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Zionist Organization of America, Convention, Israel, 1963.

Dr. Theodor Herzl!

The delegates to the Convention of the Zionist Organization of America who are now meeting in the "Altneuland", of which you dreamed and to which you gave all the strength of your body and soul, are gathered here at your grave on a hill which now bears your name and which overlooks the eternal city of Jerusalem.

We are here to lay a wreath of tribute and grateful remembrance at your tomb. But, we know that your resting place is not here but that you are forever enshrined in the hearts of our people to whom you showed the way to a freer and a nobler life.

Many monarchs have ruled over this ancient land and many armies have conquered and laid it waste. But you, the uncrowned king of a risen people, never conquered by force of arms. Though you were never privileged to behold the fulfillment of your dream, the fires of your unquenchable spirit kindled the souls of a generation of men and women who were moved to come here from distant parts of the world, across many broken roads of hardship, darkness and terror, to build here what you had visioned -- a Jewish State, a national home for a homeless people.

And now here you rest in this sacred soil on this quiet hill-top, while below you, and all about you, surges the abounding life of this ingathered

people, resonant with the joy of reborn hope and new-found freedom -- all of it ascribing glory and honor to your imperishable name.

You taught us many things which we had long forgotten. You revived many memories which the long exile had all but expuned from our minds. You helped us to tap the deep sources of inner strength of which we were no longer aware. You found us huddled and humbled in our several ghettos in the East and the West and you restored to us our ancestral pride as a people. You roused us to go forth and build a home worthy of the descendants of the Maccabees.

You taught us that "the most remarkable of all things is when a man, or a people never gives up". You made us understand the utter futility of trying to

combat the world's hatred of us which was riding high on the tides of nationalism, racialism and the class struggle. You showed how the salvation of our people lay within our own hands. You rediscovered our collective soul and you breathed into it the breath of life.

Like Moses of old, you commanded our people to move forward -- "The earth moves in space", you told us...." "the secret lies in movement".

You were sorely tried by our people. The Movement which you inaugurated drained you, made you "old, tired and poor". You wrote these sad words before you died.

Where were the people whom I was struggling to liberate? Why did they not rally in great multitudes to the urgent cause, to my earnest appeal? Why

were they unloading upon my tired heart all the bitterness and resentment of their unhappy lives?

"Let it be inscribed upon my epitaph", you wrote, "he had too high an opinion of the Jews". Other prophets of our people in the past, in the impatience of their love, also cried out in a similar vein.

But these prophets and seers came to understand, after their dark hours and disillusionments were passed, that their people was worthy of saving and deserving of sacrifice.

You ^did not forsake your people. Your people has not forgotten you. Through endless time they will remember you in blessing.

And here, today, Jews from distant America are come to pay you homage. "One thing I regard as certain", you told your generation, "and placed beyond the reach of all doubt. This Movement will endure. I do not know when I shall die, but Zionism will never die."

How sure and true was your gift of prophecy! Zionism did not die! The fallen tabernacle of David has been rebuilt! And your deathless spirit lives on and your majestic vision continues to lead and inspire a nation you summoned to resurrection. Millions of your fellow-Jews from near and far, who have been redeemed, lift up their eyes to this hill and cry out with one accord:

וְהָיָה כְּמִינֵי הַיָּרְדֵּן

63-12

Address delivered by Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
at the Convention of the
Zionist Organization of America
Jerusalem, Israel
July - 1963

This is the first time that the Zionists of America are met in convention here in Israel, the state which they helped to bring into existence and which they have helped to maintain through the years since its establishment.

We are humbly grateful that a kind Providence has prospered the work of our hands and the hands of all our people everywhere, especially the hands of our brothers here in Israel who labored day by day in its upbuilding, and who fought valiantly in its defense -- *21 מדינת ישראל* -- What the eyes are able to behold -- rejoice the heart. Lift up your eyes then and see what our people has wrought! What faith and courage, what labor and sacrifice have achieved. Look upon Zion, the city of our gathering -- *נחלתנו* Let your eyes behold Jerusalem, a peaceful habitation -- *ירושלם* And by the grace of God and the vigilance of our people it shall be a tent that shall never be moved -- *תבניתה לא תהיה נדונה* -- its stakes shall never be plucked up -- *תבניתה לא תהיה נדונה* -- neither shall any of its cords be broken -- *תבניתה לא תהיה נדונה*.

It is well, my friends, that we should rejoice in what has been achieved. Such moments have been all too rare in our history. Time and again, the locust devoured the harvest of our planting and the fallen was greater than that which remained standing.

It is well, too, that we should think and plan for the work which lies ahead. *peoples* History knows of no final terminals, only of a series of stations in an unending march of destiny!

But ^{for} we rejoice in the present and as we think of the future, it is also important for us Zionists to remember the past, to look back over the road which we have traveled, the obstacles which we encountered, the challenges which we faced and our real achievements. We should do this, not only that we may experience a justifiable pride in what we have accomplished, not only to set the record straight for future generations -- *2003 (B) N.H.* -- but that we may draw strength and inspiration for the necessary work which lies ahead.

It is a favorite pastime these days to re-write history. This is practiced in countries much larger than Israel. Regimes which suddenly come to power would like to focus the spot-light of history exclusively upon themselves. There is always that danger which some of the tribes of Israel, who did not cross the Jordan, experienced in the days of Joshua: "that your children may not say to our children in time to come: you have no portion in the Lord. . . ."

It is important to call attention to the solid facts of our recent history. It is important to recall that the State of Israel is the achievement not of this or that segment of our people, not of this or that party, not of this or that personality, but of our people as a whole. The Jewish people built the State of Israel. The loyal men, the men of unshaken faith among our people, those whom we were once proud to call Zionists, they, in many parts of the Diaspora, through the long-suffering years, by their vision, courage, sacrifices and perseverance, laid the foundations of the State of Israel.

The young generation in Israel and those who will come after them should be taught this glorious chapter in our national renaissance -- the heroic enterprise of a whole people shackled to slavery but struggling to freedom, a homeless and wandering people, achieving an independent homeland -- lest they become, in a real sense, disinherited. This is much more desirable and would be much more helpful than the unsolicited lectures, scoldings and admonitions which are occasionally directed towards American Zionists from certain quarters here. While these curtain-lectures are probably intended for home consumption, nevertheless they produce nothing but irritation and resentment abroad. It were better by far if the youth of Israel were taught to think of all of us as one people, sharing a common history and a common destiny, and working as one family for the common good.

Among the Jewish communities of the Diaspora which helped decisively in the establishment of the State of Israel, foremost was the Jewish community of the United States, whose Zionist representatives are met in convention ^{here} this week.

From the moment that it became clear that Great Britain would never consent to a Jewish state in Palestine, that it was hopeless to persist in walking ~~on~~ that weary, unavailing diplomatic tread-mill, and that our Movement's political battle-ground had definitely shifted from London to Washington and Lake Success, the major responsibility for the success of the Zionist program rested with the Jews of the United States.

It became clear to the Zionists of America that the large and influential American Jewish Community would now have to assume the major responsibility for the conduct of our Movement, that it would have to be mobilized and alerted

for the culminating political effort, now that the end of the war was approaching. If we failed now, then the battle was lost -- and who knows for how long?

In our action we proceeded on three fundamental premises. First, that our cause was just, incontestably just. We could, therefore, tell our story frankly to all men of good will in our country -- regardless of class, political party or religious affiliation. We could appeal to their sense of justice and their humanity. It should not be too difficult to tell our story to the American people at a time when America was waging a war in behalf of human rights against the very Nazis who were seeking to exterminate our people and were driving hundreds of thousands of them out upon the broken highways of wandering and homelessness. It was clear to us that we must first win the active support and sympathy of the American people if we were ever to persuade our government. We were confronted with a State Department which harbored a sizeable core of anti-Zionist officials, and with a President whose attitude remained continuously shrouded in an impenetrable charm. In our struggle we first had to win over the American people. You may recall what I said to you at one of our Z. O. A. Conventions prior to the establishment of the State:

"With all my supreme admiration for the great personalities who are our friends, and with full realization of the significance of great personalities in the world crisis today, I still say to you what the psalmist said long ago: "Al tivtechu bi-neddivim" -- "Put not your trust in princes... Put not the future of our Movement in the sole keeping of individuals, however friendly, however great. Appeal to the masses of the people, talk to the whole of America; make

friends everywhere; carry on an active educational propaganda in your circle, within the sphere of your influence, among your own friends. That will ultimately be reflected in the higher political circles. The sentiment of the American people will guide the leaders of the American government. It will sustain them when they come to make important decisions which may involve America's participation in the ultimate solution of the Palestine problem. "

The second premise upon which we proceeded was that it was either now or never. The hour of decision was rapidly approaching. We had reached the critical cross-roads in our history. We, therefore, had to throw in everything we had, all of our power, all our resources, all our reserves. This was to be the crucial battle. There was nothing to lose now but our illusions. Hitler was brutally and systematically destroying European Jewry. England was waging war upon our defenseless refugees who were being turned away from the very shores of Palestine to perish in the Strumas, or to languish on the "Exoduses". Because of this chaos of terror and inhumanity, of concentration camps and gas chambers, an element of immediacy and of driving urgency must inform all our activities. We simply must not lose the historic moment.

And the third premise upon which we proceeded was that the American Jewish community itself had to be aroused to exert itself to the utmost and to work in every direction, not merely for an increased number of certificates for refugees to be admitted into Palestine, but for a Jewish State. The root of our millennial tragedy was our national homelessness. There is but one solution for national homelessness. That is a national home. Our people must

not be deflected from this main objective. It must not accept make-shift compromises under the spurious appeal not to divide the household of Israel over the issue of a sovereign Jewish State.

The major battle over this issue took place, as you will recall, at the American Jewish Conference, which met in the summer of 1943. It was the first democratically elected body of American Jewry and in its composition it represented the totality of American Jewry -- Zionist and non-Zionist alike. The principle issue at this conference was whether to adopt or reject a resolution favoring the establishment of a Jewish Commonwealth in Palestine. After prolonged and un-repressed debate, the delegates voted almost unanimously in favor of the Jewish Commonwealth Resolution. There were only four dissenting votes out of a total of more than five hundred. The Zionist Movement could now speak with authority to the American people and government in the name of the entire American Jewish community.

To win the support of the American people and government, the American Zionist Emergency Council, which represented all Zionist bodies in the United States, then launched a sustained nation-wide public relations program. Able and dedicated men, some of them exceptionally gifted in their several fields, were quickly marshalled into service. Headquarters were established in New York and Washington. Effective units were organized in every principle city in the United States. A special Pro-Palestine Committee of outstanding Christian clergy and laymen was formed. A nation-wide campaign of education

through books, lectures, magazines, and radio broadcasts was inaugurated. Numerous conferences, and literally thousands of meetings were held in all parts of the country. Mass demonstrations and open-air rallies were held, which were attended by tens of thousands of people and were addressed by leading American personalities. In a critical moment, a march of thousands of war veterans, Jewish and non-Jewish, converged on Washington.

Numerous local delegates contacted their public officials, their Governors, Congressmen and Senators in their several states. Many State Legislatures were induced to adopt Pro-Palestine Resolutions and to forward them to Washington. We simply knocked at every door -- the Conventions of both political parties which were moved to include a pro-Palestine Resolution in their national platforms; the Halls of Congress where a pro-Palestine Resolution was introduced, and finally adopted. We knocked on the doors of key people in every walk of life, authors, journalists, columnists, educators, clergy, political leaders -- people who heretofore had been indifferent to our cause.

In this we were assisted by the concurrent labor of the members of the American section of the Jewish Agency, and their very able professional assistants. They prepared valuable data for presentation to the Security Council and Assembly of the United Nations. They spent endless hours with ministers and ambassadors of foreign states who were members of the United Nations and arranged for important contacts to be made with their governments back home.

If we finally succeeded in persuading our government to endorse the Resolution which was introduced in 1947 in the United Nations favoring the

establishment of an independent Jewish State in a part of Palestine -- it was the result of this massive and sustained effort on the part of thousands upon thousands of dedicated men and women, working under the guidance and leadership of the American Zionist Emergency Council. It was the result of the friendly and sympathetic American public opinion which had been finally aroused and made vocal.

When four months later, and as a result of pressure from the oil interests and other bodies hostile to our cause, an attempt was made to scrap the United Nations November Resolution which had been adopted, and to replace it with a new trusteeship over Palestine, when our Administration sharply reversed itself and actually requested the summoning of a special session of the Assembly of the United Nations to reverse the November Resolution -- and when our work had to be begun all over again -- it was again these same workers, using the same techniques of education, appeal and persuasion, who returned to their tasks with redoubled energy and determination and who finally succeeded in inducing our government to return to the position which it took in November and to give de facto recognition to the State of Israel when the Israeli proclaimed it on May 15, 1948.

It should, therefore, never be forgotten that it was American Jewry, rising magnificently to the challenge of the hour, which was responsible for the victories in Washington and in Lake Success -- not the intervention of some individual who was secretly smuggled in one day into the White House through a back door, and who by the magic of his personality won over the President of

the United States and presto, it was all done. This, and the story of some magic letter which changed the course of history, and similar legends are a naive and fanciful reconstruction of history.

The final validating seal upon these political victories which were won was set by the remarkable military victories of the greatly out-numbered and poorly equipped fighting forces of the Israeli themselves -- the Tz'va Haganah Le-Yisrael. Without their victories, our political victories would have been in vain; without our victories their military victories would probably also have been in vain.

All this should be remembered. American Zionists do not ask for praise or appreciation. They did what they did ~~not for you alone, but~~ ^{others} for the Jewish people, for ~~you~~ and for themselves, and for Jews everywhere. They just want the record to be kept straight! All this should be remembered as we face the future. For while the primary Zionist objective has been achieved, and the State of Israel is an accomplished fact, the need for defending it politically and militarily will never disappear, at least not in our generation. Israel will not be able to escape the political tensions and pressures of the region of the world of which it is a part. Danger lurks upon its borders, among its turbulent Arab neighbors. Our work is not over/^{by}any means, and those who would rely in all future emergencies on the instant response of unorganized so-called friends of Israel in the United States, whose commitments are so vague and whose staying-power so uncertain, are not wise guardians, I am afraid, of the best interests of the State of Israel.

This, too, should be remembered. Ever since the day of its establishment, and long before that day, the Jews of America, led and inspired by its Zionist vanguard, have contributed generously, through the United Jewish Appeal, through the purchase of Bonds for Israel, through a hundred other channels, to the upbuilding, strengthening and development of Israel's economic and cultural life, its health and its well-being.

Fellow Zionists!

Much work still remains to be done. Many problems still remain which demand our attention -- some of them very grave indeed. But they are of an altogether different nature from those of former times. They are no longer the desperate problems which flowed out of our condition of national homelessness and statelessness. Rather are they the concrete problems of developing, defending and making prosperous a national homeland which is already in existence. We can proceed to solve these problems, one by one, with deliberateness and hopefully, now that the major problem has been solved. We can now operate from a position of independent strength and also as a member of a society of nations.

Many Jews are even this day abandoning lands of intolerable conditions and dark prospects and are coming to Israel, in the hope of finding here the peace and dignity which the world denied them. In the last fifteen years the young state welcomed over a million such immigrants from all parts of the world. Israel, which is, as you well know, a very small state, has exerted itself to the utmost to absorb these newcomers, most of them penniless, many of them without

skills or vocations, some aged and infirm, to rebuild their lives and to become integrated into the economy of the pioneering country. From all accounts, an incomparably fine job has been done by the young state in meeting the enormous problems with which this immigration has taxed it. You will have an opportunity to see it all with your own eyes. But many more Jews are destined to come and the financial burden of bringing these immigrants to Israel and of helping them to establish themselves, is not and should not be the sole responsibility of the people of Israel, but of the Jews the world over. It is our responsibility!

The State of Israel must industrialize on a larger scale if it is to absorb many more people. This is the only way it can "enlarge the place of its tent and stretch forth the curtains of its habitation". This, too, is our responsibility.

Clearly, there is much still to be done! Israel must be made strong, strong enough to withstand pressures, strong enough to absorb those who will wish to go there, or those who will have to go there, strong enough to fulfill its destiny -- that of a small country which is to be made great by the intellectual and spiritual enterprise and the social vision of its people.

We must carry on until the foundations of Israel are securely laid -- until its walls and bulwarks are made strong and until the land finds rest from its enemies. We must carry on until the winter is past and the flowers appear on the earth, and the time of singing is come.

ZIONIST ORGANIZATION CONVENTION IN
JERUSALEM, ISRAEL
July - 1963

This is the first time that the Zionists of America are met in convention here in Israel, the state which they helped to bring into existence and which they have helped to maintain through the years since its establishment.

We are humbly grateful that a kind Providence has prospered the work of our hands and the hands of all our people everywhere, especially the hands of our brothers here in Israel who labored day by day in its upbuilding, and who fought valiantly in its defence -- *מאזר עולם ושלום* -- What the eyes are able to behold -- rejoice the heart. Lift up your eyes then and see what our people has wrought! What faith and courage, what labor and sacrifice have achieved. Look upon Zion, the city of our gathering -- *מזקרה זמן קדושת ארצה* -- Let your eyes behold Jerusalem, a peaceful habitation -- *גדילתה ושלום יבנה עליה* -- And by the grace of God and the vigilance of our people it shall be a tent that shall never be moved -- *אהל בל יקוצץ*; its stakes shall never be plucked up -- *בא יסד* -- neither shall any of its cords be broken -- *אף חבל לא יחלול* -- *בא יסד* --

It is well, my friends, that we should rejoice in what has been achieved. Such moments have been all too rare in our history. Time and again, the locust devoured the harvest of our planting and the fallen was greater than that which remained standing.

It is well, too, that we should think and plan for the work which lies ahead. History knows of no *fund* terminals, only of *a series of* stations in an unending march of destiny!

But as we rejoice in the present and as we think of the future, it is also important for us Zionists to remember the past, to look back over the road which we have traveled, the obstacles which we encountered, the challenges which we face and our real achievements. We should do this, not only that we may experience a justifiable pride in what we have accomplished, not only to set the record straight for future generations -- *1831 / 1848 / 1849* -- but that we draw strength and inspiration for the necessary work *which* that lies ahead.

It is a favorite pastime these days to re-write history. This is practiced in countries much larger than Israel. Regimes which suddenly come to power would like to focus the spot-light of history exclusively upon themselves. There is always *that* danger which some of the tribes of Israel who did not cross the Jordan, experienced in the days of Joshua: "that your children may not say to our children in time to come: you have no portion in the Lord..."

It is important to call attention to the *solid* ~~irrefutable~~ facts of our recent history. *It is* ~~important to recall~~ *and to the fact* that the State of Israel is the achievement not of this or that segment of our people, not of this or that party, not of this or that personality, but of our people as a whole. The Jewish people built the State of Israel. The loyal men, the men of unshaken faith among *our* people, those whom we were once proud to call Zionists, they, in many parts of the Diaspora, through *the* long-suffering years, by their vision, courage, sacrifices and perseverance, laid the foundations of the State of Israel.

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of a whole people ^{shackled} born to slavery but struggling to freedom, a homeless and wandering people, achieving ^{an independent} a homeland -- lest they lose spiritual and emotional contact with the Jewish people outside of Israel, lest they become, in a real sense, disinherited. This would be much more helpful than the unsolicited lectures, ^{is much more desirable and} scoldings and admonitions which ^{occasionally} directed towards American Zionists, ^{occasionally} emanated from circles here. While they are probably intended for home consumption, nevertheless they produce nothing but irritation and resentment abroad. It were better by far if the youth of Israel ^{were taught to think} thought of all of us as one people, sharing a common history and a common destiny, and working as one family for the common good.

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In our action

We proceeded on three fundamental premises. First, that our cause was just, incontestably just. We could, therefore, tell our story frankly to all men of good will in our country -- regardless of class, political party or religious affiliation. We could appeal to their sense of justice and their humanity. It should not be too difficult to tell our story to the American people at a time when America was waging a war in behalf of human rights against the very Nazis who were seeking to exterminate our people and were driving hundreds of thousands of them out upon the broken highways of wandering and homelessness. It was clear ^{to us} that we must first win the active support and sympathy of the American people, ^{even to} if we ~~could~~ ^{were} persuade our government, ~~where~~ ^{had to} we were confronted with a State Department which harbored a sizeable core of anti-Zionist officials, and with a President whose attitude remained continuously shrouded in an impenetrable charm. In our struggle we ~~must~~ ^{had to} first win over the American people. You may recall what I said to you at one of our Z.O.A. Conventions prior to the establishment of the State:

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Put not the future of our Movement in the sole keeping of individuals, however friendly, however great. Appeal to the masses of the people ~~of the world~~; talk to the whole of America; make friends everywhere; carry on an active educational propaganda in your circle, within the sphere of your influence, among your own friends.

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If we finally succeeded in persuading our government to endorse the ~~1947~~ *which was introduced in 1947 in* Resolution of the United Nations ~~which~~ *they* favored the establishment of an independent Jewish State in a part of Palestine -- it was the result of this massive and sustained effort on the part of thousands upon thousands of dedicated men and women, working under the guidance and leadership of the American Zionist Emergency Council. It was the result of the friendly and sympathetic American public opinion which *had*

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American Zionists do not ask for praise or appreciation, they just want the record to be kept straight! All this should be remembered. (Pres 1)

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All this should be remembered as we face the future. For while the primary Zionist objective has been achieved, and the State of Israel is an accomplished fact, the need for defending it politically and militarily will never disappear, at least not in our generation. Israel will not be able to escape the political tensions and pressures of the region of the world of which it is a part. Danger lurks upon its borders, among its turbulent Arab neighbors. Our work is not over by any means, and those who would rely in all future emergencies on the instant response of unorganized so-called friends of Israel in the United States, whose commitments are so vague and whose staying-power so uncertain, are not wise guardians, I am afraid, of the best interests of the State of Israel.

This, too, should be remembered. Ever since the day of its establishment, and long before that day, the Jews of America, led and inspired by its Zionist vanguard, have contributed generously, through the United Jewish Appeal, through the purchase of Bonds for Israel, through a hundred other channels, to the upbuilding, strengthening and development of Israel's economic and cultural life, its health and its well-being.

Fellow Zionists!

Much work still remains to be done. Many problems still remain which demand our attention -- some of them very grave ~~ones~~ indeed. But they are of an altogether different nature from those of former times. They are no longer the desperate problems which flowed out of our condition of national homelessness and statelessness. Rather are they the concrete problems of developing, defending and

(over)

They did what they did ~~not for you here~~, but for the Jewish people, for ^{other} Jews and for their selves; and for Jews everywhere.

All this should be remembered as we face the future. For while the

primary Zionist objective has been achieved, and the State of Israel is an

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never disappear, at least not in our generation. Israel will not be able to

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the desperate problems which flowed out of our condition of national homelessness

and statelessness. Rather are they the concrete problems of developing, defending and

making prosperous a national homeland which is already in existence. We can proceed to solve these problems, one by one, with deliberateness and hopefully, now that the major problem has been solved. We can now operate from a position of independent strength and also as a member of a society of nations.

Many Jews are even this day abandoning lands of intolerable conditions and dark prospects and are coming to Israel, in the hope of finding here the peace and dignity which the world denied them. In the last fifteen years the young state welcomed over a million such immigrants from all parts of the world. Israel, which is, as you well know, a very small state, has exerted itself to the utmost to absorb these newcomers, most of them penniless, many of them without skills or vocations, some aged and infirm, to rebuild their lives and to become integrated into the economy of the pioneering country. From all accounts, an incomparably fine job has been done by the young state in meeting the enormous problems with which this immigration has taxed it. *You will have an opportunity to see it all with your own eyes. Jews* But many more are destined to come and the financial burden of bringing these immigrants to Israel and of helping them to establish themselves, is not and should not be the sole responsibility of the people of Israel, but of the Jews the world over. It is our responsibility!

The State of Israel must industrialize on a larger scale if it is to absorb many more people. This is the only way it can "enlarge the ~~plan~~ *place* of its tent and stretch forth the curtains of its habitation". This, too, is our responsibility.

The days to come will continue to make great demands upon us in yet another way. ~~It is clear that Israel will not be able to escape the political tensions~~

and pressures of the world of which it is a part. ~~Danger lurks upon its borders,~~
~~among its turbulent neighbors,~~ where hatred of Israel is thought to be the promising
cement of Arab unity. Political adventurers in the Arab world may think that soon
the opportune moment will arrive for an attack upon Israel. If so, they will again
be miscalculating grossly, as they did once before. ~~Israel, I am sure, will not~~
~~be panicked by their maneuvers.~~ Israel will know how to defend itself. ~~And American~~
~~Jewry will rally as never before~~ *I am sure* to the defense of the state which they helped to
bring into existence. The Zionist Movement, ~~especially~~ in the United States, must
remain marshalled and alerted to defend the legitimate political interests of Israel
whenever they are menaced. *This, too, is our responsibility.*

Clearly, there is much still to be done! Israel must be made strong, strong
enough to withstand pressures, strong enough to absorb those who will wish to go
there, or those who will have to go there, *WRHS* Strong enough to fulfill its destiny --
that of a small country which is to be made great by the intellectual and spiritual
enterprise and the social vision of its people.

You and I belong to a privileged generation, in that we have been the chosen
tools in the hands of God for the salvation of his people. We were confronted with
historic tasks, and we were greatly challenged. We earnestly tried to match our
hour. A great hour did not find us a small people. We were given an historic
assignment and we set about executing it to the best of our abilities. We are
grateful in not having failed. The measure of our reward is the degree of our
success.

~~But we must carry on. For much remains to be done.~~ ^{TF} We must carry on until the foundations of Israel are securely laid -- until its walls and bulwarks are made strong and until the land finds rest from its enemies. We must carry on until the winter is past and the flowers appear on the earth, and the time of singing is come.



ZOA Convention - Jerusalem
Jl '63
- 1 -

This is the first time that the Zionists of America are met in ⁵Convention here in Israel, the state which they helped to bring into existence and which they have helped to maintain through the years since its establishment.

We are humbly grateful that a kind Providence has prospered the work of our hand², and the hands of all our people everywhere, especially the hands of our brothers here in Israel who labored ~~day by day~~ day by day ^{upon} its upbuilding, and who fought valiantly in its defence., --

2 ל' חנוכה תשכ"ג --

What the eyes are able to behold -- rejoice the heart. Lift up your eyes then and see what our people has wrought! What faith and courage, what labor and sacrifice

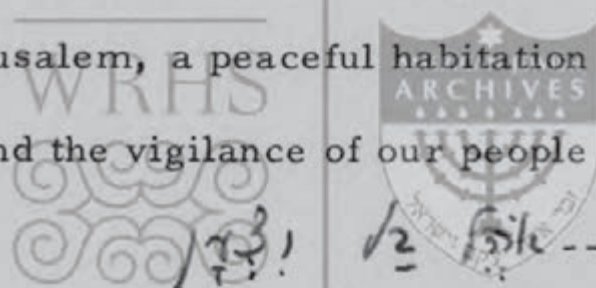
have achieved. Look upon Zion, the city of our gathering --

הנה היא קדושת נאצרת --

Let your eyes behold Jerusalem, a peaceful habitation --

בשלווה ושלום יפה --

And by the grace of God and the vigilance of our people it shall be a tent that shall never be moved --



-- ; its stakes shall never be

plucked up -- neither shall any of its cords be broken -

אין יצא חבלה -- לא ינתק חבלה --

It is well, my friends, that we should rejoice in what has been achieved.

Such moments have been all too rare in our history. Time and again, the locust

devoured the harvest of our planting ^{and the fallen was greater than that which remained standing.}

It is well, too, that we should think and plan for the work which lies ahead.

History knows of no terminals, only of stations ^{as} an unending march of destiny!

But as we rejoice in the present ^{as we} and think of the future, it is also important for us ~~American~~ Zionists to remember the ~~past~~ past, to look back over the road which we have traveled, the obstacles which we encountered, the challenges which we face and our real achievements. We should do this, not only that we may

experience a justifiable pride in what we have accomplished, not only to set the record straight for future generations --

על אף זאת (43) / 411 --

but that we draw strength and inspiration for the necessary work that lies ahead.

It is a favorite pastime these days to re-write history. This is practiced in countries much larger than Israel. ~~Regimes~~ ^{Regimes} which suddenly come to power would like to focus the spot-light of history exclusively upon themselves. There is always the danger which some of the tribes of Israel who did not ~~cross~~ the Jordan ~~in the days of Joshua~~ experienced in the days of Joshua: "that your children may

not say ^{to} our children in time to come: you have no portion in the Lord...."

^{call attention to} It is important to ~~emphasize~~ the irrefutable facts of our recent history, ^{and to the fact} that the State of Israel is the achievement ~~not~~ of this or that segment of our people, not of this or that party, not of this or that personality, but of our people as a whole. The Jewish people built the State of Israel. The loyal men, the men of ^{unshaken} ~~great~~ faith among our people, those whom we ^{have been} ~~are~~ proud to call Zionists, They, in many parts of the Diaspora, through ~~the~~ long-suffering years, by their vision, ~~their~~ courage, ~~their~~ sacrifices and ~~their~~ perseverance, laid the foundation ² of the State of Israel.

The young generation in Israel and those who will come after them should be taught this glorious chapter in our national re-birth, ~~that~~ the heroic enterprise of a whole people born to slavery but ^{struggling} to freedom, a homeless and wandering people, achieving a home-land -- lest they lose spiritual and ^{emotional} contact with the Jewish people outside of Israel, lest they become, in a real sense, disinherited/ This would be much more helpful than the unsolicited lectures, scoldings and ~~any~~ ^{which} admonitions directed towards American Zionists, ~~which~~ occasionally emanated

from circles here, ^{which they probably} ~~which we suspect~~ are intended for home consumption, ^{nevertheless} ~~for they~~ accomplished nothing but irritation and resentment abroad. It were better ^{by far if} ~~it~~ ^{the youth of Israel thought of all of us} ~~we worked together as one family, and thought of ourselves as one people, sharing~~ a common history and a common destiny, and working ^{as one family} ~~for~~ the common good.

~~And~~ Among the Jewish communities of the Diaspora who helped ^{decisively} ~~in this~~ the establishment of the State of Israel, foremost was the Jewish Community of the United States, ^{where} ~~where~~ Zionist representations ^{ives met} ~~are not~~ here this week.

~~xxxxxx~~

From the ^{moment} ~~time~~ that it became clear that Great Britain would never consent to a Jewish state in Palestine, ~~that it was no longer possible to put our trust in a government which for years on end had been unwilling or unable to carry out the clear intent of the Mandate under which it governed the country, that it was hopeless to continue to walk on that weary, unavailing diplomatic tread-mill, and that the political battle-ground had definitely shifted from London to Washington and Lake Success, the major responsibility for the success of the Zionist program rested with the Jews of the United States.~~

It became clear to the Zionists of America that the large and influential American Jewish Community would now have to assume the major responsibility for the conduct of our movement, that it would have to be alerted and mobilized ~~and~~ for the culminating political effort now that the end of the war was approaching. If we failed now, then the battle would be lost -- and who knows for how long?

We proceeded on three ~~ten~~ fundamental premises. First, that our cause was just, incontestably just ~~and moral~~. We could, therefore, tell our story ~~frankly and hopefully~~ to all men of good will in our country -- regardless of class, political party or religious affiliation. We could appeal to their sense of justice and their

humanity. It should not be too difficult to tell our story to the American people at a time when America was waging a war in behalf of human rights against the very Nazis who were seeking to exterminate our people and were driving hundreds of thousands of them out upon the broken highways of wandering and homelessness. It was clear that we must first win the active support and sympathy of the American people. If we could persuade the American people of the justice of our cause, we might then also persuade our government, where we were confronted with a State Department which harbored a sizeable core of anti-Zionist officials, and with a President whose attitude remained continuously shrouded in an impenetrable charm. In our struggle we must first win over the American people. You may recall what I said to you at ~~one~~ one of our Z. O. A. Conventions prior to the establishment of the State ;

(Quote p. 27 of "In the Political World of American Zionism")

"With all my supreme admiration for the great personalities who are our friends, and with full realization of the significance of great personalities in the world crisis today, I still say to you what the psalmist said long ago: "Al tivtechu bi-neddivim" -- "Put not your trust in princes..."

Put not the future of our Movement in the sole keeping of individuals, however friendly, however great. Appeal to the masses of the people of the world; talk to the whole of America; make friends everywhere; carry on an active educational propaganda in your circle, within the sphere of your influence, among your own friends. That will be reflected in the higher political circles. That will guide them. That will sustain them when they come to make important decisions which may involve America's participation in the ultimate solution of the Palestine problem.

The ~~first~~ second premise upon which we proceeded was that it was either now or never. The hour of decision was rapidly approaching. We had reached the critical cross-roads in our history. We, therefore, had to throw in everything we had, all of our power, all our resources, all our reserves. This was to be the crucial battle. There was nothing to lose now but our illusions. Hitler was brutally and systematically destroying European Jewry. England was waging war upon our defenseless refugees who were being turned away from the very shores of Palestine to perish in the ~~Struma~~ Strumas, or to languish on the "Exoduses". In this chaos of terror and inhumanity, of concentration camps and gas chambers, there was but one hope left for our distraught people -- and that was a free and independent homeland for our people, for now, for tomorrow, for all the days to come. An element of immediacy and of driving urgency must, therefore, inform all our activities. We simply must ~~not~~ ^{not} lose the historic ~~movement~~ ^{moment}.

And the third premise upon which we proceeded was that the American Jewish community itself had to be aroused to exert itself to the utmost and to work in every direction but not merely for an increased number of certificates for refugees who would be admitted into Palestine, but for a Jewish State. The root of our millennial tragedy was our ~~national~~ national homelessness. There is but one solution for national homelessness. That is a national ~~home~~ ^{home}. Our ~~people~~ people must not be deflected from this main objective. It must not accept make-shift compromises under the spurious appeal not to divide the household of Israel over the issue of a sovereign Jewish State.

The major battle over this issue took place at the American Jewish Conference, which met in the summer of 1943. It was the first democratically elected body,

which in its composition represented the totality of American Jewry -- Zionist and non-Zionist alike. The principle issue at this conference was whether to adopt or reject a resolution favoring the establishment of a Jewish Commonwealth in Palestine. After prolonged and un-repressed debate, the delegates voted almost unanimously in favor of the Jewish Commonwealth Resolution. There were only four dissenting votes out of a total of more than five hundred. The Zionist Movement could now speak with authority to the American people and government in the name of the entire American Jewish Community.

To win the support of the American people and government, the American Zionist Emergency Council, which represented all Zionist bodies in the United States, then launched a nation-wide public relations program. Able and dedicated men, some of them exceptionally gifted in their several fields, were quickly marshalled into service. Headquarters were established in New York and Washington. Effective units were organized in every principle city in the United States. A special ~~Christian~~ Pro-Palestine Committee of outstanding Christian clergy and laymen was formed. A nation-wide campaign of education through books, lectures, magazines, and radio broadcasts was inaugurated. Numerous conferences, and literally thousands of meetings were held in all parts of the country. Mass demonstrations and open-air rallies ^{which were} attended by tens of thousands of ~~people~~ people were addressed by leading American personalities. In a critical moment, a march of thousands of war veterans, Jewish and non-Jewish, converged on Washington.

Numerous local delegations contacted their public officials, their Governors,

~~and~~

Congressmen and Senators in their several states. Many State Legislatures were induced to adopt pro-Palestine Resolutions and to forward them to Washington. We simply knocked at every door -- the Conventions of both political parties which were moved to include a pro-Palestine Resolution in their national platforms; the Halls of Congress where a pro-Palestine Resolution was introduced and finally adopted. We knocked on the doors of the State Department and of the White House. We enlisted the active support of key people in every walk of life, authors, journalists, columnists, educators, clergy, political leaders -- people who heretofore had been indifferent to our cause. We spent endless hours with ministers and ambassadors of foreign states who were members of the United Nations and arranged for important contacts to be made with their governments back home.

R In this we were assisted by the concurrent labor members of the American section of the Jewish Agency, and their very able professional assistants. They made important contacts with the representatives of member states in the United Nations and prepared valuable data for presentation to the Council and Assembly of the United Nations.

WRHS *AMERICAN JEWISH ARCHIVES* *Security*

If we finally succeeded in persuading our government to endorse the 1947 Resolution of the United Nations which favored the establishment of an independent Jewish State in a part of Palestine -- it was the result of this massive and sustained effort on the part of thousands upon thousands of dedicated men and women, working under the guidance and leadership of the American Zionist Emergency Council. It was the result of the friendly and sympathetic American public opinion which was finally aroused and made vocal.

When four months later, and as a result of pressure from the oil interests and other bodies hostile to our cause, an attempt was made to scrap the United Nations November Resolution which favored the creation of a Jewish State, and to replace it with a new trusteeship over Palestine, when our Administration sharply reversed itself and actually requested the summoning of a special session of the Assembly of the United Nations ~~to do just that~~ ^{to reverse its November resolution} -- and when our work had to be¹ begun all over again, -- it was again these same workers, using the same techniques of education, appeal and persuasion, who returned to their tasks with redoubled energy and determination and who finally succeeded in inducing our government to return to its November position, and to ~~recognizing~~ ^{give de facto recognition to} the State of Israel when the Israeli proclaimed it on May 15, 1948.

It should, therefore, never be forgotten that it was American Jewry, rising magnificently to the challenge of the hour, which was responsible for the victories in Washington and in Lake Success -- not the intervention of some one who was smuggled in one day into the White House through a back door, and who by the magic of his personality won over the President of the United States, ^{to our side} and presto, it was all done. This and similar legends are a naive and fanciful reconstruction of history.

The final validating seal upon these political victories which were won ~~here~~ was set by the military victories of the greatly out-numbered and poorly equipped fighting forces of the Israeli themselves -- the TZ'VA HAGANAH LE-YISRAEL. Without their victories, our political victories would have been in vain, without our victories their military victories would probably also have been in vain.

All this should be remembered as we face the future. For while the primary Zionist Objective has been achieved, and the State of Israel is an accomplished fact, the need for defending it politically and militarily will never disappear, at least not in our generation. Israel will not be able to escape the political tensions of and pressures of the region of the world/which it is a part. Danger lurks upon its borders, among its turbulent Arab neighbors. Our work is not over by any means, and those who would rely in all future emergencies on the instant response of unorganized so-called ~~pe~~ friends of Israel, whose commitments are so vague and whose staying-power so uncertain, are not wise guardians, I am afraid, of the best interests of the State of Israel.

~~xxxxx Fellow Zionists~~

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Fellow Zionists!

Much work still remains to be done. Many problems still remain which demand our attention -- some of them very grave ones indeed. But they are of an altogether different nature from those of former times. They are no longer the desperate problems which flowed out of our condition of national homelessness and statelessness. Rather are they the concrete problems of developing, defending and

making prosperous a national homeland which is already in existence. We can proceed to solve these problems, one by one, with deliberateness and hopefully, now that the major problem has been solved. We can now operate from a position of independent strength and also as a member of a society of nations.

Many Jews are even this day abandoning lands of intolerable conditions and dark prospects and are coming to Israel, in the hope of finding here the peace and dignity which the world denied them. In the last fifteen years the young state welcomed over a million such immigrants from all parts of the world. Israel, which is, as you well know, a very small state, has exerted itself to the utmost to absorb these newcomers, most of them penniless, many of them without skills or vocations, some ~~of them~~ aged and infirm, to rebuild their lives and to become integrated into the economy of the pioneering country. From all accounts, an incomparably fine job has been done by the young state in meeting the enormous problems with which this immigration has taxed it. But many more are destined to come and the financial burden of bringing these immigrants to Israel and of helping them to establish themselves, is not and should not be the sole responsibility of the people of Israel, but of the Jews the world over.

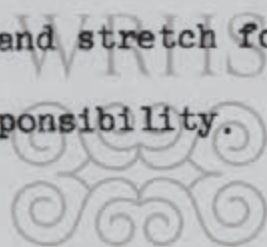
It is our responsibility!

The days to come will continue to make great demands upon us in yet another way. It is clear that Israel will not be able to escape the political tensions and pressures of the world of which it is a part. ~~Grave, unsolved problems still remain.~~ Danger lurks upon its borders, among its turbulent neighbors, where hatred of Israel is thought to be the promise cement of Arab unity. ~~At this very moment the danger appears to have been intensified.~~ Political adventurers in the Arab world may think that soon the opportune moment will arrive for an attack ^{upon} Israel. If so, they will again

~~_____~~

(over 1) The State of Israel must industrialize on a larger scale if it is to absorb many more people. This is the only way it can "enlarge the plan of its tent and stretch forth the curtains of its habitation." This, too, is our responsibility.

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be miscalculating grossly, as they did once before. Israel ^{I am sure,} will not be panicked by ^{And American} their maneuvers. Israel will know how to defend itself. ~~and~~ ^{World Jewry} will rally as never before to the defence of the state which they helped to bring into existence.

← The Zionist Movement, especially in the United ~~Not~~ States, must remain marshalled and alerted to defend the legitimate political interests of Israel whenever they are menaced.

Clearly, there is much ~~more~~ still to be done! Israel must be made strong, strong enough to withstand pressures, strong enough to absorb those who will wish to go there, or those who will have to go there. Strong enough to fulfill its destiny -- that of a small country which is to be made great by the intellectual and spiritual enterprise and the social vision of its people.

You and I belong to a privileged generation, in that we have been the chosen tools in the hands of God for the salvation of his people. We were confronted with historic tasks, and we were greatly challenged. We ^{earnestly} tried ~~faithfully~~ to match our hour. A great hour did not find us a small people. We were given an historic assignment and we set about executing it to the best of our abilities. We are ~~humbly~~ grateful in not having failed. The measure of our reward is the degree of our success.

But we must carry on. For much remains to be done. We must carry on until the foundations of Israel are securely laid -- until its walls and bulwarks are made strong and until the land finds ~~rest from~~ rest from its enemies. We must carry on until the winter is past and the flowers appear on the earth, and the time of singing is come. ~

Address delivered by Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
at the Convention of the
Zionist Organization of America
Jerusalem, Israel
July - 1963

This is the first time that the Zionists of America are met in convention here in Israel, the state which they helped to bring into existence and which they have helped to maintain through the years since its establishment.

We are humbly grateful that a kind Providence has prospered the work of our hands and the hands of all our people everywhere, especially the hands of our brothers here in Israel who labored day by day in its upbuilding, and who fought valiantly in its defense -- *מה שראינו ושמענו* -- What the eyes are able to behold -- rejoice the heart. Lift up your eyes then and see what our people has wrought! What faith and courage, what labor and sacrifice have achieved. Look upon Zion, the city of our gathering -- *העיר הקדושה* -- Let your eyes behold Jerusalem, ~~the~~ peaceful habitation -- *הבירה השלווה*. And by the grace of God and the vigilance of our people it shall be a tent that shall never be moved -- *המקדש*; its stakes shall never be plucked up -- *המקדש* -- neither shall any of its cords be broken -- *המקדש*.

It is well, my friends, that we should rejoice in what has been achieved. Such moments have been all too rare in our history. Time and again, the locust devoured the harvest of our planting and the fallen was greater than that which remained standing.

It is well, too, that we should think and plan for the work which lies ahead. *A people's* History knows of no final terminals, only of a series of stations in an unending march of destiny! *The most important future is our most important concern.*

But ^{as} we rejoice in the present and as we think of the future, it is also important for us Zionists to remember the past, to look back over the road which we have traveled, the obstacles which we encountered, the challenges which we faced and our real achievements. We should do this, not only that we may experience a justifiable pride in what we have accomplished, not only to set the record straight for future generations -- *עדיין / 1831 / 1841 --* but that we may draw strength and inspiration for the necessary work ~~which~~ *of* ~~lies ahead.~~ *to - tomorrow*

It is a favorite pastime these days to re-write history. This is practiced in countries much larger than Israel. Regimes which suddenly come to power would like to focus the spot-light of history exclusively upon themselves. There is always ^{present} that danger which some of the tribes of Israel, who did not cross the Jordan, experienced in the days of Joshua: "that your children may not say to our children in time to come: you have no portion in the Lord. . . ."

It is important to call attention to the solid facts of our recent history. It is important ^{first} to recall that the State of Israel is the achievement not of this or that segment of our people, not of this or that party, not of this or that personality, but of our people as a whole. The Jewish people built the State of Israel. The loyal men, the men of unshaken faith among our people, those whom we were once proud to call Zionists, they, in many parts of the Diaspora, through the long-suffering years, by their vision, courage, sacrifices and perseverance, laid the foundations of the State of Israel.

The young generation in Israel and those who will come after them should be taught this glorious chapter in ^{the story of our} national renaissance -- the heroic enterprise of a whole people ^{which} shackled to slavery ^{ed} struggling to freedom, a homeless and wandering people ^{which} ^{ed} achieving an independent homeland -- lest ^{our youth} they become, in a real sense, disinherited. This ^{instruction} is much more desirable and would be much more helpful than the unsolicited lectures, scoldings and admonitions which are occasionally directed towards American Zionists from certain quarters here. While these curtain-lectures are probably intended for home consumption, nevertheless they produce nothing but irritation and resentment abroad. It were better by far if the youth of Israel were taught to think of all of us as one people, sharing a common history and a common destiny, and working ^{together} as one family for the common good.

Among the Jewish communities of the Diaspora which helped decisively in the establishment of the State of Israel, foremost was the Jewish community of the United States, whose Zionist representatives are met in convention ^{here} this week.

^{Key: n} ~~From the moment that it became clear~~ ^{It was clear to me} that Great Britain would never consent to a Jewish state ^{the establishment of} in Palestine, that it was hopeless to persist in walking ~~on~~ that weary, unavailing diplomatic tread-mill, and that our Movement's political battle-ground had definitely shifted from London to Washington and Lake Success, the major responsibility for the success of the Zionist program rested with the Jews of the United States.

^{was} It became clear ^{to me} to the Zionists of America that the large and influential American Jewish Community would now have to assume the major responsibility for the conduct of our Movement, that it would have to be mobilized and alerted

for the culminating political effort, now that the end of the war was approaching.

~~If we failed now, then the battle was lost -- and who knows for how long?~~

In our action we proceeded on three fundamental premises. First, that our cause was just, incontestably just. We could, therefore, tell our story frankly to all men of good will in our country -- regardless of class, political party or religious affiliation. We could appeal to their sense of justice and their humanity. It should not be too difficult ^{we felt} to tell our story to the American people at a time when America was waging a war in behalf of human rights against the very Nazis who were seeking to exterminate our people and were driving hundreds of thousands of them out upon the broken highways of wandering and homelessness. It was clear to us that we must first win the active support and sympathy of the American people if we were ever to persuade our government. ~~In the executive branch of our government~~
~~We~~ were confronted with a State Department which harbored a sizeable core of anti-Zionist officials, and with a President whose attitude remained continuously shrouded in an impenetrable charm. In our struggle we first had to win over the American people. ~~[You may recall what I said to you at one of our Z. O. A.~~

~~Conventions prior to the establishment of the State of Israel~~

"With all my supreme admiration for the great personalities who are our friends, and with full realization of the significance of great personalities in the world crisis today, I still say to you what the psalmist said long ago: "Al tivtechu bi-neddivim" -- "Put not your trust in princes... Put not the future of our Movement in the sole keeping of individuals, however friendly, however great. Appeal to the masses of the people, talk to the whole of America; make

friends everywhere; carry on an active educational propaganda in your circle, within the sphere of your influence, among your own friends. That will ultimately be reflected in the higher political circles. The sentiment of the American people will guide the leaders of the American government. It will sustain them when they come to make important decisions which may involve America's participation in the ultimate solution of the Palestine problem."

The second premise upon which we proceeded was that it was either now or never. The hour of decision was rapidly approaching. We had reached the critical cross-roads in our history. We, therefore, had to throw in everything we had, all of our power, all our resources, all our reserves. This was to be the crucial battle. There was nothing to lose now but our illusions. Hitler was brutally and systematically destroying European Jewry. England was waging war upon our defenseless refugees who were being turned away from the very shores of Palestine to perish in the Strumas, ~~or to languish on the "Exodus"~~. Because of this chaos of terror and inhumanity, of concentration camps and gas chambers, an element of immediacy and of driving urgency ^{had to} ~~must~~ inform all our activities. We simply must not lose the historic moment.

And the third premise upon which we proceeded was that the American Jewish community itself had to be aroused to exert itself to the utmost and to work in every direction, not merely for an increased number of certificates for refugees to be admitted into Palestine, but for a Jewish State. The root of our millennial tragedy was our national homelessness. There is but one solution for national homelessness. That is a national home. Our people must

not be deflected from this main objective. It must not accept make-shift compromises under the spurious appeal not to divide the household of Israel over the issue of a sovereign Jewish State.

The major battle over this issue took place, ^{as we indicated above} ~~as you will recall~~, at the American Jewish Conference, which met in the summer of 1943. ^{at this} ~~It was the~~ ^{comprising both} ~~first~~ democratically elected body of American Jewry ~~and in its composition it~~ ~~represented the totality of American Jewry -~~ Zionist and non-Zionist, ~~alike~~. The principle issue at ~~this conference~~ was whether to adopt or reject a resolution favoring the establishment of a Jewish Commonwealth in Palestine. After prolonged ~~and un-repressed~~ debate, the delegates voted almost unanimously in favor of the Jewish Commonwealth Resolution. ~~There were only~~ ~~four dissenting votes out of a total of more than five hundred.~~ The Zionist Movement could now speak with authority to the American people and government in the name of the entire American Jewish community.

To win the support of the American people and government, the American Zionist Emergency Council, which represented all Zionist bodies in the United States, then launched a sustained nation-wide public relations program. Able and dedicated men, some of them exceptionally gifted in their several fields, were quickly marshalled into service. Headquarters were established in New York and Washington. Effective units were organized in every principle city in the United States. A special Pro-Palestine Committee of outstanding Christian clergy and laymen was formed. A nation-wide campaign of education

through books, lectures, magazines, and radio broadcasts was inaugurated. Numerous conferences, and literally thousands of meetings were held in all parts of the country. Mass demonstrations and open-air rallies were held, which were attended by tens of thousands of people and were addressed by leading American personalities. In a critical moment, a march of thousands of war veterans, Jewish and non-Jewish, converged on Washington.

Numerous local delegates contacted their public officials, their Governors, Congressmen and Senators in their several states. Many State Legislatures were induced to adopt pro-Palestine Resolutions and to forward them to Washington. We simply knocked at every door -- the Conventions of both political parties which were moved to include a pro-Palestine Resolution in their national platforms; the Halls of Congress where a pro-Palestine Resolution was introduced, and ^{was} finally adopted. We knocked on the doors of key people in every walk of life, authors, journalists, columnists, educators, clergy, political leaders -- people who heretofore had been indifferent to our cause.

In this we were assisted by the concurrent labor of the members of the American section of the Jewish Agency, and their very able professional assistants. They prepared valuable data for presentation to the Security Council and Assembly of the United Nations. They spent endless hours with ministers and ambassadors of foreign states who were members of the United Nations and arranged for important contacts to be made with their governments back home.

If we finally succeeded in persuading our government to endorse the Resolution which was introduced in 1947 in the United Nations ^{and which} favoring the

establishment of an independent Jewish State in a part of Palestine -- it was the result of this massive and sustained effort on the part of thousands upon thousands of dedicated men and women, working under the guidance and leadership of the American Zionist Emergency Council. It was the result of the friendly and sympathetic American public opinion which had been finally aroused and made vocal.

When four months later, and as a result of pressure from the oil interests and other bodies hostile to our cause, an attempt was made to scrap the United Nations November Resolution which had been adopted, and to replace it with a new trusteeship over Palestine, when our Administration sharply reversed itself and actually requested the summoning of a special session of the Assembly of the United Nations to ~~reverse~~ ^{put a S.R.} the November Resolution -- and when our work had to be begun all over again -- it was again these same workers, using the same techniques of education, appeal and persuasion, who returned to their tasks with redoubled energy and determination and who finally succeeded in inducing our government to return to the position which it took in November, and to give de facto recognition to the State of Israel when the Israeli proclaimed it on May 15, 1948.

It should, therefore, never be forgotten that it was American Jewry, rising magnificently to the challenge of the hour, which was responsible for the victories in Washington and in Lake Success -- not the intervention of some individual who was secretly smuggled in one day into the White House through a back door, and who by the magic of his personality won over the President of

the United States and presto, it was all done. This, and the story of some magic letter which changed the course of history, and similar legends are a naive and fanciful reconstruction of history.

The final validating seal upon these political victories which were won *in the U.S.* was set by the remarkable military victories of the greatly out-numbered and poorly-equipped fighting forces of the Israeli themselves -- the Tz'va Haganah Le-Yisrael. Without their victories, our political victories would have been in vain; without our victories their military victories would probably also have been in vain.

All this should be remembered. American Zionists do not ask for praise or appreciation. They did what they did ~~not for you alone, but~~ for the Jewish people, for ^{others} ~~you~~ and for themselves, and for Jews everywhere. *all they ask is* ~~They just want~~ *that* the record ^{should} be kept straight! *TR* All this should be remembered as we face the future. For while the primary Zionist objective has been achieved, and the State of Israel is an accomplished fact, the need for defending it politically and militarily will ^{not} ~~never~~ disappear, at least not in our generation. Israel will not be able to escape the political tensions and pressures of the region of the world of which it is a part. Danger lurks upon its borders, among its turbulent Arab neighbors. Our work is not over/^{by} any means, and those who would rely in all future emergencies on the instant response of unorganized so-called friends of Israel in the United States, whose commitments are so vague and whose staying-power so uncertain, are not wise guardians, I am afraid, of the best interests of the State of Israel.

This, too, should be remembered. Ever since the day of its establishment, and long before that day, the Jews of America, led and inspired by its Zionist vanguard, have contributed generously, through the United Jewish Appeal, through the purchase of Bonds for Israel, through a hundred other channels, to the upbuilding, strengthening and development of Israel's economic and cultural life, its health and its well-being.

Fellow Zionists!

Much work still remains to be done. Many problems still remain which demand our attention -- some of them very grave ~~indeed~~ ^{ones}. But they are of an altogether different nature from those of former times. They are no longer the desperate problems which flowed out of our condition of national homelessness and statelessness. Rather are they the concrete problems of developing, defending and making prosperous a national homeland which is already in existence. We can proceed to solve these problems, one by one, with deliberateness and hope-fully, now that the major problem has been solved. ^{Israel} ~~We~~ can now operate from a position of independent strength and also as a member of a society of nations.

Many Jews are even this day abandoning lands of intolerable conditions and dark prospects and are coming to Israel, in the hope of finding here the peace and dignity which the world denied them. In the last fifteen years the young state welcomed over a million such immigrants from all parts of the world. Israel, which is, as you well know, a very small state, has exerted itself to the utmost to absorb these newcomers, most of them penniless, many of them without

skills or vocations, some aged and infirm, to rebuild their lives and to become integrated into the economy of the pioneering country. From all accounts, an incomparably fine job has been done by the young state in meeting the enormous problems with which this immigration has taxed it. You will have an opportunity to see it all with your own eyes. But many more Jews are destined to come and the financial burden of bringing these immigrants to Israel and of helping them to establish themselves, is not and should not be the sole responsibility of the people of Israel, but of the Jews the world over. It is our responsibility!

The State of Israel must industrialize on a larger scale if it is to absorb many more people. This is the only way it can "enlarge the place of its tent and stretch forth the curtains of its habitation". This, too, is our responsibility.

*Bridge
Aliza* Clearly, there is much still to be done! Israel must be made strong, strong enough to withstand pressures, strong enough to absorb those who will wish to go there, or those who will have to go there, strong enough to fulfill its destiny -- that of a small country which is to be made great by the intellectual and spiritual enterprise and the social vision of its people.

We must carry on until the foundations of Israel are securely laid -- until its walls and bulwarks are made strong and until the land finds rest from its enemies. We must carry on until the winter is past and the flowers appear on the earth, and the time of singing is come.

Dr. Theodor Herzl,

The delegates to the Convention of the Zionist Organization of America who are now meeting in the "~~Altneuland~~^U", of which you dreamed and to which you gave all the strength of your body and soul, are gathered here at your grave on a hill which now bears your name and which ~~xxxxxx~~^{looks} over- / the eternal city of Jerusalem.

We are here to lay a wreath of tribute and grateful remembrance at your tomb. But, we know that your resting place is not here but ~~is~~^{but that you are here} ~~eternally~~ enshrined in the hearts of ~~our~~^{us} people to whom you ~~pointed~~^{showed} the way to a freer and a nobler life.

Many monarchs have ruled over this land and many armies have conquered and laid it waste. ~~You~~^{But}, the uncrowned king of a ~~risen~~^{ancient} people, never conquered by ~~force~~^{force} of arms. ~~You~~^{Thinks} never were privileged to behold the fulfillment of your dream, ~~But~~ the fires of your unquenchable spirit kindled the souls of ^a generations of men and women who were moved to come here from distant parts of the world, ~~across~~ many broken roads of hardship, ~~darkness~~ and terror, to build here ~~that which~~^{what} you had visioned -- a Jewish State, a national home for a ~~homeless~~^{homeless} people.

And now here you rest, ~~on the great hill-top~~^{in this sand soil this quiet} while below you, and all about you, ~~surges the new life~~^{abounding} of this ingathered people, ~~resonant~~^{resonant} with the joy of a reborn hope and new-found freedom -- and all of it ascribed ~~to you~~^{to you} glory and honor to your imperishable name.

You taught us many things ^{which} ~~that~~ we had long forgotten. You revived many memories which the long exile had all but expunged from our minds. You helped us to ^{tap} ~~rediscover~~ the deep sources of inner strength of which we were no longer aware. You found us huddled and humbled in our several ghettos in the East and the West and you restored to us our ancestral pride as a people. You roused us to go forth and build a home worthy of the descendants of the Maccabees.

You taught us that "the most remarkable of all things is when a man, or a people never gives up". You made us understand the utter futility of ^{trying to combat} the world's hatred ^{of us} which was riding high on the ~~rising~~ ^{our collective soul} ~~odious~~ ^{and you breathed into} ~~tyranny to combat~~ tides of nationalism, racialism and the class struggle. You showed how the salvation of our people lay within ~~their~~ own hands. You rediscovered ~~them~~ ^{our collective soul} and you breathed ^{into} upon it the breath of life.

Like Moses of old, you commanded our people to move forward -- "The earth moves in space", you told us. "the secret lies in movement".

You were sorely tried by our people. The ^{When you incarnated} ~~movement~~ ^{drained you} made you "old, tired and poor". You wrote ^{that} ~~that~~ two years before you died.

Where were the people whom I was struggling to liberate? Why did they not rally in great multitudes to the urgent cause, to my earnest appeal? Why were they unloading upon my tired heart all the bitterness and resentment of their unhappy lives? "Let it be inscribed upon my epitaph," you wrote, "he had too high an opinion of the Jews". Other prophets of our people in the past, in the impatience of their love, ^{also} cried out in a similar vein. But these prophets and seers came to understand, after their dark hours and disillusionments were passed, that their people was ~~God's people~~, worthy of saving and deserving of sacrifice.

You did not forsake ^{your} ~~this~~ people. ^{your} ~~This~~ people has not forgotten you.
Through endless ^{time} they will remember you in blessing.

And here, today, ~~fellow~~ Jews from distant America are come to pay you
homage. "One thing I regard as certain," you told your generation, "and placed
beyond the reach of all doubt. This Movement will endure. I do not know when
I shall die, but Zionism will never die."

How sure and true ^{was} your gift of prophecy! Zionism did not die! The fallen
tabernacle of David has been rebuilt! And your ^{death has} ~~majestic~~ spirit livds on and your ^{majestic} vision
continues to lead and inspire a nation. ^{you survived to resurrection} Millions of your fellow-Jews from near and
far, who have been redeemed, lift up their eyes to this hill and cry out: ^{with one accord} ~~and cry out~~

Handwritten initials: JN, FW



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[From Chairman's address at the opening session.]

Days Past and to Come

by Dr. Abba Hillel Silver

IT IS a favorite pastime these days to re-write history. This is practiced in countries much larger than Israel. Regimes which suddenly come to power would like to focus the spotlight of history exclusively upon themselves. There is always the danger which some of the tribes of Israel who did not cross the Jordan experienced in the days of Joshua—"that your children may not say to our children in time to come: you have no portion in the Lord. . . ."

It is important to call attention to the irrefutable facts of our recent history and to the fact that the State of Israel is the achievement not of this or that segment of our people, not of this or that party, not of this or that personality, but of our people as a whole. The Jewish people built the State of Israel. The loyal men, the men of unshaken faith among our people, those whom we were once proud to call Zionists, they, in many parts of the Diaspora, through long-suffering years, by their vision, courage, sacrifice and perseverance, laid the foundations of the State of Israel.

The young generation in Israel and those who will come after them should be taught this glorious chapter in our national rebirth—the heroic enterprise of a whole people born to slavery but struggling to freedom, a homeless and wandering people, achieving a homeland—lest they lose spiritual and emotional contact with the Jewish people outside of Israel, lest they become, in a real sense, disinherited. This would be much more helpful than the unsolicited lectures, scoldings and admonitions directed towards American Zionists which occasionally emanated from circles here. While they are probably intended for home consumption, nevertheless they produce nothing but irritation and resentment abroad. It were better by far if the youth of Israel thought of all of us as one people, sharing a common history and a common destiny, and working as one family for the common good.

Among the Jewish communities of the Diaspora who helped decisively in the establishment of the State of Israel, foremost was the Jewish community of the United States. From the moment that it became clear that Great Britain would never consent to a Jewish state in Palestine, that it was hopeless to continue to walk on that weary, unavailing diplomatic treadmill, and that the political battleground had definitely shifted from London to Washington and Lake Success, the major responsibility for the success of the Zionist program rested with the Jews of the United States.

WE PROCEEDED on three fundamental premises. First, that our cause was just, incontestably just. We could therefore tell our story frankly to all men of good will in our country, regardless of class, political party or religious affiliation. We could appeal to their sense of justice and their humanity.

It was clear that we must first win the active support and sympathy of the American people if we would persuade our Government, where we were confronted with a State Department which harbored a sizeable core of anti-Zionist officials, and with a President whose attitude remained continuously shrouded in an impenetrable charm.

The second premise upon which we proceeded was that it was either now or never. The hour of decision was rapidly approaching. We had reached the critical crossroads in our history. We therefore had to throw in everything we had, all of our power, all our resources, all our reserves. This was to be the crucial battle. There was nothing to lose now but our illusions. Hitler was brutally and systematically destroying European Jewry. England was waging war upon our defenseless refugees who were being turned away from the very shores of Palestine to perish in

the *Strumas*, or to languish on the *Exodus*. . . . We simply must not lose the historic moment.

And the third premise upon which we proceeded was that the American Jewish community itself had to be aroused to exert itself to the utmost and to work in every direction, but not merely for an increased number of certificates for refugees who would be admitted into Palestine, but for a Jewish State. The root of our millennial tragedy was our national homelessness. There is but one solution for national homelessness. That is a national home. Our people must not be deflected from this main objective.

THE MAJOR BATTLE over this issue took place at the American Jewish Conference, which met in the summer of 1943. It was the first democratically elected body, which in its composition represented the totality of American Jewry—Zionist and non-Zionist alike. The principal issue at this conference was whether to adopt or reject a resolution favoring the establishment of a Jewish Commonwealth in Palestine. After prolonged and unrepressed debate, the delegates voted almost unanimously in favor of the Jewish Commonwealth resolution; there were only four dissenting votes out of a total of more than five hundred. The Zionist Movement could now speak with authority to the American people and government in the name of the entire American Jewish community.

To win the support of the American people and government, the American Zionist Emergency Council, which represented all Zionist bodies in the United States, then launched a nationwide public relations program. Able and dedicated men, some of them exceptionally gifted in their several fields, were quickly marshalled into service. Headquarters were established in New York and Washington. Effective units were organized in every principal city in the United States. A special Pro-Palestine Committee of outstanding Christian clergy and laymen was formed. A nationwide campaign of education through books, lectures, magazines, and radio broadcasts was inaugurated. Numerous conferences and literally thousands of meetings in all parts of the country were addressed by leading American personalities.

We simply knocked at every door—the Conventions of both political parties, which were moved to include a pro-Palestine Resolution in their national platforms; the Halls of Congress, where a pro-Palestine Resolution was introduced and finally adopted. We knocked on the doors of the State Department and of the White House. We enlisted the active support of key people in every walk of life, authors, journalists, columnists, educators, clergy, political leaders—people who heretofore had been indifferent to our cause. We spent endless hours with Ministers and Ambassadors of foreign states who were members of the United Nations and arranged for important contacts to be made with their governments back home.

In this we were assisted by the concurrent labor of the members of the American section of the Jewish Agency, and their very able professional assistants. They made important contacts with the representatives of member states in the United Nations and prepared valuable data for presentation to the Security Council and Assembly of the United Nations.

If we finally succeeded in persuading our government to endorse the 1947 resolution of the United Nations which favored the establishment of an independent Jewish State in a part of Palestine, it was the result of this massive and sustained effort on the part of thousands upon thou-

sands of dedicated men and women, working under the guidance and leadership of the American Zionist Emergency Council.

When four months later, as a result of pressure from the oil interests and other bodies hostile to our cause, an attempt was made to scrap the United Nations November Resolution which favored the creation of a Jewish State, and to replace it with a new trusteeship over Palestine, when our Administration sharply reversed itself and actually requested the summoning of a special session of the Assembly of the United Nations to reverse its November resolution—and when our work had to be begun all over again—it was again these same workers, using the same techniques of education, appeal and persuasion, who returned to their tasks with redoubled energy and determination and who finally succeeded in inducing our Government to return to its November position, and to give de facto recognition to the State of Israel when the Israelis proclaimed it on May 15, 1948.

IT SHOULD therefore never be forgotten that it was American Jewry, rising magnificently to the challenge of the hour, which was responsible for the victories in Washington and in Lake Success—not the intervention of someone who was smuggled one day into the White House through a back door, and who by the magic of his personality won over the President of the United States to our side, and presto, it was all done. This and similar legends are a naive and fanciful reconstruction of history.

The final validating seal upon these political victories which were won here was set by the military victories of the greatly outnumbered and poorly equipped fighting forces of the Israelis themselves—the *Tz'va Hagannah* of Israel. Without their victories our political victories would have been in vain; without our victories their military victories would probably also have been in vain.

All this should be remembered as we face the future. For while the primary Zionist objective has been achieved, and the State of Israel is an accomplished fact, the need for defending it politically and militarily will never disappear, at least not in our generation. Israel will not be able to escape the political tensions and pressures of the region of the world of which it is a part. Danger lurks upon its borders, among its turbulent Arab neighbors. Our work is not over by any means, and those who would rely in all future emergencies on the instant response of unorganized so-called friends of Israel in the United States, whose commitments are so vague and whose staying power so uncertain, are not wise guardians, I am afraid, of the best interests of the State of Israel.

FELLOW ZIONISTS! Much work still remains to be done. Many problems still remain which demand our attention—some of them very grave ones indeed. But they are of an altogether different nature from those of former times. They are no longer the desperate problems which flowed out of our condition of national homelessness and statelessness. Rather are they the concrete problems of developing, defending and making prosperous a national homeland which is already in existence. We can proceed to solve these problems, one by one, with deliberateness and hopefulness, now that the major problem has been solved. We can now operate from a position of independent strength and also as a member of a society of nations.

Many Jews are even this day abandoning lands of intolerable conditions and dark prospects and are coming to Israel, in the hope of finding here the peace and dignity

which the world denied them. In the last fifteen years the young State welcomed over a million such immigrants from all parts of the world. But many more are destined to come and the financial burden of bringing these immigrants to Israel and of helping them to establish themselves, is not and should not be the sole responsibility of the people of Israel, but of the Jews the world over. It is *our* responsibility!

The State of Israel must industrialize on a large scale if it is to absorb many more people. This is the only way it can "enlarge the plan of its tent and stretch forth the curtains of its habitation." This, too, is our responsibility.

The days to come will continue to make great demands upon us in yet another way. It is clear that Israel will not be able to escape the political tensions and pressures of the world of which it is a part. Danger lurks upon its borders, among its turbulent neighbors, where hatred of Israel is thought to be the promising cement of Arab unity. Political adventurers in the Arab world may think that soon the opportune moment will arrive for an attack upon Israel. If so, they will again be miscalculating grossly, as they did once before. Israel, I am sure, will not be panicked by their maneuvers. Israel will know how to defend itself. And American Jewry will rally as never before to the defense of the State which they helped to bring into existence. The Zionist Movement, especially in the United States, must remain marshalled and alerted to defend the legitimate political interests of Israel whenever they are menaced.

Clearly, there is much still to be done! Israel must be made strong, strong enough to withstand pressures, strong enough to absorb those who will wish to go there, or those who will have to go there. Strong enough to fulfill its destiny—that of a small country which is to be made great by the intellectual and spiritual enterprise and the social vision of its people.

You and I belong to a privileged generation, in that we have been the chosen tools in the hands of God for the salvation of His people. We were confronted with historic tasks, and we were greatly challenged. We earnestly tried to match our hour. A great hour did not find us a small people. We were given an historic assignment and we set about executing it to the best of our abilities. We are grateful in not having failed. The measure of our reward is the degree of our success.

But we must carry on. For much remains to be done. We must carry on until the foundations of Israel are securely laid—until its walls and bulwarks are made strong and until the Land finds rest from its enemies. We must carry on until the winter is past and the flowers appear on the earth, and the time of singing is come.

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Jerusalem-Tel Aviv, Israel

JULY 11-17, 1963

ההסתדרות הציונית של ארצות חברה
הועידה הארצית השנתית ה-66 — הראשונה בישראל
ירושלים-תל-אביב 11-17 ביולי 1963

*"We are a people...
one people" — HERZL*

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Theme... "We are a people—one people"

—THEODORE HERZL

IN TEL AVIV:

Monday and Tuesday, July 8th and 9th

9:00 A.M.-1:00 P.M.

4:00 P.M.-9:00 P.M.

Preliminary Registration of Delegates

Z.O.A. House, Tel Aviv

IN JERUSALEM:

Wednesday, July 10th

9:00 A.M.-1:00 P.M.

3:00 P.M.-10:00 P.M.

Registration of Delegates

King David Hotel, Jerusalem

4:00 P.M. Pilgrimage of Delegates

To the grave of Theodore Herzl *Mount Herzl, Jerusalem*

Speaker: DR. MAX NUSSBAUM

Cantor: ITZHAK BREGMAN

5:00 P.M. Tree Planting ceremonies in the Freedom Forest,
Jewish National Fund, Jerusalem

IN JERUSALEM:

Thursday, July 11th

9:00 A.M.-1:00 P.M.

3:00 P.M.-7:00 P.M.

Registration of Delegates *King David Hotel*

9:00 A.M. National Executive Council

Conference Room, Ground Floor, King David Hotel

4:20 P.M. His Excellency, The President of Israel,
Shneur Zalman Shazar, tenders a reception
to all Z.O.A. Delegates.

Gan Hakiryah, Jerusalem

Thursday, July 11th—continued

8:30 P.M. First Plenary Session Binyaney Ha'ooma, Jerusalem

Presiding: DR. ABBA HILLEL SILVER, Cleveland, Ohio
Maccabi Tzair

— Presentation of Colors —

Hatikvah

Star Spangled Banner

Choir of Kol Israel Radio

Invocation - Rabbi Harold I. Kohn, Ex. V.P. of the Y. Union

Opening of Convention

HAROLD W. CARMEL, Brooklyn, N.Y.
Executive Chairman, Convention

Opening Statement

DR. ABBA HILLEL SILVER
Convention Chairman

In Memoriam:

Itzhak Ben Zvi
Late President of Israel

Louis Lipsky
Past President, Z.O.A.

Greetings:

On behalf of the State of Israel
His Excellency, The President of Israel
SHNEOR ZALMAN SHAZAR.

His Excellency, The Prime Minister of Israel
LEVI ESHKOL

On behalf of the World Zionist Organization
THE HONORABLE MOSHE SHARETT, Chairman,
Jewish Agency Executive.

On behalf of the United States of America

His Excellency, The American Ambassador
to Israel, WALWORTH BARBOUR

~~Plenary Session~~
the President
3rd State Mr. Shazar

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window



- elevated - Zion
- Protocol -

Message →

steady
and capital

Critical, Heavy, P.D.

Public Minister
Minister of Foreign Affairs

Charges of Affairs
N. Spencer Barnes

Done so much
- First to recognize
- will stand by
- at least Republic, that
August 11, 1948

IN JERUSALEM:

Thursday, July 11th—continued

1517 100 213 N/8
212 171 712802

(4) On behalf of the City of Jerusalem
THE HONORABLE MORDECHAI ISH-SHALOM,
Mayor of Jerusalem.

(5) On behalf of the World Confederation of General
Zionists - Z.O.A. affiliate
THE HONORABLE DR. EMANUEL NEUMAN, President.

Chairman of the
Halutz - life-long friend, co-worker -
Presidential Address:

(6) DR. MAX NUSSBAUM
President, Zionist Organization of America.

Every - Dedication - Courage - achievement

Friday, July 12th

9:30 A.M. Meeting of Policy and Scope Committee
Schwartz Hall (Small Hall) Binyaney Ha'ooma

Chairman: MORTIMER MAY, Nashville, Tenn.

Speaker:

Her Excellency, The Foreign Minister of Israel,
MRS. GOLDA MEIER.

NOTE: The Convention is now transferred to Tel Aviv.

IN TEL AVIV:

Friday, July 12th

11:00 A.M.-1:00 P.M. Registration of Delegates Z.O.A. House
Sabbath Services for Z.O.A. Delegates at the
Great Synagogue of Tel Aviv and at respective hotels.

Saturday Morning, July 13th

Sabbath Services for Z.O.A. Delegates at the
Great Synagogue of Tel Aviv and at respective hotels.

IN TEL AVIV:

Saturday Evening, July 13th

8:00 P.M. Second Plenary Session

Emanuel Neumann Garden Z.O.A. House

*Theme: Tenth Anniversary of the Daniel Frisch-Z.O.A. House—
Inauguration of the Anniversary Programs.*

Presiding: DR. MAX NUSSBAUM, Hollywood, Calif.

Speakers:

ABRAHAM GOODMAN, New York, N.Y.

Chairman, Z.O.A. Activities in Israel

HONORABLE YOSEF SERLIN, Tel Aviv

Deputy Speaker, Israel Knesseth;

Chairman, Z.O.A. House Management Committee

HONORABLE JAMES ROOSEVELT

United States Congressman from California

Tribute to Z.O.A. House Management Committee and
Staff Members who have served ten years.

Remarks: LEON ILUTOVICH, New York, N.Y.

Assistant Executive Director, Z.O.A.

*Concert: Orchestra of the Israel Academy of Music
Tsadikov Choir*

IN TEL AVIV:

Sunday, July 14th

11:00 A.M.-1:00 P.M. Registration of Delegates Z.O.A. House

9:30 A.M. Third Plenary Session Z.O.A. House

Theme: Education and Hebrew

Chairman: DR. DAVID RUDAVSKY, Brooklyn, N.Y.
Associate Professor in Hebrew Culture
and Education, New York University;
Chairman, Z.O.A. Program and Education Committee

Topic: "The Role of Zionism in the Synagogue and
in Jewish Education."

Speaker: RABBI ALFRED GOTTSCHALK
Dean, Hebrew Union College
Jewish Institute of Religion, (California)

Topic: "The Role of Zionism in Current Jewish
Literature—An Adventure in Publishing"

Speaker: JUDGE LOUIS E. LEVINTHAL
Past President, Zionist Organization of America
and the Jewish Publication Society of America.

Topic: Israel's Educational Problems—a comparative
evaluation with Diaspora Problems

Speaker: DR. ALEXANDER DUSHKIN
Professor, School of Education, Hebrew University

Topic: "Diaspora Education—How Israel can
help the Zionist Movement"

Speaker: HONORABLE DR. ELIMELECH RIMALT,
Member of Knesseth

Sunday, July 14th—continued

Immediately following morning plenary session Z.O.A. House, Ground Floor

Dedication of Room in memory of Sam Gutlin and
in honor of Mrs. Bessie Gutlin-Weiss of Los Angeles,
California

Speakers:

DR. MAX NUSSBAUM

MAX ZIMMER, Los Angeles, Cal.
President, Western States Region

AARON RICKE, Los Angeles, Cal.
Honorary Vice-President, Z.O.A.

3:30 P.M. Fourth Plenary Session Z.O.A. House

Presiding: RABBI I. USHER KIRSHBLUM, Kew Gardens Hills, L.I.
Administrative Vice-President, Z.O.A.

REPORT OF THE NATIONAL SECRETARY

DR. SIDNEY MARKS, New York, N.Y.

Theme: Israel's Development through Fund raising
and Investment (Part One)

The United Jewish Appeal

RABBI HERBERT FRIEDMAN
Executive Vice-Chairman, U.J.A.

Keren Hayesod

DR. ISRAEL GOLDSTEIN
Chairman, Keren Hayesod
Past President, Z.O.A.

Israel Bonds

HIS EXCELLENCY, JOSEF ALMOGI
Minister of Development and Housing

Sunday, July 14th—continued

*Dinner of the Zionist Organization of America
in Association with the
World Confederation of General Zionists
and the Liberal Party of Israel
in honor of
DR. ABBA HILLEL SILVER
on the occasion of his Seventieth Birthday*

7:00 P.M. *Reception*

7:30 P.M. *Dinner*

Presiding:

DR. EMANUEL NEUMANN, New York, N.Y.

Invocation

Greetings:

HIS EXCELLENCY, DAVID BEN GURION

On behalf of the World Zionist Organization
DR. NAHUM GOLDMANN, President

On behalf of the Jewish Agency
HONORABLE MOSHE SHARETT
Chairman, Jewish Agency Executive

On behalf of the Liberal Party
HONORABLE YOSEF SAPHIR, M.K.

On behalf of the World Confederation
of General Zionists
HONORABLE YOSEF SERLIN, M.K.

Response—DR. ABBA HILLEL SILVER

Musical Rendition

IN TEL AVIV:

Monday, July 15th

9:30 A.M. Fifth Plenary Session Z.O.A. House

Theme: American Aliyah

Chairman: BEN WINICK, Knoxville, Tenn.

Greetings:

MEIER KAPLAN, Israel
President, Association of Americans
and Canadians in Israel.

Speakers:

LEON DULTZIN, Israel
Member, Jewish Agency Executive
CARL ALPERT, Haifa, Israel
Executive Vice-Chairman,
Board of Governors, Technion-Israel Institute
of Technology.
SOL BIEDERMAN, Bronx, N.Y.
Z.O.A. B'nai Aliyah Fellowship.

Theme: Israel's Development through Fund raising
and Investment (Part Two)

Chairman: CAROL PICKEL, New York, N.Y.
National Finance Chairman, Z.O.A.

Speakers:

HONORABLE YOSEF SAPHIR, Israel
Member of the Knesseth
DR. Y. FOERDER, Israel
Chairman of the Board, Bank Leumi Le-Israel B.M.
MORDECHAI C. STERN, Israel
Managing Director,
"Rassco" Rural and Suburban Settlement Co. Ltd.
ISADORE TUROVER, Washington, D.C.
Vice-President, Z.O.A.

Monday, July 15th—continued

1:00 P.M. Luncheon Z.O.A. House
Z.O.A. Activities in Israel Committee
Presiding: ABRAHAM GOODMAN, New York, N.Y.

3:30 P.M. Sixth Plenary Session Z.O.A. House
Theme: "The Meaning of Israel to Jewish Youth"
Chairman: SOL BIEDERMAN, New York, N.Y.
Presentation of Colors.

Greetings:

Israel Hatzeira

MENAHEN GOLDBERG, Israel

Maccabi Tzair

SIMCHA FRIEDMAN, Israel

Hanoar Hazioni

Remarks:

Z.O.A. Teen Age Program

EDWARD KRUPAT, New York, N.Y.

Young Judaea Year Course in Israel

INA FRIEDMAN, Long Island

Reports:

Young Zionists

BERNARD BAUER, Vice President, Young Zionists

Young Judaea—MARSHALL FRUMIN, Tennessee

National Vice-President, Young Judaea

Discussion

Closing Remarks

DR. MAX NUSSBAUM

Community Singing and Dancing.

5:30 P.M. Reception tendered to Z.O.A. Delegates Z.O.A. House
by HIS EXCELLENCY, WALWORTH BABROUR,
American Ambassador to Israel

IN TEL AVIV:

Monday, July 15th—continued

9:00 P.M. *Seventh Plenary Session* Z.O.A. House

Theme: "The Jewish People, the World Zionist Movement and American Zionism"

Presiding: JACQUES TORCZYNER, New York, N.Y.
Chairman, National Executive Council

Speakers:

DR. EMANUEL NEUMANN
Member, Jewish Agency Executive
Honorary President, Z.O.A.

DR. NAHUM GOLDMAN
President, World Zionist Organization

DR. MORDECAI KAPLAN
Professor, Jewish Theological Seminary

Tuesday, July 16th

Morning at Leisure

IN ASHKELON:

5:00 P.M. Arrival of Z.O.A. Delegates in Kfar Silver.

5:15 P.M. *Dedications and ground-breaking ceremonies of new projects.*

- 6:30 P.M.
- a) Elias and Rebecca Polis Synagogue
Project of the Connecticut Region.
 - b) Elihu D. Stone Dormitory
Project of the New England Region.
 - c) Morris and Sarah Lichter Home Economics
Building—Project of New England Region.
 - d) Samuel Oberman Medical Clinic
Project of District #11 and the Bronx Region.
 - e) Mortimer May Dormitory
Project of the Southeast Region.
 - f) Dr. Harry F. Wechsler Central School Building
Project of Manhattan Region.



IN ASHKELON:

Tuesday, July 16th—continued

- g) Jack Lefkowitz—David L. J. Jontow Swimming Pool
Project of the Bronx Region.
- h) Ground-breaking for Harvey B. Steinbach School
Building—Project of the Seaboard Region.
- i) Ground-breaking for the I. Zesmer Athletic Field
Project of the Z.O.A.-I. Zesmer District of Dallas, Texas
- j) Milton J. Silberman Quadrangle
Project of the Chicago Region
- k) Bimah in the Synagogue
Project of the Young Zionists
- l) Aron Kodesh in the Synagogue in memory of Max Abell
(Chicago)

6:30 P.M.-7:00 P.M. — *Tour of the Campus*

7:30 P.M.-8:15 P.M. — *Open-air supper*

8:30 P.M.-10:30 P.M. — *Eighth Plenary Session.*

Chairman: MORTIMER MAY, Nashville, Tenn.

Opening Remarks:

CHAIM DANIELI,

Chairman, Kfar Silver Board

Presentation of Colors

National Anthems

Kfar Silver Student Choir and Orchestra

Greetings:

His Excellency, The Deputy Prime Minister
ABBA S. EBAN

ABRAHAM GOODMAN

Chairman, Z.O.A. Activities in Israel

THE HONORABLE M. TAGER

Mayor of Ashkelon

Remarks:

JOSEPH MOUSSERI, Graduate of Kfar Silver,
now at the University of Illinois.

Address:

DR. ABBA HILLEL SILVER

10:30 P.M. Return to Tel Aviv.

IN TEL AVIV:

Wednesday, July 17

8:30 A.M. *Breakfast* *Sheraton Tel Aviv Hotel*

Theme:

Jewish National Fund and J.N.F. Foundation.

In honor of DR. MAX NUSSBAUM, President,
Zionist Organization of America

Presiding: MENDEL N. FISHER
Secretary-Consultant, J.N.F.

Speakers:

ALBERT SCHIFF, President, J.N.F.

DR. JOSEPH STERNSTEIN, National Director, J.N.F.

Address:

AMBASSADOR JACOB TSUR, Israel
World Chairman,
Keren Kayemeth L'Israel



Response: DR. MAX NUSSBAUM

11:00 A.M. *Ninth Plenary Session* *Sheraton Tel Aviv Hotel*

Chairman: HAROLD W. CARMELY, Brooklyn, N.Y.
Chairman, Administrative Committee

Resolutions

Elections

Report of the Nominations Committee

Response by the Newly-elected President

Hatikvah

SPECIAL EVENTS AND VISITS

BET HAGDUDIM

Tuesday, July 16th

11 A.M. Reception in the Goodman-Streslin Auditorium and Tour at Jewish Legion Memorial Center, Bet Hagdudim, at Avichail. This inspiring project was built by the American Veterans of the Jewish Legion, Hagdud Haivri League Inc., aided by a grant of \$40,000 from the Z.O.A., through a legacy from the Zundelowitz family of Texas. Avichail (near Natanya) is a colony consisting of Jewish Legion Veterans.

Israel Bonds

On your Tour of Israel, have your guides show you the following sites developed to a great extent with Israel Bond funds—Haifa Harbor, Ashdod Harbor, Elath Harbor, Timna Mine (near King Solomon's ancient copper mine), mining of phosphates at Oron and Arad, New City of Arad, Jordan-Negev Pipe Line.

Jewish National Fund

The representatives of the Jewish National Fund in Israel will contact the Z.O.A. Delegates during the convention and arrange a Tour of J.N.F. projects. This Tour will take place after the conclusion of the Z.O.A. Convention.

Z.O.A. Tourist Bureau

Special Information desks are to be found at the Z.O.A. House and the various hotels for travel arrangements which you may wish to make.