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Autobiography/memoirs, Book 3, 1963?.

BOOK THREE

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BOOK THREE



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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.

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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?

My position was that the political backing of our government would be needed by the State of Israel in the future as in the past. I would be necessary again and again to rally American public opinion in defense of the political rights of Israel. Just as the Israeli were not free as yet to demobilize because their security was not yet fully established, so must the Zionists of America not think of demobilizing for some time to come.

There were those who believed that the time had come to substitute ^{the} years quiet back-door "shtadlanut" which our Movement had to abandon/before to get results. I cautioned against it. The interest of the State of Israel in Washington until peace was fully established would have to be looked after not only by the official representatives of the State of Israel in Washington who have a competence and authority all of their own and in whose sphere of action we should not meddle, but also by the continued, alerted and directed solicitude of organized American Jewry. It is as citizens of the United States that we had the right to be heard, and our representations would be helpful in the future as in the past. It is clear that all such representation should be made by a body such as the American Zionist Emergency Council which is an American body speaking for American citizens, and not by the Jewish Agency, the propriety of whose intervention might well be challenged, now that the State was established.

Certain political circles in Washington who were never too favorable to us had, under duress, accepted the fact of the existence of the State of Israel. What they wanted to see now was the quick liquidation of Zionism on the American scene so that the organized public opinion which so frequently in the past exercised a restraining influence upon their hostile maneuvers in the State Department would not have to be reckoned with in the future. They were opposed to what they call Zionist pressure on American foreign policy. Other pressures from oil interests, from missionary and educational circles, from Arab or British sources, were by them not considered pressures.

It was clear that much will yet have to be done in the purely political field to make secure what has been achieved with so much effort and sacrifice. The liquidation of organized Zionist activities at this time would simply play into the hands of those forces in Washington which ~~had~~^{had} never been friendly to us. This is the position which I took.

Similarly, ~~on~~ the question "should the whole Zionist Movement wind up now that the State of Israel is established?", I answered in the negative. Hardly was the ink dry upon the proclamation which set up the State of Israel, when a veritable chorus of voices from many directions in Jewry began to clamor with varying degrees of stridency for the immediate dissolution of the Zionist Movement. Some had already published an obituary and pronounced the

eulogy . I was reminded of an item which appeared some years ago in a humorous journal: "As to Prince Kropotkin's denial of his being dead, we deplore his tendency to rush into print without first fully ascertaining the facts. "

All ^{the} former enemies of Zionism who had swallowed hard ^{the} bitter pill of the establishment of the State of Israel, now attempted to compensate themselves for their defeat by venting their spleen upon the Zionist Movement and by calling for its immediate disappearance. Joining in this chorus were the spokesmen of certain national Jewish organizations which had been elbowed out of the centre of Jewish life during the years of the Zionists' triumphant march to victory and who now hankered to get back into a dominant position to which neither their numbers, their achievements or their representative character entitled them.

Within a few hours after the establishment of the State, when nearly every major political and economic issue was as yet unsettled, the Zionist Organization which had hardly caught its breath after the colossal political efforts in which it had been engaged, was peremptorily challenged to produce forthwith a detailed program for re-organization, re-orientation and future action, or else to put its head on the block to be decapitated. When the answer was made that considerable time must elapse before a great movement could make the necessary re-adjustments to radically changed conditions, that

it should make them only after the implications of such changes had been carefully studied, and that precipitate action was neither indicated nor judicious, Zionist leaders were broadly denounced as obtuse people who did not grasp that a great revolution has taken place in Jewish life and did not have the sense to realize that something new had really occurred. They were concerned only with hanging on to positions, power and organizational apparatus.

No nation liquidates its minimum defense forces or closes down its departments of national defense even after victory in war had been achieved, for it is realized that the idyllic conditions of permanent peace and security exist nowhere in the world.

There was a continuing need for American Jewry to remain organized and alerted in order to protect the new State of Israel, which had certainly not yet sailed ^{over all} ~~through~~ the broken seas of political dangers into a safe harbor. As far as its economic problems were concerned, their solution had, in a sense, just begun. If Zionism meant "kibbutz galuyot", the in-gathering, not necessarily of all the Jews of the world, but certainly of all who wish to go there or who had to go there, ^{inclusive of} ~~and~~ the program of transporting, settling and rehabilitating them, then the year 1948 witnessed not the consummation of the Zionist ideal, but only a substantial beginning. It would take years to reach ^{this} ~~the~~ ultimate goal -- many years.

This program of the in-gathering would require a constant, sustained and costly effort on the part of world Jewry. This effort would have to be made in the face of the growing demands of Jewish communities outside of Israel for their own cultural, religious, and philanthropic institutions, which ~~will~~ ^{do} claim, and justly so, increasing attention. World Jewry -- and that means, by and large, American Jewry -- ~~will~~ ^{would} have to be kept organized and educated, for this exacting and long-range program of adequate assistance to Israel. I knew of no body in American Jewry that ~~was~~ ^{was} better equipped and organized to give leadership to the accomplishment of this historic task, this second phase of our national redemption, than the Zionists who so magnificently helped in the performance of the first task -- the creation of the State of Israel.

Non-Zionists, to be sure, would help, even as some non-Zionists helped in the final stages of the political struggle, although some of these non-Zionists ~~now~~ ^{now} choose to forget ~~now~~ and would like the world to forget how much they interfered with the efforts in behalf of the establishment of the Jewish State at a time when the Zionists were struggling to unite American Jewry in its behalf, how many stumbling blocks they put in the way of our political work in Washington, and how much residual mischief has been left in our communities by their oppositional activities. But the Jewish people will not hold it against them. We welcomed their help in the final phases of our struggle although even then they had to be carefully watched. There was one moment on the very eve of May 14, 1948, when these well-intentioned non-Zionists, ~~had~~ ^{had}, with the aid of some Zionist leaders -- who also had to be watched, so glib were they, so accommodating and so unpredictable -- ~~had~~ almost succeeded in indefinitely

postponing the proclamation of the State of Israel and in substituting the new trusteeship for Palestine which was sponsored by our State Department...

But while recognizing and welcoming the services and cooperation of all Jews in the economic phase of our work, it would be a serious blunder, I maintained, to entrust the leadership and direction of this work into the hands of those who even at this late hour, when the political objectives of Zionism had been achieved, still preferred to be known as non-Zionists. This is not called for by any consideration of fund-raising. The backbone of the givers and the workers in our communities in United Jewish Appeal campaigns were not the non-Zionists. Eastern European Jews had largely taken over the leadership everywhere. By and large, they were the leaders; they were the givers; they were the workers. And they certainly did not belong to the non-Zionist constellation. In certain quarters, however, the faction was still kept alive that the success of a campaign depended upon having out in the front on the national level the glamorous name or names of some non-Zionists, men of means who themselves need not even set the example of generous giving, but the sheer magic of whose names automatically inspired others to give. Some of these non-Zionists had been converted quite recently not to Zionism, but to the inevitability of the State of Israel. They wished to have nothing to do with the Zionist Movement in the United States. They insisted upon direct connections with the State of Israel. There were those in the official circles of the State of Israel who, for reasons best known to

themselves, welcomed this direct connection, even though it meant by-passing the organized Zionist bodies in the United States which had, in the past and would alone in the future, bear the heat and the brunt of the long, sustained effort in behalf of Israel. . . ."

Again, I maintained, Zionism had always stood for a specific and positive way of Jewish life, not only for the Jewish people in a re-established Jewish State, but also for Jewish communities throughout the world. It stood for an affirmative Jewish life, of rich cultural content, of deep spiritual values, of a life linked historically with the past and geographically with the Jewish communities throughout the world. It was opposed to assimilation or to what is now euphemistically called integration, which means not the eager and active participation in the total life of the countries where Jews are citizens, which Zionists have always advocated, but submergence and self-assimilation. Zionism was always opposed to the definition of Judaism as a church and of Jews as members of a Mosaic persuasion.

I knew of no organized group in Jewish life that had so consistently throughout the years worked for this program of positive Jewish life and of Jewish survival as that of the Zionists. The need for such a body to continue to defend this Jewish way of life would be as great in the future as in the past, if not greater.

Zionism should, therefore, remain organized to meet this challenge because it is best equipped to do so. It should be the catalyst for all elements in Jewish life which are interested in purposeful Jewish survival. (It need

not duplicate their activities, but it could stimulate, guide and coordinate them. It took us many hard years of struggle to establish the ascendance of these ideas in the Jewish communities of the world. We should 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 only ^{the} 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 his capacity as Prime Minister of the State, did much, quite unintentionally, I am sure, to undermine the World Zionist Movement.

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 (immigration to Israel).

He flatly refused to share Israel's sovereignty with the World Zionist Movement -- although no one in the Movement had asked for it! Some Zionists, he declared, have not as yet recognized the State of Israel. It is high time that they should. This was said to the very men who had been instrumental in bringing about the establishment and the recognition of the State. . . . American Zionists can advise and even criticize Israel, he declared, but have no right to issue orders to it. The New York Times on November 6, 1949, featured on the front page a news dispatch from Tel-Aviv with the sensational headlines: "Ben-Gurion Warns Foreign Zionists -- Assails Leaders Abroad Who Try to Sway Israel Policy -- Silver Held Target. " These ^{partisan} ~~Mepai party~~ slogans, felicitous neither in their timing nor expression, had been the stock-in-trade of the opponents of the Zionist Organization of America since 1948 and were, of course, aimed at myself.

I was in South Africa at the time, in connection with the Jubilee celebration of the Jewish National Fund. I was asked by the Jewish press to comment on Mr. Ben-Gurion's definition of a Zionist. I said:

"I do not think that that was ever the definition of a Zionist -- and I do not see why we need a new one at this time. A Zionist has always been one who is interested in helping towards the upbuilding of a Jewish State in Palestine. It was never part of Zionist propaganda or the Zionist credo that a Zionist must necessarily settle in Israel. I am not called upon to accept this new definition of Zionism from Mr. Ben-Gurion. There was a quite adequate definition before his time."

Thus, there existed, a sharp divergence 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 conflicts between Mr. Ben-Gurion and me.

Ben-Gurion's party, the Mapai, wanted to control the government of Israel 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 ^{in recent years} arose and it has invited and stimulated private investments and enterprises in the country.

But from the beginning it looked upon the ^{Organization of} ~~party of the~~ General Zionists in Israel as a most serious rival and competitor. The General Zionists ^{party} ~~were~~ ^{were non-} ~~socialistic~~ and represented largely the business and professional elements in the country. The members of the Zionist Organization in America, composed, in the main, of middle-class business and professional people, were in sympathy with the ^{Organization of} General Zionists ~~Party~~ of Israel and were loosely identified with it, not in as direct a way as the Poale Zion in America were identified with the Mapai, or the Mizrachi in America with the Mizrachi party in Israel.

The General Zionists favored the encouragement of private initiative in industry, trade and agriculture, and called for a unified national school

system in the country. Generally speaking, they represented ideas which were common to the American economic system and the American educational pattern.

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 laborite instead of "liberal centrist", all the difficulties and disputes which were to follow would not have arisen.

No 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. 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, both 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 exhibited 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 more of a Party man than I was, and all too often, he judged situations and evaluated personalities narrowly in relation to his Party's interests -- to what was good for the Party.

Rumors were soon circulated by friends and foes alike that I intended to go to Israel and place myself at the head of the General Zionist ~~Party~~² to challenge the position of the Mapai and of Mr. Ben-Gurion. Other rumors had it that I wanted to become the President of the World Zionist Organization, and to inject myself in the affairs of the State of Israel. There was never a scintilla of truth in all these rumors. I never entertained any political ambitions. This was not my cup of tea. I was a Rabbi and intended to remain to the end in a profession which was dear to me. In a critical hour I had been summoned by the Movement and given a political assignment. I thank God that the mission on which I was sent, was successfully accomplished. If there was any additional work that the Movement wished me to undertake, I was prepared to do so provided the circumstances were such as would give me a congenial atmosphere in which to work. I was not prepared to fight Zionists in order to serve Zionism, and I never expressed nor entertained any desire to hold any office in the government of Israel.

It took some years before my position was finally understood by Mr. Ben-Gurion and his friends in the Mapai, and then they visibly relaxed towards me. Some even came to like me. . . . The partisan antagonisms and mutual 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 eyes of certain 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 sharply. Actually, my Zionist achievements under the Eisenhower administration, such as they were, were far less substantial than under the Truman administration, though my personal contacts with the Eisenhower administration were far more frequent and pleasant. Important national policies and decisions are simply not arrived at the "personality" level... Furthermore, the attitude of the State Department under John Foster Dulles was quite as vacillating 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, reminiscent of earlier days.

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 interests asserted themselves. The Poale Zion naturally wanted to capture as many delegates to the Congress as possible, and it suddenly appeared advantageous to them to attack Dr. Silver who headed the Z. O. A. list and, in contrast, to extol David Ben-Gurion, who headed their list.

At the 1946 Congress, the Mapai delegates had voted by and large for Dr. Weizmann's policies. I led the fight against them. This again did not generate any great affection for me. Likewise, my failure to denounce the Irgun, Mapai's bête noire^A in the resistance movement, in categorical terms, also rankled.

And so a campaign was launched by friends of the Mapai in Israel and by the Poale Zion (Labor Party) in America to "reduce my stature", as it were, to take power and control out of my hands and to transfer them to others who posed no threat to the Party.

What finally led to a major set-to and to my resignation as Chairman of the American Section of the Jewish Agency was, on the surface, a disagreement over fund-raising activities in the United States. But this was not the real issue. It ran much deeper. It concerned the basic attitude of the leaders in the government of Israel toward the Zionist Movement in the United States and towards the authority and prestige of its spokesmen. It also involved the effectiveness of my own future leadership. I was made to feel that I did not have the full confidence and backing of the men in Israel who now constituted the government of Israel, without which I could not carry on with my work.

The disagreement took place in the very year of victory, just three months after the State of Israel was established. It was, to me, an unpleasant anti-climax and it roiled the waters of controversy far and wide. It was caused by an issue which was not of any great moment, an administrative problem within the United Palestine Appeal, but which grew into inordinate proportions because of the negative attitude of Ben-Gurion and his party towards me.

The Zionist General Council had convened in Jerusalem on August 22, 1948. The principal issue at its sessions was the future relationship between the World Zionist Movement and the State of Israel. Dr. Emanuel Neumann, who was then President of the Zionist Organization of America, and I, on the American Delegation, took the position that a formal clear-cut separation (Hafradah) of the Zionist Movement from the State of Israel was clearly indicated now that the State had been established, lest our Movement in the United States should come to be looked upon as the arm of a foreign princip^dle, and American Zionists as agents of a foreign government whose public officials were controlling the World Zionist Organization and the Jewish Agency.

We maintained that the Jews of the world should not intervene in matters lying within the jurisdiction of the Government of Israel, and that the leaders and Government of Israel should not intervene in matters which are the proper concern of local Jewish communities and Zionist groups the world over.

Our position was adopted by the General Council and with one exception, that of the Treasurer, all the Cabinet members of the government resigned from the Executive.

This position which we took was resented by some and misrepresented by others. It was interpreted as an attempt on our part to gain increased power in the Movement and by virtue of that power to attempt to dictate the policies of the government of Israel through the control of the funds which the Zionist Movement was raising in the United States. Since we were General Zionists, we would also try to influence the economic and social structure of the country in lines other than that of the dominant party in the government, the Mapai, desired.

The fund-raising agency in the United States for the development of Israel and for the care of the immigrants who were beginning to pour into the country was the United Palestine Appeal. It had been established by the Palestine Foundation Fund (the Keren Hayesod) and the Jewish National Fund (the Keren Kayemeth). The Zionist Organization of America, because of its ^{recognized} ~~numerical~~ strength, was predominately represented on the boards of the U. P. A., the Foundation Fund and the Jewish National Fund, although all other Zionist bodies in the United States were also ^{appropriately} represented, ~~each according to its numerical strength.~~

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 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 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.

Organization of
The General Zionist ~~Party~~ in Israel had, early in 1948, split. A group which called itself "Progressive" seceded from the *parent body* 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 *Some* ~~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 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.

As I expected, the rift in General Zionism in Israel soon reflected itself in General Zionism abroad. A group calling itself "Committee of Progressive Zionists" organized an opposition within the Z. O. A., and carried on an active campaign against the elected officials of the Z. O. A. who were not members of their group.

Dr. Nahum Goldmann was one of the prime movers in ~~disrupting~~ ^{splitting} the General Zionist ~~forces~~ ^{forces} in Israel and having ~~found his way back~~ ^{returned} to the United States, was now an active leader of the Committee for Progressive Zionism in America. This committee was ideologically in sympathy with its counterpart in Israel. It proceeded to carry on a violent campaign against the Zionist Organization of America, calling for the ousting of Dr. Neumann, and charging that the administration was supporting ~~the~~ ^{the} rightist groups in Israel.

~~This committee failed in its objectives.~~

There was another group which called itself the Committee of Contributors which was an ad hoc committee whose objectives were to force the Zionist Organization out of its dominant position which it held in the United Palestine Appeal and to undermine its prestige and authority on the American scene. This small group was abetted by ~~the enemies of the Z. O. A.~~ ^{certain circles} ~~leadership~~ in Israel. Through interlocking personnel, these two groups worked with Mr. Henry Montor, who became their tool and front man.

Mr. Montor had been an employee of the United Palestine Appeal

and had conducted some successful campaigns. Especially successful were the campaigns during the great years preceding the establishment of the State, when American Jewry rose to unusual heights of generosity.

On September 10, 1948, Mr. Montor sent a letter of resignation to the Chairman of the U. P. A., in which he made serious and ^{wholly} unsubstantiated charges against the U. P. A., and especially against the leaders of the Z. O. ~~P. A.~~ who, ^{as} he charged, controlled it.

Mr. Montor's resignation was presented to the Executive Committee of the U. P. A. on October 14th. He was requested to retract in writing the specific allegations contained in his letter. Having failed to do so, his resignation was accepted on October 21st.

I ~~then~~ received a cable from the Jerusalem Executive, dated September 27th, suggesting a full meeting of the Executive in Jerusalem to take up the matter of Montor's resignation. I cabled to the Executive that there was no need for the intervention by the Agency, either in Jerusalem or here, for the matter of Mr. Montor's resignation was purely of administrative concern to the U. P. A.

I maintained that the Jewish Agency should not interfere in the internal affairs of the U. P. A.

The U. P. A. ^{itself} finally referred the matter to the American Section of the Jewish Agency. The Jewish Agency was happy to accept the friendly offices of a conciliation committee of the Council of Jewish Federations and Welfare Funds which was eager to expedite the reconstitution of the United Jewish Appeal for the coming year.

As a result, an agreement was finally reached on November 23, 1948. The Board of the U. P. A. was to be re-organized so as to include a larger representation from the communities. I personally regarded the re-organization as un-necessary since no community had asked for it. Actually, the U. P. A. was far more democratic and more truly representative than the other two organizations which comprised the U. J. A. But, although I did not approve of the move, I accepted the position of the conciliation committee. I informed the U. P. A. of the Executive's approval of the recommendation, and the U. P. A. promptly accepted their recommendation. It was though⁺ that this disposed of the matter.

But this ~~still~~ ^{dissatisfied some his position in the} left Mr. Montor ~~out of the picture and he was determined~~ ^{United Jewish Appeal was now at stake.} ~~to get back.~~ The one recourse which was left to him was to persuade Mr. Morgenthau, who was the Chairman of the U. J. A. Campaign, not to accept re-appointment for the 1949 Campaign unless he, Mr. Montor, were again appointed its Executive Director.

The Poale Zion member on the Executive of the Jewish Agency, the representative of Hadassah, and Dr. Nahum Goldmann then proceeded to put through a resolution to invite Mr. Morgenthau to resume chairmanship of the United Jewish Appeal, taking note of Mr. Morgenthau's intention to re-employ Mr. Montor. I, of course, ^{challenged} ~~denied~~ the propriety of ~~the~~ ^{this} vote.

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 ^{and the S. J. C.} These three then proceeded to cable Jerusalem urging a special session of the entire Executive in New York City. The above three without authorization and without notifying the Chairman, also went 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 ^{executives} 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 ^{admittedly unfounded} 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.

Mrs. Halpern was sent by the Executive to Florida to convey this compromise agreement to Mr. Morgenthau. Mr. Montor accompanied her on the mission...

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

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 Goldman 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.



In the Spring of 1951, I visited several cities, including some on the Pacific Coast, in behalf of the United Jewish Appeal which was now directed by the highly experienced and dedicated European head of the Joint Distribution Committee, Dr. Joseph Schwartz.

Shortly thereafter, I left for Israel. It was my first visit since August, 1948. So much had been written and spoken about me by political opponents to make me wonder how the Israeli would receive me. I spent three weeks in Israel -- April 25th to May 13th -- as the guest of the General Zionists --- not of the government. The government had not thought of inviting me. It was too busy inviting non-Zionists and anti-Zionists. And it was too busy also to be represented at any of my receptions. But the Israeli gave me a royal welcome. Delegates from all over Israel greeted me upon arrival at the Lydda Airport where thousands of people had waited for hours for the arrival of my plane. Preceded by a mounted guard of honor, we left the airport in a motorcade and drove through Petach Tikvah and Ramat Gan, where special ceremonies were held. We then proceeded to Tel-Aviv whose streets were lined with cheering crowds, and to the Second of November Square which was filled with people whom I briefly addressed.

One of the most stirring demonstrations was a mass meeting in the Mograbi Theatre a few days later. The theatre was packed to capacity hours before the meeting was scheduled, and outside in Mograbi Square, there was a crowd of some thirty thousand waiting to hear the proceedings over loud-speakers.

I visited many parts of the country in what turned out to be a triumphal tour. On my way to Haifa, I visited several Maabarot, temporary immigrant camps, and several army posts. At one of the welcoming meetings in Haifa, I was presented by new settlers in the country with the first wheat of their harvest.

I was given an official reception in the City Hall of Ramat Gan, which city made me an Honorary Citizen. Here I met for the first time, the ^{genial} Mayor of Ramat-Gan, Abraham Krinitzi, a pioneer of the country and a town planner and builder of remarkable energy and imagination.

In a one-engine cargo plane, piloted by a young American from Texas, I flew to Elath, which in 1951 was a small village on the shore of the Gulf of Aqaba, but which boasts today a population of ten thousand. I was there when the first cargo ship intended for Israel entered the new port, and the members of the crew extended me the privilege of helping to unload it. . . .

The city of Tel-Aviv made me an Honorary Citizen, and at a formal function in the Museum of Tel-Aviv in the presence of a distinguished audience, Israel Rokach, for many years the Mayor of the city, under whose sound and intelligent administration the city made tremendous progress, bestowed this honor upon me. The municipality of Jerusalem tendered me an official reception after a delegation met me at the entrance to the city, presented me with flowers, and escorted me to the city. In Jerusalem I addressed a great meeting at the Edison Theatre, following which crowds escorted me to my hotel. ~~I was received at a luncheon by President Chaim Weizmann at his residence in~~

I attended the corner-stone laying ceremony of the agricultural school in Migdal Ashkelon which was established in my honor by the Zionist Organization of America and the General Zionists of Israel. 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. It is one of the foremost Secondary Schools of this nature in Israel.

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.

I toured the country and addressed meetings in Johannesburg, Pretoria, Capetown, Durban, East London, Bloemfontein, Port Elizabeth, Bulawayo and Salisbury. Everywhere I was most warmly received and I was happy to meet the Jews of South Africa who were so proudly Jewish and so enthusiastically Zionist. By and large, they are a prosperous community, but they are troubled. They are caught between the upper and lower millstone in the Apartheid struggle which rages between the Afrikaner who are in power and those who challenge their power and their racist doctrines. This struggle might well endanger the Jewish position in South Africa.



Golda Meyerson (now Meir), speaking for the Mapai, delivered an especially partisan and vitriolic attack upon me -- which outraged almost the entire press in Israel. Its tone displeased and embarrassed many in ^{her} ~~the~~ own party. Her arguments were, in the main, those which Mr. Ben-Gurion had employed when he addressed American Zionists in New York, in April of that year.



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 also in evidence. The Mizrachi and General Zionists of Israel had boycotted the Congress elections altogether, because of the irregularities in the electoral list.

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

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 the strong Mapai-Hadassah -- Poale Zion alignment became the target of attack, especially the Zionist Organization of America -- and more especially, myself.

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.

This immediately was challenged by 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.

Of course, we all agreed that there was 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.

After prolonged and fruitless debate on what was regarded as ultimate aims, on the differences between "Jews in Exile" and "Jews in the Diaspora", whether all Jews the world over should, would or could come to Israel and whether there was any future for Jewish life in the Diaspora, the so-called "Jerusalem Program"

was finally ~~shelved~~ *modified or converted into a statement of the main tasks, the movement* 9

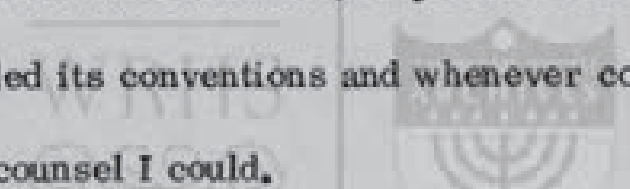
There was also considerable heated discussion as to the future relationship between the Zionist Movement and the State of Israel. Here charges were hurled, especially by members of the Mapai that certain American Zionists (meaning me) had not yet reconciled themselves to the fact that there is in actual existence 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.

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.



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As the national elections in 1952 approached, I gave considerable thought to the desirability of having a statement from General Eisenhower, the Republican candidate for the Presidency, defining more fully his position on Israel.

In the meantime, Governor Dewey called me from New York. He complained of the endorsement which had been given by the Labor Zionists to Mr. Stevenson, the Democratic candidate for the Presidency, and asked me to issue a statement to meet the situation. I suggested instead an exchange of letters with General Eisenhower which would give the General an opportunity to elaborate his position on Israel. I offered to send him a draft of such letters and Governor Dewey suggested that these drafts be sent to him by telegraph, which I did. Governor Dewey then called to arrange for a meeting with General Eisenhower in connection with the release of the draft of these letters. He reported that he had consulted other people and had been in touch with General Eisenhower to whom he read the text of the draft. He suggested a few minor verbal changes. The one difficulty which he encountered was the statement in the draft letter referring to the fact that "It is in the interest of the United States and of all peace-loving nations that economic and military aid should be extended to Israel". Governor Dewey suggested political and economic aid and General Eisenhower suggested "aid to establish their security" so that the sentence would read:

"It is in the interest of the United States and all peace-loving nations that political and economic aid to establish their security should be extended to Israel and to all countries in the Middle East."

A meeting with General Eisenhower was arranged for October 18th at his residence in Morningside Heights.

I suggested to Governor Dewey that it would not be desirable for me to make a statement endorsing the General as a candidate -- that that would be interpreted as a bargain, a "quid pro quo", which would militate against the effectiveness of the General's statement on Israel. He agreed with me.

On October 18th I arrived in New York, breakfasted with Governor Dewey at the Roosevelt Hotel and then motored out to General Eisenhower's residence. We spent some forty-five minutes together in the presence of Governor Dewey. We discussed Israel. The General expressed his vital interest in Israel as a critical area in the Middle East and felt that it should be given every support. He believed that efforts should be made to bring the Arabs and the Jews together, for the economic prosperity of Israel would ultimately depend upon its trade with the neighboring Arab countries. I indicated ways in which the American government could be of help.

In the course of our conversation, the General reacted bitterly against the charge which had been made against him by President Truman and which had appeared that very morning in the newspapers. By implication he was being identified with the anti-Semitic, anti-Catholic and pro-Nordic

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.



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

44-38861-38

October 17, 1952

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
The Temple
Ansel Road and East 105th Street
Cleveland 6, Ohio

Dear Dr. Silver:

I was very pleased to receive your letter. I know, of course, of your profound interest in everything which concerns the State of Israel and of the unforgettable contribution which you made toward its establishment.

I should wish you and all Americans to know that I am in complete and hearty accord with the statement on Israel in the Republican platform. This, as you well know, was not a new departure, politically motivated, but one which represented a consistently friendly and cooperative attitude on the part of the Republican Party over a period of many years. You will recall how vigorously and effectively Republican Senators and Congressmen, Governors and State Legislators supported the cause which was never viewed by them as a partisan issue, but as one which commended itself to all right-thinking people because of its inherent justice and as the right solution for one of mankind's grave and pressing problems.

As Commander of the Allied Armies during the last war, I had the fullest opportunity to observe closely the tragic conditions of the war ravaged and Nazi decimated Jewish communities of Europe. It will be one of the enduring satisfactions of my life that I was privileged to lead the forces of the free world, which finally crushed the brutal regime of Hitler, with its responsibility for all those unspeakable atrocities. Our forces saved the remnant of the Jewish people of Europe for a new life and a new hope in the reborn land of Israel.

Along with all men of good will, I salute the young state and wish it well. I know what great things it has accomplished. I admire the hardihood of its pioneers and the vision and quality of the work of resettlement and reclamation which they are so energetically prosecuting. I also know something of their besetting difficulties and of the problems, both political and economic, which confront them. Foremost among these is that of establishing peace with the Arab world. Such a peace would be a boon both to Israel and to the Arab states. Such peace in the Middle East is essential to the free world. Every encouragement should be given to facilitate direct negotiations between the State of Israel and its Arab neighbors whose independence, freedom and prosperity are equally the hope and wish of the American people.

- 4 - 32"

One of the serious stumbling blocks in the way is the problem of the Arab refugees. In my judgment, both statesmanship and humanity dictate that these unfortunate refugees should, as rapidly as possible, be assisted with adequate means honorably to reintegrate themselves in the neighboring Arab countries wherever their reabsorption in Israel is either not feasible or practical.

The State of Israel has given every indication of being a progressive democracy which is desirous of cooperating with the free world in defense of human freedom and against totalitarian aggression. It is in the interest of the United States and of all peace loving nations that political and economic aid to establish their own security should be extended to Israel and to all countries in the Middle East which are similarly intentioned, to an extent consistent with a sound overall mutual aid program.

With warm regards and all good wishes,

Signed/ Dwight D. Eisenhower



On leaving the General's home, I was met on the steps by a large group of reporters who asked me many questions about the interview and about the exchange of letters, copies of which had been given to them. Among the questions which were asked was whether the subject of President Truman's attack on General Eisenhower was mentioned in the interview. I said that it was. I was then asked what I thought of it. I expressed my feelings of shock that an irresponsible statement of that character should have been made.

Much is permitted in a campaign ^{I told the newsmen!} but an attempt by implication to identify a man like General Eisenhower -- whose humanity and broad tolerance are known all over the world -- with anti-Semitism, is just not permissible even in the heat of a campaign.

I was also asked whether I was for the Republican candidate. I told them that I was a religious leader and not a political leader -- that General Eisenhower, himself, had not asked me that question.

My comments on Truman's criticism received sensational reporting in the American press. Later, Mr. Bernard Baruch, a long-time Democrat, also came out in defense of General Eisenhower. From the Democratic side I was, of course, violently attacked.

Within a few days Governor Stevenson also issued a statement on the subject of Israel, whereupon I issued the following statement:

"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."

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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that the Joint Congressional Inaugural Committee extend an invitation to me to participate in the Inaugural Ceremonies at the Capitol at twelve o'clock noon January twentieth, nineteen hundred and fifty three.

At the impressive Inaugural Ceremonies in Washington on January 20, 1953, I delivered the following prayer:

"O God, who art beyond our knowledge but near to our hearts and our needs, we pray this day for Thy servant, Dwight D. Eisenhower, as he takes up the burdens of the high office of President of these United States of America.

"Keep him with great kindness, O Thou Ruler of nations, and give him a wise and understanding heart that he may lead Thy people in these shadowed times, in truth and steadfastness, in patience and in love.

"Guide his hands to Thy purpose and his will unfailingly to Thy service. May he be the bringer of good tidings and the architect of a new hope for our country and for mankind.

"May Thy Spirit rest upon the Vice-President of the United States and upon all the chosen representatives of our government.

"Be gracious, O Lord, unto our land and our people. Help us to preserve our blessed heritage of freedom and to make secure

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

In January, 1951, Ambassador Eban asked me to come down to Washington. He laid before me the matter of a "grant-in-aid" by the American government and solicited my help in connection with the introduction of 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 a very long stride forward and I 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. 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. 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.

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 7 .

In October, 1953, a crisis developed on the Israeli-Syrian border. It concerned the building of a supplementary canal, one mile long, to divert water from the Upper Jordan River in order to build a small hydro-electric plant at B'noth Ja'a cov. The Upper Jordan is ^{ed}situation~~ion~~ entirely in Israel territory. The proposed canal involved some work in the demilitarized zone between the two countries, on land which also belongs to Israel. The Syrians objected on the ground that under the terms of the armistice agreement signed with Israel in 1949, no alteration was to be permitted in the demilitarized zones which would provide a military advantage to either side. The Syrians claimed that the erection by Israel of a dam, which could regulate the flow of the Jordan, would give Israel a clear military advantage. This objection had been over-ruled in 1951 by the head of the United Nations Israel-Syrian Mixed Armistice Commission. The work of building continued. Late in September, 1952, the United Nations Security Council requested that the work be suspended to prevent any further outbreaks of violence. The head of the Mixed Armistice Commission, General Bennike, labeled the construction as a breach of the armistice and insisted that Israel should suspend operations until the Israeli and the Syrians could agree. The Israeli agreed to suspend operations while the Security Council studied the matter.

Whereupon the United States government announced that it would suspend all grant-in-aid to Israel until the canal issue was settled, on the ground that continued operation would be disruptive of the United Nations and

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.

Dulles reiterated his profound interest in the well being of Israel, and was critical of the Arab ^{leaders} who failed to assist their own people in refusing to use the millions which they were receiving from oil royalties.

At the close of our conversation, he called in the newspaper reporters and told them that he was grateful to me for having assisted materially in bringing about the resumption of the grant-in-aid to Israel.

President Eisenhower on that day announced the resumption of American economic aid to Israel and a few hours later, Secretary Dulles stated that twenty-six million dollars in financial assistance was ready to go forward for the first six months of the fiscal year that began last July first. Israel had responded to the request of the Security Council that the work on the project be suspended pending a United Nations examination of the question. . . .

In 1955, things were moving on the borders of Israel towards a complete break-down of the armistice agreements. Border flare-ups were frequent and fedayeen -- suicide squads, trained in Egypt -- were raiding Israeli towns and villages.

On August 26, 1955, Secretary Dulles issued a comprehensive statement in which he proposed measures for bringing about a genuine peace in the Middle East. Two days before, I received the following letter from him:



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.

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;

~~SECRET~~

~~The next day I wrote the following letter to Secretary Dulles:~~

- 4 -

September 2, 1955

My dear Mr. Dulles:

I saw your kind letter of August twenty-fourth addressed to me upon my return to Cleveland from Europe this morning. I had previously read your statement in the public press. I am very happy indeed that you issued that statement. It not only makes clear the deep and continued interest of our government in helping to break the deadlock which has persisted over a period of years in Israel-Arab relations and in easing the tensions which have unfortunately again this week erupted in most serious border incidents, but it also indicates that the American government is prepared to make positive contributions toward reaching a settlement.

I am quite sure that when it finally gets down to it and the two sides sit down to negotiate, the government of Israel will be prepared to discuss all the matters of outstanding issue to which your statement referred. But here's the rub! The representatives of the Arab governments have consistently refused to sit down and engage in such negotiations because they understand that by so doing they are tacitly acknowledging the political existence and sovereignty of the State of Israel. This, as you well know, is the very thing which they are unwilling to acknowledge, and this is the crux of the whole matter.

Until they are prepared to acknowledge this fact, they must under one excuse or another postpone the day of a peace conference and maintain as long as they can the present status of no peace-no war on the borders of Israel.

I know of only one political action which would finally bring the Arab states to their senses -- a clear statement on the part of our government that unless peace negotiations are undertaken forthwith, the American government will proceed to conclude a mutual security pact with Israel.

— Such a pact is on its own merits logical, as an instrumentality for strengthening American interests in the Near East. It should therefore not be made conditional on the willingness of Arab states to conclude simultaneous defense arrangements with our country. If it is the policy of the United States to seek defense arrangements in the Middle East and if, as a spokesman of the State Department declared a while ago, a defense pact with Israel would be "highly logical", then there is really no valid reason for delaying such an arrangement.

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, seriously threatening the security of Israel. There were, of course, repercussions to this 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

the United States for arms to protect itself against the new threat which the shipment of arms from the Soviet bloc to Egypt created.

On November 15th, a mass meeting was held in Madison Square Garden, sponsored by the major Jewish organizations of the United States, to protest the communist arms shipments to Egypt. Prior to the rally I sent a telegram to President Eisenhower:

"My dear President:

"I have been profoundly disturbed by the recent events in the Near East which have aroused deep apprehension in Israel and among peace-loving people everywhere. I am to address on November 15th a mass rally at Madison Square Garden in New York City in which many civic, religious and labor organizations will participate to express their vital concern over the situation. I know that they would welcome a word from you as coming not only from the Chief Executive of our beloved country, but as the formal spokesman of international justice, freedom and peace in the world today. Personally, I would greatly appreciate such a message.

"With warmest regards and with all good wishes for your complete recovery and well being.

Abba Hillel Silver "

To which The President replied:

"I am glad to comply with your request to send a message to the meeting which you are addressing this evening, as I know of your great concern about the recent developments in the Near East which disturb all of us. A threat to peace in the Near East is a threat to world peace. As I said the other day while we continue willing to consider requests for arms needed for legitimate self-defense, we do not intend to contribute to an arms competition in the Near East. We will continue to be guided by the policies of the Tripartite Declaration of May 25, 1950. We believe this policy best promotes the interest and security of the peoples of the area.

"We believe the true and lasting security in the area must be based upon a just and reasonable settlement. It seems to me that current problems are capable of resolution by peaceful means. There is no reason why a settlement of these problems cannot be found, and when realized I would be prepared to recommend that the United States join in formal treaty engagements to prevent or thwart any effort by either side to alter by force the boundaries upon which Israel and its immediate neighbors agree.

"The need for a peaceful settlement becomes daily more imperative. The United States will play its full part in working towards such a settlement and will support firmly the United Nations in its efforts to prevent violence in the area. By firm friendship towards Israel and all other nations in the Near East we shall continue to contribute to the peace of the world.

Dwight D. Eisenhower "

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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



down the line. Egypt's invitation to the Soviet to provide it with arms, which involve ultimately technicians and communist propaganda, is the very seal and testament of their blundering policy.

"When our Government set out to arm the Near East as a bulwark against Sovietism, without first assuring itself that such weapons would not be used to precipitate war among the countries in the Near East -- without first making sure that they would not be used against Israel -- without insisting that Israel should be included in any military pact for the defense of that region of which it is a vital part, our State Department blundered and the degree of unrest which today prevails in that part of the world, and the general deterioration of the situation there, is the measure of that blunder

"Our Government could have pressed for peace and for the lifting of the blockade against Israel when Egypt courted our support in her efforts to free the Suez Canal Zone from British troops. It was a logical thing to have asked for, as part of a general pacification of that region but our State Department refused to do it. It gave Egypt its full measure of support unconditionally.

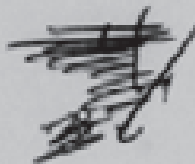
"When Iraq was being armed it was part of statesmanship to arm also Israel so as not to create a military imbalance in that part of the world, knowing full well that it was only the relative strength of Israel that was discouraging the Arabs' governments from carrying out their avowed intentions of attacking Israel. That, too, was not done. Our Government

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proceeded to encourage regional defense pacts in the Middle East with the understanding that Israel need not be included in such pacts.

" The same blindness which formerly afflicted the Mandatory Power in its dealings with the Arabs and the Jews of Palestine has now come to afflict the people in the State Department who deal directly with the Middle East. Woo the Arabs -- by-pass Israel -- and you will save the Middle East from Soviet penetration! The very opposite of course is happening.





" Will a new policy now emerge? Secretary Dulles' commendable declaration of August 26 points in the direction of a new policy. Unfortunately, the proffered American help is made contingent upon a prior agreement between the Arabs and the Israelis. But the Arab governments have consistently refused to sit down and engage in any negotiations with the representatives of the State of Israel. Unless massive diplomatic pressures are brought to bear upon the Arabs to enter such negotiations, Mr. Dulles' desire to be helpful will be frustrated.

"Israel must immediately be helped to build up its military strength in the face of the mounting armaments of the Arab world and their increasing threats. Our country, which helped in the establishment of Israel and was the first to give it formal recognition, should make it possible for Israel to acquire the defensive arms which it needs. The great powers who are interested in preserving peace should forthwith agree upon such measures as will deter any aggression aimed at altering the Israeli-Arab frontiers by force.

"We must reassure the people of Israel that we are going to stand by them, that they will not lack in arms. "

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:

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

and torments exemplified by the annihilation of six million Jews in the last war. During these eight years Israel has provided new homes and the prospect of a secure and creative life to nearly 800,000 immigrants -- the bulk of the survivors of the Nazi persecution and nearly 400,000 Jews from the Moslem countries of the Middle East. A new democratic civilization has sprung up in this ancient land, which holds out a message of hope to our brethren in the lands of persecution and provides a significant precedent for the reclamation of the derelict areas of the Middle East.

This great effort is now threatened by hostile neighbours, whose avowed aim is Israel's annihilation. Having failed to achieve their aim eight years ago by a war of aggression, they have since pursued it by incessant guerilla warfare, by economic boycott, by the closing of the Suez Canal to our shipping, and by a violent campaign of threats and incitement. Egypt has recently acquired a position of overwhelming superiority in jet fighters, tanks and other modern weapons over Israel by the arms purchase agreement it has concluded with Czechoslovakia and has, in addition, built up powerful alliances, with unified military commands, with other Arab States, which are directed against Israel. Their declared aim is that of the wicked enemy quoted by the Psalmist:

"Come and let us cut them off from being a nation; that the name of Israel may be no more in remembrance" (Psalms 83:5). The present dictator of Egypt calls Israel "an artificial State which must disappear". Quite recently he declared that he was looking forward to the Egyptian Army meeting the Syrian Army on Israel's ruins. King Saud of Arabia stated that "the only way which the Arab States must go is to pull up Israel by her roots", and asked "why should we not sacrifice ten million out of fifty million Arabs so that we may live in greatness and honour?" One Arab leader after another has voiced similar threats "to raze the State of Israel from the map". "Now that we have got rid of Jordan after the dismissal of General Glubb, "our next step will be to conquer the rest of Palestine".

These words are not empty threats. Hardly a day passes without some act of aggression by Egyptian forces across the Israel frontier. The villagers in the border land have to stand night after night on guard over their homes and dear ones against treacherous attacks from across the border. Moreover, of late, the Egyptian Government has overtly started large-scale preparations for war against Israel. The bulk of their military forces has been stationed along its southern frontier, equipped with large quantities of the offensive weapons recently received from Eastern Europe. As against this threat Israel finds itself grievously

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handicapped by its lack of essential arms. The weakening of its defensive position, which is becoming every day more evident to our enemies, has become a most powerful incentive to their aggressive policies.

In this position of unprecedented gravity I would address to you, Mr. President, a most urgent appeal that we be enabled speedily to obtain such arms and equipment as will permit us to defend ourselves and as will act as a deterrent against enemy attack. The time factor is here of decisive importance. It is a race against months, possibly weeks. The ever more aggressive language of our enemies clearly indicates that as soon as they have absorbed their newly acquired military equipment and trained their soldiers in its use, the blow will fall. It is the responsibility of the free world, and primarily of the United States of America, to redress the present highly perilous imbalance of armed strength in the Middle East so as to avert the aggression threatening Israel.

I was very happy to learn that your health has improved and that you are now fortunately able again to devote your energies to the promotion of the peace of the world and the cause of international cooperation, which has lifted the hearts of all peoples. On behalf of the people of Israel I would ask you to accept my very best wishes for your health and well-being.

I remain, Mr. President,

Yours very sincerely,

/s/ Izhak Ben-Zvi
President of the State of Israel

Upon my return, I sent the letter to President Eisenhower who was vacationing in Augusta, Georgia. I received the following reply:

Augusta Georgia
April 12, 1956

"Dear Rabbi Silver:

"Thank you very much for your kindness in transmitting to me the long and interesting letter from the President of Israel. I have studied it carefully, and I am requesting the Secretary of State to do the same.

"From different sources I have heard of your effort during your visit to Israel to convince the government and people there of the continued interest of the United States in their welfare and security. Since this is, of course, the fact, I think you have performed a real service.

"With respect to a personal conference, I believe it would be best that you, when next you may be in Washington, get in touch with my Appointment Secretary, Mr. Shanley, to see whether we could not arrange a meeting convenient to us both. Assuming that you would want to talk principally about information gathered on your recent trip, I would arrange to have the Secretary of State with us at the time.

"With personal regard ,

Sincerely,

/s/ Dwight D. 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 Sheikh 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 prevent 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

sending of arms to Israel at this time might jeopardize their major objectives. I told them that their efforts would be facilitated if Israel were stronger rather than weaker.

In the course of the conversation the President indicated that the sale of arms to Israel was not foreclosed and Dulles stated that he felt confident of persuading the Western powers, with whom he was going to meet in Paris next week, to sell Israel the necessary arms. The United States was willing to have Western powers, particularly France, divert arms which they had manufactured under the United States Military Aid Program, to Israel. He had talked with Mr. Pearson of Canada and will talk with him again. The preservation of the State of Israel is one of the major objectives of American foreign policy and America will not tolerate an aggressor. The President said that the subject is giving him daily concern and is uppermost in his mind.

[Handwritten signature]

I told them that Israel was prepared to discuss all issues with the Arabs at a conference table and is prepared, in a spirit of give and take, to make every reasonable concession for a permanent peace settlement. This was not true of the Arabs, who have refused to sit down with Israel for fear that that would imply a recognition of the State.

The president was not aware that Israel had given its consent to the Jordan Valley Authority while the Arabs had refused on political grounds. Dulles stated that this was the fact.

Dulles stated that from Israeli sources he had been informed that in the event of war Israel would win and that anyhow until a year from August the preponderance of military strength was with Israel. He used that as an argument against the sending of arms to Israel. I told them that even if victory were had in such a war the cities of Israel would be in shambles because of the heavy bombers which Egypt has obtained from the Soviet bloc. The President agreed.

Mr. Dulles raised the question of Zionist pressures which gave me ~~the~~ an opportunity to expose the smoke-screen. Zionist pressure was really the pressure of the entire American Jewish Community with the exception of an insignificant number. It was also the pressure of American public opinion generally, as reflected in the American press and this kind of pressure is a legitimate expression of American public opinion and should not be resented.

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One should rather guard himself against refraining from doing that which is right out of fear of being charged as having yielded to pressure.

At the close of the interview Mr. Dulles told the President that during the Senatorial Campaign in New York State, when he, Dulles, was being unfairly attacked as anti-Jewish, etc., it was Rabbi Silver who came publicly to his defense. The President said that Rabbi Silver always speaks out of sincere conviction.



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The next day I wrote the following letter to Secretary Dulles:

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April 27, 1956

My dear Mr. Dulles:

I was very happy that you were able to sit in at our meeting with the President yesterday morning and I am grateful for the opportunity which we had to exchange views. I am particularly appreciative of the very warm and complimentary things which you said about me to the President at the conclusion of our conference.

I was very deeply impressed by the earnest expressions on the part of the President and yourself concerning the preservation and the protection of the State of Israel and your constant efforts to bring about a permanent peace settlement. On this score there was never any doubt in my mind nor in the minds of responsible leaders here or in Israel.

In the course of our conversation I became aware of your deep concern with the "pressures" to which you have been subjected. In a democracy, my dear Mr. Dulles, such pressures are unavoidable -- at times desirable as an index of public opinion. It is the accepted way that any group which feels keenly about a subject close to its heart has of giving expression to its views and of defending its interests -- whether it be a farm group, a labor group, a business group, or an oil group. Men in responsible government positions cannot escape these pressures which at times become excessive and virulent, but they proceed to do what they believe to be just and wise without relation to them. One must however be on guard against refraining from an indicated action on the possibility that such action might be interpreted by some people as yielding to pressure. This is a negative and fatal form of pressure.

Thus, if the Israeli request for the sale of defense arms by the United States is justified, dictated by the military imbalance which developed as a result of the massive Soviet arms acquired by Egypt, then that request should be granted regardless of the pressures, at times unrestrained, which have been brought to bear upon you by those who feel very keenly that the thing should be done.

I was happy to learn that you will take up the matter of arms for Israel in Paris. I sincerely hope that you will succeed. You would be sure of success if the United States would, at the meeting, indicate its readiness to make its

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own contribution to a reasonable program. Upon reflection I believe that you will agree with me that the long-term objectives which you and the President have in mind for establishing peace in the Near East would be made easier and not harder of attainment if Nasser and his Arab allies were confronted by a stronger rather than a weaker Israel.

With warmest regards and all good wishes I remain,

Most cordially yours,

ABBA HILLEL SILVER



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The situation on the borders of Israel continued to deteriorate. As a result of a series of provocations, the armed forces of Israel invaded the Sinai Peninsula on October 29, 1956. The next day, Great Britain and France issued an ultimatum calling on Israel and Egypt to withdraw all troops from an area ten miles on each side of the Suez Canal and to accept Anglo-French occupation of key points on the Canal in order to protect it. Egypt had seized the Suez Canal in July.

Israel agreed to the Anglo-French terms. Egypt rejected them. Whereupon France and England began to attack military targets in Egypt.

On October 30, 1956, I received a call from Sherman Adams, Assistant to the President, in which he requested that I telephone Prime Minister Ben-Gurion in Jerusalem and suggest to him, now that the objectives of the Israel Government to clean out the Fedayeer ~~nest~~ in the Sinai Peninsula had been accomplished, -- the Israel forces had advanced to within a few miles of the Suez Canal in one hundred hours -- that he should announce the withdrawal of the Israeli troops to their borders. He ~~thought~~ ^{thought} that that would be a move in the direction of peace and would strengthen the friendship between the United States and Israel.

The President was to broadcast an address to the American people the next evening, and the content of his address, as far as it concerned Israel, would depend upon the reaction of the Government of Israel to his request.

Following my conversation with Mr. Sherman Adams, I contacted Ambassador Eban in Washington and reported to him the request which had been made to me. He approved of Mr. Adams' suggestion that I should get in touch with Prime Minister Ben-Gurion.

I spoke with Mr. Ben-Gurion over the telephone on the morning of October 31st. I reported to him my conversation with Sherman Adams. Mr. Ben-Gurion said that he could not talk freely with me on the telephone inasmuch as the enemy was listening in, but that he would send me a coded cable reply through the Israeli Embassy.

In the afternoon, Ambassador Eban read me the reply of Mr. Ben-Gurion, which I at once transmitted to the White House. Prime Minister Ben-Gurion had indicated in his statement that he was ready to propose to his government the withdrawal of Israeli forces if Nasser would sign a clear undertaking to abstain from hostile acts against Israel, including undertakings for liquidating the Fedayeen, abolishing the blockade in the Gulf of ~~Aden~~ ^{Agala} and in the Suez Canal and abstaining from military alliances directed against Israel.

Shortly before the President's address to the nation, I spoke with Mr. Adams. He felt that there were good things in the reply which had been received from Mr. Ben-Gurion and that as a result, the President's message in the evening would be of a character which would not be in any way sharp or critical of Israel. At seven o'clock, the President spoke to the American people and his address was, in many ways, a satisfactory one. He said that

"We have considered it a basic matter of United States policy to support the new state of Israel and at the same time, to strengthen our bonds both with Israel and with the Arab countries. But unfortunately, through all these years, passion in the area threatened to prevail over peaceful purpose, and in one form or another, there has been almost continuous fighting.

"This situation recently was aggravated by Egyptian policy, including re-armament with Communist weapons. We felt this to be a misguided policy on the part of the Government of Egypt. The state of Israel, at the same time, felt increased anxiety for its safety...

"We are fully aware of the grave anxieties of Israel, of Britain and France. We know they have been subjected to grave and repeated provocations."

He then stated the position of the American Government. "We do not accept the use of force as a wise or proper instrument for the settlement of international disputes. The action taken can scarcely be reconciled with the principles and purposes of the United Nations." There will, therefore, be no United States involvement in these present hostilities. It will be the dedicated purpose of the American government to do all in its power to localize the fighting and to end the conflict. It is the intention of the American government to bring this matter up before the United Nations General Assembly."

Subsequently I learned from reliable sources that the President's radio broadcast was revised at the very last moment in response to the message ^{which} I transmitted from Prime Minister Ben-Gurion.

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 this issue by the American government to the General Assembly on November 1st, need not be rehearsed 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 be safeguarded, as well as unobstructed transit from the port of Elath through the Gulf of Aqaba, and that Egypt would be forbidden to maintain fedayeen bases in Sinai. Israel's compliance with the United Nations resolutions to withdraw all forces behind the armistice line of 1949 was, therefore, slow and contingent upon obtaining the above assurances which were not all forthcoming.

A United Nations Emergency Force was created to supervise the cessation of hostilities and to take over as the British, French and Israeli withdrew their forces.

By January 22, 1957, Israel withdrew from all Egyptian territory except the Gaza strip and the ^{wa}Sharaf el Sheikh area, on the Western shore of the Gulf of Aqaba.

On February 20, 1957, President Eisenhower wrote a letter to Prime Minister Ben-Gurion in which he stated:

"Dear Prime Minister:

"I know Ambassador Eban is reporting fully to you the views of the United States Government concerning the withdrawal by Israel behind the Armistice lines in accordance with the pertinent resolutions of the United Nations. The views expressed to Ambassador Eban by Secretary Dulles, as well as those set forth in our Aide Memoire of February 11, are fully shared by me. These are designed to give our national assurances reenforcing the assurances of the United Nations with reference to the future of the Gulf of Aqaba and the Gaza strip. It has been our earnest endeavor, in supporting fully the United Nations in this matter, to explain our attitude and future policies regarding certain future aspects of the problem. This we hoped would encourage you to comply with the resolutions.

"Acting upon the request of your representatives, and upon the request contained in your letter of February 18 to Secretary Dulles, the United States has supported the postponement of further General Assembly consideration of measures to be taken to achieve implementation of its resolutions on withdrawal. I understand now that the Assembly plans to consider this matter again on February 21 and that further postponement is probably impracticable. Thus, in the absence of an immediate and favorable decision by your Government, there can be no assurance that the next decisions soon to be taken by the United Nations will not involve serious implications. It continues to be my earnest hope that you will announce your intention immediately to comply with the withdrawal resolution and, in the words of the public statement which I authorized on February 17, "rely upon the resoluteness of all friends of justice to bring about a state of affairs which will conform to the principles of justice and of international law and serve impartially the proper interests of all in the area".

"I would greatly deplore the necessity of the United States taking positions in the United Nations, and of the United Nations itself having to adopt measures, which might have far-reaching effects upon Israel's relations throughout the world. Our position must, however, conform with the principles for which we have firmly stood in relation to these tragic events. I have been in touch with leaders of the Congress. I plan again to speak tonight to the

American people with respect to this matter by radio and television. I also feel that at this time I should express again to you the sincere hope that your Government will accede to the wishes of the overwhelming majority of the members of the United Nations.

"Believe me, Mr. Prime Minister, that this message is sent in the spirit of the traditional friendship between our countries, -- a friendship which we zealously seek to preserve and develop.

Sincerely yours,

Dwight D. Eisenhower "

I had been informed that the President would broadcast an address on the Middle East on the evening of February 20th. I knew of the message which the President had sent to Ben-Gurion. I contacted Washington and transmitted to Sherman Adams the hope that the President, in his address, would not refer to "sanctions" against Israel and that the address would not be of a nature that it would shut doors. Word reached me later in the day from Sherman Adams and Secretary Dulles that the subject of 'sanctions' would not be mentioned and that the speech was intended to keep the doors open. The President spoke that evening at nine o'clock.

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The next day I was requested / the press to comment on the President's speech. I said:

"There is the temptation to analyze the President's speech in detail. Much was left unsaid which would have greatly qualified his conclusions. The statement is in spots weak on the side of logic; overstrained in national self-righteousness and in sharp contrast to the much softer words which are publicly directed to Arab Governments. But the President is earnestly seeking a way out of a dangerous impasse -- the result of a long series of diplomatic blunders in the Near East for which our government is not entirely free of responsibility.

"The President acknowledges Israel's legitimate grievances and the justice of Israel's claim to free navigation through the Suez Canal and the Gulf of Aqaba and for security against Egypt's attacks from the Gaza area. He further acknowledges that neither the United Nations nor the United States has been vigorous enough in the past to see that justice is done to Israel in conformity with international law. He pledges that the United States will, in the future, press for greater efforts in the United Nations to secure that justice for Israel, and that the United States will vigorously seek it in association with like-minded nations. The President's address does not spell out these greater efforts which are contemplated. He urges upon Israel to put its trust in these earnest declarations of the American Government.

"These declarations put our Government under the most binding moral obligations to see to it that Israel does not suffer in the future by reason of compliance with complete withdrawal. President Eisenhower recognizes this fact and clearly states it.

"The citizens of Israel have great confidence in the moral integrity and the good will of President Eisenhower, This will weigh heavily in the scale as their Government considers and makes its final decision on this latest appeal of the President of the United States."



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.



President Eisenhower was resolved to uphold the Federal Constitution by every means at his command. When all efforts at persuasion failed, the President ordered Federal troops into Little Rock and ~~mobilized~~ ^{federalized} the Arkansas National Guard.

On September 24th, the day that the President was to address the nation explaining the reason for the action which he had taken, I wired him:

"In this critical hour when measures must be taken by you to defend the laws of our country and the basic rights of our fellow-citizens, I join the prayers of men of good-will everywhere that God may guide you and strengthen you. Because of your innate love of peace and the grave responsibilities of your office, you have been long patient with those who are impatient and hasten to lawlessness. Now your deep concern for the authority of law at home and the prestige of our country abroad ~~has~~ ^{have} forced you to act. May God establish the work of your hands."

To which he replied:

"This is a much too delayed acknowledgment of your thoughtful message of September twenty-fourth, which I found on my desk here in Washington the night I returned to make the television talk to the country. I was, and am, most grateful for your prayers in these continuing days of trouble and uncertainty. With warm regard, Sincerely, Dwight D. Eisenhower."

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 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.

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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.



On January 28, 1963, I was seventy. My Temple and the community of Cleveland arranged for a beautiful celebration of the occasion. An impressive service was held in the Temple in the morning of January 20th, which was conducted by the Rabbis who had formerly been associated with me at the Temple, and was attended by quite a number of Rabbis whom I had confirmed at the Temple. My life-long friend, Dr. Solomon B. Freehof, delivered the address. In the evening, a Civic Testimonial Banquet was held at the Cleveland-Sheraton Hotel, which was attended by some two thousand guests, civic leaders, representatives of all faiths, men from all walks of life, and numerous guests from out of town.

Antony Celebrezze, Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare, formerly Mayor of Cleveland, brought a personal message from President John F. Kennedy which he read to the gathering:

"Please extend my best wishes to Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver upon the occasion of his seventieth birthday and his forty-fifth anniversary as spiritual leader of The Temple.

"During these years he has served not only his congregation, but his entire community and the Nation. His advice and counsel, his keen insight and his wisdom have been made freely available to all of us. It is a pleasure for me to join with the others assembled in honoring him for his outstanding service to the people of Cleveland and to the Nation."

Both my sons, Raphael and Daniel, greeted me on that occasion and Mrs. Silver, too, responded charmingly when a presentation was made to her. Dr. Joseph J. Schwartz of New York delivered the principal address.

In honor of the occasion, an attractive volume, "In Time of Harvest", to which eminent scholars from many parts of the world contributed articles of scholarly research, was issued. This "Festschrift" was edited by my son, Daniel.

The American Zionist Council paid me an anniversary tribute on April 28, 1963, at a beautiful concert in Lincoln Center in New York City. It presented me with the Louis D. Brandeis Award in recognition of my "historic service to the Zionist Ideal and to the Rebirth of Israel".

In July of 1963, the Zionist Organization of America held its annual convention in Israel. It was the first time that the Z. C. A., as a body, met in the State of Israel which it helped to create, maintain, and defend. It was a moving and impressive occasion. The first plenary session was held in the Binyanei Ha-Ooma in Jerusalem in the presence of the President of the State of Israel, Cabinet members, and distinguished leaders of the country. The mood which pervaded the huge gathering was that of a happy re-union. All friction and misunderstanding which had existed between the two great communities seemed to have been washed away. I presided at the meeting and spoke in the very hall where twelve years before, at the unhappy Zionist Congress of 1951, I had been the target of such bitter attack. Time is, indeed, a great healer!

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:



" The two great men that symbolized European Jewry in its two different forms, that of West European Jewry and that of East European Jewry, were Herzl and Weizmann. Herzl was an assimilated Jew who was made a Zionist by the anti-Semitic manifestations at the Dreyfus trial, and through his Zionism returned to Judaism. Weizmann was a Russian Jew, born and bred in the Jewish tradition and heritage, who came to Zionism through that heritage and tradition and the Jewish education he received as a child in his father's home...

What was the true, specific source of Zionism in America? It was solidarity with the fate of Jews in Europe. Almost all American Jews are descended from European Jews, either from Eastern or Western Europe. Such was the Zionism of the first generation of immigrants in America -- who still spoke Yiddish and to some extent kept up the ways of life and thought that they had brought with them; such was Zionism among the second and third generations, who felt that they must help the European Jews who wanted a national home of their own in the Land of their Fathers. Such was the Zionism of that great Jew, Supreme Court Justice Louis Brandeis, or Julian Mack or Louis Lipsky, or Stephen Wise.

Different from them all was the Zionism of my friend Abba Hillel Silver. Although he is every inch an American, like Brandeis and Mack, Lipsky and Wise, Silver drew his Zionism from his Jewish traditions, his deep knowledge of the sources of Judaism and Jewish history. Abba Hillel Silver's Zionism is a unique combination of the courage and the love of freedom, equality and justice of the fathers of the United States, who laid the foundations of its constitution, and a profound identification with the annals of the Jewish

people throughout the generations from the days of our Father Abraham until our own time, with the historic, eternal, divine right of our people to the land of its fathers and with the age-old yearnings of the Jewish people for national and universal redemption, which have their source in Israel's Prophets. Abba Hillel Silver's Zionism does not begin with the Basle Programme, the Balfour Declaration or the United Nation's decision of November 29, 1947, but with the divine promise to our Father Abraham: "To thy seed I will give this Land."

It is this Zionism that has made Abba Hillel Silver the greatest and most courageous Zionist fighter in American Jewry. In his historic speech at the U.N. Assembly in May 1947, there was no plea for compassion on a suffering people that had undergone the Nazi holocaust but a demand for justice for a people robbed of its land, to whom that land belonged as of right.

This was the motivating force in his political fight for a Jewish State. Not anti-Semitism, not distress, not aid for suffering Jews -- the source of Abba Hillel Silver's Zionism was the consciousness and knowledge that the people of Israel and the Land of Israel have been interlinked without interruption throughout the generations. Apart from the pioneers of the last three generations, who built the land with their toil and shed their blood in its defence before and after the establishment of the State, there was not a single Zionist in the Diaspora who had such profound historic sense of a natural, hereditary, reciprocal bond between the people of Israel and the Land of Israel as Abba Hillel Silver. And although I have not always been -- and perhaps I am not even now -- in agreement on all questions with this courageous Zionist fighter, I realize, as he does,

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



that I had much to be grateful for as I look back over the years. I received gifts richer than I deserved. Providence favored me with loving parents to whom a book 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. I was privileged to live in a free and gracious land.

I am grateful that I lived in this century, checkered and perilous though the times have been, and on occasions so dreadful. I lived through economic depressions and their attendant suffering, wars, and our people's martyrdom in two world wars. But the years have also witnessed the emergence of new hopes and visions for mankind and for our people, the re-birth of Israel.

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 unbovred. 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?

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 in his book of life.



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. Theirs 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~~ ^{THIS OBSERVATION} ~~non-political~~, it may be applied to the Jew and Israel. Israel will be the Saboath 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 Achrit 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 ^{And} cultural life, and perhaps recapture its revolutionary religious ^{synagogue} leadership in the world which twice in the past ^{has} 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⁽²⁾ 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 relief², physical rescue and the reconstruction of the State of Israel. Much of this work will have to continue into ^{the}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 enrich-
ment 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} 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



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^{who then}
to ~~address myself to~~ ^{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 ^{why} ~~may~~ 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...

~~However~~

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

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 ^{and more} 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,



and in service and devotion, loyal and proud citizens of the United States.

They served it patriotically in peace and in war. They made creditable contributions to its material prosperity, to its political and social progress, its democratic institutions, to labor and industry, to its arts, science, literature and music. They supported generously all the philanthropic and social agencies and institutions of their communities -- Jewish and non-Jewish alike. They have been not an unworthy or unimportant part of the colorful unique and noble mosaic which is America.

Nor have they ignored or forgotten their own religious heritage. They remained faithful to it. Upon the shores of the new land they built their synagogues, their schools and their institutions of learning and philanthropy which have always embodied the ethical ideals and the way of life of our people. They did not isolate themselves from the lot of their fellow-Jews in other parts of the world. They remained bound to them in fraternal solicitude. They helped them in their need. They came to their defense when attacked. They poured out their generosity when tragedy overtook them. They rallied to the task of building the State of Israel when the historic moment arrived, and they have undergirded it with their support and unflagging interest since then.

If the American Jews of the coming decades will carry on uninterruptedly and with wisdom and discrimination, putting first things first, and accentuating the positive and indispensable enterprises of Jewish life, they will make the numerically largest Jewish community in the world also one of

the greatest in terms of faith, culture, and scholarship. We are in the growth-stage of our history here, "a fruitful bough by a spring".

What may endanger our Jewish future here is not conscious escapism or deliberate assimilationist ~~tendencies~~ such as characterized Jewish communities elsewhere and at other times. ^{but} Rather, a too facile adaptability, an unconscious drift and a care-free relaxation of all disciplines, ~~not out of conviction but~~ out of sheer indifference.

What we should fear most is the rise of a generation of prosperous Jews who have no spiritual anchorage, or a generation of clever, restless Jews of quick ferment and high voltage, rooted in no religious tradition, reverent of no moral code, ignorant of all Jewish learning and held to social responsibility by no inner spiritual restraint, who will range and bluster all over the American scene from literature and art to politics and government and will commit their fellow Jews in the eyes of the American people. Such floating mines are a danger to all people, but especially to a minority group. Some of these mines are already exploding.

If American Jewry of tomorrow will restore what has become peripheral in our life to the center again -- the synagogue, the school, the academy and the religious disciplines of Judaism -- if it will recapture the wisdom of our ancient teachers who admonished us that the study of the Torah outweighs all other commandments for it leads directly to them all -- then American Jewry is destined to enjoy a resplendent ^{future} ~~century~~ of spiritual growth in this gracious land.

add for J.S. 1.1