolutely in carrying out its decision which had been overwhelmingly adopted after prolonged study and debate, the entire subsequent history of the Middle East, and of the United Nations itself, and its role in other critical international situations might have been far different indeed. A United Nations Commission

had reported in February 1948 that "powerful Arab interests both inside and outside Palestine are defying the resolution of the General Assembly and are engaged in a deliberate effort to alter by force the settlement envisaged therein". It was clear that the provisions outlined in the charter of the United Nations to meet just such a defiance had now to be applied.

But British foreign policy in the Middle East had long before then been caught helpless in the quagmire of Arab appeasement and American foreign policy was just then beginning its descent into the self-same bog and for the self-same reasons. Both convergent policies in their uncertain gropings and ambivalence, conspired to paralyze the world organization. It should be remembered that this took place long before the sharp differences over the Middle East developed between the East and the West. In those years the Soviet Union stood solidly behind the United Nations' Partition resolutions and called for its full implementation.

When its authority was flouted by the Arab governments, the United Nations was not permitted to act in a manner sufficiently swift and forceful to convince these governments that the United Nations' decision was final and that they must accommodate themselves to it, in fulfillment of their clear obligations as members of the United Nations. The Arab governments threatened and then resorted to war and the powerful governments of the West side-tracked their responsibilities. The United Nations was forced to capitulate. A precedent was established for analogous action in the future as well as a reputation for weakness and ineffectiveness which has tragically bedeviled all its subsequent urgent interventions not only in the Middle East but elsewhere in the world.

It may well be argued that the entire series of events in the Middle East in recent years culminating in the Soviet Union's fateful penetrations into that area can be traced back directly to these early blunders and failures in resolute purpose and in effective action. There might have been no need at all for a Baghdad Pact, a Sinai-Suez Campaign or an Eisenhower Doctrine. It was the chain-reaction to appeasement which finally put the Kremlin into Cairo and Damascus -- and the end is not yet.

Some day the United Nations will be granted the authority to which it is entitled in power as well as in counsel. It will be permitted to speak and act in such a way that all nations will hearken. It will then become what its founders envisaged it to be -- and what mankind prayerfully hopes that it will become -- the true and dependable instrument for international peace. The United Nations paved the way for the establishment of the State of Israel. If the great power blocs of the East and the West will now permit it to act independently of their own competing interests in the Middle East, it may yet be able to bring peace to that greatly disturbed area of the world.

Many of the major problems of ten years ago remain unsolved. The Palestine war is really not ended -- a troubled armistice exists, but no peace. The presence of United Nations' forces on the Israel-Egyptian borders is proof that no peace exists. Blockades and boycotts continue in force against Israel. Israel's security is constantly threatened by the sharply augmented arming of the Arab nations, mostly, though not exclusively, from Soviet sources, and by the unabated war-mongering Arab propaganda. Israel has been compelled by circumstances to divert much of its national income from social construction to defense. The poverty-stricken Arab peoples have been deprived by the diversionary military adventures of their power-hungry governments, of what might have been a decade of economic development and progress and improvement in their standard of living.

The Arab refugee problem has not been solved. More consideration has been given to Arab governments and their military purposes than to Arab peoples and their dire human needs. Israel has been prepared, in spite of its own pressing refugee problem, to make a major contribution to the solution of the problem of Arab refugees, created by the belligerency of their governments and their military defiance of the United Nations' decision. It has been waiting long for a peace conference, which the Arab governments have consistently spurned, where the subject can be discussed and concrete proposals agreed upon; or for some initiative on the part of important governments, friendly both to the Arabs and the Israeli, who are prepared to give priority to the human factors involved over political

maneuvering.

While many major problems of ten years ago still remain unsolved some of the most urgent have been solved. The State of Israel has been established. Close on to a million Jewish refugees fleeing from Hitler's devastated Europe and from persecutions in Arab countries, have found a home there. There are no more concentration camps of helpless Jewish refugees defiling the face of the earth. A welcoming Jewish homeland, whose doors are wide open, now stands as a beacon of hope and reassurance. The remarkable agricultural and industrial progress of the country in a brief decade have amazed the world. While many things still remain incomplete and imperfect, every impartial observer bears witness to the fact that Israel has made good in nearly every area of a civilized national existence. The people of Israel, coming from all parts of the earth, have demonstrated not only skill in pioneering but remarkable valor in the defense of their country as well as an admirable hardihood and a capacity for sacrifices.

In very truth, those who had a hand in the adoption of the United Nations' Resolution in November 1947 ought to experience a deep sense of gratification. The work, of course, is unfinished. No state is built in ten years and certainly no permanent stability can be achieved by a small state in an atmosphere of terrific tension and strain when it is caught in the maelstrom of conflicting world forces. For the next ten years, and for all the years to come, Israel earnestly hopes for three things:

In my address before the United Nations on October 2, 1947, I stated:

" * * * We mean to be good neighbors, not only to the Arab State of Palestine, but to the Arab States throughout the Middle East. And certainly we mean scrupulously to respect the equal rights of the Arab population in the free and democratic Jewish State. With the removal of political friction and bitterness which we hope will eventually result from the setting up of these two independent states, each people master in its own home, it should be possible to usher in an era of progress and regeneration which would be a

boon to all the peoples in that important part of the world.

What the Jewish people has already achieved in Palestine in a short time and in the face of enormous obstacles is indicative of what it hopes to do in the future along with, and in fullest cooperation with, all of its neighbors.

Neighborliness, however, is a two-sided affair. Sincerely and without reservations, we bring the offer of peace and friendship. If it is met in the same spirit, rich and abundant blessings will redound to all. * * * "

This is the first thing that Israel prayerfully hopes for as it enters the second decade of its existence: peace with all its neighbors -- an opportunity to work with them for the peaceful development of that vast and important area of the world. The existence and prosperity of the State of Israel are in no way a threat to the Arab world. Only irresponsible demagogues bent upon deflecting the attention of the poor Arab masses from demands for domestic reform and the end of an economic and political feudalism which has exploited them for centuries will resort to this kind of baseless propaganda. The destruction of the State of Israel would in no way end the conditions of poverty, misery and illiteracy of the exploited Arab people.

The second great hope of Israel is that the Soviet Union, which so often speaks of the rights of nations and of the evils of imperialism, will not be tempted to use Israel as a pawn in its own transparent maneuvers to extend its influence in the Middle East. Israel is not a world power and cannot contend with world powers. Its moral right to be established and to exist was fully recognized by the Soviet Union, not only by the fact that it was among the first to grant recognition to the State of Israel, but that its spokesman in the United Nations was the very first among the great powers to proclaim the right of the Jewish people to an independent State in Palestine. I quote the words of Mr. Gromyko:

"We should not forget here that during the last war the Jewish people suffered exceptional calamities and sufferings. In territories dominated by Hitler, the Jews, as is known, underwent nearly complete physical extermination. Nearly half of the Jewish population of Europe was exterminated. Enormous numbers of the Jews of Europe were deprived of their fatherland, of shelter and of means of subsistence. It is necessary to take care of the necessities of a people which has suffered such tortures. * * *

All this explains why the Jews strive to create their own state, and it would be unjust to deny the Jewish people the right to fulfill this desire. The question of the creation of a Jewish state is a wholly mature and urgent problem. * * "

Nothing has changed since the day when the Soviet representative uttered these words. The State of Israel, during its ten years of existence, has attended strictly to its own affairs and to its own defense. It has fulfilled the expectations of all of its friends even where it has disappointed all of its enemies. It has abided faithfully by the terms of the armistice in spite of numerous provocations. In the Sinai campaign it struck at the clear and present menace of the dictator of Egypt who had amassed vast armaments for a campaign to destroy the State of Israel -- armaments supplied to it by the Soviet Union. It is morally reprehensible, to say the least, to have the head of the Soviet Union utter threats of annihilation against the small State of Israel which at no time has given any evidence of hostility towards the Soviet Union.

And finally, the third sovereign hope of the State of Israel is that the United States would finally give it concrete assurance of protection in case of unprovoked attack -- the kind of assurance which it has given to so many other nations. Heretofore our government has tried to meet the Israel-Arab situation with slogans and pronouncements rather than with commitments. These improvised

slogans "our objective is peace" "no arms race in the Middle East" "a new look" - while unexceptional in themselves are, unfortunately, quite unrealistic. Our government made certain commitments to some of the Arab countries to offset Soviet influence and this has, to a degree, helped the American position in the Middle East. But, in the case of Israel, no commitments of a sure and binding character have been made, so that Israel today lacks a sense of security, and its neighbors the deterrant force of such commitments. Israel, by its whole way of life and its outlook, is oriented westward, but it is beset today with serious doubts whether this orientation will in the end prove a terrific liability to it. Already strong voices are being raised in Israel that neutralism which has proved so costly to the west may not, in fact, be the wiser course for a small state which wishes to belong to the free world, but which the free world is not prepared to defend.

I should like to conclude my remarks this evening with the words which I spoke before the United Nations General Assembly on April 28, 1947:

" * * * We are an ancient people and though we have often, on the long, hard road which we have travelled, been disillusioned, we have never been disheartened. We have never lost faith in the sovereignty and the ultimate triumph of great moral principles." * *

This faith, my dear friends, sustains the hopes and the hearts of the people of Israel today as it looks back upon ten years of achievement and struggle and as it looks forward to the coming years which will undoubtedly also be years of achievement and struggle.

ADDRESS DELIVERED BEFORE THE UNITED NATIONS

OCTOBER 2, 1947

* * *

We mean to be good neighbors, not only to the Arab State of Palestine, but to the Arab States throughout the Middle East. And certainly we mean scrupulously to respect the equal rights of the Arab population in the free and democratic Jewish State. With the removal of political friction and bitterness which we hope will eventually result from the setting up of these two independent states, each people master in its own home, it should be possible to usher in an era of progress and regeneration which would be a boon to all the peoples in that important part of the world. What the Jewish people has already achieved in Palestine in a short time and in the face of enormous obstacles is indicative of what it hopes to do in the future along with, and in fullest cooperation with, all of its neighbors.

Neighborliness, however, is a two-sided affair. Sincerely and without reservations, we bring the offer of peace and friendship. If it is met in the same spirit, rich and abundant blessings will redound to all. If not, we shall be compelled to do what any people must do under such circumstances, defend our rights to the utmost. We have builded a nation in Palestine. That nation now demands its independence. It will not be dislodged. Its national status will not be denied. We are asked to make an enormous sacrifice to attain that which, if uninterfered with, we would have attained long ago. In sadness, and most reluctantly, we are prepared to make this sacrifice. Beyond it we cannot, we will not go.

* * *

W We should not forget here that during the last war the Jewish people suffered exceptional calamities and sufferings. In territories dominated by Hitler, the Jews, as is known, underwent nearly complete physical extermination. Nearly half of the Jewish population of Europe was exterminated. Enormous numbers of the Jews of Europe were deprived of their fatherland, of shelter and of means of subsistence. It is necessary to take care of the necessities of a people which has suffered such tortures. * * *

All this explains why the Jews strive to create their own state, and it would be unjust to deny the Jewish people the right to fulfill this desire. ~~The~~ ^{The} question of the creation of a Jewish state is a wholly mature and urgent problem.

One cannot avoid the solution of this problem, no matter what efforts are made to complicate it and to drown it in a sea of references to historical events, going back to the depth of the ages and even of millenniums.

Taking into account all that has been said above, it is necessary to stress particularly that the Jewish people, as other peoples as well, have the right that its fate, its security and welfare would not be dependent upon the mercy and good-will of this or another state. And we can help in this the Jewish people, acting in accordance with the principles of the Charter of the United Nations, which provides the insuring of the right of every people to self-determination and independence. * * *

ADDRESS DELIVERED BEFORE THE UNITED NATIONS GENERAL ASSEMBLY

APRIL 28, 1947

* * *

I hope, Mr. Chairman, that I have not abused your patience and the patience of the representatives of the United Nations here assembled. Permit me to conclude with this observation: The Jewish people places great hope upon the outcome of the deliberations of this great body. It has faith in its collective sense of justice and fairness, and in the high ideals which inspire it.

[We are an ancient people and though we have often, on the long, hard road which we have travelled, been disillusioned, we have never been disheartened. We have never lost faith in the sovereignty and the ultimate triumph of great moral principles.] In these last tragic years when the whole household of Israel became one great hostelry of pain, we could not have builded what we did build had we not preserved our unshakeable trust in the victory of truth. It is in that strong faith and hope that we wish to cooperate with you in this task which you have undertaken.

* * *

AMERICAN LIONIST NOV-DEC 1957

MID-EAST PEACE CAN BE ATTAINED BY FREE U.N. 57-1(?)

by Dr. Abba Hillel Silver

THE United Nations' decision on Palestine on November 29, 1947 came in the second year of the existence of that organization. It remains, to this day, its most notable moral achievement. For the Jewish people it was a turning point in its history, the realization of a bi-millennial hope and the culmination of generations of struggle and sacrifice. Forever honored in the annals of our ancient people will remain the names of those friendly governments and statesmen who came to our aid. Nothing can dim the glory of that great hour of decision and nothing can minimize its immense significance and its continuing impact upon history.

Unfortunately, the United Nations was subsequently restrained from implementing its decision and from seeing it through. It remained for the poorly equipped but determined fighting forces of Palestine Jewry to uphold and to carry into effect the decision of the United Nations in the face of the combined resistance of the Arab Governments who resorted to war to defeat it, and in the face also of British obstructionism and American indecision, reversals and a crippling arms embargo.

Had the United Nations not failed in this, its first major test which involved its authority and prestige, or, to put it more accurately, had Great Britain and the United States not inhibited the United Nations from acting resolutely in carrying out its decision which had been overwhelmingly adopted after prolonged study and debate, the entire subsequent history of the Middle East, and of the United Nations itself, and its role in other critical international situations would have been far different indeed.

But British foreign policy in the Middle East had long before then been caught helpless in the quagmire of Arab appeasement and American foreign policy was just then beginning its descent into the self-same bog and for the self-same reasons. Both convergent policies in their uncertain gropings and ambivalence, conspired to paralyze the world organization. It should be remembered that this took place long before the sharp differences over the Middle East which developed between the East and the West rendered the United Nations helpless. In those years the Soviet Union

(Continued on Page 4)

Mid-East Peace Can Be Attained

(Continued from Page 1)

stood solidly behind the United Nations' Partition decision and called for its full implementation.

When its authority was flouted by the Arab governments, the United Nations was not permitted to act in a manner sufficiently swift and forceful to convince these governments that the United Nations' decision was final and that they must accommodate themselves to it, in fulfillment of their clear obligations as members of the United Nations. The Arab governments threatened and then resorted to war and the powerful governments of the West side-tracked their responsibilities. The United Nations was forced to capitulate. A precedent was established for analogous action in the future as well as a reputation for weakness and ineffectiveness which has tragically bedeviled all its subsequent urgent interventions not only in the Middle East but elsewhere in the world.

IT may well be argued that the entire series of events in the Middle East in recent years culminating in the Soviet Union's fateful penetrations into that area can be traced back directly to these early blunders and failures in resolute purpose and in effective action. There might have been no need at all for a Baghdad Pact, a Sinai-Suez Campaign or an Eisenhower Doctrine. It was the chain reaction to appeasement which finally put the Kremlin into Cairo and Damascus—and the end is not yet.

Some day the United Nations will be granted the sovereignty to which it is entitled in might as well as in counsel. It will be permitted to speak and act in such a way that all nations will harken. It will then become what its founders envisaged it to be—and what mankind prayerfully hopes that it will become—the true and dependable instrument for international peace. The United Nations paved the way for the establishment of the State of Israel. If the great power blocs of the East and the West will now permit it to act independently of their own competing interests in the Middle East, it may yet be able to bring peace to that greatly disturbed area of the world.

Many of the major problems of ten years ago remain unsolved. The Palestine war is really not ended—a troubled armistice exists, but no peace. The presence of United Nations' forces on the Israel-Egyptian borders is proof that no peace exists. Blockades and boycotts continue in force against Israel. Israel's security is constantly threatened by the sharply augmented arming of the Arab nations, mostly, though not exclusively, from Soviet sources, and by the unabated war-

mongering Arab propaganda. Israel has been compelled by circumstances to divert much of its national income from social construction to defense. The poverty-stricken Arab peoples have been deprived by the diversionary military adventures of their power-hungry governments, of what might have been a decade of economic development and progress and improvement in their standard of living.

THE Arab refugee problem has not been solved. More consideration has been given to Arab governments and their military purposes than to Arab peoples and their dire human needs. Israel has been prepared, in spite of its own pressing refugee problem, to make a major contribution to the solution of the problem of Arab refugees, created by the belligerency of their governments and their military defiance of the United Nations' decision. It has been waiting long for a peace conference, which the Arab governments have consistently spurned, where the subject can be discussed and concrete proposals agreed upon; or for some initiative on the part of important governments, friendly both to the Arabs and the Israeli, who are prepared to give priority to the human factors involved over political maneuvering.

While many major problems of ten years ago still remain unsolved some of the most urgent have been solved. The State of Israel has been established. Close on to a million Jewish refugees fleeing from Hitler's devastated Europe and from persecutions in Arab countries, have found a home there. There are no more concentration camps of helpless Jewish refugees defiling the face of the earth. A welcoming Jewish homeland, whose doors are wide open, now stands as a beacon of hope and reassurance. The remarkable agricultural and industrial progress of the country in a brief decade have amazed the world. While many things still remain incomplete and imperfect, every impartial observer bears witness to the fact that Israel has made good in nearly every area of a civilized national existence. The people of Israel, coming from all parts of the earth, have demonstrated not only skill in pioneering but remarkable valor in the defense of their country as well as an admirable hardihood and a capacity for sacrifices.

In very truth, those who had a hand in the adoption of the United Nations' Resolution in November 1947 ought to experience a deep sense of gratification.

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sanctioning the establishment of a Jewish State*

Tendered by the
ZIONIST ORGANIZATION OF AMERICA
and its Metropolitan Regions

Under the auspices of the
AMERICAN ZIONIST FUND

HOTEL WALDORF-ASTORIA
NEW YORK CITY

NOVEMBER 25, 1957



The Jewish people belongs in this society of nations. Surely the Jewish people is no less deserving than other peoples whose national freedom and independence have been established and whose representatives are now seated here. The Jewish people were your Allies in the war and joined their sacrifices to yours to achieve a common victory. The representatives of the Jewish people of Palestine should sit in your midst—the representatives of the people and of the land which gave to mankind spiritual and ethical values, inspiring human personalities, and sacred texts which are your treasured possessions. We hope that that people, now again rebuilding its national life in its ancient homeland, will be welcomed before long by you to this noble fellowship of the United Nations.

DR. ABBA HILLEL SILVER

*First presentation of the Jewish Case,
before the Political Committee of the
United Nations General Assembly
May 8, 1947*



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