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Autobiography/memoirs, Book 3, 1963?.

BOOK THREE

1. THE BATTLEFIELDS OF ISRAEL, COUNT BERNADOTTE.
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3. DISAGREEMENTS WITH PRIME MINISTER BEN-GURION.
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- 1 -

The State of Israel was now established but it was fighting for its very life. It should be remembered that what was finally achieved was achieved through bitter struggle on the battlefields of Palestine far more than on the political battlefields of Flushing Meadows and Lake Success. The United Nations was unable or unwilling to implement its resolution of November, 1947. The Jews of Palestine had to implement it with their blood and sacrifices. The moral strengthening which the United Nations resolution gave us was of enormous importance, as was the assistance which it gave us later during the armistice negotiations. It is clear, however, that there would have been no armistice in the fighting in Palestine which lasted for nearly a year if the Jews had not fought and decisively defeated the invading armies.

The final validating seal upon the 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. It is the people of Israel themselves, aided by the political assistance which they received from their fellow-Jews throughout the world, who established the State of Israel.

In the months which followed the proclamation of the State, there was severe fighting in Palestine. Egypt, Transjordan, Iraq, Syria, and Lebanon invaded the country and Israeli forces clashed with them. The United Nations Security Council did nothing to defend the new state under attack but issued several cease-fire orders. It set up the office of a United Nations Mediator for Palestine to promote a peaceful adjustment of the future situation of Palestine. Count Folke Bernadotte of Sweden was appointed Mediator. The boundaries of Israel were not firmly determined and attempts were made as part of the effort to achieve a peaceful adjustment to alter the boundaries set forth in the United Nations resolution.

A very dangerous political moment for the new-born State of Israel followed the publication of Count Bernadotte's report in September, 1948. The plan which Count Bernadotte prepared assigned the Negev, two-thirds of the territory of the State of Israel, to the Arab State and placed the city of Jerusalem under United Nations control. The American government gave its unqualified approval to this plan. A determined effort was made by the representatives of our government and those of Great Britain to rush through an approval of this plan in the General Assembly of the United Nations which was then meeting in Paris, hoping to capitalize on the public indignation which the tragic assassination of Count Bernadotte had aroused. This was a reversal on the part of our government almost as serious as that

of March 19th when it called for the scuttling of the Partition plan and proffered a temporary trusteeship in its stead. It was necessary for the American Zionist Emergency Council to get into action again in order to persuade our government to abandon the position which it had taken. This was not at all easy. As so often in the past, our government, both the Executive Branch and the State Department, suddenly became completely non-communicative on the subject. In the name of the Emergency Council, I sent on September 23, 1948, the following telegram to President Truman:

"We have relied on the loyalty of the American government to the United Nations Partition Resolution of last November, on your personal commitment and devotion to this policy and on the platform pledge of the Democratic Party to support the State of Israel within its fixed boundaries and we have accordingly been profoundly shocked by Secretary Marshall's unqualified endorsement of the recommendations of Count Bernadotte which would reduce the area of the State of Israel by two-third leaving it a miniature state incapable of large-scale settlement of refugees. The citizens of Israel who reluctantly accepted the partition of Palestine last November and who have since successfully defended the borders of their new state with their blood are now being asked to accept another partition of their small state. This penalizes Israel for having accepted partition and rewards the Arabs for having attempted by force of arms to upset the United Nations recommendation. We appeal to you to prevent the imposition of such iniquitous

terms on Israel and to stand by the pledged word of your administration and of the American government which accepted without reservation the November 29th decision and which my May 14th gave de facto recognition to the new State of Israel. "

Both political parties were persuaded to include planks in their 1948 platforms approving the claims of the State of Israel to the boundaries which had been set forth in the United Nations resolution.

The Republican National Convention, on June 23rd, 1948, adopted the following plank:

"We welcome Israel into the family of nations and take pride in the fact that the Republican party was the first to call for the establishment of a free and independent Jewish commonwealth. The vacillation of the Democratic Administration on this question has undermined the prestige of the United Nations. Subject to the letter and spirit of the United Nations Charter, we pledge to Israel full recognition, with its boundaries as sanctioned by the United Nations, and aid in developing its economy. "

The Democratic National Convention, on July 14th, adopted this plank:

"We pledge full recognition to the State of Israel. . . . We approve the claims of the State of Israel to the boundaries set forth in the United Nations resolution of November 29 and consider that modifications thereof should be made only if fully acceptable to the State of Israel. We look forward to the admission of the State of Israel to the United Nations and its full participation in the international community of nations.

"We pledge appropriate aid to the State of Israel in developing its economy and resources. We favor the revision of the arms embargo to accord to the State of Israel the right of self-defense. We pledge ourselves to work for the modification of any resolution of the United Nations to the extent that it may prevent any such revision. We continue to support, within the framework of the United Nations, the internationalization of Jerusalem and the protection of the holy places in Palestine."

After much arduous labor we succeeded, on the eve of the national elections, in obtaining a clear statement from both the political candidates in opposition to the Bernadotte plan and in favor of the territorial integrity of Israel. President Truman stated that he would not agree to any change of the United Nations November, 1947 decision that would not be acceptable to the State of Israel.

The Bernadotte plan was rejected by both the Arabs and the Israeli. The Negev was finally secured by the Israeli fighting forces.

BOOK II

Chapter DD, page 1 Insert

A dramatic episode at one of the sessions revealed an open rift between the President of the World Zionist Organization and the Chairman of its Executive. A speech by Dr. Weizmann at the conclusion of the general debate was taken as an expression of his disbelief in the possibility of attaining the objective of a Jewish State. Ben Gurion strode angrily to the platform and declared that in making his statement, Dr. Weizmann did not speak for the Jewish People.

Chapter DD, page 3 Insert

In contemplating the possibility that the issue might be presented to the United Nations I had thought of addressing ourselves not only to the Western democracies, but also to Moscow. I had intimated as much publicly and was roundly attacked in a part of the Jewish press for entertaining such a thought. Subsequent events proved me right.

Chapter FF, page 14 Insert

In subsequent proceedings the Soviet Delegation turned out to be firm and consistent supporters of the case for a Jewish State. No doubt they had their own motives but we had every reason to appreciate their help and steadfastness throughout the proceedings.

Chapter HH, page 32 Insert

There had been prolonged debate and a good deal of tension on the question of accepting or rejecting the last-minute proposal of the State Department

INSERTS

BOOK II

Chapter AA - page 3

Insert as 2nd paragraph: ^{HP} In the brief period of his association with the Emergency Council, Dr. Neumann initiated a number of significant activities including the organization of two highly important bodies: the American Palestine Committee and the Christian Council on Palestine. He engaged in diplomatic activity in Washington and also established the Commission on Palestine Surveys to make an engineering study of the Lowdermilk plan for a "Jordan Valley Authority." But he was acutely aware that Zionist public relations and political efforts were not being carried forward with the required scope, intensity and effectiveness. Deeply concerned over the grave inadequacies and the frustrating conditions prevailing in the Emergency Council, Dr. Neumann issued a public warning and resigned in February, 1943. His resignation helped to pave the way for a reappraisal and reorganization.

Chapter CC - page 14

^{HP} Shortly thereafter a group of loyal adherents organized themselves as the American Zionist Policy Committee to bring about my return to the leadership of the Council and to fight for a program "in which timidity, appeasement and backstairs 'diplomacy' would have no place." This fighting committee was headed by Abraham Goodman, a veteran Zionist, as chairman. Dr. Neumann was its guiding spirit and chief spokesman on public platforms. Shapiro and Manson were joined by two other staff members of the Emergency Council, Abraham Tuvia and Harry Steinberg. Together they assumed full executive direction of the work of the Zionist Policy Committee and its nationwide campaign of information on the vital issues involved in the controversy.

"We must, in every way, support the Yishuv in its struggle against the attempt of the Mandatory Government to liquidate the Jewish National Home. By maximum financial and moral support, we must strengthen the Yishuv's power of resistance. The Yishuv must, in the last analysis, decide for itself the form and the timing of its resistance to British lawlessness in Palestine. But, whatever their decision -- we will stand by them. We must insure, regardless of cost, continued Jewish immigration into Palestine."



terms, that is, to re-engage Mr. Montor. Dr. Neumann and I then resigned from the Executive of the Jewish Agency.

Most active in this unpleasant affair were the Poale Zion and their principles, the Mapai in Israel, and officials in the government of Israel.

It goes without saying that, upon my resignation, Dr. Nahum Goldmann was elected Chairman of the American Section of the Jewish Agency...

I continued as Chairman of the Zionist Emergency Council until September 1949, when I was asked to be relieved.

I had held that position for six years--the most crucial years of our Movement.



I attended the corner-stone laying ceremony of the agricultural school in Migdal Ashkelon which was established in my honor. Present at this gala occasion were Druses, including their Sheik, who had come all the way from Western Galilee to attend this function. This school has since expanded into many buildings and a beautiful campus and is known as Kfar Silver.

At a largely attended press conference, at the Press Club in Tel-Aviv, I was closely questioned about many things, especially about my resignation from the Zionist Executive concerning which there had been much commentary in the public press, a good deal from unfriendly sources. I told them quite frankly: "I did not resign, I was removed. As a result of unjustified intervention, I found myself in a situation where I could not effectively continue as Chairman of the American Section of the Jewish Agency. I was removed from my position by the tactics of those persons who now criticize me for my withdrawal. It was clear that they did not want me to continue in leadership. Why, then, are they complaining now?"

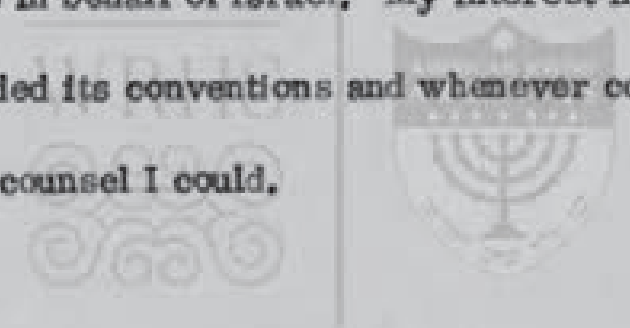
I returned to the United States and soon thereafter on June 24th, I left for South Africa to inaugurate the Fiftieth Anniversary celebration of the Jewish National Fund. The Jewish National Fund has always been the demilitarized zone in the camp of the Zionists, transcending all conflict and party strife. It was a successful tour.

the affairs of the other, but that both should work in friendly cooperation. I had resigned from the World Zionist Executive because of unwarranted interference from Jerusalem. In no instance had I attempted to dictate to, or interfere in the affairs of the Government of Israel.

I left before the Congress was over.

The political tussles and rivalries within the Movement were now too much for me. The State was established and I could not see the purpose of continually wrangling with fellow Zionists. I could find more helpful ways of serving the new state.

Thereafter, I declined every elective office in the Movement though I continued to be active in behalf of Israel. My interest in the Z. O. A., of course, never flagged. I attended its conventions and whenever consulted, I gave the organization whatever counsel I could.



I continued to address Zionist gatherings throughout the country. I participated in the campaigns of the United Jewish Appeal—and since 1956, I have served as the Chairman of the Board of Bonds for Israel, traveling extensively in its behalf. I served on the boards of the Hebrew University and the Technion and took an active part in its fund-raising efforts in the United States. Whatever was constructive in the life of the State remained close to my heart. I was available to the Embassy of Israel in Washington which, on numerous occasions, requested me to carry out some specific mission.



sentiments of the McCarran-Walters Immigration Bill. Both McCarran and Walters who had sponsored the Bill were Democrats and he did not know why he should be saddled with the responsibility for that Bill. He spoke of the deep interest which he took in the problem of the Jews in the concentration camps shortly after the invasion of Germany, of his visits to those camps, the manner in which he was welcomed by the Jews and the provisions which he made for their care.



our institutions of law, equality and justice. May it be given unto us to walk always in the dignity of free men, secure in our rights and faithful in the obligations of our prized citizenship.

"Make us all of one heart, O God, so that together as one people we may move forward unafraid to the tasks and challenges of the inscrutable years which lie ahead. Amen."

A few days later I received the following letter from President Eisenhower:

January 28, 1953

"Dear Rabbi Silver:

I want to take this opportunity to tell you that I am particularly grateful for the important contribution you made to the Inauguration ceremonies. In the years ahead the ceremony and your part in it will be a source of real and constant strength to me. I am deeply appreciative.

Sincerely,

DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER

an encouragement to violate its orders. Economic sanctions were applied to Israel which had not yet been ordered by the United Nations--while such sanctions had for several years not been applied by the United States in the case of Egypt or any other Arab state which had time and again defied the Security Council.

Jewish representatives called on Secretary Dulles and expressed the feelings of the American Jewish community on the withholding of economic aid to Israel. I telephoned Secretary Dulles several times about the matter. On October 25th I telegraphed Mr. Dulles and expressed the hope that he would do all that he could to correct the unfortunate impression which had been created by the announcement of the withholding of financial aid which, in my judgment, was a mistake from every point of view.

On Monday evening, October 26th, Secretary Dulles telephoned me from Washington. He said that he had been misunderstood at an earlier press conference; that he would like to discuss the entire matter with me and invited me to lunch with him at the State Department on October 28th.

At this luncheon we discussed the issue of the grant-in-aid and all the other issues which were up before the Security Council relative to Israel. I went into the matter in great detail--the hydro-electric plant, the matter of Kibya, the attitude of the State Department generally towards Israel since the new administration came into office and the importance of closer cooperation and a friendlier attitude.

by the President, myself and my associates, in the course of which we have also considered very carefully the views of Israel, as ably presented by their Ambassador here and also in Israel. I greatly hope that this move will open the way to the genuine peace in the area, which I know Israel wants and which I know is also the desire of the United States.

Knowing of your great interest in this matter, I am letting you know a bit in advance this background to our thinking and I hope that what we are doing will commend itself to you.

With best wishes, I am

Sincerely yours,

/s/ John Foster Dulles

P.S. If, as I anticipate, you get this letter prior to my making my statement, please keep its contents confidential.

/s/ JFD

To this letter I replied on September 2, 1955:

At the Madison Square Garden Meeting, I stated:

"In a way what has happened in recent weeks -- the opening of the Eastern Mediterranean to Soviet penetration -- is the result of our Government's mistaken Middle Eastern policy. We warned against it time and again but our objections were written off as coming from special pleaders. We did not see things, we were told, from the American point of view.

"But quite definitely we saw it from the American point of view, and the people who were responsible for the handling of the Near East interests of our Government in the State Department have been proven wrong clear



I planned a visit to Israel in March, 1956. In view of the tense situation, I thought that a letter which I would bring from President Eisenhower to the President of Israel would be reassuring. Accordingly, I requested such a letter from the President. His letter to President Itzhak Ben-Zvi reads:

March 15, 1956

"My dear Mr. Ben Zvi:

"Through my friend, Dr. Abba Hillel Silver, who is about to visit Israel, I should like to take the opportunity to convey my personal greetings on the occasion of the celebration of Passover, your historic festival, and on the eve of the eighth anniversary of the establishment of the State of Israel.

"I have followed with admiration the progress and development of your country. The American people wish your young state peace and prosperity.

"Permit me to assure you that the American Government, earnestly and in the friendliest of spirit, is exploring every avenue to bring about a satisfactory, peaceful solution of the problem which confronts Israel and its neighbors.

"We shall all need patience, mutual confidence and good-will to help us along the way.

Sincerely,

/s/ Dwight D. Eisenhower"

I presented it to President Ben-Zvi in his modest cabin at Sodom on the Dead Sea where he was spending the Passover holidays with the men in the potash works.

Prior to my return to the States, President Ben-Zvi gave me a letter to President Eisenhower:

During my visit to Israel in 1956, I also attended the dedication ceremonies of Kfar Silver on March 29th. On that occasion the Druse Sheik who had been present at the corner-stone laying in 1951, presented me with his abayah and cane and with his initialed watch as a token of friendship. Prime Minister Ben-Gurion was present, and actually startled me and the audience by addressing me as "the greatest American Zionist leader since Henrietta Szold"...

The meeting with President Eisenhower, which I had requested took place on April 26, 1956. Secretary Dulles was present. We spent about an hour together. Our main topic of conversation was the apprehension of our people due to the menacing arms situation.

Throughout the discussion I presented my arguments for permitting Israel to purchase a certain amount of defensive weapons--to restore the military balance--to act as a deterrent to present aggression--and to encourage the other Western powers to do likewise.

The arguments made by Dulles and the President hinged around the one central thought of theirs--that the United States is interested in bringing about a permanent peace settlement in that part of the world and that the

The problems of Israel were not the only ones which absorbed my interest. The American scene presented grave problems of its own.

In the Fall of 1957, the struggle over the desegregation of our schools, which had been ordered by the Supreme Court of the United States in 1955, reached one of its deplorable climaxes in the Little Rock episode when Governor Faubus of the State of Arkansas called out the National Guard to bar the admission of nine Negro students from entering Central High School. There were to be other such forceful resistances to the Court decision later on by the Governors of the States of Mississippi and Alabama, leading to violence and bloodshed.



I always confronted my people with this simple question: "How do you, yourselves, stand, for example, on the question of allowing a Negro family to settle in your neighborhood?" It is quite easy to love humanity in the abstract, but how about your next-door neighbor, who is not of your color or creed? When you talk of brotherhood, do you include everybody or only your own kind? How inclusive are you in your human sympathies? How much of snobbishness and status-seeking is left in your own make-up? If you are sincere in your devotion to human brotherhood, begin with yourselves! And then work with other men of good-will to make your voice heard in the councils of your community and your government. You must speak up and not be afraid. The greatest threat to the moral integrity of a man, especially of a man in comfortable circumstances, is his unwillingness to take sides in a controversial issue. Why should he invite criticism? Why should he not rather remain at ease in Zion? But this attitude of caution and complacency which is so common to men and to leaders of men is the besetting sin of our society, and in these revolutionary days it is a dangerous attitude.

I am not sure that the movement of passive resistance on the part of the American Negro to obtain his rights will succeed. Conditions in the United States are not identical with those which prevailed in Gandhi's India. But if it fails and the struggle enters other and far less desirable phases, the fault will not be with the Negro, who will never again accept conditions as they are, but with the white man who stubbornly denied him these elementary human rights and with the white man who preferred to remain detached and uninvolved in the struggle.

We owe it to ourselves to abandon these prejudices because as long as they are with us, we remain civilized barbarians. We owe it to our faith because it summons us all to equality before God. We owe it to our gracious land--a land of noble heritage and tradition, which, until recently, was the hope and pride of free men. We must not continue to defile its image in the sight of the world. America is our beloved home and we can make it a happy and beloved home for all our people.

Those who oppose freedom for all men ultimately forfeit their own.



In the year that I came to Cleveland, 1917, the Communist Revolution took place in Russia. Throughout the succeeding years of struggle between what has come to be known as the East and the West, I had to define my own position toward Communism in its manifold manifestations. No religious leader could or would wish to by-pass this major challenge of the twentieth century. The pulpit would have relegated itself to irrelevancy in the modern world if it had failed to give men guidance on this powerful new phenomenon which was shaking the very foundations of our society. Religion could not ignore it--for it was attacking all religion. Democracy and liberalism could not ignore it, for it was destroying them both wherever it could. It would have been a simple matter to engage in wholesale condemnation and so find oneself praised and applauded. But there were factors in the Communist revolution which the religious leader was obligated to consider, and spiritual elements which he could not ignore. As between the East and the West it was not altogether a case of black or white--the perfectly good system against the utterly evil one.

In 1917, when Bolshevism first swept into power in Russia, I delivered a sermon at The Temple on "Bolshevism--How to Meet It". My central thought was "Kill Bolshevism with justice, kill it with love". That was very naive, quite as naive as were the teachings of the founders of our faith when they confronted the evils of their own day. Since then I have visited Russia three times, in 1926, 1935 and 1961. I have spoken often in and out of my pulpit on what our attitude towards the Soviet Union should be.

I am convinced that we must learn to live on the same globe with the Soviet people and they with us. The Russians have adopted a way of life which is theirs. I would not choose it for myself or for America. It has stark and basic defects

study our adversary--at times even to learn from him--than to abuse him. We should go about our national business without emotional tautness, certainly without self-righteousness, in the full knowledge that while the worst can happen, in all likelihood it will not; doing what we feel we ought to do at the behest of our own national traditions and principles, helping where we can, seeking no political compensation in return, craving no praise and deterred by no threats, looking first to the soundness and justice of our own economy and the well-being of our people. No one will rob us of our chosen way of life, nor will time rust our spiritual treasures, if we cherish them lovingly.

Back in 1952 I wrote a letter to President-elect Eisenhower just before his inauguration.

December 26, 1952

"On the eve of the New Year, I should like to send you the greetings of the season and to wish you a year of health and well being. May the coming year be one of blessed new beginnings, under your inspired leadership, for our beloved country and for mankind.

"I read with deep interest of the overtures which have been made for diplomatic talks between you and Premier Stalin, and of the unwillingness of the Premier to discuss with you ways of ending the Cold War and easing world tension. I am confident that you will wish to give the most thoughtful consideration to such a proposal.

"Before the election you electrified the American people by stating that you were personally going to Korea to get a first-hand view of the situation there. Overwhelmingly the American people approved. I believe that they will similarly approve a decision on your part to get a first-hand view, in personal conference with the head of the Soviet Union, of the world situation which has deteriorated in recent years so dangerously, and to explore all avenues for improvement and for averting a world disaster. Such a conference may be--I do not say will be--the key which will open a new door of hope and promise for that peace and stability for which mankind has been so prayerfully yearning.

"You have been the great architect of our victory in war. I feel that destiny has summoned you to be the great architect of world peace. You were not afraid to take calculated risks to win victory in war. I am sure that you will not be afraid to take calculated risks to win victory for peace. Our friends throughout the world will be heartened in this dark hour of mounting confusion and despair, by a manifestation of forthright and courageous statesmanship on the part of the new President of the United States who, forever mindful of the need for making the free world secure,

nevertheless prepared to negotiate, in confidence and fulness of heart, for the settlement of those differences with the Soviet Union which will end conflict and which will enable both groups of peoples to live in peace in the same world.

"With warmest regards, I remain

Most cordially yours,

/s/ ABBA HILLEL SILVER"

I received a reply from President-elect Eisenhower on January 29, 1953:

"Thank you for your thoughtful letter of December 26th.

"I greatly appreciate your comments and assure you that they will receive careful consideration. As you know, I am vitally interested in doing everything possible to achieve enduring peace throughout the world."

Unfortunately very little was achieved in this direction during the ensuing years. The major effort which was made to end the Cold War and which to culminate in the Paris Summit Conference of 1960 ended, as is well known, in the tragic fiasco of the U2. President Kennedy's administration promised a fresh start in reducing communist-free world tension but was soon bogged down in the abortive of Cuba

Fortunately in 1963 new winds began to blow. The thaw set in. The United States and the Soviet Union after years of fruitless negotiations signed a limited nuclear test ban treaty--a first step to check the suicidal arms race. The United States also began to trade more freely with the communist bloc. This may be the forerunner of other contracts which may lead to better understanding and trust and to the lessening of tensions.

I also early favored our recognition of Red China. It would have been easier then than it is today and might have changed the entire course of subsequent events.

I was opposed to our military intervention in Korea. In my address entitled, "A Letter to Mr. Truman", which I delivered in the Temple pulpit on December 17, 1950 and which was reprinted in the Congressional Record, I stated my reasons.



On Sunday evening, July 14th, a Testimonial Dinner was given in my honor on the occasion of my seventieth birthday by the Zionist Organization of America in association with the World Confederation of General Zionists and the Liberal Party of Israel at the Sheraton Tel-Aviv Hotel.

David Ben-Gurion attended this function and spoke. His words coming from one with whom I had so often in the past crossed swords moved me deeply. He said:



that the State of Israel is the collective creation of the entire Jewish people, not only of the people now living, but of the Jewish people in all generations. And I assume that Abba Hillel Silver realizes as I do that this creation has not yet been completed, and that we still have a long road ahead, long and difficult, strewn with obstacles and danger before we can complete our work"...

In my response, I thanked Mr. Ben-Gurion for his gracious tribute.

I also told the assembled guests



Like a golden thread, the Zionist ideal has run through the pattern of my life. From my early, formative years, and throughout my professional career of nearly half a century as a Rabbi, my life has been one with the Zionist Movement. I occupied many high offices. I attended innumerable conventions, conferences and congresses. I campaigned in a hundred cities and addressed a thousand gatherings. I fought many battles and emerged often bloody but always unbowed. I was clobbered by many people who have honored me by their presence here this evening--and I clobbered them in turn. Irritations and frustrations there were plenty. I have made many friends and some enemies in the course of my Zionist career. But never did the glory of the Zionist ideal fail to sustain me, never did its glow fade from my heart. I was privileged to witness with my own eyes the consummation of our people's millennial dream, and to share in the great drama of its realization--what richer guerdon can one ask for?

EPILOGUE

- 1 -

Ever since the establishment of the State of Israel, I have frequently been asked, "What should be the future relationship between the Jews of America and the State of Israel?"

If history is any guide, the Jews of today who will continue to live in other lands will, by and large, maintain the same attitude towards the State of Israel as their forefathers did. There will be a most sympathetic relationship towards that land. They will materially help it to absorb as many Jews as will wish to go there or may have to go there. They will help to build up its cultural, scientific, and spiritual institutions, as well as its economic life so that it may become a land of which Jews everywhere can be proud. For the eyes of the world will be on the land of Israel to see what Jews, as a people, can accomplish on their own.

Israel will come again to be the non-political center of world Jewry. Pilgrims will go there as of old--and not merely the pious. There will be a free flow of manifold communications, of mutual stimulation, of give and take. Israel will again come to exercise a unifying and sustaining influence in Jewish life everywhere.

We shall remain one people, one historic community, as of old. But the Jews of Israel will be Israeli citizens and the Jews of the United States will be citizens of the United States, and similarly with Jews in other lands.

They will owe undivided allegiance to their respective countries and they will discharge loyally their full duties as citizens, as Jews have

always done. But they will retain a special attachment to the land of Israel which will in no way interfere with their duties and obligations as citizens of their respective countries.

It was Voltaire who once said that every cultured man should have two fatherlands--his own and France. In an even more profound sense, but equally non-political, it may be applied to the Jew and Israel. Israel will be the Sabbath in the life of our people when, according to a beautiful tradition, an additional soul is vouchsafed unto man.

Does the re-establishment of the State of Israel represent the consummation of Israel's hope? No.



The State of Israel is today a great and glorious fact. But greater than the State of Israel is the people of Israel, and greater than the people of Israel is the immortal vision and hope which sustained our people through the long centuries, which made of it a covenanted people, pledged to the ideal of Malchut Shamayim, the establishment of the Kingdom of God on earth.

The establishment of the State of Israel is not the final act in the drama of Israel. Our people is moving on, the Ark of the Covenant is moving on, in greater freedom now and in greater confidence along the broad highways of the world, to Acharit Hayamim, to the end of days, prefigured by our seers, "When they shall not hurt, nor destroy in all my holy mountain, and the earth shall be filled with the knowledge of God, as the waters cover the sea."



The profound meaning of Jewish history lies not in nationalism but in Judaism. The destiny of our people is linked with the progressive establishment of the good society on earth, in accordance with the ethical and spiritual principles of our prophetic religion. The Jewish community inside and outside of Israel has today, as in the past, the mandate and the privilege of carrying on this work.

The establishment of the State of Israel has in no way diminished this primary and continuing obligation of Jewish life. What has been tragically abnormal in Jewish experience through the centuries--national homelessness--has now been rectified. Upon surer foundations the world Jewish community of tomorrow will be able to build a more affirmative religious cultural life, and perhaps recapture its revolutionary religious leadership in the world which twice in the past remolded civilization.

The establishment of the State of Israel was an act of historic necessity for our people, but it does not represent the consummation of Jewish destiny. Our destiny is linked up with the establishment of the Kingdom of God on earth. Our ancient prophets preached this during the first and second commonwealths. Our prophets of tomorrow will preach it during the third commonwealth. Our people were the first in olden days to proclaim the unity of God and the unity

of mankind. We, their descendants, must be among the first in the battle for this spiritual vision of human life. We must inspire our youth with the mighty accents of their historic faith so that they will join with all men of good will in the courageous attack upon all that disfigures life and keeps man from his divine patrimony-- upon poverty, upon the economic insecurity of the masses, upon corruption and social privilege, upon the war machine and chauvinism, upon race arrogance and exploitation.

Translated into concrete terms, it means replenishing the spiritual and religious reservoirs of Jewish life--the synagogue, the religious school, the academies, the centers of Jewish learning and scholarship. For years now the Jewish communities of the world, other than those, of course, which were destroyed or ravaged by war and persecution, had to give priority to relief, physical rescue and the reconstruction of the State of Israel. Much of this work will have to continue into an unpredictable future. Certainly there still remains the urgent and compelling need for taking care of the hundreds of thousands of refugees who are seeking new homes.

But even while this work is going on, and certainly as the urgency and pressure of that work diminishes, as we hope it will with the years, our energies and our resources should increasingly be poured into the permanent and positive spiritual and cultural institutions and enterprises of Judaism. We must begin to think again in terms of the total picture of Jewish life. Millions of Jews will live

in Israel in the days to come; millions more will live outside of Israel.

It is the religion of Judaism which will unite them, not any political bonds.

Judaism in the past kept our people together as one religious fellowship although they were politically disparate. For the sake of Jews everywhere for the enrichment of their lives, for their effective contribution to the progress of the countries in which they are citizens, and for hastening the day of the Kingdom, it is imperative that we begin to pour again our creative thinking, our substance and our energies into the institutions of Jewish religious life.

For nearly half a century I have worked as a Rabbi with the American Jewish Community. What do I think about the future of this great community, and of the tasks which lie ahead?



"No one can foretell a people's future...no one can know whose hand will draw the threads of the future on the loom of time or what the pattern will be. Fifty years ago no one could have foreseen the practical disappearance of European Jewry. One hundred years ago no one could have foretold that in the U.S. there would arise the largest Jewish community in history. At best we can project our hopes on the basis of our present knowledge and draw reasonable inferences from perceptible trends. If one were to ask



It was about this time that a decision was reached by the Zionist bodies to invite me to become Chairman of the Executive Committee of the American Zionist Emergency Council. I accepted the invitation and for six years I occupied this key position in American Zionism.



Both political parties were persuaded to include planks in their 1948 platforms approving the claims of the State of Israel to the boundaries which had been set forth in the United Nations resolution.

The Republican National Convention, on June 23, 1948, adopted the following plank:

"We welcome Israel into the family of nations and take pride in the fact that the Republican party was the first to call for the establishment of a free and independent Jewish commonwealth. The vacillation of the Democratic Administration on this question has undermined the prestige of the United Nations. Subject to the letter and spirit of the United Nations Charter, we pledge to Israel full recognition, with its boundaries as sanctioned by the United Nations, and aid in developing its economy."

The Democratic National Convention, on July 14th, adopted this plank:

"We pledge full recognition to the State of Israel. . . . We approve the claims of the State of Israel to the boundaries set forth in the United Nations resolution of November 29 and consider that modifications thereof should be made only if fully acceptable to the State of Israel. We look forward to the admission of the State of Israel to the United Nations and its full participation in the international community of nations. We pledge appropriate aid to the State of Israel in developing its economy and resources. We favor the revision of the arms embargo to accord to the State of Israel the right of self-defense. We pledge ourselves to work for the modification of any resolution of the United Nations, to the extent that it may prevent any such revision. We continue to support, within the framework of the United Nations, the internationalization of Jerusalem and the protection of the holy places in Palestine."

Harold P. Manson, as Director of Information, was very active in organizing support for the resolutions. After much arduous labor we succeeded, on the eve of the national elections, in obtaining a clear statement from both the political candidates in opposition to the Bernadotte plan and in favor of the territorial integrity of Israel. President Truman stated that he would not agree to any change of the United Nations November, 1947 decision that would not be acceptable to the State of Israel.

The Bernadotte plan was rejected by both the Arabs and the Israeli. The Negev was finally secured by the Israeli fighting forces.



for peace and for international cooperation? I believe that in all these major trends, our age has given welcome evidence of great determination and considerable progress. It is moving purposefully in the right direction -- the abolition of war, the reduction of poverty, and the elimination of racial inequality. These are the three major trends of our century, and they are the major trends both in the East and the West, in the Communist as well as in the non-Communist world. What is tearing these worlds apart is a difference not of ideology or objective, but of method...

In the days to come there will be new horizons to challenge the adventuresome spirit of man. In science and industry, in invention and discovery, in the arts and the humanities, progress will be unlimited. We are far from having reached the ultimate stage in the evolution of mankind. The twentieth century is building a better and ampler world for man, and the twenty-first century will advance and improve upon it. There will be more of the good things of life for everyone. A society will emerge, I believe, which will be free from the dark heritage of the past, the age-old curse of poverty, misery and exploitation, of inequality, racialism, and intolerance.

And I believe, too, that it will be a great age for American Jewry if the catastrophe of war does not shatter its security and life. As a minority we are helpless against the ravages of hate and demagoguery, which war and economic depressions unleash.

But given peace and economic stability, the American Jewish community will move forward and develop. It will expand its cultural and religious life and institutions, and will make worthy contributions to the total life of America. The last three hundred years are warrant for it. Our beginnings were humble -- as were the beginnings of all peoples who came to these shores. Steadily through the years, and more rapidly in the last three-quarters of a century, our numbers increased and we shared eagerly and gratefully in the growing and evolving life of America. Our people became in outlook, in confidence, in hopefulness, true children of the New World,



- 2A -

As an American, a Jew and a Rabbi, I have been active for many years in support of the struggle of the Negro in the United States for equality before the law, for equal opportunity to earn a livelihood, for unsegregated schools, and for the same manner of respect which is the due of every citizen in a free society.

My position has been that the task confronting us is not a simple one and the strength of no one is equal to its complexity. It is not easy to make straight what has been crooked for so long and to make right a wrong which has been tolerated for so long, but I have been mindful of the admonition of our sages that ours is not the duty to complete the task but neither are we free to desist from it.

This applies to individuals, to nations, to generations.

But we must begin with ourselves. This is what I have stressed on all occasions. It is vital, as a first step, to outlaw by legislative action public practices which are discriminatory. Whatever conditions can be reached and corrected by law, should be done. But there are vast areas of human relationship which cannot be reached by law -- the inner disposition and attitudes of men. Here is where the individual must challenge himself. We must thoroughly house-clean our own minds and souls of racial prejudices and of attitudes which are unworthy of mature people. We must grow up to our full human stature. We must check on our own personal conduct before we point an accusing finger at our neighbor.

I always confronted my people with this simple question: "How do you, yourselves, stand, for example, on the question of allowing a Negro family to settle in your neighborhood?" It is quite easy to love humanity in the abstract, but how about your next-door neighbor, who is not of your color or creed? When you talk of brotherhood, do you include everybody or only your own kind? How inclusive are you in your human sympathies? How much of snobbishness and status-seeking is left in your own make-up? If you are sincere in your devotion to human brotherhood, begin with yourselves! And then work with other men of good-will to make your voice heard in the councils of your community and your government. You must speak up and not be afraid. The greatest threat to the moral integrity of a man, especially of a man in comfortable circumstances, is his unwillingness to take sides in a controversial issue. Why should he invite criticism? Why should he not rather remain at ease in Zion? But this attitude of caution and complacency which is so common to men and to leaders of men is the besetting sin of our society, and in these revolutionary days it is a dangerous attitude.

I am not sure that the movement of passive resistance on the part of the American Negro to obtain his rights will succeed. Conditions in the United States are not identical with those which prevailed in Gandhi's India. But if it fails and the struggle enters other and far less desirable phases, the fault will be not with the Negro, who will never again accept conditions as they are, but with the white man who preferred to remain detached and uninvolved in the struggle.

We owe it to ourselves to abandon these prejudices because as long as they are with us, we remain civilized barbarians. We owe it to our faith because it summons us all to equality before God. We owe it to our gracious land -- a land of noble heritage and tradition, which, until recently, was the hope and pride of free men. We must not continue to defile its image in the sight of the world. America is our beloved home and we can make it a happy and beloved home for all our people.

Those who resist freedom for all men ultimately forfeit their own.



With the establishment of the State and the fulfillment of the Zionist ideal, the question soon arose as to the future of the Zionist Emergency Council. Should it disband? Should the whole Zionist Movement wind up? And what ^{should} ~~shall~~ be the ^{future} ~~relationship~~ between the Jews of ^{Am} ~~Amer~~ica and the State of Israel?

To this last question I addressed myself when I spoke before the Fiftieth Biennial Assembly of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations held in Boston, November 14-17, 1948.

"If history is any guide, the Jews of today who will continue to live in other lands will, by and large, maintain the same attitude towards the State of Israel as their forefathers did. There will be a most sympathetic relationship towards that land. They will materially help ^{it} to absorb as many Jews as will wish to go there or may have to go there. They will help to build up its cultural, scientific, and spiritual institutions, as well as its economic life so that it may become a land of which Jews everywhere can be proud. For the eyes of the world will be on the land of Israel to see what Jews, as a people, can accomplish on their own.

Israel will come to be again the non-political center of world Jewry. Pilgrims will go there as of old -- and not merely the pious. There will be a free flow of manifold communications, of mutual stimulation, of give and take. Israel will again come to exercise a unifying and sustaining influence in Jewish

It need not duplicate their activities, but it can stimulate, guide and coordinate them. It took us many hard years of struggle to establish the ascendance of our ideas in the Jewish communities of this country. Let us not lose it now by default."

Not all Zionists agreed with this point of view. Foremost among those who adopted an opposite view-point was Prime Minister David Ben-Gurion. He felt that now that the State was established, there was no longer any need for a strong Zionist Movement. The Zionist Movement was the necessary scaffolding for the building of the State. Now that the State was built, the scaffolding was no longer needed. A Zionist is one who settles in Israel. All others may be friends of Israel but should not regard themselves as Zionists. This position, he maintained consistently and vocally through the years and in the capacity of Prime Minister of the State, did much, quite unintentionally, I ^{am} ~~am~~ sure, to undermine the World Zionist Movement. ~~After a time, his own party refused to go along with him on the position which he took.~~

(Quote Resolution)

When Mr. Ben-Gurion visited the United States in April, 1951, to launch the campaign for Bonds for Israel, he studiously avoided reference to Zionism and the Zionist Movement and on the eve of his departure, he addressed a Zionist meeting in New York in which he told the Zionists that they cannot speak for American Jewry as a whole, that there are non-Zionists who do not want the Zionist Movement to stand "as a wall between them and Israel", and that the Zionists should confine themselves in their work to education and Aliyah.

Thus, there existed, ~~therefore~~^a, sharp divergence^f in our points-of-view about the future role of the Zionist Movement. But there were also other more down-to-earth party considerations which led to ~~sharp~~ conflicts between Mr. Ben-Gurion and me.

Ben Gurion's party, the Mapai, wanted to control the government and determine its future political and economic policies, as indeed it has done ever since the establishment of the State. The Mapai's economic platform was socialistic, although not radical or inflexible. Through the years it has known how to make the necessary adjustments to conditions as they arose and it has invited and stimulated private investments and enterprises in the country.

But from the beginning it looked upon the party of the General Zionists in Israel as a most serious rival and competitor. The General Zionists' party

The General Party in Israel was a merger of two groups, one slightly to the left of the other, which agreed to unite in 1946.

I was a General Zionist and because of the prominence of the position which I occupied, I came to be regarded as an asset to the General Zionist Party in Israel, and correspondingly a threat to the political position of the Mapai. Had the Z.O.A. membership ^{been} largely ~~been~~ laborite instead of ~~predominately~~ "liberal centrist", all the difficulties and ~~disputes~~ ^{disputes} which were to follow would not have arisen.

Not long after the State was established, elections were held for a national ~~Constituent~~ assembly (The ~~Knesset~~) and as the date set for the election, January 25, 1949, approached, electioneering began in earnest and rapidly gained in intensity. The General Zionists in Israel quite naturally pointed to the political achievements of their friends in the United States. The Mapai, quite as naturally, found it necessary to disparage them... And so politics bedeviled our relationship ~~and~~ Ben-Gurion, as the official leader of the Mapai, and I, as the unofficial leader of General Zionism in America, thus drifted into discord and misunderstandings. Politically, in theory and method, we were not far apart. We were both known as maximalists, activists, and -- stubborn. I admired the very dynamic and courageous leadership which ^{Ben Gurion} ~~he~~ gave our Movement during the critical years of the founding of the state. In the hour of decision he remained firm. He did not waver in his convictions and he did not under-rate the determination of the Yishuv to fight for its national redemption. But he was

recriminations began to abate in 1952, when the General Zionists joined the government coalition in Israel, and especially after the election of President Eisenhower in the fall of 1952. This removed from the arsenal of criticism the argument which had frequently been employed against me that I was persona non grata at the White House. . . .

In the ~~days~~^{eyes} of the politically oriented ^{American} Zionists, a leader's position depended on whether he was persona grata at the White House. When President Truman was elected in 1948, my stock slumped. When Dwight Eisenhower was elected President in 1952, my stock rose again. Actually, my Zionist achievements under the Eisenhower administration, such as they were, were far less substantial than under the Truman administration, though personally my contacts with the Eisenhower administration were far more frequent and pleasant. Important national policies and decisions are simply not arrived at the "personality" way. . . . Furthermore, the attitude of the State Department under John Foster Dulles continued to be quite as uncertain toward Israel as it had been under Hall, Stettinius, Byrnes or ~~Marshall~~. At times it seemed to be definitely following a policy of Arab appeasement.

I sensed the cooling off towards me on the part of the friends of the Mapai in the United States -- the Poale Zion -- as early as 1946, when elections for the World Zionist Congress of that year were held. The Poale Zion had backed me up solidly right along and its spokesmen had praised and defended me. But

now Party leaders were silent. . . .

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After prolonged and fruitless debate on what was regarded as ultimate aims, on the differences between "Jews in Exile" and "Jews in the Diaspora", ~~and as to~~ whether all Jews the world over should ^{and whether there was any future for Jewish life in the Diaspora} would, or ~~not~~ ^{could} come to Israel, the so-called Jerusalem Program was finally shelved.

There was also considerable heated discussion as to the future relationship ^{between} of the Zionist Movement and the State of Israel. Here charges were hurled, especially by members of the Mapai that certain American Zionists (meaning me) had not yet reconciled themselves to the fact that there is ⁱⁿ ~~no~~ actual existence of a sovereign State of Israel and ^{who} were trying to interfere and to dictate to it. My position, of course, which I ^{had} often stated, was that neither should interfere in the affairs of the other, but that both should work in friendly cooperation. I had resigned from the World Zionist Executive because of unwarranted interference from Jerusalem. In no instance had I attempted to dictate to or interfere in the affairs of the Government of Israel.

men

The Congress Court denied them any seats
at the Congress although the Court itself did not
oppose the election procedure and penalized
the other parties ^{in Israel} by cutting down the number
of their delegates....



The Zionist Congress, which met in August, 1951, was a dishevelled and untidy affair. It had been repeatedly postponed. It was the first time that Congress met since the establishment of the State. One might have expected an exalted mood of achievement to dominate it and that it would devote itself to outlining a program of action for the future of the Movement. Instead of which, the bitter inter-party strife which had attended the elections for the Constituent Assembly (Knesset) in Israel in 1950, were reflected in the Congress where the largest single delegation was from Israel. Likewise, the sharp friction which had developed during the preceding three years between the Mapai group in Israel and the Zionist Organization of America ^{and my resignation were} ~~was~~ also in evidence. The Mizrachi and the General Zionists of Israel had ^{boycotted} ~~at first refrained from voting for delegates to~~ the Congress ^{elections} ~~alto-~~ together, because of irregularities in the electoral list. over

The acrid general debate with which the Congress opened soon reflected the party cleavages and the clash of personalities. The ^{American} General Zionists, who were greatly out-numbered ^{because of} ~~because of the votes which had been allotted to them, and~~ the strong Mapai-Hadassah ~~and~~ Poale Zion alignment became the target of attack, especially the Zionist Organization of America -- and more especially, myself.

Golda Meyerson (now Mair), speaking for the Mapai, delivered an especially ^{partisan but} vitriolic attack upon me -- which ^{outraged almost the entire press} ~~was so bad that even the labor-~~ paper, "Davar", apologized for it. ^{in Israel. Her arguments were,} in the main, those which Mr. Ben-Gurion, ^{her} ~~employed~~ ^{when} he addressed American Zionists in New York, in April, that year.

(over)

The ~~missionary~~ sent to
Mrs. Halpern was sent by the Executive to Florida
to ~~see~~ convey this compromise agreement to Mr.
Mayertham. Mr. Montor accompanied her on
this mission,....



It was none of the business of the Jewish Agency ^{I maintained} to designate the chairman of the campaign of the U. J. A. This was the function of the United Palestine Appeal. These three then proceeded to cable Jerusalem urging a special session of the entire Executive in New York City. The above three ^{also went} ~~went~~ without authorization and without notifying the Chairman, to Mr. Morgenthau and requested him to resume the chairmanship of the campaign for the coming year.

The Jerusalem Executive of the Jewish Agency came to the United States and after lengthy discussions, a compromise resolution was worked out under which there would be three directors, one representing the Joint Distribution Committee, another the United Palestine Appeal and a third who would be designated by Mr. Morgenthau. This would have made Mr. Montor one of the three directors. As a prior condition to his re-employment, however, he would be required to sign a letter of retraction of the charges which he had made and would refrain in the future from any and all controversial political activity related to Zionist funds and to any Zionist organization. The Committee of Contributors would discontinue all its activities and would dissolve immediately.

^(over) Mr. Morgenthau rejected the Agency's compromise proposal and demanded that Mr. Montor be given sole authority to run the United Jewish Appeal. The Executive then asked me to see Mr. Morgenthau personally in Florida in an effort to get him to agree to the compromise which had been worked out by the Executive. Mr. Morgenthau could not see me. Whereupon the Executive of the Agency reversed itself and yielded to Mr. Morgenthau's

Instead of planning the future activities of the Movement, the Congress became badly entangled in an ideological squabble over what came to be known as "the Jerusalem Program". The Israeli delegates, led by the Mapai, insisted that a rigid formula be accepted by the Movement to the effect that Zionism means the personal commitment of every Zionist to settle in Israel -- the Ben Gurion formula. ~~(Quote)~~.

This immediately was challenged by ~~the~~ delegates from America ^{and other countries.}. They resisted the attempt to foist such a formula on the Movement. I, myself, took ~~strong~~ exception to it. ~~(Quote)~~.

Of course, we all agreed that there was ~~a~~ need for immigration -- especially from the Western countries -- but to make this obligatory on every Zionist was to announce to the world that Zionists everywhere are not integrated citizens of their countries, that Israel is summoning them to renounce their citizenship.

add "A"
I left before the Congress was over. ~~it was the last Congress that I~~
~~attended.~~

The political tussles and rivalries within the Movement were now too much for me. The State was now established and I could not see the purpose of continually wrangling with Zionists. I could find more helpful ways of serving the new state.

Thereafter, I declined every elective office in the Movement. My interest in the Z. O. A., of course, never flagged. I attended its conventions and whenever consulted, I gave the organization whatever counsel I could.

There existed in the United States a core of opposition to the leadership of Dr. Neumann and to myself, ever since I took over ^{responsibility for} ~~the leadership of~~ our political work in the United States in 1943. In an earlier chapter I referred to this opposition in connection with the episode of the Palestine Resolutions in the Congress of the United States. When this opposition was defeated, it did not disappear. It simmered through the years, and now, as a result of the action which ^{was taken} ~~took place~~ at the General Council in Jerusalem, it gathered itself -- as the Committee for Progressive Zionism -- for another attack. This time the attack was aimed directly at the administration of Dr. Neumann, but indirectly against me.

The General Zionist Party in Israel had, early in 1948, split. A group which called itself "Progressive" seceded from the General Zionist Party and set itself up as an independent Party. From that moment on, those who did not follow this group of secessionists were branded as reactionaries. One needed a microscope to distinguish the precise differences between the "Progressive" Party and the General Zionist Party. A few years later, they were to unite again into one ~~party~~ and their competing subtle ideologies were forgotten.

During my visit to Israel in 1948, I ^{cautioned against} ~~explored~~ this split in the ranks of the General Zionists and called on the Progressives to return. At that time I did not support one group as against the other, and urged their re-unification. My advice was not taken. In the 1949 national elections, they presented two separate lists. When a coalition government was formed following the elections, the Progressives entered the coalition, the General Zionists did not.

~~The letters~~ 4A 3A
These are the letters which we exchanged.

October 14, 1952

General Dwight D. Eisenhower
President's House
Columbia University
New York, New York

My dear General:

It is with keen interest that I have followed your campaign throughout the nation and your forthright discussion of the issues which confront the American people.

I was at the Republican Convention in Chicago, and was greatly pleased, because of my close association with the cause, at the inclusion in the Party platform of a clause on the State of Israel, which reads

"The Republican Party has consistently advocated a national home for the Jewish people since a Republican Congress declared its support of that objective thirty years ago. In providing a sanctuary for Jewish people rendered homeless by persecution, the State of Israel appeals to our deepest humanitarian instincts. We shall continue our friendly interest in this constructive and inspiring undertaking. We shall put our influence at the service of peace between Israel and the Arab states and we shall cooperate to bring economic and social stability to that area."

I do not recall that you have had an occasion during your campaign fully to define in public your personal views on this subject which is so vital to the peace and progress of the Middle East and to the defense of our free world. I know that many of your friends and admirers would be eager and grateful for such a statement.

With all good wishes, I remain

Very cordially yours,

Signed/ Abba Hillel Silver

"The statements on Israel which have been issued by both candidates for the Presidency of the United States served to strengthen the conviction that the friendship between America and Israel will become even closer and stronger in the months and years to come. Our country's support for Israel has always been bi-partisan in character and the declarations which were made during the past week by General Eisenhower and Governor Stevenson have provided a striking evidence that this bi-partisan policy will be continued in the future. There is clearly no difference of opinion between the Republican and Democratic Parties on the question of friendship and assistance for Israel."

General Eisenhower was elected President. On November 18th, he wrote me a letter in which he said: "I deeply appreciate your fine support during the recent campaign and I look forward to seeing you again soon." Governor Dewey wrote: "You made a wonderful contribution to this tremendous result and I know it must give you the deepest personal gratification." John Foster Dulles wrote on November 26th: "You have always been a good friend who has stood by me in hours of trouble."

On December 11th I received a letter from Senator Stiles Bridges stating that the President-elect, Dwight D. Eisenhower, has requested

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- 1 -

At a meeting of ^{Jan} on January 24, 1951, Ambassador

Eban asked me to come down to Washington. He laid before me the ~~question~~ ^{matter} of ~~the~~ 'grant-in-aid' by the American government and solicited my help in connection with the introduction of ~~the~~ ^a bill in Congress. I saw Senator Taft in his office. I discussed with him American grant-in-aid for Israel. He said that he would be very happy to help, that he would be prepared to sponsor such a bill on a non-partisan basis. A week later I received a letter from Ambassador Eban in which he stated: "I was greatly heartened to hear the outcome of your visit here last week. I am convinced that this has taken us
I
a very long stride forward and ask you to accept this expression of warmest appreciation."

Early in February, I received the first draft of the bill and I suggested certain changes in it. The second draft was then submitted to me. On February 28th I spoke with Senator Taft by long distance ~~in Washington~~. He informed me that he was meeting the next day with Senator Douglas to agree on the final wording. In June Ambassador Eban telephoned me again requesting that I come to Washington again in connection with the Grant-in-aid Bill. I did. ~~They~~ ^{He} requested me to see Senator Taft that morning. The Senator indicated that he would continue to press for his resolution as an authorization resolution when the President's Omnibus Bill for military and civilian aid came up before the Foreign Relations Committee.

Note: Find out what was the fate of this Grant-in-aid Bill.

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/A'

Israel received grant-in-aid from the United States -- fourteen million dollars in 1951, eighty-four million dollars in 1952, and varying amounts thereafter until .



to address myself is, can we think hopefully of the next century as Jews, as Americans, as members of the human family -- for they are all inter-related. I believe that we can. I believe that we have every right to do so, though we cannot be dogmatic about it; for progress is neither guaranteed nor automatic; nor can we ignore the fact that time and again the unforeseen and unpredictable in history have upset all man's careful calculations.

"I believe that the age in which we live is a great age and that we are moving towards an even greater age. I believe that our present age is one of the greatest in human history. We are too near our times properly to appraise them. One requires distance in order to see great objects in their proper perspective. We ourselves are too much involved in the turmoil and the conflicts of our day to see objectively the amazing new pattern of life which is emerging.

"Many people are quick to describe our age as materialistic, as lacking in idealism, in aim and purpose, an age of breakdown and disintegration.

"In characterizing our age as great, I am thinking in terms of social progress and welfare, in terms of human advancement and civilization. More is being done in our day for the improvement of the conditions of the common man, for the raising of his standard of living, his health, his education, and for his protection against the disabilities of sickness, unemployment and old age, than in any generation, than any five generations in the past. Never were more determined efforts made to bring about a fairer sharing of the wealth that is produced and a better way of life for all.

"Never have the submerged races and peoples of the earth risen as they have risen in our day to demand and to achieve, as they have to a large measure achieved, freedom and self-determination. ~~Within the last eight years one-fourth of the earth's population -- more than five hundred million non-self-governing people -- have obtained their political freedom.~~ Imperialism and colonialism are in their death-throes. Backward peoples are pressing forward into the light of a new day, and the exploitation of the dark races of the earth is rapidly drawing to a close.

'What we are witnessing in our day, if we have eyes not only to see things, but also to see into the heart of things, is not social disintegration, but a radical new reintegration of humanity, a profound change in the social evolution of man, a change not free, of course, from dangers -- for there is no progress without danger -- but one of boundless and immeasurable potentialities.

'I do not wish to overdraw the picture. I am not suggesting that our age is approaching idyllic perfection, or that the millenium is just around the corner.

'The important thing to consider is not whether we are on the eve of the millenium, but whether the major trends of our age are in the direction of the hoped-for good society, or away from it. Is our age trying to eradicate poverty and illiteracy and to raise the standard of living of people, regardless of race or color or creed? Is it trying to satisfy the legitimate aspirations of peoples to national freedom and independence? Is it trying to organize the world

- 2 -

The meeting with the President took place on April 26, 1956.

Secretary Culles was present. We spent about an hour together. Our main topic of conversation was the apprehension of our people due to the menacing arms retraction:

"

August 24, 1955

My dear Rabbi Silver:

I am planning to make a statement in New York on Friday at 5:30 p.m. dealing with the Israel Arab problem and suggesting possible bases for bringing about a genuine peace in the area. In this statement, I indicate that the President is prepared to recommend a substantial contribution to such a settlement, namely:

1. Subscription to an international loan to enable Israel to discharge its obligation to the refugees which in turn will help them to get resettled;
2. United States contribution to water projects which will develop more arable land which will aid in resettlement;
3. Good offices, if desired, to assist in making the frontier adjustments needed to convert the present armistice lines into permanent boundary lines;
4. United States participation in an international treaty guarantee, preferably sponsored by the United Nations, of the resultant boundary lines.

I feel that if this program were carried through, there would be no great difficulty in settling the remaining problems such as the question of transit through the Suez Canal, and determining the status of Jerusalem.

Probably the principal obstacle in the way of solution is the boundary matter, where the Egyptians seek a substantial part of the Negeb so as to have common boundaries with Jordan and Saudi Arabia, but where the Israelis also want continuous access to the port of Aqaba. I feel, however, that these conflicting claims can be reconciled, and indeed that some reconciliation is in the long run inevitable. This statement comes out of very long and careful thought given the matter

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- 1 -

But apart from its own merits, the very announcement of such contemplated action on the part of our government would help to convince the Arabs that they have nothing to gain in persisting in their present attitude and that it would be more advantageous to all concerned to accept those benefits which would flow from negotiated agreements on all outstanding issues.

I am very eager to be helpful in urging reasonableness and a spirit of give-and-take on the part of those who may be influenced by my voice in Israel. Of one thing, however, I am quite certain -- prior to negotiations, Israel will not make concessions with respect to the unresolved issues.

I will watch with keen interest the reaction of the Arab governments to your statement.

With warmest regards, and hoping that you will have a pleasant and restful vacation, of which I am sure you stand greatly in need, I remain

Most cordially yours,

ABBA HILLEL SILVER

As if in reply to Secretary Dulles' friendly proposals to bring about peace, the Egyptian government, on September 27, 1955, obtained huge shipments of arms ^{planes, bombers and submarines} from Czechoslovakia of such magnitude ^{as} to create a dangerous imbalance in the Near East, ~~and~~ seriously threatening the security of Israel. There were, of course, ~~serious~~ ^{to this} repercussions in Israel and in the Jewish world. On November 9, President Eisenhower appealed to the Soviet Union to stop the arms race in the Middle East and declared that the United States would consider the request for arms which were needed for legitimate self-defense. On November 16th, Israel formally applied to

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~~Letter sent to President Dwight D. Eisenhower
The White House
Washington, D.C. by Izhak Ben-Zvi, President of the
State of Israel.~~

- Date 2.

Dear Mr. President,

I thank you for the warm personal greetings which you sent me through our good friend Dr. Silver on the occasion of the Passover Festival and on the eve of the eighth anniversary of the establishment of our State. I am deeply grateful for this expression of your friendship for Israel and your kind words of appreciation of its progress and development. The people who dwell in Zion and the whole House of Israel will always remember your historic role as Supreme Commander of the Allied Forces in Europe during the Second World War and the inspired efforts you made in succouring the surviving remnants of the Jewish people. We trust that the deep human sympathy you then evinced for a suffering people will stand us in good stead in our present difficult position.

I am writing you this letter at a grave moment in the life of our young State. It came into being as a result of an effort of economic, social and spiritual reconstruction which goes back three generations. Its emergence received the support of an overwhelming majority of the United Nations, who were resolved that the Jewish people should be given the security of a free national life in the ancient land of their fathers and not again be exposed to the dangers

The position of our government on the Sinai-Suez action was wrong-headed in the extreme as subsequent developments showed. It alienated its strongest Western allies, England and France, and weakened their position and influence in the Arab world without improving its own. Far from preventing the Soviet Union from becoming an influential factor in the Middle East, it actually enabled it to become a serious competitive power in a part of the world where it had heretofore exercised little influence. And it contributed nothing toward the pacification of that area or its stability.

But it was of utmost importance to make sure that Israel would not be made the scape-goat in this internal crisis which had suddenly flared up, and ^{which} dangerously divided the free nations of the Western world.

The long and involved story of what followed the presentation of the ^{fe} issue by the American government to the General Assembly on November first, need not be ^{repeated here} ~~repeated here~~. Israel was not covetous of the territory which it had conquered in the Sinai Peninsula but was determined to make sure that in the future its right of transit through the Suez Canal ^{would} ~~could~~ be safeguarded, ^{as well as} ~~and~~ unobstructed transit from the port of Elath through the Gulf of Aqaba, and that Egypt would be forbidden to maintain ~~Red~~ ^{Red} ~~yeen~~ ^{yeen} bases in Sinai. ^{Israel's} ~~its~~ compliance with the United Nations resolution ^{to} ~~to~~ withdraw all forces behind the armistice line of 1949 was, therefore, slow and contingent upon obtaining the above assurances which were not ^{all} ~~not~~ forthcoming.

- 1 -

In 1956, my book, "Where Judaism Differed", was published. It was ^{and dwelt on the great insight Judaism has to offer} an inquiry into the distinctiveness of Judaism. It was well received and in a short time six printings of it were issued. A Hebrew translation of the book appeared in Israel in 1961.

In 1961, my book, "Moses and the Original Torah", was published. ^{It, too, dwelt on what I regard as the original Torah} It, too, was issued by the Macmillan Company. The subject of this study was the original Torah of Moses to which the prophets of later times frequently referred, where it is to be found, and how it fared in pre-exilic times among the two peoples of Northern Israel and Southern Judah. Because of its radical approach, it aroused considerable controversy, both in traditional circles and among students of Higher Biblical criticism.

Having been relieved of political office and its exacting demands and preoccupations, I found more time for books and study, and I was grateful for it.

In the Fall of 1957, the struggle over the desegregation of our schools, which had been ordered by the Supreme Court of the United States in 1955, reached one of its deplorable climaxes in the Little Rock episode when Governor Faubus of the State of Arkansas called out the National Guard to bar the admission of ^{nine} ~~two~~ Negro students from entering Central High School. There were to be other such forceful resistances to the Court decision later on by the Governor ^{of} the States of Mississippi and Alabama, leading to violence and bloodshed.

add to Part I p. 47

In my response I said in part:

"I have attended many memorable gatherings in my life, some of them arranged in my honor, but the remembrance of this evening which is attended by so many friends, from America and Israel, graced by the presence of so many eminent men in public life, by His Excellency, the Ambassador of the United States, by the former Prime Minister of Israel, who has given his name to an heroic age ^{in our history} which will forever be known as the Age of David Ben-Gurion, by the Chairman of the Jewish Agency, members of the Keneset and the heads of so many cultural and educational institutions in Israel, will remain with me for as long as I live.

I am deeply honored that presiding on this occasion is Dr. Emanuel Neumann, the friend of my youth, who worked side by side with me through the years, giving our Movement superb leadership, guidance and the wealth of his heart and mind.

I find that I have so much to be grateful for as I look back over the years. I have received gifts richer than I deserve. Providence favored me with wonderful parents to whom a loaf was even more precious than a loaf of bread, whose quiet courage, piety, and idealism were both sun and shield to me throughout my days. Later in life, I was again the recipient of the blessing of a beloved wife, children and grandchildren, and I was privileged to live in a free and gracious land. ~~It is no achievement to get to be seventy. You live long enough and, before you know it, you are seventy!~~

in its plenitude it is still unfulfilled. The State of Israel is today a great and glorious fact. It will be even greater and more glorious tomorrow. But greater than the State of Israel is the people of Israel, and greater than the people of Israel is the immortal vision and hope which sustained our people through the long centuries, which made of it a covenanted people, pledged to the ideal of Malchut Shamayim, the establishment of the Kingdom of God on earth.

Zionism, as the pledge of affirmative Jewish living in the spirit of our deathless prophetic tradition, can help us all, both in Israel and in the Diaspora, to work together for the coming of the next great age, the distant, the ultimate age, the Messianic Age, when justice, ~~and~~ peace and freedom will be established on earth, when "²Each man will live under his vine and under his fig tree with none to make him afraid".

The establishment of the State of Israel is not the final act in the ^drama of the people of Israel. Our people is moving on, the ~~Ark~~ of the Covenant is moving on, in greater freedom now and in greater confidence along the broad highways of the world, to Achrit Hayamim, to the End of Days, prefigured by our seers, "³When they shall not hurt, nor destroy in all ~~My~~ holy mountain, and the earth shall be filled with the knowledge of Gcd, as the waters cover the sea".

And so at seventy, dear friends, my days of apprenticeship are about over. At seventy, the emotional chemistry of a man is such that his boiling-point is somewhat higher and his freezing-point somewhat lower. Otherwise, he need not lose his zest for the glorious adventure of life, or cease to be the willing captive of an imperishable dream, even though he now knows that you cannot take heaven by storm.

At the end of each of the twenty-four books of our holy Bible, one word is printed in large type - ^{"Chazak"} "Be strong!" That, you will agree with me, is excellent advice for any man as he concludes one volume and turns to the next one in his book of life.

The very first thing that the good Lord said to Abraham, who was destined to become the founder of our faith, and the ancestor of our race, was: "Keep on going". Abraham was seventy years old when he received that divine command. He was not told exactly where he should go -- simply, "Move on to the land which I will show you". I suppose that this is a good command to follow at any stage of one's life. In trust and faith to keep on going, confident that the true way will be shown by Him who is the light of the world. And this, my friends is exactly what I intend to do.

of mankind. We, their descendants, must be among the first ~~today~~ in the battle for this spiritual vision of human life. We must inspire our ^{youth} ~~people~~ with the mighty accents of their historic faith to join with all men of good will in the courageous attack upon all that disfigures life today and keeps man from his divine patrimony -- upon poverty, upon the economic insecurity of the masses, upon corruption and social privilege, upon the war machine and chauvinism, upon race arrogance and exploitation.

Translated into concrete terms, it means replenishing the spiritual and religious reservoirs of Jewish life -- the synagogue, the religious school, the academies, the centers of Jewish learning and scholarship. For years now the Jewish communities of the world, other than those, of course, which were destroyed or ravaged by war and persecution, had to give priority to ~~works of~~ relief, physical rescue and the reconstruction of the State of Israel. Much of this work will have to continue into an unpredictable future. Certainly there still remains the urgent and compelling need for taking care of the hundreds of thousands of refugees who are seeking ^{new} ~~home~~ ~~in Israel~~.

But even while this work is going on, and certainly as the urgency and pressure of that work diminishes, as we hope it will with the years, ~~increasingly~~ ^{increasingly} our energies and our resources should be poured into the permanent and positive spiritual and cultural institutions and enterprises of Judaism. We must begin to think again in terms of the total picture of Jewish life, ~~both geographically and historically~~. Millions of Jews will live

in Israel in the days to come; millions more will live outside of Israel.

It is the religion of Judaism which will united them, not any political bonds.

^{in the past}
Judaism kept our people inside and outside of Palestine together as one religious fellowship ~~in the past~~ although they were politically ~~unrelated~~ ^{distinct}.

For the sake of ~~the~~ Jews ^{everywhere} ~~the world over~~! for the enrichment of their ~~own~~ lives, ~~and~~ for their effective contribution to the progress of the countries in which they are citizens, and for hastening the day of the King dom, it is imperative that we begin to pour again our creative thinking, our substance and our energies into the institutions of Jewish religious life.

The ~~five millions~~ Jews of the United States owe^e it to themselves, to their children and to this great and beloved country of which they are proud and loyal citizens to make Judaism as beautiful, meaningful and dynamic as possible in their lives and in the total life of America, ~~democracy~~.

With the establishment of the State and the fulfillment of the Zionist ideal, the question soon arose as to the future of the Zionist Emergency Council. Should it disband? Should the whole Zionist Movement wind up? And what ^{should} ^{future} ~~shall~~ be the relationship between the Jews of ^{the} ~~A~~ ^{me} America and the State of Israel?

To this last question I addressed myself when I spoke before the Fiftieth Biennial Assembly of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations held in Boston, November 14-17, 1948.

"If history is any guide, the Jews of today who will continue to live in other lands will, by and large, maintain the same attitude towards the State of Israel as their forefathers did. Theirs will be a most sympathetic relationship towards that land. They will materially help to absorb as many Jews as will wish to go there or may have to go there. They will help to build up its cultural, scientific, and spiritual institutions, as well as its economic life so that it may become a land of which Jews everywhere can be proud. For the eyes of the world will be on the land of Israel to see what Jews, as a people, can accomplish on their own.

Israel will come to be again the non-political center of world Jewry. Pilgrims will go there as of old -- and not merely the pious. There will be a free flow of manifold communications, of mutual stimulation, of give and take. Israel will again come to exercise a unifying and sustaining influence in Jewish

It need not duplicate their activities, but it can stimulate, guide and coordinate them. It took us many hard years of struggle to establish the ascendance of our ideas in the Jewish communities of this country. Let us not lose it now by default."

Not all Zionists agreed with this point of view. Foremost among those who adopted an opposite view-point was Prime Minister David Ben-Gurion. He felt that now that the State was established, there was no longer any need for a strong Zionist Movement. The Zionist Movement was the necessary scaffolding for the building of the State. Now that the State was built, the scaffolding was no longer needed. A Zionist is one who settles in Israel. All others may be friends of Israel but should not regard themselves as Zionists. This position, he maintained consistently and vocally through the years and in the capacity of Prime Minister of the State, did much, quite unintentionally, ^{and} I ~~am~~ sure, to undermine the World Zionist Movement. After a time, his own party refused to go along with him on the position which he took.

(Quote Resolution)

When Mr. Ben-Gurion visited the United States in April, 1951, to launch the campaign for Bonds for Israel, he studiously avoided reference to Zionism and the Zionist Movement and on the eve of his departure, he addressed a Zionist meeting in New York in which he told the Zionists that they cannot speak for American Jewry as a whole, that there are non-Zionists who do not want the Zionist Movement to stand "as a wall between them and Israel", and that the Zionists should confine themselves in their work to education and Aliyah.

Thus, there existed, ~~therefore~~^{and}, sharp divergence~~d~~ in our points-of-view about the future role of the Zionist Movement. But there were also other more down-to-earth party considerations which led to ~~sharp~~ conflicts between Mr. Ben-Gurion and me.

Ben Gurion's party, the Mapai, wanted to control the government and determine its future political and economic policies, as indeed it has done ever since the establishment of the State. The Mapai's economic platform was socialistic, although not radical or inflexible. Through the years it has known how to make the necessary adjustments to conditions as they arose and it has invited and stimulated private investments and enterprises in the country.

But from the beginning it looked upon the party of the General Zionists in Israel as a most serious rival and competitor. The General Zionists' party

The General Party in Israel was a merger of two groups, one slightly to the left of the other, which agreed to unite in 1946.

I was a General Zionist and because of the prominence of the position which I occupied, I came to be regarded as an asset to the General Zionist Party in Israel, and correspondingly a threat to the political position of the Mapai. Had the Z.O.A. membership ^{been} largely ~~been~~ laborite instead of ~~predominately~~ "liberal centrist", all the difficulties and ~~disputes~~ ^{disputes} which were to follow would not have arisen.

Not long after the State was established, elections were held for a national ~~Constitutional~~ assembly (The ~~Knesset~~) and as the date set for the election, January 25, 1949, approached, electioneering began in earnest and rapidly gained in intensity. The General Zionists in Israel quite naturally pointed to the political achievements of their friends in the United States. The Mapai, quite as naturally, found it necessary to disparage them... And so politics bedeviled our relationship, and Ben-Gurion, as the official leader of the Mapai, and I, as the unofficial leader of General Zionism in America, thus drifted into discord and misunderstandings. Politically, in theory and method, we were not far apart. We were both known as maximalists, activists, and -- stubborn. I admired the very dynamic and courageous leadership which ^{Ben-Gurion} ~~he~~ gave our Movement during the critical years of the founding of the state. In the hour of decision he remained firm. He did not waver in his convictions and he did not under-rate the determination of the Yishuv to fight for its national redemption. But he was

recriminations began to abate in 1952, when the General Zionists joined the government coalition in Israel, and especially after the election of President Eisenhower in the fall of 1952. This removed from the arsenal of criticism the argument which had frequently been employed against me that I was persona non grata at the White House. . . .

In the ^{early} ~~days~~ of the politically oriented ^{American} Zionists, a leader's position depended on whether he was persona grata at the White House. When President Truman was elected in 1948, my stock slumped. When Dwight Eisenhower was elected President in 1952, my stock rose again. Actually, my Zionist achievements under the Eisenhower administration, such as they were, were far less substantial than under the Truman administration, though personally my contacts with the Eisenhower administration were far more frequent and pleasant. Important national policies and decisions are simply not arrived at the "personality" way. . . . Furthermore, the attitude of the State Department under John Foster Dulles continued to be quite as uncertain toward Israel as it had been under Hull, Stettinius, Byrnes or Marshall. At times it seemed to be definitely following a policy of Arab appeasement.

I sensed the cooling off towards me on the part of the friends of the Mapai in the United States -- the Poale Zion -- as early as 1946, when elections for the World Zionist Congress of that year were held. The Poale Zion had backed me up solidly right along and its spokesmen had praised and defended me. But

now I felt I was being deserted by my friends.

There existed in the United States a core of opposition to the leadership of Dr. Neumann and to myself, ever since I took over ^{responsibility for} ~~the leadership of~~ our political work in the United States in 1943. In an earlier chapter I referred to this opposition in connection with the episode of the Palestine Resolutions in the Congress of the United States. When this opposition was defeated, it did not disappear. It simmered through the years, and now, as a result of the action which ^{was taken} ~~took place~~ at the General Council in Jerusalem, it gathered itself -- as the Committee for Progressive Zionism -- for another attack. This time the attack was aimed directly at the administration of Dr. Neumann, but indirectly against me.

The General Zionist Party in Israel had, early in 1948, split. A group which called itself "Progressive" seceded from the General Zionist Party and set itself up as an independent Party. From that moment on, those who did not follow this group of secessionists were branded as reactionaries. One needed a microscope to distinguish the precise differences between the "Progressive" Party and the General Zionist Party. A few years later, they were to unite again into one Party and their competing subtle ideologies were forgotten.

During my visit to Israel in 1948, I ^{cautioned against} ~~deplored~~ this split in the ranks of the General Zionists and called on the Progressives to return. At that time I did not support one group as against the other, and urged their re-unification. My advice was not taken. In the 1949 national elections, they presented two separate lists. When a coalition government was formed following the elections, the Progressives entered the coalition, the General Zionists did not.

It was none of the business of the Jewish Agency to designate the chairman of the campaign of the U. J. A. This was the function of the United Palestine Appeal. These three then proceeded to cable Jerusalem urging a special session of the entire Executive in New York City. The above three ^{also} ~~went~~ ^{also went} without authorization and without notifying the Chairman, to Mr. Morgenthau and requested him to resume the chairmanship of the campaign for the coming year.

The Jerusalem Executive of the Jewish Agency came to the United States and after lengthy discussions, a compromise resolution was worked out under which there would be three directors, one representing the Joint Distribution Committee, another the United Palestine Appeal and a third who would be designated by Mr. Morgenthau. This would have made Mr. Montor one of the three directors. As a prior condition to his re-employment, however, he would be required to sign a letter of retraction of the charges which he had made and would refrain in the future from any and all controversial political activity related to Zionist funds and to any Zionist organization. The Committee of Contributors would discontinue all ~~its~~ activities and would dissolve immediately.

Mr. Morgenthau rejected the Agency's compromise proposal and demanded that Mr. Montor be given sole authority to run the United Jewish Appeal. The Executive then asked me to see Mr. Morgenthau personally in Florida in an effort to get him to agree to the compromise which had been worked out by the Executive. Mr. Morgenthau could not see me. Whereupon the Executive of the Agency reversed itself and yielded to Mr. Morgenthau's

The Zionist Congress, which met in August, 1951, was a dishevelled and untidy affair. It had been repeatedly postponed. It was the first time that Congress met since the establishment of the State. One might have expected an exalted mood of achievement to dominate it and that it would devote itself to outlining a program of action for the future of the Movement. Instead of which, the bitter inter-party strife which had attended the elections for the Constituent Assembly (Knesset) in Israel in 1950, were reflected in the Congress where the largest single delegation was from Israel. Likewise, the sharp friction which had developed during the preceding three years between the Mapai group in Israel and the Zionist Organization of America was also in evidence. The Mizrachi and the General Zionists of Israel had at first refrained from voting for delegates to the Congress altogether, because of irregularities in the electoral list.

The acrid general debate with which the Congress opened soon reflected the party cleavages and the clash of personalities. The General Zionists, who were greatly out-numbered because of the votes which had been allotted to them, and the strong Mapai-Hadassah and Poale Zion alignment became the target of attack, especially the Zionist Organization of America -- and more especially, myself.

Golda Meyerson (now Mair), speaking for the Mapai, delivered an especially vitriolic attack upon me -- which was so bad that even the labor paper, "Davar", apologized for it.

Instead of planning the future activities of the Movement, the Congress became badly entangled in an ideological squabble over what came to be known as "the Jerusalem Program". The Israeli delegates, led by the Mapai, insisted that a rigid formula be accepted by the Movement to the effect that Zionism means the personal commitment of every Zionist to settle in Israel -- the Ben Gurion formula. (Quote).

This immediately was challenged by the delegates from America. They resisted the attempt to foist such a formula on the Movement. I, myself, took violent exception to it. (Quote).

Of course, we all agreed that there was no need for immigration -- especially from the Western countries -- but to make this obligatory on every Zionist was to announce to the world that Zionists everywhere are not integrated citizens of their countries, that Israel is summoning them to renounce their citizenship.

I left before the Congress was over. It was the last Congress that I attended.

The political tussles and rivalries within the Movement were now too much for me. The State was now established and I could not see the purpose of continually wrangling with Zionists. I could find more helpful ways of serving the new state.

Thereafter, I declined every elective office in the Movement. My interest in the Z. O. A., of course, never flagged. I attended its conventions and whenever consulted, I gave the organization whatever counsel I could.

~~The letter~~
These are the letters which we exchanged.

October 14, 1952

General Dwight D. Eisenhower
President's House
Columbia University
New York, New York

My dear General:

It is with keen interest that I have followed your campaign throughout the nation and your forthright discussion of the issues which confront the American people.

I was at the Republican Convention in Chicago, and was greatly pleased, because of my close association with the cause, at the inclusion in the Party platform of a clause on the State of Israel, which reads

"The Republican Party has consistently advocated a national home for the Jewish people since a Republican Congress declared its support of that objective thirty years ago. In providing a sanctuary for Jewish people rendered homeless by persecution, the State of Israel appeals to our deepest humanitarian instincts. We shall continue our friendly interest in this constructive and inspiring undertaking. We shall put our influence at the service of peace between Israel and the Arab states and we shall cooperate to bring economic and social stability to that area."

I do not recall that you have had an occasion during your campaign fully to define in public your personal views on this subject which is so vital to the peace and progress of the Middle East and to the defense of our free world. I know that many of your friends and admirers would be eager and grateful for such a statement.

With all good wishes, I remain

Very cordially yours,

Signed/ Abba Hillel Silver

"The statements on Israel which have been issued by both candidates for the Presidency of the United States served to strengthen the conviction that the friendship between America and Israel will become even closer and stronger in the months and years to come. Our country's support for Israel has always been bi-partisan in character and the declarations which were made during the past week by General Eisenhower and Governor Stevenson have provided a striking evidence that this bi-partisan policy will be continued in the future. There is clearly no difference of opinion between the Republican and Democratic Parties on the question of friendship and assistance for Israel."

General Eisenhower was elected President. On November 18th, he wrote me a letter in which he said: "I deeply appreciate your fine support during the recent campaign and I look forward to seeing you again soon." Governor Dewey wrote: "You made a wonderful contribution to this tremendous result and I know it must give you the deepest personal gratification." John Foster Dulles wrote on November 26th: "You have always been a good friend who has stood by me in hours of trouble."

On December 11th I received a letter from Senator Stiles Bridges stating that the President-elect, Dwight D. Eisenhower, has requested