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Zionist Organization of America Convention address, 1957.

ADDRESS DELIVERED BY
DR. ABBA HILLEL SILVER
AT THE 60TH ANNIVERSARY CONVENTION
OF THE
ZIONIST ORGANIZATION OF AMERICA

SEPTEMBER 14, 1957

The last 60 years wrote one of the most amazing and revolutionary chapters, glorious as well as tragic, in all human history. I do not refer to the scientific inventions and discoveries of these years which link the electric with the atomic age. I have in mind the crucial political and social transformations of these six decades -- the disintegration of vast empires, the birth of more than thirty new states, the gigantic struggle of economic systems, the profound and as yet, unresolved conflict between democracy and dictatorship, the rise and fall of Fascism and Nazism, and the spread of communism.

It is against the background of these unprecedented social and political upheavals which uprooted old systems and the ways of life of many peoples that we must view the history of our own people. Many people suffered bitterly during these convulsive years but none paid as high a price as the Jewish people. None came as close to total annihilation. One need not review here the fearful catalogue of disasters. We ourselves know it all too well; the rest of the world is hardly eager to be reminded.

But the darkness of these years went not entirely unrelieved. They gave us the Zionist movement, the renaissance of Hebrew Culture and the birth of the State of Israel. They also established for our people flourishing centers of life and freedom in the New World.

The strong nationalist movements of the 19th and early 20th centuries which were frequently intolerant of the rights of minorities, and gave rise to an intensified anti-semitism in many countries, also lent great force and cogency to Jewish nationalist aspirations. The barbaric excesses against our people which followed the First World War and those of Fascism and Nazism before and during the Second World War dramatized the tragic problem of Jewish national homelessness and placed it urgently and undeniably upon the agenda of world statesmanship. Everything - every form of anti-Semitism and

persecution tensed and keyed up to an unprecedented climax of violence, so that they could no longer be ignored. Important sections of world Jewry, long beguiled by millennial dreams of universalism and cosmopolitanism, were rudely shaken out of their wishful thinking and were forced to confront the stark realities of their existence. This was the beginning of their spiritual redemption. All these factors combined to bring about the political emancipation of our people, and the re-establishment of the third Jewish Commonwealth.

Not automatically, of course! History follows no lines of external pressures alone. Without the long-sustained and religiously-nurtured hope of national restoration, and the unbroken will of the masses of our people to see Zion rebuilt, without inspiring leadership and competent organization and untold sacrifices, the opportunities which the political events during the two world wars presented would have been missed, and the great moment would have passed us by again. The Zionist movement, and all that preceded it in slow, painstaking organizational and educational work, the dedicated labors of writers, teachers and propagandists, the creative achievements of two generations of pioneers, had fortunately readied the Jewish people for just such an historic moment. When the decisive hour arrived the spear did not lack the shaft again, nor the sword its hilt.

This we should always remember! Without an organized and mobilized world Jewry, the State of Israel would never have been established -- and without it -- it cannot be sustained.

The first line of Israel's political and economic defense is world Jewry. Even Israel's superb army must in the last analysis depend upon the material resources which, in large part, the Jews of the world must make available. The great world powers, competing for Arab friendship, have not opened, nor are they likely to open their arsenals to Israel, as they have to the Arabs. Each of the world powers is arming its own prote'ge'. Israel is the prote'ge' of neither.

The fortunes of Israel in the maelstrom of the Near East are unpredictable. Global forces have chosen that area as their arena for decisive conflict. This has occurred often in the past. Until that conflict is resolved, and peacefully, we hope,

and until Israel's Arab neighbors have reconciled themselves to its existence, the Near East will be full of explosive tensions and the position of Israel will be fraught with danger. ✓

A not uninformed head of a great Asiatic power recently called the Middle East "the most delicate and explosive part of this world's surface." Yesterday Egypt was the burning fuse. Today it is Syria. Tomorrow -- who knows? The Soviet will always be there to make sure that some fuse is ignited. For the Soviet is interested neither in Egypt or Syria or in any other Arab state, or in any cause, for that matter, including communism, but in acquiring a dominant position for itself in an important part of the world from which it had been heretofore excluded.

It is acknowledged everywhere that our country must and will continue to play a special role in the Near East. Its own legitimate interests and the interests of the free world demand it. The political fortunes of Israel will depend largely upon American policy in that part of the world. It is clear, on the basis of what has already transpired, that the Soviet Union is firmly resolved to penetrate the Near East and, if possible, to Sovietize it, and will not hesitate to sacrifice Israel to win over the Arab world. There seems to be no limit to its expansionist ambitions, ruthlessness and cynical opportunism. There are powerful oil and other interests in our own country who would not hesitate to advocate a similar policy. We cannot conceive that our government will yield to any such pressures and adopt a policy so alien to its traditions, its sympathies, its moral commitments and so repugnant to the sentiments of the overwhelming majority of its citizens. But the continuing pressures may achieve some partial success nevertheless. The continuing crisis, in part the result of earlier mistakes, may induce our State Department to favor even more drastic appeasement measures which will do irreparable hurt to Israel. The Eisenhower Doctrine in no way shelters Israel from possible attacks by neighboring Arab states, whether they be pro or anti-Soviet. It is, in our judgment, a vain hope that peace in the Near East will be secured and Soviet penetration halted by sending additional jets, tanks and other armament to the so-called friendly Arab states. Only a firm guarantee by our government to defend Israel against aggression, similar to the guarantees which it has given to numerous other countries -

not a guarantee by allusion or nebulous implications, will sober the Arab political opportunists of both coalitions, will convince them of the helplessness of their intrigues, will force them to turn their attentions, if they mean to remain in power, to the solution of the grave domestic problems of their countries and will put an end to their successful game of international black-mail.

Until this position is accepted by our government -- and in time, I believe, it will be accepted -- the very armaments which our government is now pouring into the Arab states of the northern-tier coalition and those which it had previously sent them, may very well in time, be joined with the arms which the Arab states of the other coalition are receiving from the Soviet Union, against Israel -- if not in outright war, then in massive pressure to force unwarranted concessions from it.

In passing, it might well be recalled that when Israel pressed for arms, following Egypt's acquisition of vast armaments from Czechoslovakia, it was refused on the ground that the United States Government did not wish to engage in an arms race in the Near East. At that very moment an arms race was actually going on in the Near East and our own government was an active participant.

Today our government is hectically speeding up our arms shipments to Jordan, Iraq, Turkey, Lebanon and Saudi Arabia -- but still no arms shipments to Israel! Why, one wonders, are arms shipped to Jordan to counter-balance Soviet arms shipments to Syria, while arms were denied Israel following the shipment of Soviet arms to Egypt? Who invents these pious formulas which, on the face of them, are unrelated to actualities and are ignored at the very time of their promulgation by the very people who promulgate them?

Surveying the precipitate activities in the Near East at this moment, one wonders whether our State Department really hopes to find an air-lift solution for the problems of that disturbed area, one which will by-pass Israel. Israel cannot be by-passed. It is at the very core of any sound solution.

In view of all this it is of utmost urgency that world Jewry and especially American Jewry, should remain mobilized to defend what it has painstakingly and honorably built, and that the Zionist movement which organized world Jewry politically and economically ~~for the great and successful international effort, should~~

for the great and successful national effort, should continue to give it effective and intelligent direction and guidance in the future. It is not the result of a miracle that we have a State, and it would be useless to trust to miracles in the future

It is futile to engage at this time in a heated debate about the meaning of the term "Zionist" or about the precise future relationship between Israel and the Diaspora. Were the times not so perilous, we might perhaps permit ourselves the luxury of an academic competition in semantic dialectics, bearing in mind, however, how mischievous such diversions may sometimes become and recalling how much our movement was bedeviled in the past by those who sought to undermine it by a cunning resort to sundry formal definitions of race, nation, nationality, religion and culture. "Qanis definitio periculosa est," declared the great humanist Erasmus. "Every definition is full of dangers." Except in the strictly scientific fields, concise and uncompromising definitions neither simplify nor clarify fundamental human situations. Those who built Zion were not motivated by any definitions but by the totality of their existence and experience. It was only those who sought escape from their obligations as Jews who found refuge and rationalizations in definitions. Not a single Jew will ever be inspired to settle in Israel by being warned that unless he does so he cannot call himself a "Zionist." So he will not call himself a Zionist! nor join a Zionist organization, nor attend Zionist meetings, nor read Zionist literature. Will all this make him a stronger friend of Israel? Is it through labels and badges, bestowed or withheld, that Israel will attract immigration, especially from those countries where Jews are at peace and enjoy the rights of citizenship? In the past we called "Zionist" anyone who believed in and worked for the reestablishment of the State of Israel, and likewise, today, we should call "Zionist" anyone who believes in and works for the strengthening and consolidation, the defense and security of the now established State of Israel! There are, of course, degrees of dedication and commitment and corresponding satisfactions.

If any Jew wishes to confine his interest in Israel exclusively to economic assistance, we certainly have no quarrel with him. His help is fully welcomed and greatly appreciated. But Israel requires more than that and will require more for a

very long time to come. Those who are prepared to give more - to retain or to assume disciplined organizational responsibility in order to insure that these additional requirements are fully met under all hazards and all conditions, against all winds and tides, and to give direction to the activities of Diaspora Jewry in behalf of Israel, which the State of Israel itself clearly cannot give, are "Zionists" in the old and time-honored tradition of the term. Whether an individual Zionist chooses to settle in Israel and assume Israeli citizenship is a matter of his own personal preference and decision. If he can make such a decision he is doubly blessed and privileged but it was never a sine qua non of Zionist ideology. The Zionist movement never contemplated the resettlement of all Jews in the Jewish State. There was never a time in the last 23 centuries of Jewish history where such a condition prevailed. The Zionist movement aimed to restore the Jewish State, to give the Jewish people an equal status among the free nations of the world and to provide a national home, open at all times, to all Jews who would wish, or who would have to go there. To make Zionism synonymous with the personal obligation of every Zionist to emigrate to Israel is a distortion of the classic Zionist position.

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It is gratifying to note that the importance of maintaining a strong Zionist organization in the Diaspora is now being vigorously defended even by those who previously had been indifferent or critical of the idea when it was advocated by some of us soon after the establishment of the State. At that time the insistence upon maintaining the prestige and authority of the Zionist movement for the sake of Israel as well as world Jewry was interpreted as a long-distance attempt on the part of certain Zionist leaders outside of Israel to run the affairs of the State of Israel. I note that the present, rather tardy, and we are afraid, rather helpless champions of the same idea are likewise being chided and their motives impugned. There is little comfort in all this for anyone except for those who would like to see the unity of world Jewry disrupted, the remaining disciplined Zionist forces scattered in confusion, and a wall of separation erected between the Jewish State in Israel and the Jewish people outside Israel. Let us not fill the air with monopolistic wrangles and heated discussions about competences and priorities, about who is a builder and who is a helper. Let us think less of what is mine and thine,

but what is ours -- our common tasks, our common burdens, our common responsibilities in this grave hour.

What have the last 60 years given to our people? Of misfortune and tragedy, no end. From the pogroms of Odessa and Kisheneff to the death camps of Belsen and Treblinka, myriads of tortured and slain, endless files of refugees and exiles, and countless centers of Jewish life rich in culture and history laid waste. These compose the toll of the irretrievable losses of those calamitous years for which there can be neither balm, nor comfort, nor recompense.

But these years have also given our people a renewed confidence in their power of survival, in their capacity to surmount disaster and to build upon ruins and loss.

Sixty years ago, Dr. Theodore Herzl wrote: "Yes, we are strong enough to form a State, and indeed a model State. We possess all human and material resources for the purpose!" Since then the Jewish people vindicated this prophetic faith of the immortal Herzl, and in spite of the vast afflictions and calamities which beset them, proved themselves strong enough and possessed of sufficient human and material resources to build a State -- and we hope one which will become a model State. The kingly dream was made a reality by a ravaged people which knew how to unlock reservoirs of strength and confidence within itself. We belong to a generation that did not fail. With this thrush of confidence, made manifest by innumerable acts of self-liberation, came a reborn national self-respect which has been the elixir of our souls and the souls of our children, ever since the creation and the heroic defense of the State of Israel. Some indefinable grace has come back into our lives -- a tone, a quickening like the sap of earth in Spring, a spiritual quality which has been lacking all these dark and prideless centuries of our national homelessness.

These sixty years have produced a renaissance of Hebrew culture, undreamed of, and in fact, despaired of, in the closing years of the last century. A superb creative era set in which gathered momentum as it moved triumphantly into the formative years of the new State. This reawakened interest in the Hebrew language and literature and in Jewish learning and study generally has not been confined to the borders of Israel,

but is being felt in nearly all the habitations of our people.

Indeed, the events which have transpired are steadily reinstating Judaism, the historic faith of Israel, into its place of centrality in Jewish life. There are marked indications that our youth, our intellectuals, our erstwhile secular nationalists are rediscovering with agreeable surprise, the rich spiritual heritage of their people. The tolerant or even negative attitude towards Judaism which was an aberrant by-product of 19th century "enlightenment" and "emancipation" is giving way to an attitude far more receptive, positive, and reverent. If this proves to be more than a passing phenomenon then we shall be fortunate indeed. Our hope of survival will then be deep-rooted. We shall be continuously replenished with spiritual energies which will enable us to withstand every crisis. We shall have provision sufficient for the long journey ahead, and, as we move into the inscrutable future, we shall know that "the jar of meal shall never be spent and the cruse of oil shall never fail us."

The continuation of a diaspora Jewry without Judaism is inconceivable. Even in Israel, nationalism will not prove enough, either for the nation itself or for its individual citizens. Certainly the Jewish people outside of Israel will not long survive without their distinctive religion and their organized religious institutions of schools and synagogues.

With our faith to sustain and inspire us we can face the oncoming years undaunted. We shall also be greatly helped if we do not forget the lessons of the last sixty years -- how we beguiled ourselves and were betrayed by others, how our illusions were consumed in the gas-chambers of alien lands, and how we found redemption at last in self-emancipation. Let us remember the hard years of struggle and rewarding days of the purpose accomplished. And let us be open-eyed and resolute in the future - for we have a long way to go.

We have been admonished by our seers and sages always to remember. "Remember what Amalek did to you on the way...when you were faint and weary...you shall not forget"... "Remember this day in which you came out from Egypt..."

The God of Israel is a God of remembrance! I stood, this summer, in a lonely and deserted synagogue in Toledo, Spain. It was the synagogue built by Samuel Abulafia, the Treasurer of Pedro the Cruel, in the 14th century. The fate of this small, but beautiful synagogue was like the fate of the Jewish community of Toledo itself, which had been so prosperous and numerous long ago and had produced so many great scholars, poets and philosophers, the home of Judah Halevi, al-Harizi, Abraham Ibn Ezra, and so many others. Its history terminated in 1492 with the expulsion of all Jews from Spain. This synagogue was then abandoned. It was later converted into a church, renamed El Transito, and still later was turned into a national monument.

The Hebrew inscriptions however are still visible on the walls and can be readily deciphered above their exquisite frieze. They are, in the main, quotations from the Bible. I read them with the closest interest, as you may well imagine. One quotation from the Psalms particularly struck me because of the special setting of the time and place in which I found myself.

"He remembers His covenant forever, the word which He proclaimed into a thousand generations... Saying, 'to you will I give the land of Canaan as your portion for your inheritance'."

I read these freighted words of prophecy in a synagogue which had been sorrowfully abandoned by its exile-bound worshippers, nearly half a millenium ago. I could not help but think of that Promised Land, the Land of Canaan, at the other end of the Mediterranean

and of the reborn State of Israel and of the burdgeoning new life and hope there. And I said to myself, "surely, He did remember His covenant, the word which He proclaimed into a thousand generations..."

On the occasion of this 60th anniversary of the first Zionist Congress of the founding of the Zionist Movement, and of the Zionist Organization of America, let us resolve to remember. Let us take our precious memories along with us and, guided by their light and challenged by their mandates, let us move resolutely forward into the oncoming years towards the new tasks and opportunities which await us.

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It is against the background of these unprecedented social and political upheavals which uprooted old systems and the ways of life of many peoples that we must view the history of our own people. Many people suffered bitterly during these convulsive years but none paid as high a price as the Jewish people. None came as close to total annihilation. One need not review here the fearful catalogue of disasters. We ourselves know it all too well; the rest of the world is hardly eager to be reminded.

But the darkness of these years went not entirely unrelieved. They gave us the Zionist movement, the renaissance of Hebrew Culture and the birth of the State of Israel. They also established for our people flourishing centers of life and freedom in the New World.

The strong nationalist movements of the 19th and early 20th centuries which were frequently intolerant of the rights of minorities, and gave rise to an intensified anti-semitism in many countries, also lent great force and cogency to Jewish nationalist aspirations. The barbaric excesses against our people which followed the First World War and those of Fascism and Naziism before and during the Second World War dramatized the tragic problem of Jewish national homelessness and placed it urgently and undeniably upon the agenda of world statesmanship. ^{Im-}portant sections of world Jewry, long beguiled by millennial dreams of universalism and cosmopolitanism, were rudely shaken out of their wishful thinking and were forced to confront the stark realities of their existence. This was the beginning of their spiritual redemption. All these factors combined to bring about the political emancipation of our people, and the re-establishment of the third Jewish Commonwealth.

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alone. Without the long-sustained and religiously-nurtured hope of national restoration, and the unbroken will of the masses of our people to see Zion rebuilt, without inspiring leadership and competent organization and untold sacrifices, the opportunities which the political events during the two world wars presented would have been missed, and the great moment would have passed us by again. The Zionist movement, and all that preceded it in slow, pains-taking organizational and educational work, the dedicated labors of writers, teachers and propagandists, the creative achievements of two generations of pioneers, had fortunately readied the Jewish people for just such an historic moment. When the decisive hour arrived the spear did not lack the shaft again, nor the sword its hilt.

This we should always remember! Without an organized and mobilized world Jewry, the State of Israel would never have been established -- and without it -- it cannot be sustained.

The first line of Israel's political and economic defense is world Jewry. Even Israel's superb army must in the last analysis depend upon the material resources which, in large part, the Jews of the world must make available. The great world powers, competing for Arab friendship, have not opened, nor are they likely to open their arsenals to Israel, as they have to the Arabs. Each of the world powers is arming its own protégé. Israel is the protégé of neither.

The fortunes of Israel in the maelstrom of the Near East are unpredictable. Global forces have chosen that area as their arena for decisive conflict. This has occurred often in the past. Until that conflict is resolved, and peacefully, we hope, and until Israel's Arab neighbors have reconciled themselves to its existence, the Near East will be full of explosive tensions and the position of Israel will be fraught with danger.

A not uninformed head of a great Asiatic power recently called the Middle East "the most delicate and explosive part of this world's surface." Yesterday Egypt was the burning fuse. Today it is Syria. Tomorrow -- who knows? The Soviet will always be there to make sure that some fuse is ignited. For the Soviet is interested neither in Egypt or Syria or ⁱⁿ any other Arab ^{state} ~~State~~, or in any cause, for that matter, including communism, but in acquiring a dominant position for itself in an important part of the world from which it had been heretofore excluded.

It is acknowledged everywhere that our country must and will continue to play a special role in the Near East. Its own legitimate interests and the interests of the free world demand it. The political fortunes of Israel will depend largely upon American policy in that part of the world. It is clear, on the basis of what has already transpired, that the Soviet Union is firmly resolved to penetrate the Near East and, if possible, to Sovietize it, and will not hesitate

to sacrifice Israel to win over the Arab world. There seems to be no limit to its expansionist ambitions, ruthlessness and cynical opportunism. There are powerful oil and other interests in our own country who would not hesitate to advocate a similar policy. We cannot conceive that our government will yield to any such pressures and adopt a policy so alien to its traditions, its sympathies, its moral commitments and so repugnant to the sentiments of the overwhelming majority of its citizens. But the continuing pressures may achieve some partial success nevertheless. The continuing crisis, in part the result of earlier mistakes, may induce our State Department to favor even more drastic appeasement measures which will do irreparable hurt to Israel. The Eisenhower Doctrine in no way shelters Israel from possible attacks by neighboring Arab States, whether they be pro or anti-Soviet. It is, in our judgment, a vain hope that peace in the Near East will be secured and Soviet penetration halted by sending additional jets, tanks and other armament to the so-called friendly Arab States. Only a firm guarantee by our government to defend Israel against aggression, similar to the guarantees which ~~it has given to numerous other countries~~ *not a guarantee by allusion or nebulous implications*, will sober the Arab political opportunists of both coalitions, will convince them of the helplessness of their intrigues, will force them to turn their attentions, if they mean to remain in power, to the solution of the grave domestic problems of their countries and will put an end to their successful game of international black-mail. Until this position is accepted by our government -- and in time, I believe, it will be accepted -- the very armaments which our government is now pouring into the Arab States of *and those which it had previously sent them* the northern-tier coalition may very well in time, be joined with the arms which the Arab States of the other coalition are receiving from the Soviet Union, against Israel -- if not in outright war, then in massive pressure to force unwarranted concessions from it.

In passing, it might well be recalled that when Israel pressed for arms, following Egypt's acquisition of vast armaments from Czechoslovakia, it was refused on the ground that the United States Government did not wish to engage in an arms race in the Near East. At that very moment an arms race was actually going on in the Near East and our own government was an active participant.

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In view of all this it is of utmost urgency that world Jewry and especially American Jewry, should remain mobilized to defend what it has painstakingly and honorably built, and that the Zionist movement which organized world Jewry politically and economically for the great and successful national effort, should continue to give it effective and intelligent direction and guidance in the future.

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"Every definition is full of dangers." Except in the strictly scientific fields, concise and uncompromising definitions neither simplify nor clarify fundamental human situations. Those who built Zion were not motivated by any definitions but by the totality of their existence and experience. It was only those who sought escape from their obligations as Jews who found refuge and rationalizations in definitions. Not a single Jew will ever be inspired to settle in Israel by being warned that unless he does so he cannot call himself a "Zionist." So he will not call himself a Zionist! nor join a Zionist organization, nor attend Zionist meetings, nor read Zionist literature. Will all this make him a stronger friend of Israel? Is it through labels and badges, bestowed or withheld, that Israel will attract immigration, especially from those countries where Jews are at peace and enjoy the rights of citizenship? In the past we called "Zionist" anyone who believed in and worked for the reestablishment of the State of Israel, and likewise, today, we should call "Zionist" anyone who believes in and works for the strengthening and consolidation, the defense and security of the now established State of Israel! There are, of course, degrees of dedication and commitment and corresponding satisfactions. [^] If any Jew wishes to confine his interest in Israel exclusively to economic assistance, we certainly have no quarrel with him. His help is fully welcomed and greatly appreciated. But Israel requires more than that and will require more for a very long time to come. Those who are prepared to give more - to retain or to assume disciplined organizational responsibility in order to insure that these additional requirements are fully met under all hazards and

all conditions, and to give direction to the activities of Diaspora Jewry in behalf of Israel, which the State of Israel itself clearly cannot give, are "Zionists" in the old and time-honored tradition of the term. Whether an individual Zionist chooses to settle in Israel and assume Israeli citizenship is a matter of his own personal preference and decision. *If he can make such a decision he is doubly blessed and privileged.* It was never a sine qua non of Zionist ideology. The Zionist movement never contemplated the resettlement of all Jews in the Jewish State. There was never a time in the last 28 centuries of Jewish history where such a condition prevailed. The Zionist movement aimed to restore the Jewish State, to give the Jewish people an equal status among the free nations of the world and to provide a national home, open at all times, to all Jews who would wish, or who would have to go there. To make Zionism synonymous with the personal obligation of every Zionist to emigrate to Israel is a distortion of the classic Zionist position.

It is gratifying to note that the importance of maintaining a strong Zionist organization in the Diaspora is now being vigorously defended even by those who previously had been indifferent or critical of the idea when it was advocated by some of us soon after the establishment of the State. At that time the insistence upon maintaining the prestige and authority of the Zionist movement for the sake of Israel as well as world Jewry was interpreted as a long-distance attempt on the part of certain Zionist leaders outside of Israel to run the affairs of the State of Israel. I note that the present, rather tardy, and we are afraid, rather helpless champions of the same idea are likewise being chided and their motives impugned. There is little comfort in all this for anyone except for those who would like to see the unity of world Jewry disrupted, the remaining disciplined Zionist forces scattered in confusion, and a wall of separation erected between the Jewish State in Israel and the Jewish people outside Israel. Let us not fill the air with monopolistic wrangles and heated discussions about competences and priorities, about who is a builder and who is a helper. Let us think less of what is mine and thine, but what is ours -- our common tasks, our common burdens, our common responsibilities in this grave hour.

What have the last 60 years given to our people? Of misfortune and tragedy, no end. From the pogroms of Odessa and Kisheneff to the death camps of Belsen and Treblinka, myriads of tortured and slain, endless files of refugees and exiles, and countless centers of Jewish life rich in culture and history laid waste. These compose the toll of the irretrievable losses of those calamitous years for which there can be neither balm, nor comfort, nor *recompense* compensation.

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These sixty years have produced a renaissance of Hebrew culture, undreamed of, and in fact, despaired of, in the closing years of the last century. A superb creative era set in which gathered momentum as it moved triumphantly into the formative years of the new State. This reawakened interest in the Hebrew language and literature and in Jewish learning and study generally has not been confined to the borders of Israel, but is being felt in nearly all the habitations of our people.

Indeed, the events which have transpired are steadily reinstating Judaism, the historic faith of Israel, into its place of centrality in Jewish life. There are marked indications that our youth, our intellectuals, our erstwhile secular nationalists are rediscovering with agreeable surprise, the rich spiritual heritage of their people. The tolerant or even negative attitude towards Judaism which was an aberrant by-product of 19th century "enlightenment" and "emancipation" is giving way to an attitude far more receptive, positive, and reverent. If this proves to be more than a passing phenomenon then we shall be fortunate indeed. Our hope of survival will then be deep-rooted. We shall be continuously replenished with spiritual energies which will enable us to withstand every crisis. We shall have provision sufficient for the long journey ahead, and, as we move into the inscrutable future, we shall know that "the jar of meal shall never be spent and the cruse of oil shall never fail us."

The continuation of a diaspora Jewry without Judaism is inconceivable. Even in Israel, nationalism will not prove enough, either for the nation itself or for its individual citizens. Certainly the Jewish people outside of Israel will not long survive without their distinctive religion and their organized religious institutions of schools and synagogues.

Address delivered by

DR. ABBA HILLEL SILVER

at the 60th Anniversary Convention
of the
Zionist Organization of America

September 14, 1957

The last 60 years write one of the most amazing and revolutionary chapters, glorious as well as tragic, in all human history. I do not refer to the unnumbered scientific inventions and discoveries of these years which link the electric with the atomic age. I have in mind the crucial political and social transformations of these six decades -- the disintegration of vast empires, the birth of more than thirty new states, the gigantic struggles ^{the profound and} ~~between~~ economic systems, ^{the spread of} ~~between~~ ^{communism} ~~democracy and dictatorship~~, the rise and fall of Fascism and Naziism and ^{the spread of} ~~communism~~ expansion.

It is against the background of these unprecedented social and political upheavals which uprooted old systems and the ways of life of many peoples that we must view the history of our own people. Many people suffered bitterly during these convulsive years but none paid as high a price as the Jewish people. None came as close to total annihilation. One need not review here the fearful catalogue of disasters. We ourselves know it all too well; the rest of the world is hardly eager to be reminded.

But the darkness of these years went not entirely unrelieved. They gave us the Zionist movement, the renaissance of Hebrew Culture and the birth of the State of Israel. They also established for our people flourishing centers of life and freedom in the New World.

The strong nationalist movements of the 19th and early 20th centuries which were frequently intolerant of the rights of minorities, and gave rise to an intensified anti-semitism in many countries, also lent great force and cogency to Jewish nationalist aspirations. The barbaric excesses against our people which followed the First World War and those of Fascism and Naziism before and during the

Everything - antisemitism, perse-
cution, exile, tension, and hatred
up to an unprecedented climax
and could no longer be ignored

Second World War dramatized the tragic problem of Jewish national homelessness and placed it urgently and undeniably upon the agenda of world statesmanship. Important sections of world Jewry, long beguiled by millennial dreams of universalism and cosmopolitanism, were rudely shaken out of their wishful thinking and were forced to confront the stark realities of their existence. This was the beginning of their spiritual redemption. All these factors combined to bring about the political emancipation of our people, and the re-establishment of the third Jewish Commonwealth.

Not automatically, of course! History follows no lines of external pressures alone. Without the long-sustained and religiously-nurtured hope of national restoration, and the unbroken will of the masses of our people to see Zion rebuilt, without inspiring leadership and competent organization and untold sacrifices, the opportunities which the political events during the two world wars presented would have been missed, and the great moment would have passed us by again. The Zionist movement, and all that preceded it in slow, pains-taking organizational and educational work, the dedicated labors of writers, teachers and propagandists, the creative achievements of two generations of pioneers, had fortunately readied the Jewish people for just such an historic moment. When the decisive hour arrived the spear did not lack the shaft again, nor the sword its hilt.

This we should always remember! Without an organized and mobilized world Jewry, the State of Israel would never have been established -- and without it -- it cannot be sustained.

The ^{first} line of Israel's political and economic defense is world Jewry. Even Israel's superb army must in the last analysis depend upon the material resources which, in large part, the Jews of the world must make available. The great world powers, competing for Arab friendship, have not opened, nor are they likely to open their arsenals to Israel, as they have to the Arabs. Each of the world powers is arming its own protégé. Israel is the protégé of neither.

The fortunes of Israel in the maelstrom of the Near East are unpredictable. Global forces have chosen that area as their arena for decisive conflict. This

has occurred often in the past. Until that conflict is resolved, and peacefully, we hope, and until Israel's Arab neighbors have reconciled themselves to its existence, the Near East will be full of explosive tensions and the position of Israel will be fraught with danger.

A not uninformed head of a great Asiatic power recently called the Middle East "the most delicate and explosive part of this world's surface". Yesterday Egypt was the burning fuse. Today it is Syria. Tomorrow -- who knows? The Soviet will always be there to make sure that some fuse is ignited. For the Soviet is interested neither in Egypt or Syria or any other Arab State, or ⁱⁿ any cause, for that matter, including communism, but in acquiring a dominant position for itself in an important part of the world from which it had been heretofore excluded.

It is acknowledged everywhere that our country must and will continue to play a special role in the Near East. Its own legitimate interests and the interests of the free world demand it. The political fortunes of Israel will depend largely upon American policy in that part of the world. It is clear, on the basis of what has already transpired, that the Soviet Union is firmly resolved to penetrate the Near East and, if possible, to Sovietize it, and will not hesitate to sacrifice Israel to win over the Arab world. There seems to be no limit to its expansionist ambitions, ruthlessness and cynical opportunism. There are powerful oil and other interests in our own country who would not hesitate to advocate a similar policy. We cannot conceive that our government will yield to any such pressures and adopt a policy so alien to its traditions, its sympathies, its moral commitments and so repugnant to the sentiments of the overwhelming majority of its citizens. But the continuing pressures may achieve some partial success nevertheless. The continuing crisis, in part the result of earlier mistakes, may induce our State Department to favor even more drastic appeasement measures which will do irreparable hurt to Israel. The Eisenhower Doctrine in no way shelters Israel from possible attacks by neighboring Arab States, whether they be pro or

anti-Soviet. It is, in our judgment, a vain hope that peace in the Near East will be secured and Soviet penetration halted by sending additional jets, tanks and other armament to the so-called friendly Arab States. Only a firm guarantee by our government to defend Israel against aggression, ^{not a guarantee by allusion and nebulous con-} similar to the guarantees which it has given to numerous other countries, will sober the Arab political opportunists of both coalitions, will convince them of the helplessness of their intrigues, will force them to turn their attentions, if they mean to remain in power, to the solution of the grave domestic problems of their countries and will put an end to their successful game of international black-mail. ^{So far Israel has not received from any government any clear guarantee in} Until this position is accepted by our government -- and in time, I believe, it will be accepted -- the very armaments which our government is now pouring into the Arab States of the northern-tier coalition, ^{and then when it had previously sent them} may very well in time, be joined with the arms which the Arabs States of the other coalition are receiving from the Soviet Union, against Israel -- if not in outright war, then in massive pressure to force unwarranted concessions from it. ^(Quote Arab Press)

In passing, it might well be recalled that when Israel pressed for arms, following Egypt's acquisition of vast armaments from Czechoslovakia, it was refused on the ground that the United States Government did not wish to engage in an arms race in the Near East. At that very moment an arms race was actually going on in the Near East and our own government was an active participant.

Today ^{our government is} we are hectically speeding up ~~our~~ arms shipments to Jordan, Iraq, Turkey, Lebanon and Saudi Arabia -- but still no arms shipments to Israel! Why, one wonders, are arms shipped to Jordan to counter-balance Soviet arms shipments to Syria, while arms were denied Israel following the shipment of Soviet arms to Egypt? Who invents these pious formulas which, on the face of ^{them} ~~it~~, are unrelated to actualities and are ignored at the very time of their promulgation by the very people who promulgate them?

Surveying the precipitated ^{all} activities in the Near East at ^{this} ~~the~~ moment, one wonders whether our State Department really hopes to find an air-lift solution for the problems of that disturbed area ^{one} which will by-pass Israel. ^{Israel cannot be by-passed if it is at the very core of the solution.}

In view of all this it is ~~therefore~~ of utmost urgency that world Jewry and especially American Jewry, should remain mobilized to defend what it has painstakingly and honorably built, and that the Zionist movement which organized world Jewry politically and economically for the great and successful national effort, should continue to give it effective and intelligent direction and guidance in the future. *It is not a miracle that we now have a state. It would be madness to trust to miracles in the future*

It is futile to engage at this time in a heated debate about the meaning of the term "Zionist" or about the precise future relationship between Israel and the Diaspora. Were the times not so ~~serious~~ *perilous*, we might perhaps permit ourselves the luxury of an academic competition in semantic dialectics, bearing in mind, however, how mischievous such diversions may sometimes become and recalling how much our movement was bedeviled in the past by those who sought to undermine it by a cunning resort to sundry formal definitions of race, nation, nationality, religion and culture. "Omnis definitio periculosa est", declared the great humanist Erasmus. "Every definition is full of dangers." Except in the strictly scientific fields, concise and uncompromising definitions neither simplify nor clarify fundamental human situations. Those who built Zion were not motivated by any definitions but by the totality of their existence and experience. It was only those who sought escape from their obligations as Jews who found refuge and rationalizations in definitions. Not a single Jew will ever be inspired to settle in Israel by being warned that unless he does so he cannot call himself a "Zionist". So he will not call himself a Zionist! nor join a Zionist organization, nor attend Zionist meetings, nor read Zionist literature. Will all this make him a stronger friend of Israel? Is it through labels and badges, bestowed or with-held, that Israel will attract immigration, especially from those countries where Jews are at peace and enjoy the rights of citizenship? In the past we called "Zionist" anyone who believed in and worked for the reestablishment of the State of Israel, and likewise, today, we should call "Zionist" anyone who believes in and works for the strengthening and consolidation, the defense and security of the now established State of Israel! There are, of course, degrees of dedication and commitment and

corresponding satisfactions. If any Jew wishes to confine his interest in Israel exclusively to economic assistance, we certainly have no quarrel with him. His help is fully welcomed and greatly appreciated. But Israel requires more than that and will require more for a very long time to come. Those who are prepared to give more - to retain or to assume disciplined organizational responsibility in order to insure that these additional requirements are fully met under all hazards and all conditions, ^{against all winds and tides} and to give direction to the activities of diaspora Jewry in behalf of Israel, which the State of Israel itself clearly cannot give, are "Zionists" in the old and time-honored tradition of the term. Whether an individual Zionist chooses to settle in Israel and assume Israeli citizenship is a matter of his own personal preference and decision. It was never a sine qua non of Zionist ideology. The Zionist movement never contemplated the resettlement of all Jews in the Jewish State. There was never a time in the last 28 centuries of Jewish history where such a condition prevailed. The Zionist movement aimed to restore the Jewish State, to give the Jewish people an equal status among the free nations of the world and to provide a national home, open at all times, to all Jews who would wish, or who would have to go there. To make Zionism synonymous with the personal obligation of every Zionist to emigrate to Israel is a distortion of the classic Zionist position.

It is gratifying to note that the importance of maintaining a strong Zionist organization in the diaspora is now being vigorously defended even by those who previously had been indifferent or critical of the idea when it was advocated by some of us soon after the establishment of the State. At that time the insistence upon maintaining the prestige and authority of the Zionist movement for the sake of Israel as well as world Jewry was interpreted as a long-distance attempt on the part of certain Zionist leaders outside of Israel to run the affairs of the State of Israel. I note that the present, rather tardy, and we are afraid, rather helpless champions of the same idea are likewise being chided and their motives impugned.

There is little comfort in all this for anyone except for those who would like to see the unity of world Jewry disrupted, the remaining disciplined Zionist forces scattered in confusion, and a wall of separation erected between the Jewish State in Israel and the Jewish people outside Israel. Let us not fill the air with monopolistic wrangles and heated discussions about competences and priorities, about who is a builder and who is a helper. Let us think less of what is mine and thine, but what is ours -- our common tasks, our common burdens, our common responsibilities in this grave hour.

What have the last 60 years given to our people? Of misfortune and tragedy, no end. From the pogroms of Odessa and Kisheneff to the death camps of Belsen and Treblinka, myriads of tortured and slain, endless files of refugees and exiles, and countless centers of Jewish life rich in culture and history laid waste. These compose the toll of the irretrievable losses of those calamitous years for which there can be neither balm, nor comfort, nor ~~compensation~~. *recompense*

But these years have also given our people a renewed confidence in their power of survival, in their capacity to surmount disaster and to build upon ruins. *and loss*

Sixty years ago, Dr. Theodore Herzl wrote: "Yes, we are strong enough to form a State, and indeed a model State. We possess all human and material resources for the purpose!" Since then the Jewish people vindicated this prophetic faith of the immortal Herzl, and in spite of the vast afflictions and calamities which beset them, proved themselves strong enough and possessed of sufficient human and material resources to build a State -- and we hope one which will become a model State. The kingly dream was made a reality by a ravaged people which knew how to *we belong to a generation that did not fail* unlock reservoirs of strength and confidence within itself. *quicker like the sap of the earth in spring* With this ~~thrush~~ rush of confidence, made manifest by innumerable acts of self-liberation, came a reborn national self-respect which has been the elixir of our souls and the souls of our children, ever since the creation and the heroic defense of the State of Israel. Some indefinable grace has come back into our lives -- a tone, a ~~beat~~ *beat*, a spiritual quality

which has been lacking all these dark and pride-less centuries of our national homelessness.

These sixty years have produced a renaissance of Hebrew culture, undreamed of, and in fact, despaired of, in the closing years of the last century. A superb creative era set in which gathered momentum as it moved triumphantly into the formative years of the new State. This reawakened interest in the Hebrew language and literature and in Jewish learning and study generally has not been confined to the borders of Israel, but is being felt in nearly all the habitations of our people.

Indeed, the events which have transpired are steadily reinstating Judaism, the historic faith of Israel, into its place of centrality in Jewish life. There are marked indications that our youth, our intellectuals, our erstwhile secular nationalists are rediscovering with agreeable surprise, the rich spiritual heritage of their people. The tolerant or even negative attitude towards Judaism which was an aberrant by-product of 19th century "enlightenment" and "emancipation" is giving way to an attitude far more receptive, positive, and reverent. If this proves to be more than a passing phenomenon then we shall be fortunate indeed. Our hope of survival will then be deep-rooted. We shall be continuously replenished with spiritual energies which will enable us to withstand every crisis. We shall have provision sufficient for the long journey ahead, and, as we move into the inscrutable future, we shall know that "the jar of meal shall never be spent and the cruse of oil shall never fail us".

The continuation of a diaspora Jewry without Judaism is inconceivable. Even in Israel, nationalism will not prove enough, either for the nation itself or for its individual citizens. Certainly the Jewish people outside of Israel will not long survive without their distinctive religion and their organized religious institutions of schools and synagogues.

With our faith to sustain and inspire us we can face the oncoming years undaunted. We shall also be greatly helped if we do not forget the lessons of the last sixty years -- how we beguiled ourselves and were betrayed by others, how our illusions were consumed in the gas-chambers of alien lands, and how

we found redemption at last in self-emancipation. Let us remember the hard years of struggle and the rewarding ~~hours~~ ^{days} of ~~achievement~~ ^{the bunzine accomplished}. And let us be open-eyed and resolute in the future - for we have a long way to go.

We have been admonished by our seers and sages always to remember. "Remember what Amalek did to you on the way...when you were faint and weary...you shall not forget"... "Remember this day in which you came out from Egypt..."

The God of Israel is a God of remembrance! I stood, this summer, in a lonely and deserted synagogue in Toledo, Spain. It was the synagogue built by Samuel Abulafia, the Treasurer of Pedro the Cruel, in the 11th century. The fate of this small, but beautiful synagogue was like the fate of the Jewish community of Toledo itself, which had been so prosperous and numerous long ago and had produced so many great scholars, poets and philosophers, the home of Judah Halevi, al-Harizi, Abraham ibn Ezra, and so many others. Its history terminated in 1492 with the expulsion of all Jews from Spain. This synagogue was then abandoned. It was later converted into a church, renamed El Transito, and later was turned into a national monument.

The Hebrew inscriptions however are still visible on the walls and can be readily deciphered above ^{the}~~the~~ exquisite frieze. They are, in the main, quotations from the Bible. I read them with the closest interest, as you may well imagine.

One quotation from the Psalms particularly struck me because of the special setting of ^{the} time and place in which I found myself.

עַל־כֵּן יִשְׁמַח אֱלֹהֵינוּ בְּיָמֵינוּ כִּי נִשְׁמַח בְּכֹחַ הַבְּרִית הַזֶּה לְעוֹלָם וָעֶד. "He remembers His covenant forever, the word which He proclaimed unto a thousand generations...Saying, 'to you will I give the land of Canaan as your portion for your inheritance'."

I read these freighted words of prophecy in a synagogue which had been ~~un-~~
willingly abandoned by its ~~separated~~ exile-bound worshippers, nearly half a
millenium ago. I could not help but think of that Promised Land, the Land of
Canaan, at the other end of the Mediterranean and of the reborn State of Israel
and of the burdgeoning new life and hope there. And I said to myself, "Surely,

and of the burdgeoning new life and hope there. And I said to myself, "Surely, He
did ~~renew~~ His covenant ~~to~~ ^{with} us which He promised
into a ~~covenant~~ ^{new} ~~covenant~~.

Opening Remarks by Dr. Abba Hillel Silver

In Address Before 60th Annual Convention of the Z.O.A.

Saturday evening, September 14, 1957

My dear Friends:

I want to thank Dr. Neumann for his lovely introduction. I may have occasion before the Convention is over to say a few things about him. I know we are grateful for this year of leadership which he has given this Movement, and grateful for the many years of inspired guidance which he has given us.

And it is with great pleasure that I accept from the hands of the Board of Regents of the State of New York the Charter for the agricultural school Kfar Silver. I think it marks a milestone in the progress and advancement of this fine institution, which I am confident will serve the interests of the new State of Israel admirably in the training of young men and women in scientific, agricultural and all related branches. I am proud to have my name associated with this institution and I bespeak your continued interest and support.

I am proud also this evening to share this platform with Mr. Truman, whose name will forever be associated with the rebirth of the State of Israel. We are an ancient people and we have a long memory, and the Jewish people will always remember in gratitude this man who, in the most critical historic moment of its existence, came to its support and assisted us so admirably in the creation of the State. Our Bible enshrines gratefully the name of another man who stood at the headwaters of the Second Commonwealth -- the name of Cyrus the Great; and Jewish history will enshrine in gratitude the name of Mr. Truman, who is identified with the beginning of the Third Commonwealth. There have been reports from time to time that there have been certain matters in which Mr. Truman and I did not fully agree. There are a few things we do have in common. We both became, for the first time, grandfathers within this past year. I, as recently as twelve days ago. And another thing we share in common: neither of us any longer holds any office, and we have both discovered that our popularity has surged remarkably upward the moment we left office. And it is a great joy and honor to be with you this evening on this platform.

The last 60 years write one of the most amazing and revolutionary chapters, glorious as well as tragic, in all human history. I do not refer to the unnumbered scientific inventions and discoveries of these years which link the electric with the atomic age. I have in mind the crucial political and social transformations of these six decades -- the disintegration of vast empires, the birth of ^{more than 30} new states, the gigantic struggles between ^{our} economic systems, between democracy and dictatorship, the rise and fall of Fascism and Naziism and communist expansion.

It is against the background of these unprecedented social and political upheavals which uprooted old systems and the way of life of many people that we must view the history of our ^{own} people. Many people suffered bitterly during these convulsive years but ~~more~~ ^{were} paid as high a price as the Jewish people. None came as close to total annihilation. One need not review here the fearful catalogue of disasters. We ^{ourselves} know it all too well; the rest of the world is ^{hardly} ~~not~~ eager to be reminded.

But the darkness of these years ~~was~~ not entirely unrelieved. They gave us the Zionist movement, the renaissance of Hebrew Culture and the birth of the State of Israel. They also established for our people flourishing centers of life and freedom in the New World.

The strong nationalist movements of the 19th and early 20th ~~centuries~~ which were frequently intolerant of the rights of minorities, and ~~led~~ ^{gave rise} to an intensified anti-semitism in many countries, also lent ^{great} ~~logical~~ force and cogency to Jewish nationalist aspirations. The barbaric excesses against our people which followed the First World War and those of Fascism and Naziism before and during the Second World War dramatized the tragic problem of Jewish national homelessness and placed it urgently and undeniably upon the agenda of world statesmanship. Important sections of world Jewry, long beguiled by millennial dreams of universalism and cosmopolitanism, were rudely shaken out of their wishful thinking and were forced to confront the stark reality ^{is} of their existence. This was the beginning of their spiritual redemption. All these factors combined to bring about the political emancipation of our people, and ~~to~~ the re-establishment of the third Jewish

Commonwealth.

Not automatically, of course! History follows no lines of external pressures alone. Without the long-sustained and religiously-nurtured hope of national restoration, and the unbroken will of the masses of our people to see Zion rebuilt, without inspiring leadership and competent organization and untold sacrifices, the opportunities which the political events during the two world wars presented would have been missed, and the great moment would have passed us by again. The Zionist movement, ~~however~~, and all that preceded it in ^{slow} pains-taking organizational and educational work, ~~in~~ the dedicated labors of writers, teachers and propagandists, ~~in~~ the creative achievements of two generations of pioneers, had ^{fortunately} readied the Jewish people for just such an historic moment. ^{when the decisive hour arrived} ~~The spear was not to lack the~~ shaft again, nor the sword its hilt. ^{did not}

This we should always remember. Without an organized and mobilized world Jewry, the State of Israel would never have been established -- and without it -- it cannot be sustained.

The fast line of Israel's political and economic defense is world Jewry. Even Israel's superb army must in the last analysis depend upon the material resources which, in large part, the Jews of the world must make available. The great world powers, competing for Arab friendship, have not opened, nor are ^{they} likely to open their arsenals to Israel, as they have to the Arabs. Each of the world powers is arming its own protégé. Israel is the protégé of neither.

The fortunes of Israel in the maelstrom of the Near East are unpredictable. Global forces have chosen that area as their arena for decisive conflict. This has occurred often in the past. Until that conflict is resolved, and peacefully, we hope, and until Israel's Arab neighbors have reconciled themselves to its existence, the Near East will be full of ^{explosive} tensions and the position of Israel will be fraught with danger.

(over) The Soviet ~~will~~ ^{be} ~~always~~ ^{to} make sure that some fuse is ~~ignited~~ ^{ignited}. For ~~the Soviet~~ ^{the Soviet} is interested ~~in~~ ⁱⁿ Egypt & Syria ~~as a Soviet~~ ^{as a Soviet} or any other ~~people~~ ^{Arab State}, or any cause, ~~for that matter~~ ^{for that matter}, including communism but in requiring ~~for itself~~ ^{for itself} a dominant ~~unimportant~~ ^{important} position ~~in the~~ ^{in the} part, the world from which it had been ~~excluded~~ ^{excluded}. ~~has to go.~~

(over) It is, in our judgment, a vain hope that peace in the Near East will be secured and Soviet penetration halted by sending additional jets, tanks and other armament to the so-called friendly Arab states. Only a firm ~~promise~~ ^{guarantee} against aggression, ~~like~~ ^{like} the guarantee which we have given to numerous other countries, will when the Arab political opportunists & both coalitions, will convince them, the ringleaders, their intrigues, will force them to turn their attentions, if they mean to remain in power, to the situation, the grave domestic problem, their countries, ~~and will~~ ^{and will} put an end to their successful game ~~for~~ ^{for} ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~West-World~~ ^{international}. Until this position is accepted by our government — and in time ~~it~~ ^{it} will be accepted —

It is futile to engage at this time in ^a heated debate about the meaning of the term "Zionist" or about the precise future relationship ^{between} Israel and the Diaspora. Were the times not so serious, ^{we} might perhaps ^{permit ourselves the luxury} indulge in such an academic ^{competition in} past-time, ~~is a~~ semantic dialectic. ^{we} ~~We should realize however,~~ ^{beauty, in itself, however} how mischievous such diversions may sometimes become and ^{readily} how much our movement ~~was~~ bedeviled in the past by those who sought to undermine it by ^a cunning resort ^{to sundry} ~~to ensure~~ ^{and to formal definition of} such as race, nation, nationality, culture. Every departure is dangerous. ^{Our} "Omnis definitio periculosa est," declares the great humanist Erasmus. "Every definition is full of dangers. Except in the strictly scientific fields, ^{unlike the} definitions neither simplify nor clarify fundamental ~~concepts~~ human situations."

Those who built Zion were ^{not} motivated by ~~no~~ definitions but by the totality of their existence and experience. It was only those who sought escape from the obligations ^{as Jews} of Jewish existence and ~~of~~, who found refuge and rationalizations in definitions. ^{Not} ~~You will never inspire~~ a single Jew to settle in Israel by ^{will ever be inspired having been} warning him that unless he does so he cannot call himself a "Zionist". So he will not call himself a Zionist; nor join a Zionist Organization; nor attend Zionist meetings; nor read Zionist literature. ^{One wonders what the all this will} Will all this make him a stronger friend of Israel? Is it through labels and badges ^{bestowed} or with-held that Israel ~~can~~ will hope to attract ~~Jewish~~ immigration, ^{Especially from those countries} where Jews are at peace and enjoy the rights of citizenship? ^{In the past} We called "Zionist" ^{in the}

^{Not} anyone who believed in and worked for the reestablishment of the State of Israel, ^{but} and we call "Zionist" today anyone who believes in and works for the strengthening and consolidation, the defense and security of the ^{now} established State of Israel! There are ^{of course} degrees of dedication and commitment. ^{and comes [many] responsibilities and obligations} If any Jew wishes to confine his interest in Israel ^{to economic assistance exclusively,} ^{certainly} we have no quarrel with him, ^{and} his help is fully welcomed and greatly appreciated. But Israel requires ^{more than that} more and will require more for a very long time to come. Those who are prepared ^{to give} to retain ^{to assume} or ^{addition} assure disciplined organization ^{of} responsibility in order to insure that these requirements are fully met under all hazards and all conditions, and to give enlightenment and direction to the activities of diaspora Jewry in behalf

which the State of Israel ~~cannot~~ ^{clearly} ~~itself~~ ^{cannot} ~~fix~~ ^{time-based}

of Israel, are "Zionists" in the old and ~~accepted~~ tradition of the term. Whether an individual Zionist chooses to settle in Israel and assume Israeli citizenship is a matter of ~~their~~ ^{his own} personal preference and decision. ~~Zionist~~ ^{It was never a issue} ~~for you of Zionist ideology.~~

The Zionist movement never contemplated the resettlement of all Jews in the Jewish State.

There was never a time ~~in Jewish~~ ^{of Jewish history} in the last 28 centuries where such a condition ~~actually~~ prevailed. The ~~complex~~ Zionist movement aimed ~~at the restoration~~ ^{to restore} of the Jewish State, ~~to give~~ ^{to give} the Jewish people an equal status among the free nations of the world and to provide a national home ~~which would be open~~ ^{at all times} to all Jews who would wish ~~to go there.~~ ^{or who had need would have} To make

Zionism synonymous with the personal obligation of every Zionist to emigrate to Israel is a distortion of the classic Zionist ~~program~~ ^{position}.

It is gratifying to note that the importance of maintaining a strong Zionist organization in the diaspora is now being vigorously defended even by those who previously ~~had been~~ ^{in the past} critical of the idea when it was advocated by some of us soon after the establishment of the State. At that time our insistence upon maintaining the prestige and authority of the Zionist movement for the sake of Israel as well as world Jewry was interpreted as ^a long-distance attempt on the part of certain

^{Leaders} Zionists outside of Israel to ~~run~~ the affairs of the State of Israel. ^{I note that}

^{where} The present, rather tardy, and we are afraid, rather ~~helpless~~ ^{helpless} champions of the ~~same~~ idea are likewise being chided and their motives ~~impaired~~ ^{impaired}. There is little comfort in all this for anyone except for those who would like to see the unity of world Jewry disrupted, the ~~disciplined~~ ^{remaining} Zionist forces scattered in confusion, and a wall of separation erected between the Jewish State in Israel and the Jewish people outside Israel. Let us not fill the air with monopolistic wrangles and heated discussions concerning competences and priorities, ~~and who is who.~~ ^{about} Let us think less of what is mine and thine, but what is ours — our common tasks, ~~and burdens,~~ ^{our common} and responsibilities in this grave ~~but heroic~~ hour.

What have the last 60 years given our people? Of ~~the~~ ^{to} misfortune and tragedy,

no end. From the pogroms of Odessa and Kisheneff to the death camps of ~~Belzec~~ ^{Belzec} Belsen and Treblinka, the myriads of the tortured and slain, the unnumbered refugees

~~endless~~ ^{endless} files of

and ~~countless~~ ^{and countless} centers and exiles, -- the old and notable ^{rich in} of Jewish life and culture, ^{and history} laid waste. These ^{com here the toll of the irreparable} certainly tell the ^{can be no balm and no} calamitous years of ~~wrath~~ for which there is no comfort or compensation.

But these years have also given our people a renewed confidence in ^{their} the power of survival, in ^{their} its capacity to ^{surmount disaster to} rise ~~eye~~ over its ruins, and to build upon ^{the ruins} a new life, and a ~~freer~~ ^{freer} life.

Sixty years ago, Dr. Theodore Herzl, ~~with~~ wrote, "Yes, we are strong enough to form a State, and indeed, a model State. We possess all human and material resources for the purpose!" ^{"Since then} The Jewish people ^{calamities} was able to vindicate this prophetic faith of Herzl, and in spite of the vast afflictions and ^{which beset} ~~disasters~~ which befell them, proved ^{themselves} ~~itself~~ strong enough and possessed of sufficient human and material ^{resources} reserves to build a State -- indeed what promises to become a model State. The kingly dream was made a reality by a ravaged and ^{and we hope are which will} ~~sorely wounded~~ people which ^{to unlock} ~~however discovered~~ unexpected reservoirs of strength and confidence within itself. With this ~~inrush~~ ^{WRHS} inrush of confidence, made manifest by ^{in innumerable} acts of self-help and self-liberation, came a reborn natural self-respect which has been the elixir of our ^{souls} spirit and the spirit of our children, ever since the creation and the heroic ^{undefinably} ~~defense~~ ^{grace} of the State of Israel. ^{a spiritual event} Something has come back into the ^{lives} life of our people - a tone, a lift, an ~~elan~~ which has been lacking all these dark and desperate centuries of ^{our} national homelessness.

These sixty years have ^{produced} us a renaissance of Hebrew culture, undreamed of, and in fact, ~~dispaired~~ of, in the closing years of the last century. A ^{sublime} ~~great~~ creative era set in, ^{which} ~~gathering~~ momentum as it moved into the formative years of the new State. This ^{reawakened} interest in Hebrew language and literature, ^{and} in Jewish learning and study generally has not been limited to the borders of Israel. ^{is being felt in nearly all the habitations of our people} ~~but~~ Indeed, the events which have transpired are steadily reinstating Judaism, the historic faith of Israel, into its ^{historic} place of ^{centrality} in Jewish life. There are marked indications that our youth, our intellectuals, our ^{erstwhile} secular nationalists are rediscovering with ^{agreeable surprise} and ^{thankfully} the ^{rich} ~~glorious~~ spiritual heritage of their people. ^{The} ~~tolerant~~ or even ^{negative}

^{through Judaism}
 attitude ^{which has} an aberrant ^{by-product of 19th century "enlightenment"}
 and "emancipation" is ~~strong~~ giving way to ^{an attitude} ~~one~~ far more positive, ^{reverent and} and ^{studious}
 reverent. If this proves to be more than a passing phenomenon then the greatest ^{we shall}
^{be fortunate indeed, then we shall know that our task is secure.}
 boon will accrue to us as ^{and as a people.} ~~Our roots of~~
^{our hope is} ~~survival will then indeed be deep, strong and our people both here and in Israel~~
 will become possessed of spiritual ^{energies} which will enable ^{us} them to
 withstand every crisis. We ^{shall} ~~will~~ have ^{provision} sufficient for the long
 journey ahead, and as we move into the ^{inscrutable} future, we shall know that
 "The ^{far} of ^{meal} ^{shall} will never be spent and the ^{crisis} of oil shall
 never fail us". ~~Nationalism is not enough, either for the nation itself~~
~~or for its individual citizens, and certainly the Jewish people outside of Israel~~
 will not long survive without their ~~distinctive~~ distinctive religion and their organized
 religious ^{institutions} of schools and synagogues.

WRHS



1. ^{Fa} ^{TP} The continuation of a ^{distinction} ⁱⁿ ^{Jewry} without
 Judaism is inconceivable. ^{Even in Israel, nationalism}
 will not prove enough, either for the nation itself or for its
 individual citizens.
 With our faith to sustain and inspire us we can
 face the coming years undaunted. We shall also be
 greatly helped if we do not forget the lessons of the
 last few years - how we ~~were~~ ^{were} ~~self~~ ^{misled} ~~and~~ ^{betrayed} ~~by~~
 others, how ^{our} ^{visions} ^{were} ^{consumed} in the past
 chambers of ^{Europe} ^{and} how we found redemption at last
 in ~~our~~ ^{self} ^{emancipation}. Let us remember the hard
 years of struggle and the golden hours of achievement.
 And let us be open-eyed and resolute in the future -
 for we have a long way to go.
 We ~~are~~ ^{have} ~~a~~ ^{been} ~~people~~ ^{admonished} by our mess

and says
 "Always to remember." Remember what Avalek did to you on
 the way.. when you were faint and weary... you shall not forget!
 "Remember this day on which you came out from Egypt!"

Our God is a God of remembrance! I found this sun was
 in ~~the~~ ^{an} ~~deserted synagogue~~ ^{Tolosa, Spain. It had} ~~converted into a~~
~~church~~ ^{later into} ~~and a national monument~~ ^{is Tolosa, Spain.} It was
 the ~~synagogue~~ ^{which was} ~~built by Samuel Avalek~~ ^{the Talmudic Rabbi of} ~~in the 18c.~~ The late
 19th century ~~synagogue~~ ^{which was} ~~was built by the late~~ ^{the Jewish} ~~and so~~
~~many~~ ^{and had} ~~scholars, poets, philosophers and physicians~~
~~the name~~ ^{of} ~~Judah Habes, al-Harzi, Abraham ibn Ezra and~~
~~so many others.~~ ^{the} ~~history~~ ^{of} ~~terminated~~ ^{in 1492 with}
 the ~~oppression~~ ^{of} ~~all WRHS~~ ^{converted} ~~into a~~ ^{national} ~~movement.~~



~~But~~ ^{the} ~~Hebrew~~ ^{visions} ~~visions~~ ^{are} ~~are still to be~~ ^{different}
~~on the walls~~ ^{along the frieze.} They are in the main ~~gratulations~~
~~from the Bible.~~ ^{As you may well know, I had}
~~them with the~~ ^{most} ~~intent.~~ ^{An epitaph from the values especially}
~~inspired me, is that~~ ^{that} ~~is that~~ ^{as} ~~the Western shows~~
~~the~~ ^{the} ~~Western shows~~

He ~~remembers~~ ^{remembers} his covenant ~~framer~~ ^{framer} - the
 word which He proclaimed ^{with} ~~for~~ ^a ~~thousand~~ ^{generation}... saying
 "To you will I be the God of Israel as your portion for ever
 inheritance!"

9.

[illegible]

proclaimed into a thousand generations....
 Let us take our ^{precious} ~~treasures~~
~~Let us pick up our~~ ^{precious} ~~treasures~~
^{along} with us ~~as we~~ and by their light, ~~this our mission,~~
 and challenged by their mandates, let us more
 resolutely ^{press} forward the ^{unfolding} ~~task~~ and 'ghermines' which
 await us -



anti-Soviet. It is, in our judgment, a vain hope that peace in the Near East will be secured and Soviet penetration halted by sending additional jets, tanks and other armament to the so-called friendly Arab States. Only a firm guarantee by our government to defend Israel against ^{agg} ~~oppression~~, similar to the guarantees which *it has* ~~we have~~ given to numerous other countries, will sober the Arab political opportunists of both coalitions, will convince them of the helplessness of their intrigues, will force them to turn their attentions, if they mean to remain in power, to the solution of the grave domestic problems of their countries and will put an end to their successful game of international black-mail. Until this position is accepted by our government -- and in time, I believe, it will be accepted -- the very armaments which our government is now pouring into the Arab States of the northern-tier coalition may very ^{well} in time, be joined with the arms which the Arabs States of the other coalition are receiving from the Soviet Union, against Israel -- if not in outright war, then in massive pressure to force unwarranted concessions from it.

In passing, it might well be recalled that when Israel pressed for arms, following Egypt's acquisition of vast armaments from Czechoslovakia, it was refused on the ground that the United States Government did not wish to engage in an arms race in the Near East, ^{At} ~~but~~ at that very moment an arms race was ^{actually} going on in the Near East and our own government was an active participant.

Today we are hectically speeding up our arms shipments to Jordan, Iraq, Turkey, Lebanon and Saudi Arabia -- but still no arms shipments to Israel. Why, ^{balance} ~~at this moment~~, one wonders, are arms shipped to Jordan to counter-~~act~~ Soviet arms shipments to Syria, while ~~previously~~ arms were denied ~~to~~ Israel following the shipment of Soviet arms to Egypt? Who invents these pious formulas which, on the face of it, are unrelated to actualities and are ignored at the very time of their promulgation by the very people who promulgate them?

Surveying the precipitated activities in the Near East at the moment, one wonders whether our State Department really hopes to find an air-lift solution for the problems of that disturbed area which will by-pass Israel.

In view of all this
It is therefore of utmost urgency that world Jewry and especially American Jewry, should remain mobilized to defend what it has built, and that the Zionist movement which organized world Jewry politically and economically for the great and successful national effort, should continue to give it effective and intelligent direction and guidance in the future.

It is futile to engage at this time in a heated debate about the meaning of the term "Zionist" or about the precise future relationship between Israel and the Diaspora. Were the times not so serious, we might perhaps permit ourselves the luxury of an academic competition in semantic dialectics, bearing in mind, however, how mischievous such diversions may sometimes become and recalling how much our movement was bedeviled in the past by those who sought to undermine it by a cunning resort to sundry formal definitions of race, nation, nationality, religion and culture. "Omnis definitio periculosa est", declared the great humanist Erasmus. "Every definition is full of dangers." Except in the strictly scientific fields, concise and uncompromising definitions neither simplify nor clarify fundamental human situations. Those who built Zion were not motivated by any definitions but by the totality of their existence and experience. It was only those who sought escape from their obligations as Jews who found refuge and rationalizations in definitions. Not a single Jew will ever be inspired to settle in Israel by ~~having been~~ *being* warned that unless he does so he cannot call himself a "Zionist". So he will not call himself a Zionist! nor join a Zionist ~~Organization~~ *Organization*, nor attend Zionist meetings, nor read Zionist literature. ~~One wonders whether~~ *While* all this makes him a stronger friend of Israel? Is it through labels and badges, bestowed or with-held, that Israel will attract immigration, especially from those countries where Jews are at peace and enjoy the rights of citizenship? In the past we called "Zionist" anyone who believed in and worked for the reestablishment of the State of Israel, and likewise, today, we should call "Zionist" anyone who believes in and works for the strengthening and consolidation, the defense and security of the now established State of Israel! There are, of course, degrees

What We Must Always Remember

World Jewry—First Line of Israel's Defense

by Dr. Abba Hillel Silver

THE last 60 years wrote one of the most amazing and revolutionary chapters, glorious as well as tragic, in all human history. I do not refer to the scientific inventions and discoveries of these years which link the electric with the atomic age. I have in mind the crucial political and social transformations of these six decades—the disintegration of vast empires, the birth of more than thirty new states, the gigantic struggle of economic systems, the profound and as yet, unresolved conflict between democracy and dictatorship, the rise and fall of Fascism and Nazism, and the spread of communism.

It is against the background of these unprecedented social and political upheavals which uprooted old systems and the ways of life of many peoples that we must view the history of our own people. Many people suffered bitterly during these convulsive years but none paid as high a price as the Jewish people. None came as close to total annihilation.

But the darkness of these years went not entirely unrelieved. They gave us the Zionist movement, the renaissance of Hebrew Culture and the birth of the State of Israel. They also established for our people flourishing centers of life and freedom in the New World.

The strong nationalist movements of the 19th and early 20th centuries which were frequently intolerant of the rights of minorities, and gave rise to an intensified anti-Semitism in many countries, also lent great force and cogency to Jewish nationalist aspirations. The barbaric excesses against our people which followed the First World War and those of Fascism and Nazism before and during the Second World War dramatized the tragic problem of Jewish national homelessness and placed it urgently and undeniably upon the agenda of world statesmanship. Everything—every form of anti-Semitism and persecution tensed and keyed up to an unprecedented climax of violence, so that they could no longer be ignored. Important sections of world Jewry, long beguiled by millennial dreams of universalism and cosmopolitanism, were rudely shaken out of their wishful thinking and were forced to confront the stark realities of their existence. This was the beginning of their spiritual redemption. All these factors combined to bring about the political emancipation of our people, and the re-establishment of the third Jewish Commonwealth.

Not automatically, of course! History follows no lines of external pressures alone. Without the long-sustained and religiously-nurtured hope of national restoration, and the unbroken will of the masses of our people to see Zion rebuilt, without inspiring leadership and competent organization and untold sacrifices, the opportunities which the political events during the two world wars presented would have been missed, and the great moment would have passed us by again. The Zionist movement, and all that preceded it in slow, painstaking organizational and educational work, the dedicated labors of writers, teachers and propagandists, the creative achievements of two generations of pioneers, had fortunately readied the Jewish people for just such an historic moment. When the decisive hour arrived the spear no longer lacked the shaft, nor the sword its hilt.

This we should always remember! Without an organized and mobilized world Jewry, the State of Israel would never have been established—and without it—it cannot be sustained.

The first line of Israel's political and economic defense is world Jewry. Even Israel's superb army must in the last analysis depend upon the material resources which, in large part, the Jews of the world must make available. The great world powers, competing for Arab friendship, have not opened, nor are they likely to open their arsenals to Israel, as they have to the Arabs. Each of the world powers is arming its own protégé. Israel is the protégé of neither.

The fortunes of Israel in the maelstrom of the Near East are unpredictable. Global forces have chosen that area as their arena for decisive conflict. This has

occurred often in the past. Until that conflict is resolved, and peacefully, we hope, and until Israel's Arab neighbors have reconciled themselves to its existence, the Near East will be full of explosive tensions and the position of Israel will be fraught with danger.

A not uninformed head of a great Asiatic power recently called the Middle East "the most delicate and explosive part of this world's surface." Yesterday Egypt was the burning fuse. Today it is Syria. Tomorrow—who knows? The Soviet will always be there to make sure that some fuse is ignited. For the Soviet is interested neither in Egypt or Syria or in any other Arab state, or in any cause, for that matter, including com-

munism, but in acquiring a dominant position for itself in an important part of the world from which it had been heretofore excluded.



Former President Harry S. Truman joins Dr. Emanuel Neumann and other Zionist leaders on the dais in applauding the address of Dr. Abba Hillel Silver.

munism, but in acquiring a dominant position for itself in an important part of the world from which it had been heretofore excluded.

IT is acknowledged everywhere that our country must and will continue to play a special role in the Near East. Its own legitimate interests and the interests of the free world demand it. The political fortunes of Israel will depend largely upon American policy in that part of the world. It is clear, on the basis of what has already transpired, that the Soviet Union is firmly resolved to penetrate the Near East and, if possible to sovietize it, and will not hesitate to sacrifice Israel to win over the Arab world. There seems to be no limit to its expansionist ambitions, ruthlessness and cynical opportunism. There are powerful oil and other interests in our own country who would not hesitate to advocate a similar policy. We cannot conceive that our government will yield to any such pressures and adopt a policy so alien to its traditions, its sympathies, its moral commitments and so repugnant to the sentiments of the overwhelming majority of its citizens. But the mounting pressures may achieve some partial success nevertheless.

The continuing crisis, in part the result of earlier mistakes, may induce our State Department to favor even more drastic appeasement measures which will do irreparable hurt to Israel. The Eisenhower Doctrine in no way shelters Israel from possible attacks by neighboring Arab states, whether they be pro or anti-Soviet. It is, in our judgment, a vain hope that peace in the Near East will be secured and Soviet penetration halted by sending additional jets, tanks and other armament to the so-called friendly Arab states. Only a firm guarantee by our government to defend Israel against aggression, similar to the guarantees which it has given to numerous other countries—not a guarantee by allusion or nebulous implications—will sober the Arab political opportunists of both coalitions, will convince them of the helplessness of their intrigues, will force them to turn their attentions, if they mean to remain in

power, to the solution of the grave domestic problems of their countries and will put an end to their successful game of international black-mail.

Until this position is accepted by our government—and in time, I believe, it will be accepted—the very armaments which our government is now pouring into the Arab states of the northern-tier coalition and those which it had previously sent them, may very well in time, be joined with the arms which the Arab states of the other coalition are receiving from the Soviet Union, against Israel—if not in outright war, then in massive pressures to force unwarranted concessions from it.

In passing, it might well be recalled that when Israel asked for arms, following Egypt's acquisition of vast armaments from Czechoslovakia, it was refused on the ground that the United States Government did not wish to engage in an arms race in the Near East. At that very moment an arms race was actually going on in the Near East and our own government was an active participant.

Today our government is hectically speeding up our arms shipments to Jordan, Iraq, Turkey, Lebanon and Saudi Arabia—but still no arms shipments to Israel! Why, one wonders, are arms shipped to Jordan to counter-balance Soviet arms shipments to Syria, while arms were denied Israel following the shipment of Soviet arms to Egypt? Who invents these pious formulas which, on the face of them, are unrelated to actualities and are ignored at the very time of their promulgation by the very people who promulgate them?

Surveying the precipitate activities in the Near East at this moment, one wonders whether our State Department really hopes to find an "air-lift" solution for the problems of that disturbed area, one which will by-pass Israel. But Israel cannot be by-passed. It is at the very core of any sound solution.

In view of all this it is of utmost urgency that world Jewry and especially American Jewry, should remain mobilized to defend what it has painstakingly and honorably built, and that the Zionist movement which organized world Jewry politically and economically for the great and successful national effort, should continue to give it effective and intelligent direction and guidance in the future. It is not the result of a miracle that we have a State, and it would be useless to trust to miracles in the future.

It is futile to engage at this time in a heated debate about the meaning of the term "Zionist" or about the precise future relationship between Israel and the Diaspora. Were the times not so perilous, we might perhaps permit ourselves the luxury of an academic competition in semantic dialectics, bearing in mind, however, how mischievous such diversions may sometimes become and recalling how much our movement was bedeviled in the past by those who sought to undermine it by a cunning resort to sundry formal definitions of race, nation, nationality, religion and culture. "Omnis definitio periculosa est" declared the great humanist Erasmus. "Every definition is full of dangers." Except in the strictly scientific fields, concise and uncompromising definitions neither simplify nor clarify fundamental human situations.

Those who built Zion were not motivated by any definitions but by the total impact of their existence and experience. It was only those who sought escape from their obligations as Jews who found refuge and rationalization in definitions. Not a single Jew will ever be inspired to settle in Israel by being warned that unless he does so he cannot call himself a "Zionist." So he will not call himself a Zionist! nor join a Zionist organization, nor attend Zionist meetings, nor read Zionist literature. Will all this make him a stronger friend of Israel? Is it through labels and badges, bestowed or withheld, that Israel will attract immigration, especially from those countries where Jews are at peace and enjoy the rights of citizenship? In the past we called "Zionist" anyone who believed in and worked for the reestablishment of the State of Israel, and likewise, today, we should call "Zionist" anyone who believes in and works for the strengthening and consolidation, the defense and security of the now established State of Israel!

There are, of course, degrees of dedication and commitment and corresponding satisfactions. If any Jew wishes to confine his interest in Israel exclusively to economic assistance, we certainly have no quarrel with him. His help is fully welcomed and greatly appreciated. But Israel requires more than that and will require more for a very long time to come. Those who are prepared to give more—to retain or to assume disciplined organizational responsibility in order to insure that these additional requirements are fully met under all hazards and all conditions, against all winds and tides, and to give direction to the activities of Diaspora Jewry in behalf of Israel, which the State of Israel itself clearly cannot give, are "Zionists" in the old and time-honored tradition of the term. Whether an individual Zionist chooses to settle in Israel and assume Israeli citizenship is a matter of his own personal preference and decision. If he can make an affirmative decision he is doubly blessed and privileged, but it was never a sine qua non of Zionist ideology. The Zionist movement never contemplated the resettlement of all Jews in the Jewish State. There was never a time in the last 28 centuries of Jewish history where such a condition prevailed. The Zionist movement aimed to restore the Jewish State, to give the Jewish people an equal status among the free nations of the world and to provide a national home, open at all times, to all Jews who would wish, or who would have to go there. To make Zionism synonymous with the personal obligation of every Zionist to emigrate to Israel is a distortion of the classic Zionist position.

IT is gratifying to note that the importance of maintaining a strong Zionist organization in the Diaspora is now being vigorously defended even by those who previously had been indifferent or critical of the idea when it was advocated by some of us soon after the establishment of the State. At that time the insistence upon maintaining the prestige and authority of the Zionist movement for the sake of Israel as well as world Jewry was interpreted as a long-distance attempt on the part of certain Zionist leaders outside of Israel to run the affairs of the State of Israel. I note that the present, rather tardy, and we are afraid, rather helpless champions of the same idea are likewise being chided and their motives impugned. There is little comfort in all this for anyone except for those who would like to see the unity of world Jewry disrupted,

(Continued on Page 7)

World Jewry . . .

(Continued from Page 6)

the remaining disciplined Zionist forces scattered in confusion, and a wall of separation erected between the Jewish State in Israel and the Jewish people outside of Israel. Let us not fill the air with monopolistic wrangles and heated discussions about competences and priorities, about who is a builder and who is a helper. Let us think less of what is mine and thine, but what is ours—our common tasks, our common burdens, our common responsibilities in this grave hour.

Sixty years ago, Dr. Theodor Herzl wrote: "Yes, we are strong enough to form a State, and indeed a model State. We possess all human and material re-

sources for the purpose!" Since then the Jewish people vindicated this prophetic faith of the immortal Herzl, and in spite of the vast afflictions and calamities which beset them, proved themselves strong enough and possessed of sufficient human and material resources to build a State—and we hope one which will become a model State. The kingly dream was made a reality by a ravaged people which knew how to unlock reservoirs of strength and confidence within itself. We belong to a generation that did not fail! With this thrush of confidence, made manifest by innumerable acts of self-liberation, came a reborn national self-respect which has been the elixir of our souls and the souls of our children, ever since the creation and the heroic defense of the State of Israel. Some indefinable

grace has come back into our lives—a tone, quickening like the sap of earth in spring, a spiritual quality which has been lacking all these dark and prideless centuries of our national homelessness.

These sixty years have produced a renaissance of Hebrew culture, undreamed of, and in fact, despaired of, in the closing years of the last century. A superb creative era set in which gathered momentum as it moved triumphantly into the formative years of the new State. This reawakened interest in the Hebrew language and literature and in Jewish learning and study generally has not been confined to the borders of Israel, but is felt in all the habitations of our people.

Indeed, the events which have transpired are steadily reinstating Judaism, the historic faith of Israel, into its place

of centrality in Jewish life. There are marked indications that our youth, our intellectuals, our erstwhile secular nationalists are rediscovering with agreeable surprise, the rich spiritual heritage of their people.

With our faith to sustain and inspire us we can face the oncoming years undaunted. We shall also be greatly helped if we do not forget the lessons of the last sixty years—how we beguiled ourselves and were betrayed by others, how our illusions were consumed in the gas-chambers of alien lands, and how we found redemption at last in self-emancipation. Let us remember the hard years of struggle and rewarding days of the purpose accomplished. And let us be open-eyed and resolute in the future—for we have a long way to go.

HaBoker Oct 4 1957

בועידה השנתית ה-60 של הסתדרות ציוני אמריקה, שנערכה לפני שבועיים, נשא ד"ר א. ה. סילבר נאום רבי רושם על הצורך לשמור בשעה זו על אחדות העם והזהיר בתוקף מפני המונחה לפלג בין המדינה והתפוצות. היתה זו תגובה פומבית ראשונה בחו"ל לדברים שהשמיע לאחרונה ראש הממשלה מר ד. בן-גוריון על ההבדלים שהוא מבדיל בין יהודי הגולה ויהודי ישראל.

על רקע זעזועים חברתיים ומדיניים שאין להם תקדים, שעקרו משטרים ישנים ודרכי חיים של עמים רבים, עלינו לראות את דברי ימי עמנו. עמים רבים סבלו מרות בשנות הזעזועים הללו, אבל שום עם לא שילם מחיר כל כך גבוה כעם ישראל. שום עם לא הגיע לסף השמדה כללית. אין צורך לפרט כאן את הרשימה האיומה של הפורענויות, אנחנו יודעים היטב, והער"ם בכלל איננו להוט שיוזכרו לו אותה.

אולם חשכת השנים הללו לא היתה לגמרי בלי נוחם. הן נתנו לנו את התנועה הציונית, את תחית התרבות העברית ואת הולדת מדינת ישראל. הן גם הקימו לעמנו מרכזי חיים וחרות פורחים בעולם החדש.

התנועות הלאומיות החזקות של המאה התשע עשרה וראשית המאה העשרים, שלעיתים קרובות לא היו סובלניות לגבי זכויות מעוטות וגרמו להתגברות האנטישמיות בארצות רבות, העניקו עם זאת צו ותעצומות לשאיפות הלאומיות היהודיות. ארדיפות הברבריות על עמנו אחרי מלחמת העולם הראשונה ורדיפות הפאשיזם והנאציזם לפני מלחמת העולם השנייה ובישעתה — המחזו את הבעיה הטראגית של חוסר קורת גג לעמנו ושמו אותה כמפגיעה וכולסת על סדר היום של מדינות העולם. חלקים חשובים של יהדות העולם, שבמשך ימים רבים חלימו על אוניברסליות וקוסמופוליטיות, נודעו והוכרחו לעמוד פנים אל פנים מול המציאות של היותם. זו היתה אתחלתא של גאולתם הרוחנית. כל הגורמים הללו ביחד הביאו לידי שחרור מדיני של עמנו ולהקמת הבית היהודי השלישי.

מדינת ישראל לא קמה מאליה

מובן מאליו שלא באופן אבטומטי הגענו לכך. ההיסטוריה איננה הולכת רק בקווי חיצוני בלבד. בלי התקווה רבת השנים לתקומה לאומית שניזונה מן הדת ובלי הרצון העז של המוני

עמנו לראות את ציון הבנויה, בלי המנהיגות הרוחנית והארגון היעיל וקרבתו אידיקלית היו מלחמות ההזדמנויות שנגרמו על ידי המאורעות המדיניים בשתי מלחמות העולם והשעה הגדולה היתה שוב ושוב על פנינו. התנועה הציונית וכל מה שקדם לה בפועל ארגונית וחנוכית קפדנית, העיבוד המסורה של סופרים, מורים וגורמים, ההישגים היוצרים של שני דורות חלוצים — הכשירו למולנו את עם ישראל לשעה ההיסטורית הזאת. וכש"כ באה השעה המכריעה מצא הפטיש את סדנו ומצאה חורב את גדתו.

את כל זאת עלינו לזכור תמיד. שהרי בלי היהדות היהודית המאורגנת והמאויימת — לא היתה מדינת ישראל מוקמת, ובעתידית לא תיבדל ההתקיים.

הקו הראשון של ההגנה המדינית והכלכלית של ישראל היא יהדות העולם. גם הצבא המעולה של ישראל תלוי בסופו של דבר במקורות חמריים, שבהלם הגדול מוכרחים יהודי העולם לתתם. המעצמות העולמיות הגדולות, המתחרות על הידידות הערבית, לא פתחו ואינן עומדות לפתוח את בתי הנשק שלהן לישראל כשם שפתחו אותם לערבים. כל מעצמה עולמית מויינת את החביב עליה, ואילו ישראל אינה חביבה על שום מעצמה!

אין לדעת מראש מה יהיה גורלה של ישראל במערכות המזרח התיכון. מעצמות עולמיות בחרו אזור זה כזירה לסכסוך מ"ר. דבר זה קרה בעבר כמה פעמים. כל זמן שסכסוך זה לא נפתר, ואנו מקוים שיפתר בשום, וכל זמן שהשכנים הערביים של ישראל לא השלימו עם קיומה — יהיה המזרח התיכון מלא מתח נפץ, ועמ"ד ישראל תהיה כרוכה בסכנה.

ראש מעצמה אסאתית גדולה הגי' דיר את המזרח התיכון כהחלק העדין ורב הנפץ ביותר של פני העולם. את מול היתה מצרים המוקד. כיום — סוריה. ומחר — מי יודע? הסובייטים ידאגו תמיד שיהיה מוקד, משום שהם מעוניינים לא במצרים ולא בסוריה או במדינה ערבית אחת או במשהו אחר

כל זמן שממשלת ארצות הברית לא תנקוט עמדה כ"זאני מאמין שסוף סוף תנקוט בה — הרי הנשק שממשלת ארה"ב שולחת ל"מדינות הערביות, ביחד עם הנשק שמדינות ערביות אחיזות מקבלות מברית המועצות נגד ישראל — גורמים אם לא למחמה ממש, הרי דחף על ישראל כדי להשיג ויתורים ממנה.

אגב יש לזכור, כי כשדרשה ישראל נשק לאחר שמצרים קיבלה נשק מצ"כוסלובקיה — סירבו לתתו לה מתוך נימוק שאין ממשלת ארה"ב רוצה במ"רוץ חימוש במזרח התיכון. אולם באר"תה שעה עצמה כבר התחיל מרוץ ההזר"דינות הערביות במזרח התיכון וארה"ב השתתפו בו.

כיום שולחת ארה"ב בקדחתנות נשק לירדן, לעיראק, לסוריה, ללבנון ול"סעודיה, אבל עדיין לא לישראל. למה, איפוא, שולחים נשק לירדן לעומת הנ"שק הסובייטי לסוריה — ולא שולחים נשק לישראל לעומת הנשק הסובייטי למצרים?

נראה כי כל זה דרוש במפגיע שיהדות העולם וביחוד יהדות אמריקה תתגייס להגן על מה שבנ"תה בעמל רב ושהתנועה הציונית שארגנה את יהדות העולם מבחינה מדינית וכלכלית למאמץ הלאומי הגדול והמוצלח, תוסיף לתת את הדרכתה היעילה והמושכלת גם בעתיד.

אין טעם בוויכוח על המונח "ציוני"

אין טעם להכנס בשעה זאת לוויכוח נלהב על פירוש המונח ציוני או על היחס בעתיד בין ישראל והגולה. לולא

היו הומנים כל כך מסוכנים, יכולנו אולי להרשות לעצמנו התחרות אקדמית בפלפול על הוראות מלים. אולם יש לזכור כמה עלולים וויכוחים כאלה להיות מטעים. כבר בעבר היו מי שניסו לחתור מתחת לתנועה צ"ה הגדרות משונות של גזע, עם, לאום, דת ותרבות.

כל הגדרה היא מסוכנת — אמר ההומניסט הגדול אראמוס. הוצ' מאשר בשדה המדע המדויק אין הגדרות ממצות ומבהירות מצבים אנושיים. בר"ני ציון לא הלכו אחרי הגדרות, אלא אחרי הווייתם ונסיגם. רק אלה שחתרו להתחמק מהתחייבויותיהם כיהודים, מצאו מקלט והסבר בהגדרות. שום יהודי לא יתלהב להתישב בישראל רק מפני שהזהירו אותו שאם לא יעשה כן לא יוכל לקרוא לעצמו ציוני. יתר על כן: אם לא יקרא לעצמו ציוני, לא יצטרף לארגון ציוני, לא ישתתף באס"פה ציונית, לא יקרא ספרות ציונית — האם ע"י כך יהיה לידיד נאמן ליש"ר אל? האם ע"י תריות ופתקים תמשוך ישראל עליה, בפרט מאותן ארצות ש"היהודים חיים בהם בשלוה?

בעבר קראנו בשם "ציוני" לכל מי שהאמין ופעל בהקמת מדינת ישראל, וגם כיום עלינו לקרוא בשם ציוני לכל מי שמאמין ופועל לחיוקה וגיבושה, להגנתו ולבטחונו של ישראל. ודאי יש דרגות של מסירות והקרבה. אם יהודי רוצה לצמצם את התענינותו בישראל רק בסיוע כלכלי, ודאי לא נבוא אתו בריב. עזרתו רצויה ונערכת. אלה ה"מוכנים לתת יותר — לקיים אחריות ממושמעת ומאורגנת כדי שצרכי יש"ר אל ימולאו בשלמות בכל הנסיבות ותינתן הדרכה לפעילות יהדות הגולה למען ישראל. מה שאין מדינת ישראל עצמה יכולה לתת. הרי הללו הם ציר"נים לפי המסורת הישנה של המונח, מסורת שנתקדשה במשך הזמן.

אם ציוני עולה לישראל ומתאזרח שם זהו ענין הנתון להכרעתו. מעולם לא היה זה תנאי בל יעבור של הציר"נות. התנועה הציונית מעולם לא חש"בה לישב את כל היהודים במדינת ישראל. ב"ר 28 המאות שעברו לא היה שום זמן שבו ישבו כל היהודים בארץ ישראל.

התנועה הציונית שאפה לחדש את מדינת ישראל, לתת לעם ישראל עמדה שווה בין העמים החפשיים וזאת"קין בית לאומי פתוח תמיד לכל היהודים הרוצים לעלות. אבל לעשות את הציונות שם נדרה להתחייבות אישית של כל ציוני וציונית לעלות ליש"ר אל — זהו פירוש העמדה הציונית הקלאסית.

נעים לציין שהחשיבות של החזקה ארגון ציוני חזק בגולה מוגנת עכשיו אפילו ע"י אלה, שלפני כן היו אדישים ואפילו מתנגדים לרעיון כשהמליצו עליו אחדים מאתנו אחרי תקומת המ"דינה. אותה שעה נתפרשה הדרישה להחזיק את ההומניסטים והסמכות של ה"תנועה הציונית למען ישראל והיהדות העולמית כנסיגון של חלק ממנהיגי ה"ציונות מחוץ לישראל לנהל את עניני המדינה. אל נא נקים חומה של הפרדה בין מדינת ישראל והעם היהודי מחוץ לישראל. דומני שגם כיום יש הנתפ"סים מתוך עוררין או רשלנות מחשב"תית לאותה הנחה מוטעית. על גישה זו יוכלו לשמוח רק אלה הרוצים לר"אות בהרס האחדות היהודית העולמית ובהקמת מחיצות גבוהות בין מדינת ישראל לבין העם היהודי שמחוץ למדי"נה.

אל נא נמלא את האוויר במאבק על מונופולין ואל נא נתווכח על סמכויות והעדר פות, מיהו הכונה ומיהו ה"עוזר. אל נחשוב על כך מה ש"לי ומה ש"לך, אלא מה ה"הוא שלנו. התפקיד ה"משותף שלנו, העומס המ"שותף שלנו, האחרייות המ"שותפת שלנו בשעה קשה

מה פעל עם ישראל

מה נתנו ששים השנים האחרונות לעמנו? פורענויות לאין סוף. למן פ"ר עות ארדיס, וקשינוב עד למחנות ה"הסוף בעמוד ז'

אסור לפלג בין המדינה והתפוצות

(הסוף מעמוד 3)

של ההשכלה והאמנסיפציה במאה התשע-עשרה, הוחלפה בעמדה יותר חיובית, מעריצה ונוחה לקלוט, ואם תהיה תופעה זו לא רק ארעית, הרי יהיה זה לאשרנו. ע"י כך תהיה תק"ו וות הקיום שלנו מושרשת. יקום לנו אוצר של מרץ רוחני, שיכשיר אותנו להתגבר על כל משבר. תהי"ה לנו צידה לדרך הארוכה, כדי להקמח לא יכלה וצפחת השמן לא תח"סר לעולם.

לא יתכן המשך קיומה של תפוצה יהודית בלי יהדות, אפילו בישראל לא תהיה הלאומיות בלבד חזקה כל צרכה לא למדינה ולא לאורחיה, ובודאי לא יוכלו בני העם היהודי מחוץ לישראל להתקיים זמן רב בלי הדת המיוחדת אותם, ובלי מוסדות מאורגנים של בתי כנסת ובתי ספר.

וזכור לקח השנים שעברו

מתוך אמונה בקיומנו נוכל לצפות ללא חרדה לקראת השנים הבאות, אבל אל נא נשכח את לקח השנים שעברו, כיצד השלינו את עצמנו ורומינו ע"י אחרים וכיצד מצאנו גאולה סוף סוף בשחרור עצמי. נזכור שנות המאבק ושנות ההישג ונסתכל בעינים פקוחות ובמבט איתן לעתיד, משום שלפנינו דרך ארוכה.

חזינו וחכמינו הזכירו לנו: "זכור אשר עשה לך עמלק, זכור יום צאתך ממצרים". אלקי ישראל הוא אלקי הו"כרון, עמדתו הקיץ בבית כנסת נטוש בטולידו בספרד, זהו בית כנסת שגב"נה ע"י שמואל אבולעפיה, שר האוצר של פדרו האכזרי במאה ה-14, גורל אותו בית כנסת קטן ויפה דומה לגורל קהילת ישראל בטולידו, שהיתה פורחת לפני שנים רבות והוציאה מקרבה חכמי ישראל גדולים, משוררים ופילוסופים, מולדת יהודה הלוי, אלהריזי, אברהם אבן עזרא ואחרים. תולדותיה נסתיימו בשנת 1492 עם גירוש כל היהודים מספרד ובית הכנסת הפך לבית כנסיה נוצרית בשם "אל טראנוויו" ואחר-כך הפכו אותו למצבת זכרון, שהוא היום מוזנח ונעזב.

עד היום רואים שם על הקירות כתבות עבריות המורכבות מפסוקים, קראתי אותם בענין רב, ופסוק אחד מתהילים עשה עלי רושם רב דווקא באותו מקום ובאותו זמן:

זכר לעולם בריתו, דבר צוה לאדף דור... לאמר לך אתו את ארץ כנען חבל נחלתכם".

קראתי דברי נבואה אלה על הקיר בבית כנסת שנעזב לפני חמש מאות שנה ע"י מתפלליו שהלכו בגולה, ולא יכולתי שלא להיזכר אז בארץ היעודה בקצה השני של ים התיכון בארץ כנ"ע, במדינת ישראל החדשה, ובתחיה הלאומית הנפלאה ובתקוות הנפלאות המתעוררות לחוף המולדת המחודשת. ואמרתי לעצמי, אכן: "זכור ברי"תו, דבר צוה לאדף דור".

לרגל מלאת עכשיו ששים שנה לי קונגרס הציוני הראשון וליסוד התנועה הציונית הבה נחליט גם אנו לזכור, נשא בלבנו את זכרונותינו היקרים מן השנים שעברו ולאורם נלך איתנים לקראת הקנים הבאות, לתפקידים חדשים ולהזדמנויות שאנו מצפים להן.

אבא הלל סילבר

מוות של בלזן וטרבלינקה, מיליוני מעונים והרוגים, אין קץ לפליטים ולגולים, ומרכזי חיים יהודיים עתירי תרבות והיסטוריה נחרבו. אולם שנים אלה נתנו לעמנו גם אמן מחודש בכוח הקיום, בכושר שלנו להתגבר על פורענות ולבנות על גבי תלי חורבות.

לפני ששים שנה כתב ד"ר תיאודור הרצל: "אכן הננו חזקים למדי כדי לבנות מדינה, ומדינה למופת. יש ברו"שותנו כל האמצעים האנושיים והחמריים לתכלית זאת". מאז קיים העם היהודי את דברי הנבואה של הרצל בן האלימות ולמרות הפורענויות שהתרחשו בינתיים היה העם חזק למדי והיו לרשרתו אמצעים אנושיים וחמריים מספיקים להקים מדינה, ואנחנו מקווים שתהיה מדינה למופת. החלום המלכותי הפך למציאות ע"י העם שידע להפיק מקרב אוצרות כוח ואמונה. ע"י כך קם כבוד עצמי לאומי, שהוא סם חיים לנפש שותנו ולנפש בנינו למן תקומת המדינה והגנת הגבורה שלה. מין חסד ש"אין להגדיר אותו הושרה על חיינו, משהו רוחני שהיה חסר בכל מאות ה"שנים החשוכות והנכנעות של היותנו עם ללא מולדת.

תחית התרבות העברית

ששים השנים האחרונות הביאו אתם תחית התרבות העברית, שלא חלמו עליה ואף התיאשו ממנה בסוף המאה הקודמת. קמה תקופת יצירה עליונה, שעברה בנצחון לתוך שנות העיצוב של המדינה החדשה, נתעוררה התעניינות בשפה העברית וספרותה ובתלמוד תורה, והתעניינות זאת איננה מצומצמת לגבולות ישראל, אלא מורגשת בכל התפוצה.

★

אכן, המאורעות הלכו וקבעו את היהדות, את האמונה ההיסטורית של ישראל, למקום מרכזי בחיי היהודים, יש סימנים שהנועד של המשכילים שלנו, הלאומיים של נו שהם לפי שעה חילוניים, מגלים שוב להפתעתם הנעימה את המורשת הרוחנית העשירה של העם, העמדה הסובלנית ואפילו השלילית כלפי היהדות, שהיתה מוציאה לאור

A ONDE VAMO.

SEMANÁRIO JUDÁICO INDEPENDENTE DO BRASIL

13 de fevereiro de 1958 - Ano XVII - N.º 264 - Preço Cr\$ 1.



Neste
número

Os árabes no Estado Judeu — O mundo
árabe contra Israel

Não deturpemos a clássica posição sionista!

Pelo DR. ABBA HILLEL SILVER

NOS últimos 60 anos foi escrito um dos mais surpreendentes e revolucionários capítulos, tão glorioso quanto trágico, de toda a história humana. Não me refiro às invenções científicas e descobertas desses anos que ligam



as eras elétrica e atômica. Tenho em mente as cruciais modificações políticas e sociais dessas seis décadas — a desintegração dos vastos impérios, o nascimento de mais de trinta novos estados, a gigantesca luta de novos sistemas econômicos, o profundo conflito, até agora não decidido, entre a democracia e a ditadura, o surgimento e a queda do fascismo e do nazismo e a difusão do comunismo.

E' contra o background desses movimentos sociais e políticos

sem precedentes, que erradicaram velhos sistemas e formas de vida de muitos povos, que precisamos observar a história de nosso próprio povo. Muitas nações sofreram amargamente durante esses anos convulsivos, mas nenhum pagou preço tão caro como o povo judeu. Nenhum esteve tão próximo da aniquilação.

Mas esses anos de escuridão não passaram inteiramente sem alívio. Deram-nos o movimento sionista, o renascimento da cultura hebraica e a fundação do Estado de Israel e estabeleceram para o nosso povo centros florescentes de vida e liberdade do Novo Mundo.

Os fortes movimentos nacionalistas do século 19 e do começo do século 20, freqüentemente intolerantes em relação aos direitos das minorias, dando lugar a um anti-semitismo intensificado em muitos países, também emprestaram grande força e convicção às aspirações nacionalistas judaicas. Os bárbaros excessos contra o nosso povo que se seguiram à Primeira Guerra Mundial e os do fascismo e do nazismo antes e durante a Segunda Guerra Mundial, dramatizaram o trágico problema da falta de um lar nacional judaico e inscreveram-no urgente e inegavelmente na agenda da política mundial. Tudo — todas as formas de anti-semitismo e perseguição criavam uma tensão, a um clima de violência, que não podia mais ser ignorado. Partes importantes do judaísmo mundial, há muito iludidas por sonhos milenares de universalismo e cosmopolitismo, foram rudemente sacudidas desse estado de *wishful thinking* e forçadas a confrontar as sombrias realidades de sua existência. Esse foi o princípio de sua redenção espiritual. Todos esses fatores combinaram-se para trazer a emancipação política de nosso povo e o re-establishment do terceiro Commonwealth judaico.

Não automaticamente, é claro! A História não segue apenas as linhas ditadas por pressões externas. Sem a esperança longamente sustentada e religiosamente nutrida de restauração nacional e a vontade inquebrantável das massas do nosso povo de ver Sion reconstruída, sem a inspirada liderança e competente organização e sacrifícios incontáveis, as oportunidades que os eventos políticos durante as duas guerras mundiais apresentaram teriam sido perdidas, e o grande momento teria passado por nós novamente. O movimento sionista, e tudo que o precedeu num lento e difícil trabalho de organização e educação,

os dedicados esforços de escritores, professores e propagandistas, as realizações criativas de duas gerações de pioneiros, tinham afortunadamente preparado o povo judeu justamente para um tal momento histórico.

Isto devemos sempre lembrar! Sem um judaísmo mundial organizado e mobilizado, o Estado de Israel nunca teria sido estabelecido — e sem isso não poderá ser sustentado.

A primeira linha de defesa política e econômica de Israel é o judaísmo mundial. Mesmo o soberbo exército israelense tem que depender, em última análise, dos recursos materiais que, em grande parte, os judeus do mundo devem fornecer. As grandes potências mundiais, competindo pela amizade dos árabes, não abriram, e nem é provável que abram, os seus arsenais a Israel, como os abriram para os árabes. Cada uma das potências mundiais arma os seus próprios protegidos. Israel não é protegido de ninguém.

A sorte de Israel no *maelstrom* do Oriente Próximo é imprevisível. Forças globais escolheram essa área como arena para o confronto decisivo. Isto ocorreu freqüentemente no passado. Até ser resolvido esse conflito — pacificamente, segundo esperamos — e até os vizinhos árabes de Israel se reconciliarem com a sua existência, o Oriente Próximo estará repleto de tensões explosivas e a posição de Israel estará em perigo.

Um bem informado chefe de uma potência asiática chamou recentemente o Oriente Médio de "a mais delicada e explosiva parte da superfície do mundo." Ontem era o Egito o estopim. Hoje é a Síria. Amanhã — quem sabe? Os soviéticos sempre lá estarão para assegurar que algum estopim arda. Pois os soviéticos não estão interessados nem no Egito nem na Síria nem em qualquer outro estado árabe, ou em qualquer causa, inclusive o comunismo, e sim em adquirir uma posição dominante para si em uma importante parte do mundo da qual estavam até agora excluídos.

É mundialmente reconhecido que o nosso país exerce e continuará a exercer um importante papel no Oriente Próximo. Seus próprios e legítimos interesses e os interesses do mundo livre o exigem. A sorte política de Israel dependerá em grande parte da política americana naquela parte do mundo. É claro, baseando-se no que já transpirou, que a União Soviética está firmemente resolvida a penetrar no Oriente Próximo, e se for possível soviétizá-lo, não hesitando em sacrificar Israel para conquistar o mundo árabe. Parece não haver limites para as suas ambições expansionistas, sua crueldade e cínico oportunismo. Há poderosos poderes petrolíferos e outros interesses em nosso país que não hesitariam em advogar uma política semelhante. Não podemos conceber que o nosso governo ceda a quaisquer de tais pressões e adote uma política tão estranha às suas tradições, suas simpatias, seus compromissos morais e tão repugnante para a maioria esmagadora de seus cidadãos. Mas as crescentes pressões podem atingir algum sucesso parcial, apesar de tudo.

A crise continua, em parte por erros anteriores, e poderá induzir o nosso Departamento de Estado a tomar medidas de apaziguamento ainda mais drásticas, que ferirão Israel irreparavelmente. A Doutrina Eisenhower de modo algum protege Israel de possíveis ataques por parte de Estados árabes vizinhos, sejam eles pró ou anti-soviéticos. Segundo o nosso julgamento é vã a esperança de que a paz no Oriente Próximo será assegurada e que a penetração soviética será detida enviando mais jatos, tanques e outros armamentos para os assim chamados estados árabes amigos. Somente uma firme garantia de nosso governo de defender Israel contra a agressão, semelhante às garantias que foram dadas a inúmeros outros países — não uma garantia por alusão ou nebulosas implicações — tornará sôbrios os oportunistas políticos árabes de ambas as coalizões, convencendo-os da inutilidade de suas intrigas, forçá-los a voltar às suas atenções — se é que querem continuar no poder — para a solução dos graves problemas domésticos de seus

(Continua na pág. 20)

A ONDE VAMOS?

Machlakah Lechinuch Torani

O INSTITUTO HARAV KOOK JUNTO
AO COLÉGIO BARILAN

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Comitê Central Eleitoral

Para o 5º kinus da Organização Sionista no Brasil
e kinus da Magbit-Keren Halessod)

PROCLAMAÇÃO

Comunicamos a todos os sionistas e simpatizantes, bem como ao yishuv do Brasil em geral, que no dia 4 de maio p.f. realizar-se-ão as eleições para o kinus da Organização Sionista do Brasil e para o kinus do Magbit-Keren Halessod.

A finalidade do kinus é analisar e debater todos os problemas atuais da vida judaica em nossa época, os problemas referentes aos órgãos e instâncias do movimento sionista, do sionismo e do Estado de Israel, as questões específicas da coletividade no Brasil, tais como organização, administração, educação e tudo que se refere ao movimento sionista no país.

Assim sendo, apelamos para todos os judeus do Brasil, homens e mulheres, maiores de 18 anos para que participem ativamente neste ato democrático sionista — as eleições para o kinus.

Conclamamos todos para que se registrem imediatamente, através dos movimentos e organizações sionistas, ou diretamente nos comitês eleitorais locais, a fim de possibilitar a preparação das listas eleitorais no prazo prefixado.

É dever sagrado de todo o judeu participar das eleições possibilitando a reconstrução, fortalecendo a unidade sionista e elegendo as pessoas adequadas para as diversas atividades sionistas em todas as suas instâncias.

Lembrem-se de que as eleições se processarão no dia 4 de maio e não percam a única oportunidade de exprimir sua opinião e concepção sobre os problemas vitais do sionismo, a que estão ligados os interesses de todos os judeus, jovens e velhos.

O êxito do kinus depende da grande participação nas eleições, e o seu resultado está ligado aos mais vitais interesses nossos e de Medinat Israel. Seus votos são uma contribuição importante para o sucesso da Organização Sionista. Que o nome de todos os eleitores figurem na lista eleitoral!

Por uma feliz coincidência as eleições e o próprio kinus ocorrerão nos primeiros dias das festividades do 10.º Aniversário de Medinat Israel.

Elevem-se, pois, à altura da grande data que se aproxima e deem seus votos para consolidar a vitória do ideal sionista.

Por ocasião de sua bar-mitzvah, enviamos ao jovem MAURICIO LIBERBAUM os melhores votos para um futuro próspero e feliz: — Seus pais Germano e Regina Liberbaum. Seus avós Iquesiel e Chaia Liberbaum. Júlio e Marlene Liberbaum. Elias e Chaia Szer e filhos. Ziskind e Sara Kraindel. Rachel Gazz, Moysés e Mania Rokband. Alberto e Branca Rosenthal. Maier e Mirian Kraindel. Samuel Resnik. Dr. Wolf e família, Gerson Blajfeder e família.

Não deturpemos...

países, e porá um fim ao seu bem sucedido jogo de chantagem internacional.

Até que essa posição seja aceita pelo nosso governo — e em tempo creio eu, o será — os próprios armamentos que o nosso governo está agora derramando nos Estados árabes da coalização do norte e aqueles que foram anteriormente enviados, podem muito bem juntar-se aos armamentos que os estados árabes da outra coalizão estão recebendo da União Soviética, contra Israel — senão em guerra direta, então em pressão maciça para a obtenção de concessões indesejáveis.

De passagem deve ser lembrado que quando Israel solicitou armas em seguida à aquisição pelo Egito de vasta quantidade de armamentos na Tchecoslováquia, estes foram recusados sob o argumento de que o governo dos Estados Unidos não queria entrar numa corrida armamentista no Oriente Próximo. Naquele mesmo momento uma corrida armamentista estava realmente se realizando no Oriente Próximo e o nosso governo era um ativo participante.

Hoje o nosso governo está acelerando freneticamente os carregamentos de armas para a Jordânia, Iraque, Turquia, Líbano e Arábia Saudita — mas ainda nenhum carregamento de armas para Israel! Por que, pergunta-se, são enviadas armas à Jordânia para contrabalançar o envio de armamentos à Síria pelos soviéticos, enquanto armas são negadas a Israel em seguida ao envio de armamentos soviéticos ao Egito? Quem inventa essas fórmulas hipócritas afastadas da atualidade e que até mesmo durante a sua promulgação são ignoradas pelas próprias pessoas que as anunciaram?

Observando as precipitadas atividades no Oriente Próximo nesse momento, não se sabe se o Departamento de Estado realmente espera encontrar uma solução para os problemas dessa conturbada área desconsiderando Israel. Mas Israel não pode ser desconsiderado. Está no cerne de qualquer solução razoável.

Em vista de tudo isto é da maior urgência que o judaísmo mundial e principalmente o judaísmo americano, se mobilize para defender o que construiu, esforçada e honradamente, e que o Movimento Sionista que organizou o judaísmo mundial política e economicamente para o grande e bem sucedido esforço nacional, continue a dar-lhe direção e orientação inteligente e efetiva no futuro. Não é resultado de um milagre o fato de termos um Estado, e seria inútil confiar em milagres no futuro.

É inútil começar agora um acalorado debate sobre o significado da palavra "sionista" ou sobre as exatas relações futuras entre Israel e a Diáspora. Não fossem os termos tão perigosos e poderíamos permitir-nos o luxo de uma competição acadêmica em dialética semântica, trazendo em mente, porém, como podem se tornar nocivas tais diversões e lembrando o quanto que o nosso movimento foi prejudicado no passado por êsses que procuraram miná-lo apelando astutamente para diversas definições formais de raça, nação, nacionalidade, religião e cultura. *Omnis definitio periculosa est*, declarou o grande humanista Erasmus. "Toda definição está cheia de perigos". Exceto nos estritos campos científicos, definições concisas e incondicionais não simplificam nem clarificam as situações humanas fundamentais.

Aqueles que construíram Sion não foram movidos por quaisquer definições e sim pelo impacto total de suas existências e experiência. Sómente àqueles que procuravam fugir de suas obrigações com judeus encontraram refúgio em racionalizações e definições. Nem um único judeu jamais será inspirado a estabelecer-se em Israel apenas pela advertência de que não o fazendo, não poderá ele chamar-se "sionista". Então ele não se chamará de sionista, nem ingressará numa organização sionista, nem comparecerá a um *meeting* sionista, nem lerá literatura sionista. Tudo isso o fará um maior amigo de Israel? É através de lapelas e escudos, concedidos ou não, que Israel atrairá a imigração, especialmente dos países cujos judeus estão em paz e gozam de direitos de cidadania? No passado chamávamos "sionista" a toda pessoa que acreditava na idéia e trabalhava por um reestabelecimento do Estado de Israel; analogamente, hoje, deveríamos chamar de "sionista" a todo indivíduo que acredita e trabalha pelo fortalecimento e consolidação, pela defesa e segurança do agora existente Estado de Israel!

A ONDE VAMOS?

Existem, é claro, graus de dedicação, compromisso e correspondentes satisfações. Se um judeu deseja confiar o seu interesse em Israel exclusivamente à assistência econômica, certamente não brigaremos com ele. Sua ajuda é plenamente bem-vinda e grandemente apreciada. Mas Israel necessita mais do que isso e requerera mais por muito tempo ainda. Aqueles que estão preparados para dar mais para manter ou assumir responsabilidades disciplinares a fim de assegurar que essas necessidades adicionais sejam preenchidas, aconteça o que acontecer, contra todos os ventos e correntes, e dar direção às atividades do judaísmo da Diáspora a favor de Israel, o que o próprio Estado de Israel certamente não pode dar, são "sionistas" na velha e honrada tradição do termo.

Se um sionista decide estabelecer-se em Israel e adquirir cidadania israelense, isso é um assunto de sua preferência e decisão pessoais. Se ele pode tomar uma decisão afirmativa, então será duplamente abençoado e privilegiado, mas isso jamais constituiu um *sine qua non* da ideologia sionista. O movimento sionista nunca pensou no completo reestabelecimento de todos os judeus no Estado Judeu. Jamais houve época nos últimos 18 séculos da história judaica em que tais condições prevalecessem. O movimento sionista almejou restaurar o Estado Judeu, dar ao povo judeu um status igual entre as nações livres do mundo e fornecer um lar nacional, sempre aberto a todos os judeus que quisessem ou que tivessem de ir para lá. Fazer do sionismo uma obrigação pessoal de cada sionista de emigrar para Israel é deturpar a clássica posição sionista.

É motivo de satisfação notar que a importância de manter uma forte organização sionista na Diáspora está agora sendo vigorosamente defendida mesmo por aqueles que anteriormente tinham sido indiferentes ou críticos em relação a essa idéia quando ela foi defendida por alguns de nós, depois do estabelecimento do Estado. Naquele tempo a insistência de manter-se o prestígio e a autoridade do Movimento Sionista em favor de Israel, bem como em favor do judaísmo mundial foi interpretada como uma tentativa de certos líderes sionistas de dirigir a longa distância os assuntos internos do Estado de Israel. Note que os presentes defensores da mesma idéia — temo eu, retardados e indefesos — estão sendo igualmente admoestados e seus motivos impugnados. Há pouca satisfação nisto tudo, exceto para aqueles que gostariam de ver a união do judaísmo mundial quebrada, e o resto das forças sionistas disciplinadas espalhadas em confusão, e um muro de separação erigido entre o Estado Judeu em Israel e o povo judeu fora de Israel. Não enchamos o ar com rixas monopolísticas e discussões acaloradas sobre competências e prioridades, sobre quem é o construtor e quem é o ajudante. Pensemos menos no que é meu e teu e sim no que é nosso — nossas tarefas comuns, nossos fardos comuns, nossa responsabilidade comum nessa hora grave.

Há sessenta anos o dr. Theodor Herzl escreveu: "Sim, somos bastante fortes para formar um Estado, e até mesmo um Estado moderno. Possuímos todos os recursos materiais para essa finalidade!" Desde então o povo judeu tornou verdadeira essa fé profética do imortal Herzl, e a despeito das vastas aflições e calamidades que caíram sobre a nossa gente provou ser bastante forte e possuir suficientes recursos materiais e humanos para construir um Estado — e esperamos que se torne um Estado modelar. Esse sonho principesco se tornou realidade por um povo saqueado que soube como abrir os reservatórios de força

e confiança que tinha dentro de si. Pertencemos a uma geração que não falhou! Com esse impulso de confiança que se manifestou por inúmeros atos de auto-liberação, veio um sentimento renascido de respeito próprio nacional que tem sido o elixir de nossas almas e das almas de nossos filhos, desde a criação e a heróica defesa do Estado de Israel. Alguma graça indefinível voltou às nossas vidas, vitalizante como a seiva da terra na primavera, uma qualidade espiritual que não tínhamos durante todos esses sombrios séculos sem amor-próprio e sem um lar nacional.

Esses sessenta anos produziram um renascimento da cultura hebraica que não seria sonhado nos últimos anos do século passado, e do qual já tínhamos desanimado. Uma soberba era criativa foi iniciada e tomou impulso. O interesse reavivado na língua hebraica e sua literatura e nos estudos judaicos geralmente não tem sido confinado às fronteiras de Israel, mas é sentido em todas as habitações do nosso povo.

Realmente esses eventos estão pouco a pouco restaurando o judaísmo, a fé histórica em Israel, em seus lugares centrais na vida judaica. Há acentuadas indicações de que nossa juventude, nossos intelectuais, nossos antigos nacionalistas não religiosos estão redescobrimdo com agradável surpresa a rica herança espiritual de seu povo.

Com nossa fé para sustentar-nos e inspirar-nos, podemos encarar os anos vindouros corajosamente. Não esqueçamos as lições dos últimos sessenta anos — como nos iludimos a nós mesmos e fomos iludidos pelos outros, como nossas ilusões foram consumidas nas câmaras de gás de outras terras, e como encontramos redenção afinal na auto-emancipação. Lembremos os duros anos de luta e os dias plenos do objetivo realizado. Sejam os lucidos e resolutos no futuro — pois temos ainda um longo caminho a percorrer.

SÃO PAULO NOIVADOS

Contrataram casamento a srta. Frima Grinspan, com o sr. José Isaac Erling.

CASAMENTOS

Registramos o enlace matrimonial da srta. Sara Fassa, com o sr. Abrão Plat e da srta. Genny Ziskind, com o sr. Erich Shermann.

Realizaram-se mais os seguintes enlaces matrimoniais:

Dia 8, srta. Sara Krasilchik, com o sr. David Abramof; dia 9, srta. Eva Schwartz, com o sr. Boris Rosenthal.

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