

Abba Hillel Silver Collection Digitization Project

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MS-4787: Abba Hillel Silver Papers, 1902-1989.

Series VII: Personal Miscellaneous, 1908-1989, undated. Sub-series D: Writings, 1915-1963, undated.

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Fragments and unidentified writings, undated.

Western Reserve Historical Society 10825 East Boulevard, Cleveland, Ohio 44106 (216) 721-5722 wrhs.org

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Centennial Celebration

Friday, Oct. 8, 1948

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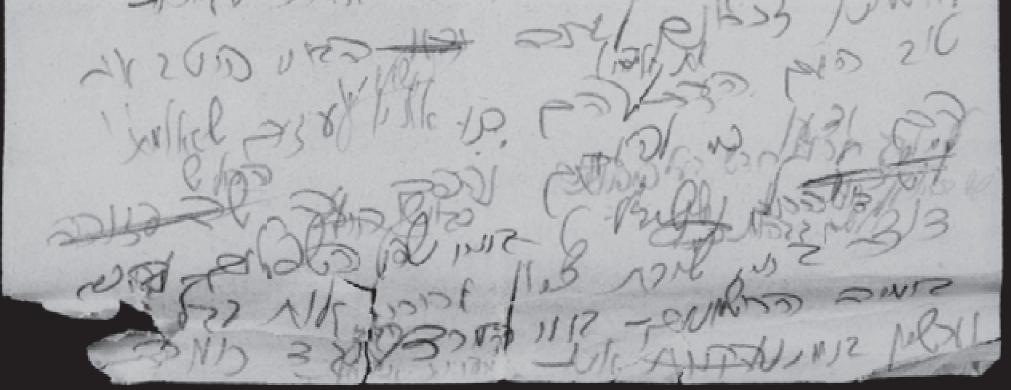
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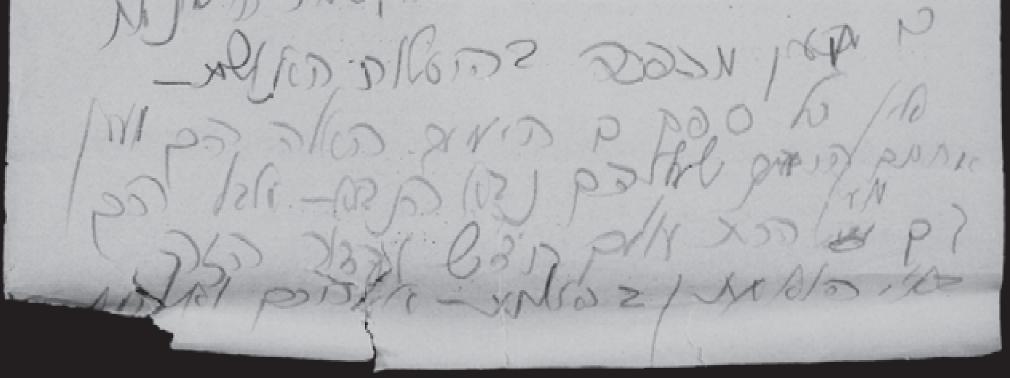
Sunday Morning Lecture, May 9, 1948

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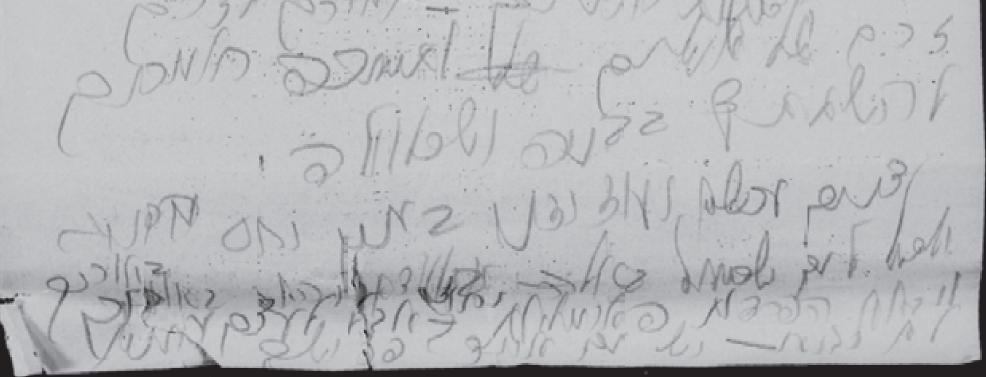
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Part of the exciting story of man on earth are the moments of discovery and invention which suddenly open up new worlds heretofore closed to him. For long stretches of time, the human race carries on from generation to generation, in a changeless routine of habits and conventions, convinced that that is how things have always been, and must always be. Suddenly a breakthrough occurs, of so novel and revolutionary a nature, that it compels a complete reshuffling of all the inheritei ideas and judgments. Ancient dykes give way to a flood of new insights and speculations. A new day begins for mankind.

The discovery of the New World was such a break-through. The revival of learning in the fifteenth century was another. The invention of printing, the new astronomy of Copernicus, the coming of the steam-engine, and the discovery of electricity were break-throughs. Heavier-than-air aviation and nuclear fission were major break-throughs in our day.

Political revolutions like the American and French Revolutions of the eighteenth century, and the Russian Revolution of the twentieth shake the very foundations of long established societies. Thereafter the world is never the same again. A new order emerges.

In the history of the Jewish people, such political break-throughs occurred from time to time. The Exodus from Egypt was such a break-through. It ended four centuries of slavery. It began Israel's career as a nation. Everything in the life of the people of Israel dates from the Exodus.

Centuries later, the return from the Babylonian exile and the restoration of Judea, exactly twenty-five hundred years ago this year, proved to be another break-through. When Cyrus "the great," king of Persia, who had conquered Babylon and became the ruler of the largest empire the world has ever seen,

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When after many centuries of outcast existence and persecution in Europe, civil rights were granted to the Jews of France by the French Revolution in September, 1791, another historic break-through took place. It opened up a new era for the Jews of Western Europe. The ideas of liberty, equality, and fraternity for all men, which were the ideals of the French Revolution, carried with them the implication of equal rights for Jews also. The march of the armies of France into neighboring countries and the later victories of Mapoleon, began a process of the steady emfranchisement of all Jews in Western Europe.

The establishment of the State of Israel fifteen years ago was another such break-through. It marked a decisive turning point in our history. The tremendous consequences of this break-through only the future will fully reveal.

But already it is clear that a new day has begun for our people. An inner revolution has taken place in the lives of our people everywhere -- a new outlook, fresh new attitudes towards life, a redis:overed dignity, a new confidence and pride.

I shall not dwell long this evening on what the State of Israel has

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achieved since its establishment or what it has meant to our people the world over. The record is clear, and he who runs may read it.

These fifteen years have been tremendous years for our people in Israel, glorious in planning, glorious in achievement, glorious in defense. No age in Jewish history is quite comparable to it. So many fears have been proved groundless, so many hopes have been exceeded, so many myths have been exploded.

These fifteen years have been years of testing. We had wrested from a reluctant world the right to become once again a free and sovereign people in its own home. Now it was up to us to demonstrate whether we possessed the endowments for the new role in which we were now cast. The world, and we, ourselves, waited to see whether the Jewish people possessed the capacity, the courage, the perseverance which are requisite for the building of a state. Through these fifteen years, the world and we, ourselves, witnessed with mounting wonder and admiration the unfolding drama of a people's ingathering and of a national reconstruction such as mankind had seldom, if ever, witnessed.

During these years Israel made good, and in a breath-taking way, on land, on sea and in the air, in city, town, and village, in swamp and wilderness, in schools and academies, in social services, in the revival of a language and a literature. Israel also made good on the battlefield, to the amazement of its friends and the confounding of its enemies. All this has filled us with inestimable pride. It has been for us a rarer gift than the gold which we have given to make its foundations strong.

But Israel knows and we know that its historic task is <u>far from being</u> <u>over</u>. We know that these are dangerous and unpredictable times for <u>all</u> peoples. They are likely to continue so for some time. Passions are running high in our world. Dark tides are sweeping all around us. We all prayerfully hope that

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forces of reason will come to prevail and the desperate efforts of nations to preserve peace will succeed. But in the meantime, the cold war is bearing down most heavily upon our defenseless people in many parts of the world. Violent times are especially dangerous for minority groups, and even more so for the Jewish group, which historically has suffered most in periods of social, political, or economic unrest. Because Jews are almost everywhere, they are always in the center of world events, and as the Rabbis put it, in commenting upon the fate of our people at such times, when the stone falls upon the vessel, the vessel is broken, and when the vessel falls upon the stone, it is the vessel again which is broken.

The days to come will continue to make great demands upon Israel and upon us. Israel will not be able to escape the political tensions and pressures of the world of which it is a part. Grave damger lurks upon its borders.

The matter of <u>national security</u> continues to be the major problem which engrosses the attention of the government and the people of Israel. They are surrounded by unreconciled and numerically superior hostile neighbors whose leaders are repeatedly avowing their purpose to exterminate Israel. Some of these neighbors, especially Egypt, have been receiving heavy military equipment, the most modern weapons, as well as technical military advice and training from the Soviet Union. The generous aid which Egypt has been receiving from the United States, for non-military purposes, to help its people whose standard of living is among the lowest in the Middle East, has undoubtedly helped Nasser to divert much of his country's revenues to military purposes.

Egypt has been employing German scientists -- erstwhile Nazis -- to

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build jet fighters and develop ground-to-ground rocket missiles, which are intended, of course, to be used against Israel, and even more sinister unconventional weapons such as are banned by international law.

In the sober knowledge of all this, the people of Israel are going about the business of building their homeland with singleness of purpose and unafraid. Though hoping for support from the free world, they are relying primarily upon themselves and their own defenses. Recently, Major-General Moshe Dayan, who took the Sinai Peninsula away from the Egyptians in 1956 and led the Israeli forces to the shores of the Suez Canal, stated: "In the era of rockets with conventional and unconventional workeads, President Nasser would be etterred from starting a war <u>primarily</u> by <u>the might of Israel's</u> <u>defense forces</u>. We must diligently develop those weapons so that we do not lag."

The Israelis know that this, by and large, is true and they are reacting assordingly. Their expenditures for national security constitute a terrific drain upon their limited national income, but they know that for the time being it cannot be helped, and they are paying heavy taxes for their security. Things may change, and cn the international political checkerboard they often do change -- and in the most unexpected ways. But the people of Israel cannot and will not permit themselves to live in a fool's paradise.

Clearly, my friends, there is much more still to be done. We have done much. We were confronted with historic tasks, and we were greatly challenged. We tried faithfully to match our hour. You who bought bonds for Israel in the we have done to be the stability of the subject o

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Telegraphic address : "Goldhouse" Telephone 533

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A Plea for a People's Policy

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By

Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver

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Abba Hillel Silver, rabbi of The Temple, Cleveland is a former president of the Zionist Organization of America and of the Jewish Agency for Palestine. He has been notably conservative in American political affairs, and has been closely associated with leaders of the Republican Party. This article (excerpted from a recent address to his congregation) is illustrative of the significant new trend in certain influential conservative circles toward condemnation of the Korean war and insistence upon honest negotiations to settle differences with the Soviet Union.

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Though not agreeing with the ideas presented llerein in their entirely, the Peace Coordinating Committee of the Peoples Party of Connecticut has reprinted this material for your information. 69 Congress Avenue, New Haven, Connecticut.

(Reprinted from the N. Y. Compass, January 14, 1951)

the American people to unity and self-sacrifice because of the grave by the simple device of calling this danger in which our country finds intervention not war, but a po-itself. Those of us who work in lice action. This police action has the government," he stated, "will do our best, but the outcome depends, as it has always depended. on the spirit and energy of our people."

In my humble judgment there has been little wrong with the spir-it and energy of the American people. They did not fail, either in unity or in the spirit of sacrifice, either in the first World War or in the second World War. Whatever was asked of them they performed. completely and patriotically. They gave their sons to the war, and their daughters-as many as the government demanded.

On the battlefields our fighting men gave an excellent account of themselves, and withdrew from no sacrifice in life or blood.

Our shops, our mines, our mills were adequately manned. Whatever taxes our government imposed upon our people they paid. Whatever restrictions and rationings were imposed upon them were complied with.

There never was and there is not now any reason to doubt the loyalty, the patriotism and the readiness to sacrifice on the part of the American people in defense of their country or their freedom. I doubt whether the proclamation of a state of national emergency was really required to make the American people aware of how serious the present situation is.

The American people are not illiterate. They read their newspapers, they listen to their radio, they know what is going on in Korea: they know what is going on in the United Nations. Their sons are even at this moment fighting and some of them dying in Korea.

Congress Not Asked

But they, the American people. do not make our foreign policy. They did not send our armies unprepared in Korea. They were not consulted as to whether we should go into Korea. According to our tacked and badgered, especially by the fighting quality of the North Constitution, Congress and Con- the Republican opposition, with Korean armies, to the point where gress alone has the power to de- charges of Communist sympathies, we were almost driven into the sea clare war and make peace. The with responsibility for the victory at Pusan? Congress of the United States was of the Communists in China and

man alone decided this grave issue already cost our people 40.000 casualties.

Our allies likewise were not con-sulted. The President has said that we must work with a sense of real partnership and common purpose with the other free nations who need our help as we need theirs. These partners were ignored when President Truman ordered our troops into Korea. The question is. why?

The United Nations, too, were not consulted. It is the prime responsibility of the United Nations, not of the United States, to resist aggression in the world. It was only after President Truman launched our military escort in Ko-rea that the United States asked for the approval of the United Nations. This is not the procedure outlined in the Charter of the United Nations.

Why did not our government wait for clear directives from the United Nations in the matter of Koreal Why did not our government ascertain before we moved in who else was going along and to what extent and with how many troops?

Why did we not learn of the widespread reluctance of the other free nations of the world to become involved in Korea, as was later evidenced by the rather slim and purely token participation on the part of only a few of these nations?

Why did we not learn about this widespread reluctance before we committed ourselves to what has proved to be one of the most costly and disastrous enterprises in all the military history of the United States? Why?

The strong suspicions entertained by many Americans that the Korean move was inspired by domestic political considerations connected with an approaching fall election has not been satisfactorily resolved.

The administration had for some time, prior to last June, been at-tacked and badgered, especially by-

President Truman has summoned troops into Korea. President Tru- with widespread infiltration of Communises in the State Department and other government departments.

> For weeks on end, before the Tydings Committee of the Senate. wild charges were made by irresponsible political gentry and by publicity seekers of the type of Senator McCarthy. The Adminis-tration found itself on the defensive, with an important Congresssional election approaching.

> The invasion of South Korea by the North Koreans last June offered a tempting opportunity to demonstrate to the country that the Asiministration was all-out anti-Communist, and that it was ready to strke at communism wherever it routed its ugly head. It must have been assumed that the undertaking would be in the nature of a small-scale police action, that it would be brief and not too costly. and that the North Koreans would take to their heels as soon as they saw the American soldiers coming-

> President Truman also dispatched the Seventh Fleet to patrol the Strait of Formosa to see to it that the Chinese Communists did not take over Formosa, thereby intervening not alone in Korea, where a clear case of aggression could be established against the North Koreaus, but also in the Chinese civil war, where the victorious Chinese regime had already recognized by Great Britain, India and other countries.

> Along with the intervention in China we also promised to send aid to the French in Indo-China where they were fighting to pre-serve French imperial interests in that -ountry. The Administration reversed its former line and permitted itself to be swayed by domestic political considerations and to be intimidated by the rantings of ex-Communists, ex-isolationists pro-Fascists, and cranks of all kinds, and maneuvered itself and the American people into the disastrous Korean adventure.

> Was it the American people that failed in Korea? Why was our military intelligence so faulty? Why did is underestimate so catastrophically the fighting numbers and

And why did the same thing not consulted about sending our the defeat of Chiang Kai-shek, and happen a second time, and more disastrously, as our soldiers were opposition in an approaching elecadvancing so confidently towards tion. the Manchurian border, having been assured of an easy victory and the prospect of returning home by Christmas?

Was our intelligence aware of the size of the Chinese armies on the Manchurian border? If aware, why were our men, who were so vastly outnumbered ordered to move on to the Manchurian border? If unaware, why are the military commanders who are responsible for this shocking blunder continued in their posts to this day?

What Happened to the Money?

Did our State Department know that China would enter the war? If it did, what preparations did it make to meet it? Why was the American people lulled into a false sense of security by inspired spokesmen who in so many words assured them that China would not fight? If our State Department did not know whether China would enter the war, why did it take the dangerous gamble to move our forces beyond the 38th Parallel? Why did it choose to ignore the clear declaration of the Chinese Foreign Minister and of Nehru of India, who warned the American people that if we crossed the 38th Parallel. China would come into the war? Why did we move beyond the 38th Parallel? Why are we asking for a cease fire now when the Chinese and North Korean armies are advancing across the 38th Parallel? Why did we not ask for it when we had reached the 38th Parallel? Why did we reject the proposal of a neutral zone between Korea and Manchuria, which was favored by our allies?

These mistakes, these blunders, these failures, military and political, are not to be charged to the American people, although the American people, of course, will in the final analysis, pay the entire cost. These are the responsibilites and failures of the government and of the Administration and of those outside the government and in the opposition party who provoked the government to hasty action, and of those in government who succumbed to the provocation, who fondly believed that an easy-going victory against the Communists in

The American people are now being asked to give many more billions of dollars to our military establishment to build up the military strength of our country. I suppose that conditions being what they are, with the President of the United States warning us that our homes, our nation, all the things we believe in are in great danger. the approval of such military expenditures is a foregone conclusion. and no patriotic American would wish to stand in the way.

But the American people have a right to ask why we received so little in terms of fighting effectiveness for the many billions of dollars which they gave to the military establishment during the past few years. The American people have never been niggardly with their armed forces. What became of the 50 thousand million dollars which was given to the armed forces during the past four years? Why were we so unprepared in June. 19507

Before the second World War. in 1939, we spent on our armed forces a billion, four hundred million dollars. In the last three years peace years, mind you-we spent on the average of 13 billion dollars annually. Yet we were unprepared.

The president said recently that: on June 25 of this year we had! less than 11/2 million men and wo-men in our army, navy and air force. Thirteen billion dollars is a powerful lot of money to spendi on such a small fighting force. In: 1941, when our army and navy-numbered a million and threequarter men, we spent seven billion dollars. In 1950 we were spending twice that amount on a smaller army and navy and air force.

Is the unpreparedness of our armed forces so glaringly demonstrated in the Korean affair due to the failure of the American people to provide adequately for them. or is it the failure of the men at the top to get a dollar's worth of defense for every dollar paid by the American taxpaper? Have those who work in the government really

Failures at the Top

I cannot escape the feeling that these glaring, tragic failures have been at the top-lack of consistency courage and statesmanship on the part of our political leaders. and blunders, waste, and poor management on the part of our militacy commanders and administrators. Theirs is the major responsbility for the plight in which the American people finds itself todays.

There is always the tendency on the part of our political and military leaders, when their policies or their actions result in failure, to shift responsibility from their own shoulders to those of the American people. Somehow it is always the American people who are responsible for all that goes wrong-

It is proper to alert the American people today to the grave dan-gers in which they find themselves. as the President has done, but more is needed to meet the dire emergency-much more. In the first place, there must be self-examination at the top level. A sense of oraniscience is not conductive to sound government, nor is impatience and irritability with suggestions and criticism, and narrow partisinship and a desire to make political capital out of grave international situations.

Re-examination Needed

There is in my judgment need for a re-examination of our entire foreign policy which has been go-ing from bad to worse ever since President Truman, on his own responsibility, announced the socalled Truman Doctrine and pledged our country to resist communism all over the world, a commitment on which we are simply not able to make good and one which our allies are unwilling to back up. A re-examination of our entire foreign policy is called for. It is no loss of face for a government which has pursued a policy which has been found wanting or inadequate or dangerous to reconsider and re-examine and adopt a new policy. It is far better to change to a sounder policy than to be unchanging in catastrophic wrongheadedness. Finally, there is Korea would be a strong political done their best, as the President need for a reorganization of our weapon in their hands against the promises they will do in the future? military establishment with an eye

Without leadership a people think they should. perishies. It is to leadership that we must look for our salvation, a leadership which will match words with action and which will treat the American people as mature people who know the score.

The President has announced four things which the American people must do and will do in this crisis. I am in perfect agreement with all these four things.

First, he said, we will continue to uphold and, if necessary, to defend with arms, the principles of the United Nations, the principles of freedom and pustice. Fine! But please, let the United Nations decide when the principles of freedom and justice are endangered, and what should be done about it! That is its business. Let the deliberations and decisions and actions be collective-not unilateral! Let us not act first and then get the approval of the United Na-tions for our actions. The United Nations has assumed the responsibility of keeping law and order in the world. Please, let us not have a private Truman Doctrine of our own. Let us not do our own private policing. Let us not jump into Formosa or Indo-China or Korea or elsewhere-and there are a hundred potential danger spots in the world-until the United Nation directs us, along with all other nations, to act. We must avoid not only aggression, which we are not likely to indulge in. but aggressiveness as well. Let us strength en the United Nations. Let us channel whatever help we can to the world through the United Nations. Let us strengthen this international organization, which is the sole hope of a stable world to come.

Our New Allies

Secondly, the President said he would continue to work with the other nations to strengthen our combined defenses. Excellent! But let us be practical about it! Let us make sure how far the other nations are prepared to go along. and how much they are prepared world. Truman does not trust Stalin. to pay out of their own resources Stalin does not trust Truman. to strengthen their own defenses. Hence the impasse. But it is clear Of course, they will permit us to that only in the direction of courhelp finance their military estab- accous and continuous exploration try whenever it found lishments, but they may not be of every avenue for reaching un- lenged and endangered.

to greater economy and efficiency, willing to use them every time we derstandings, if only piece-meal,

Let us not drain our own resources too far to equip other nations militarily. Let us think first and foremost and always of our own defenses. Again, in our cagerness to organize the world against the Soviet Union and line up the free nations of the world against Communistic dictatorship, let us not undermine our moral position in the world by allying ourselves with Francos and Fascists and Titos and Nazis in Europe and reactionaries in Asia. It makes the Voice of America sound hollow in the ears of the world. In the long run that will undo everything that we are trying to do.

The President urged us further to build up our army, navy and air force and to make more weapons for ourselves and our allies. By all means, let us build up to full strength, but let us not bankrupt ourselves by trying to arm half the world against the other half. Our resources are not limitless. Our government is already 257 billion dollars in debt. It is the hope of the Soviet Union that we will destroy ourselves through bankruptcy and sink our military strength into the great Serboulan bog of Asia.

Negotiation is not Appeasement

I should also like to draw Mr. Truman's attention to some words which he himself uttered, and suggest that in those words, lies the right direction of statesmanship in these dire days. He said, "There is no conflict between the legiti-mate interests of the free world and that of the Soviet Union that cannot be settled by peaceful means, and we will continue to take every honorable step we can to avoid general war." This is quite different from the dogmatism, the rantings and the war-mongering of so many others, which are so frequently heard these days.

Stalin too, has declared more than once that the Communist world and the capitalist world could live side by side in one

only in the direction of negotiation, earnestly sought and wel-comed, lies the hope of the world. Negotiation is not appeasement.

Let not the American people be persuaded into closing their minds at the sound of the word appeasement. It is today a tabu device to paralyze thought and wise diplo-matic action. There should be urgent and continuous exploration of every opportunity for coming to an understanding with the Soviet. a nation which we cannot defeat in war any more than it can defeat us.

Our Real Enemies

Our defeat in Korea is not a fatal defeat. Bataan and Dunkirk did not determine the outcome of the second World War. We are a strong and powerful nation. We can secome stronger and even more powerful. We are faced with most grave and menacing problems, and while we should do all that is practical and necessary to build up our military strength, we should bear in mind always that the basic solution lies not on the battlefield. It will have to be found at the conference table.

Ous appeal to our nation leader-ship in Washington, which we make in all good will, for we are all involved in one common destiny, s to be courageous and unafraid not to be swayed by partisan political consideration and not to allow itself to be stampeded by war-mongers, fanatics and cranks, and by those who would push us into war for reasons which have nothing to do with love of country.

There are those in our country who co not want an understanding with Russia. There are those even in high government posts who are ardently advocating a preventive war with Russia. There are those who will try to sabotage any possibility of agreement. These are our real enemies. When our Presi-dent will give the American people the kind of leadership they need and crave for, the American peoplc will back him up 100 per cent. The American people have always rallied to the defense of their country whenever it found itself chal-

THE COMPASS, JANUARY 14, 1951

A Plea for a People's Policy

By RABBI ABBA HILLEL SILVER

President Truman has summoned the American people to unity and self-sacrifice because of the grave danger in which our country finds itself. "Trose of us who work in the government," he stated, "will do our best, but the outcome depends, as it has always depended, on the spirit and energy of our people."

In my humble judgment there has been little wrong with the spirit and energy of the American people. They did not fail, either in unity or in the spirit of sacrifice. either in the first World War or in the second World War. Whatever was asked of them they performed, completely and patriotically. They gave their sons to the war, and their daughters - as nany as the government demanded.

men gave an excellent account of casualties. themselves, and withdrew from no sacrifice in life or blood.

complied with.

There never was and there is why? not now any reason to loubt the of a state of national emergency American people aware cf how serious the present situation is.

The American people is not illiterate. They read their news- of the United Nations. papers, they listen to their radio, they know what is going on in Korea; they know what is going on in the United Nations. Their sons are even at this moment fighting and some of them dying in Eorea.

Congress Not Asked

But they, the American people, do not make our foreign policy. They did not send our armies unprepared into Korea. They were not consulted as to whether we should later evidenced by the rather slim where they were fighting to prego into Korea. According to our Constitution, Congress, and Con- the part of only a few of these gress alone, has the power to de- nations? clare war and make peace. The not consulted about sending our troops into Korea. President Truintervention not a way, but a po- States? Why? lice action. This police action has

About the Author

Abba Hillel Silver, rabbi of The Temple, Cleveland, is a former president of the Zionist Organization of America and of the Jewish Agency for Palestine. He has been notably conservative in American political affairs, and has been closely associated with leaders of the Republican Party. This article (excerpted from a recent address to his congregation) is illustrative of the significant new trend in certain influential conservative circles toward condemnation of the Korean war and insistence upon honest negotiations to settle differences with the Soviet Union.

On the battlefields our fighting already cost our people 40,000

Our allies likewise were not consuited. The President has said that sional election approaching. Our shops, our mines, our mills we must work with a sense of real were adequately manned. What- partnership and common purpose ever taxes our government imposed with the other free nations who fered a templing opportunity to upon our people they pa.d. What- need our help as we need theirs, demonstrate to the country, that ever restrictions and rationings These partners were ignored when the Administration was all-out were imposed upon them were President Truman ordered our anti-Communist, and that it was troops into Korea. The question is, ready to strike at communism

The United Nations, too, were loyalty, the patriotism and the not consulted. It is the prime rereadiness to sacrifice on the part sponsibility of the United Nations, of the American people in defense not of the United States, to resist that it would be brief and not too of their country or their freedom, aggression in the world. It was I doubt whether the proclamation only after President Truman would take to their heels as soon launched our military effort in as they saw the American soldiers was really required to make the Korea that the United States asked for the approval of the United Nations, This is not the procedure outlined in the Charter trol the Strait of Formosa to see

Why did not our government wait for clear directives from the United Nations in the matter of Korea? Why did not our government ascertain before we moved in who else was going along and to what extent and with how many troops?

Why did we not learn of the widespread reluctance of the other free nations of the world to be-come involved in Korea, as was and purely token participation on

Why did we not learn about this Congress of the United States was widespread reluctance before we committed ourselves to what has proved to be one of the most costman alone decided this grave issue ly and disastrous enterprises in all pro-Fascists, and cranks of all by the simple device of calling this the military history of the United

The strong suspicions enter-

tained by many Americans that the Korean move was inspired by domestic political considerations connected with an approaching fall election has not been satisfactorily resolved.

The Administration had for some time, prior to last June, been attacked and hadgered, especially by the Republican opposition, with charges of Communist sympathies, with responsibility for the victory of the Communists in China and the defeat of Chiang Kai-shek, and with widespread infiltration of Communists in the State Department and other government departments.

For weeks on end, before the Tydings Committee of the Senate. wild charges were made by irresponsible political gentry and by publicity seekers of the type of Senator McCarthy. The Administration found itself on the defensie, with an important Congres-

The invasion of South Korea by the North Koreans last June ofwherever it raised its unly head. It must have been assumed that the undertaking would be in the nature of a small-scale police action. costly, and that the North Koreans coming.

President Truman also dispatched the Seventh Fleet to pato it that the Chinese Communists did not take over Formosa, thereby intervening not alone in Korea, where a clear case of aggression could be established against the North Koreans, but also in the Chinese civil war, where the vietorious Chinese regime had already been recognized by Great Britain, India and other countries.

Along with the intervention in China, we also promised to send aid to the French in Indo-China serve French imperial interests in that country. The Administration reversed its former line and permitted itself to be swayed by domestic political considerations and to be intimidated by the rantings of ex-Communists, ex-solationists, the American people into the disastrous Korean adventure.



RABBI SILVER

Was it the American people that failed in Korea? Why was our military intelligence so faulty? Why did it underestimate so catastrophically the fighting numbers and the fighting quality of the North Korean armies, to the point where we were almost driven into the sea. at Posan?

And why did the same thing happen a second time, and more disastrously, as our soldiers were advancing so confidently towards the Manchurian border, having been assured of an easy victory and the prospect of returning home by Christmas?

Was our intelligence aware of the size of the Chinese armies on the Manchurian border? If unstrike at us? If aware, why were our men, who were so vastly outnumbered, ordered to move on to the Manchurian border? If unaware, why are the military commanders who are responsible for this shocking Blunder continued in their posts to this day?

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Magazine 3

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The American people is now being asced to give many more billions of dollars to our military establishment, to build up the military strength of our country. I suppose that conditions being what they are, with the President of the United States warning us that our homes our nation, all the things we believe in are in great danger, the approval of such military expenditures is a foregone conclusion, and no patriotic American would wish to stand in the way.

But the American people has a right to ask why we received so little in terms of fighting effectiveness for the many billions of dollars which they gave to the milltary establishment during the past few years. The American people has never been niggardly with its Befcre the second World War. -peace years, mind you-we spent on the average of 13 billion

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Is the unpreparedness of our armed forces so glaringly demonstrated in the Korean affair due to the failure of the American people to provide adequately for them, or is it the failure of the men at the top to get a dollar's worth of defense for every dollar paid by the American taxpaper? Have those who work in the government really done their best, as the President promises they will do in the future?

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I cannot escape the feeling that these glaring, tragic failures have been at the top-lack of consistency, courage and statesmanship on the part of our political leaders, and blunders, waste, and poor management on the part of our military commanders and administrators. Theirs is the major responsibility for the plight in which the American people finds itself today.

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bankruptcy and sink our military strength into he great Serbonian bog of Asia.

The President finally urged that we expand our economy and keep it on an even meel. Nothing is more important than that. We must guard against inflation through greater production, higher taxes and through price and wage control. In this connection, an American has the right to ask why the President of the United States did not use up till now the powers which were clearly his to control prices and wages, and why he permitted our country to move into the dangerous inflation spiral in which we already find ourselves.

I should also like to draw Mr. Truman's attention to some words which he himself uttered, and suggest that in those words, lies the right direction of statesmanship in these dire days. He said, "There is no conflict between the legitimate interests of the free world and that of the Soviet Union that cannot be settled by peaceful means, and we will continue to take every honorable step we can to avoid general war." This is quite different from the dogmatism, the rantings and the war-mongering of so many Cthers, which are so frequently heard these days.

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athan in an admite to Ta Sporture about is an preis relections in have faller sharingfully below the our ren Mudards & fustice and rythais wess. Two trials of notorion constraints to beforled a wat admine with the cramest fours graft, was held in hig tin Washington. One under I a forme attany fernal who address the way the motor and the forme shop you they the laws 5 our last flaunter the laws, stoped to the longer with the des un any the hars The Torney to tertific In his new defence. Mut he was acquitted! They say that it is deficuent to prom a curp. Care! They say way things! But what the tern people say is we the account "I'm man, wardle to hise Millfu attances unable themplay on leice or another to being his Gial for gears - he would know be dechind tais where The second trial with an usuable fings the Jupin - a member, the cabinet of that same sharkly admunstration - who for the west sum storos Sand Regis in a calle black by " tarked away faither the lands while would have but the benef. by his new teshing # 100,000 00 is profits This and which day the Jukein loge the with his Mering multi. mell. friend was recently tind in las on the charge , to free Coupining to defrand the goil.

This defence was bulariously funny. The oil way water ded and bricks the Ley. He way loand him the record Why the money had take carried in a little black by by the my the ail magnate & delivered in person unsut ratisfait explained. No was it caplained when The lease when caught with the good delared that anothe feath. tota a student which the stand him the survey for a studenter which the stand further prophy al land uns turned one to this private operator for & plas mition - the References had The autact, the telan that it uses a weat father secret where the the S. I these relpsaces fing patients we determined to see that the I. Should be will prepared. Hence the magnate recent the contract to coustment of storage tanks in Hawain & was faid the last visit the leave of the many vil lands. Fo the Shield ~ 5 the cheapest paper in the land, and the Hoy is drafed arment the sad delinguision foother faithless second with upperfile. I real that scan who unknown to esky one but the Japan scan very hum - our just who staffed a new Pacific accord with Japan & the facus water his is the Poei fii -Wall there 2 were fried - and acquither.

Is spite the fact that the blustuet const 1's yo ago declared that the contract which turned are this oil land to the way with was will trid be it was pelfally the revet of bis here reamption - 1 the Court of hepfeals upheld the decision . They say that it is difficult to press a compission for so on the septement why they use and pust this on a box abays, bribery). They say may things. But the an pertile says that was there taus the to 200 - and damate to part and a there y 100,000 that their en trich under ut some up for 5 sears et. 4 hr. they under un he behand tais - when rich men uesas qo. 2. We vand then 2 case serious. We be we an maching. tert - + track a un lis denie to se them ton any in from where. But bee. they eat at the heart of our monal life. When purties is planniked, when will can braquely dety the lows, then an firmite shength is water - an findet. Ina sand - Such thanks this make laws consequent the formulate and justice lightly regarded the there we come to belies that you unestful and recent when we came to belies that you 1. Wanab: - Sich verduct ste.

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means, are persuaded that the American workers live in slums and on the brink of starvation, or that all Americans are race-obsessed, or that our people hate Russia and want war. On the contrary, they seem to like Americans. They are very friendly to American visitors. They harbor, I believe, a secret admiration for the great achievements of our country. They would like to do as well, if not better. Mr. Khrushchev cunningly plays upon this string. They know that the $2\times 4/2\pi$ for the form of the great has never been at war with Russia. Some of them recall the generous aid which America extended to their starving millions following the First World War; they remember that we were their country's ally in the last war. They welcome most enthusiastically our artists and cultural emissaries, as we do theirs. They want to live im peace and friendship with us.

The people to whom I spoke, men and women in all walks of life, academicians, professional people, directors of factories and collective farms, and working people generally, all expressed a most earnest hope for peace. Peace seemed to be or everyone's lips. They 'now war, far more intimately and tragically than we do. Our fighting front in the last war was thousands of miles removed from our homes. Their homes, and towns, cities and villages were the actual battle-grounds. Many of them were laid in ruins in the last war. Russia lost over twenty million people. In Leningrad alone, six hundred thousand men, women and children starved to death during the dreadful siege of a thousand days. So the Russians are very sincere when they talk about peace and peaceful co-existence with the rest of the world. Their country has not yet recovered from the appalling ravages of the last war. They want years of quiet in which to re-build, in which to raise their low standard of living, in which to give their children a quieter and happier life than was their lot.

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Russin

Their leaders also want peace and co-existence with the non-communist world, but they have not fully thought through the implications of co-existence in terms of self-restraint which they must come to exercise in foreign affairs, in terms of not fostering communist penetration in other countries, in the guise of encouraging so-called movements of national liberation. As I told one of the leading academicians in Russia: "You cannot ask for co-existence and in the same breath talk of burying capitalism."

Mr. Khrushchev indicated a few days ago, in his policy statement before the Twenty-second Congress of the Communist Party, that this is really the crux of the whole problem. He found it necessary to deny that Communists had any right or desire to export revolutions to non-communist countries. If this is so -- and this is a radical departure in communist doctrine -- and if the West also will refrain from exciting counter-revolutions in Socialist countries, and both East and West agree to channel their future aid to under-developed countries through the United Nations, instead of seeking competitive advantages in these countries through such aid, then the way is open for real progress towards world peace. But, how far the communists are actually prepared to put their revised doctrine into practice has not get been demonstrated. Nor are we quite clear in our own minds on this subject.

The Russian people, to whom I spoke, however friendly disposed towards us, are confused. They cannot understand us. Why does the United States insist on re-arming and re-uniting Germany, their former deadly enemy, and ours? Can these ex-Nazis, who ravaged the world just a few short years ago, now be trusted, and should they now be re-armed to preserve the peace of the world? Why did the United States send the U-2 into the very heart of Russia at the very time when Russian leaders were on their way to a Summit Peace C inference with the leaders

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of the United States? Why have we surrounded their country with military bases? Why, while wring self-determination for peoples, did we finance and equip the invasion of Cuba? Why Taxe we happing hat China ent of the U.M. and wisist in the people forms first that a beautif hund an Farman stars in the Our people, too, I tried to tell them, however friendly disposed they are towards the Russian people, are confused. They cannot understand the Russians. Why did the Soviet intervene and in a most ruthless and bloody manner to suppress Why did the Soviet intervene and in a most ruthless and bloody manner to suppress Why did the soviet intervene and in a most ruthless and bloody manner to suppress Why did the soviet intervene and in a most ruthless and bloody manner to suppress Why did the soviet intervene and in a most ruthless and bloody manner to suppress Why did the soviet intervene and in a most ruthless and bloody manner to suppress Why did the soviet intervene and in a most ruthless and bloody manner to suppress Why did the form of the source of the

Confusions on both sides, and these confusions and misunderstandings are contributing to mutal distrust. This distrust may get out of hand, even though basically neither people wants war.

Upon my return to Cleveland on August tenth, I issued a statement to the press in which I said:

"We must learn to live on the same globe with the Soviet people and they with us. Neither they nor we are always in the right. The leaders of both countries must try to reduce tensions. The peoples of the world are waiting for signs of a new and inspired statesmanship both in the Kremlin and the White House. The old is leading us nowhere, only from one crisis to another. Let us not be afraid to trad: with each other in goods or in ideas. Let us compete in only one way -- which system can do more for its people."

"Certainly there are great differences between their system and our system, but these differences cannot be resolved by the sword. The problem before

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Dr. Abba Hillel Silver Cleveland, Ohio 1953 an

permin ?

During the dark days of the war, the heads of the united nations summoned their people to prayer. Human strength, it was sensed, was inadequate for the dread emergencies which confronted the embattled peoples. They turned to God as humbly as did the men of long ago who lacked the elaborate armor of science, the massive knowledge and the great sophistication of our day.

One wonders how much of that profound insight which was gained in the days of the war's wrath and menace has been carried over into the days of peace.

Many of our fighting men, to judge by numerous reports, were moved by deep religious experiences in consequence of the dangers of battle and the trials and stresses of war. Here again one wonders how much of that will survive the relaxing mood of peace.

When the atomic bomb first crashed upon our shocked and bewildered world, with all its dread implications of destructiveness and worlddisaster, scientists, statesmen and military leaders all joined in one hurried admonition to mankind: Return unto God, or mankind perishes. "The problem," teclared our foremost military leader in the Facific, "is theological and involved a spiritual recrudescence and improvement of human character ... It must be of the spirit if we are to save the flesh."

Hardly six months have passed since it brust upon the world and the atomic bomb is today not an impulse towards the spiritual recrudescence of the race, but rather a desperate pawn in the game politics, and incitement to espionage, a breeder of international suspicion. It is mankind's suspended sword of Damocles.

Man is actually afraid, mortally afraid, of this revolutionary discovery which, by every test of logis and reason, should fill his heart with song and gladness. Think of it! Naked, fireless, tool-less man began his strange, relentless march on earth. Across deserts and ice-fields, through forests and jungles, athwart centuries of fear and war and blood, man pushed his broken way forever onward. Disease and plagues ravaged him. Ignorance, superstition, tyranny and fear slowed his progress. But forever onward he pressed, a-hungering and a-questing, driven by a power which he himself did not understand. From time to time, he was rewarded. A gleam of light would come to him, a bit of knowledge, beauty and power. In more recent times man's march became swifter and more purposeful. His knowle dge and his power increased enormously. A myriad of inventions made him master of earth, sky and sea, and of the

abundant wealth of the earth. And, now, at last, his eager feet have brought him to the most amazing frontier of all -- a continent of boundless, fathomless energy which he can control and use and which can forever fremove the curse of drudgery, poverty and want from the world.can now truly feel himself just a little lower than the angels. Here surely is occasion for jubilation from a song of triumph! But, instead, man's spirit is to-day cowered, and beset with fears. His one concern at the moment is how to protect himself from the unleashed thunderbolts of this terrible demon of force which he mimself had evoked.

A deep, spiritual insight came to man during the war when the atomic bomb was first revealed, but it is fast being dissipated in peacetime.

During the First World War, the idea of a League of Nations, to preserve international peace, was given form. At the conclusion of the war, the League was established. Twenty years of peace.destroyed it and ushered in the Second World War. The spirit of man failed, not in war, but in peace. Man could not hold in peace the heights which he gained in war.

During the Second World War, the idea of a League of Nations was revived and on the eve of victory, it was given new life and form in the

United Nations Organization. The recent meeting of the UNO in London, only eight months after its organization at San Francisco, already revealed those dangerous symptoms which announced the doom of the League soon after the first World War.

Already the inner contradictions which wrecked the League have made themselves evident: on the one hand an international secarity organization implemented to resist aggression and maintain peace; on the other hand num erous national competetive military establishments which by the very magnitude and increase of their armaments betray an utter lack of confidence failed in the efficacy of the international machinery. Here is a worldwide assembly of nations created to make secure the rights and freedom of all peoples, but along side of it and overshadowing it there persist the unyielding, the aggressive and the rival empires, determined upon business as usual and provoking as in the past dangerous orises and bloody uprisings.

Our Secretary of State acknowledged only a few days ago that "all around us is suspicion and distrust. He urged that we must maintain "some form of universal military training." He called for a "stop to this maneuvering for strategic advantages all over the world" and

and warned against stumbling and staggering into situations when no power intends war, but no power will be able to avert war.

John Foster Dulles, upon his return from London, where he served as an alternate delegate to UNO, declared: "The first meetings of the United Nations have made it perfectly clear that the nations, at least the big nations, do not feel it very important to settle their differences...Nost of the time it seemed that the members were using the Council as a forum, where through propaganda and clever maneuvers they could score a national gain at the expense of the others."

Here again the spirit of man, which had been stirred and activized in war, seems to be languishing in peace. Mr. Dulies sees the only hope for the success of this second great venture of mankind to deliver itself from the disaster of recurrent war, in the possibility of the American people supplying the spiritual power to "galvanize the United Nations into a positive force for human welfare." "Unhappily, however," he added, "the fact is that at this critical juncture the people of the United States have no great faith which moves them"...The American people is apathetic, whereasfifty or a hundred years ago, the American people were "imbued with a great faith" and "acted under a sense of moral compulsion."

But social ideals which loom lofty and urgent in war, but which droop, flag and peter out in peace, are of little avail to humanity. They are even harmful; for they generate among men a bitter sense of frustration and guilt, and turn them cynical rather than repentant.

We have entered the backwash period of the greatest war in history. It is a time when the over-wrought spirit of man will seek release in all manner of relaxations, and the mind of man in all forms of undiciplined vagaries. We had abundant evidence of a similar reaction after the last war. We should be prepared for such a psychological rebound now. If we are to conserve in peace-time what we envisioned in war, if apathy and disillusionment are not to destroy what hope and faith designed and oreated, then we must put the institutions of religion to work with every ounce of their spiritual dynamics.

It is only religion which will keep the hot metals from cooling in the crucible of the human spirit. It is only religion which will deny to man that remission of effort, that abatement of tension which he craves but without which human progress is impossible. When there is no visible danger confronting the individual or nation, when man is not in the presence of death or a nation on the beaches of Dunkirk, then religion must step in to keep their spirits charged and alerted.

The years between the two world wars have brought us the shocking discovery of how thin and fragile is the partition which separates the primitive from the modern, how quickly the jungle ideas and practices repossess the cleared lands of civilization and how tentative are all man's moral gains in spite of the centuries of struggle to win them. Shocking too was the discovery of how the very techniques of democracy facilitate the triumph of its mortal enemics, and how utterly unrelated to the moral tone and motives of a people's life are its scientific achievements.

Religion must therefore guard men and nations to-day not only against the ever-present temptation to demobolize spiritually but also against the danger of periodic stampedes into chaos, which the democratic system by its very fluidity and toleration facilitates and against which scientific progress, no matter how far advanced, is no defense whatspever.

Our Temples and churches have thus a two-fold function to perform for modern man and society. They must offer man a place of quiet retreat and respite from the rising fever and tumult of the world, and from the clamorous demands of his own material interests. Homust offer him a timeless sanctuary, where he can lose himself in order to find himself. At the same time, it must also be a place where man's spirit is recharged

and energized; where the strings of his being are drawn taut to yield up music. The House of God must be not merely the place to which the grateful heart comes with thanksgiving or the mourning soul with its burden of grief. From its altars, whereon burn the eternal fires of human aspiration, men must carry away kindled torches to illumine the world. Where the state commands millions of men to go forth to war, the church must inspire, for it cannot command, millions of men to go forth to war, upon war; and the things which lead to war, upon greed and hate, poverty and want, intolerance and tyranny and social disunion. Unless the organized institutions of religion can inspire many of their worshipers, to go forth to battle, unless they can send forth leaders and disciples. yes. and martyrs, to fight for the great, simple, one is almost tempted to save naive moralities of human life, our civilization will perish as surely as the towers of strength which we builded in our pride lie shattered upon the plains of Europe, and the bolts of might which we forged crushed our own fair cities into rubble.

For our own people, the synagogue has yet a third function to perform. The synagogue today must bind the broken spirit of our martyred people. Millions of men of many races and lands have felt the torment

of these dreadful years, but none quite as fearfully as the sons and daughters of Israel. No people was forced to witness six millions of its children march to gas-chambers and to human abattoirs. No people lost more than a third of its population in the chestliest holocaust ever recorded in the annals of mankind. A thousand Jewish commanities were wiped out, never to be rebuilt. The great reservoirs of the physical and spiritual life of our people in Europe were destroyed. For our people Europe is one vast meropolis of nameless graves. Those who survived the harvest of death live in misery amidst their dead and face a future of bleak uncertainty. Many of our people, and not only those who live on in the war-scarred and hate-ridden lands of Europe, are spiritually shaken. They have lost faith in themselves, in civilization, in humanity. They fear the future. Their hearts are filled with dark forebodings and black misgivings. Some of them would rather not bring children into the world. There has come to pass among our people "a trembling heart, and failing of eyes and languishing of soul."

Our synagogue, which witnessed so much through the long centuries, must offer consolation to the riven and tortured soul of Israel. It must rekindle faith and hope. It must re-awaken pride and confidence.

It must expell fear, the fear which drives some of our people to apostasy, others to self-hate, still others to abject apologetics, and to pathetic attempts to acquire protective coloration which they suphemistically call "integration."

Only the synagogue which kept watch over our weary centuries, and knows all human tragedy and all the sad music of humanity, can mother with understanding and love the hurt and bruised soul of our people. For the synagogue speaks not of defeat, but of triumph. Its heroic faith has again been vindicated. As so often in the past, the faith and law and vision of the synagogue were challanged, this time more menacingly than ever before, by a powerful and arrogant barbarian horde which spurned the immemorial gifts of Sinai and, torturing the gift-bearers, set out to restore the terror and the tyranny, the black superstitions and the bestial ways of a system of life against which the synagogue, first among all and above all, waged relentless warfare through the ages. + and which In spite of temporary defeats, always emerged triumphant in the end. It has again been triumphant. Maziam and Fascism, which quite correctly singled out the Jew and Judaism as their chief and most implacable foes, have been smitten, shattered and discredited, whilst the the diquity of wan ideals of the synagogue, freedom, democracy, peace, and human brother

The surphas now set upon a day of wrath for our people, a day of slaughter, a day of desolation. But the sun will rise again apon another day. The ancient promise will again be fulfilled. "The people that are left of the sword have found for in the wilderness, even Israel, when I go to cause him to rest...Again will I build thee, and the shalt be built: intervent We shall think with sorrow, fall that transpired in the day that is past, but with gladness we shall hail the interventing that is past, xanixaikhagkadasaaxaa shallxiniixina of brighter prospects and newer tasks

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We know that the induce Ant. - Neitred for short for a second to produce the work of the work of the man by however, is relative to the work of the wo But know all that - day and work the problem any conis. The hijot is evener plemaded to change, by herry woods arean ? the parts. It is very doubt find whether gas row do anything with brooks & frequended preple. This aver atta where they are in a gents and compristors for a pressi part- a atomitures seeking prome toffice by afre tatyung on there human frankter, they are Asiend. They are sick winds of sards. They are was a les Manavoie - Roson slope will and change them. Then only hp his in some pay chradic matment. There are very fine adult hater of Jens, a Catholies a 8/ The value 7 orgs. + her. a jourt all form, hypother is man to bet the unreference this under the healthy - minded man tormon against the cives the taning attacks Then his intelle & thenthed integerty, this reasoning anti-Denroc. And its an county - to protect him a pariet their campaign 2 his innudies distributed is his forement, in his free ane. articlus, in his wijelas. 9). The west frontfood held is not the young, the vier jourg_ is

Race preprodue, any insplanted, is alment ainformable to enother (6 most men get their rel. & raceal proposes for her hefer they the reach adversame - They get it from they elder - It is your parents who passes the minds, then children - and rende them emotionally welfut for not coundy bury in the fullenting 7 a free society. 10) It is the struggle but cupitet that that has sharfered the byothy in the winders world out, this shigh both Free. they was were born; the martine alletion suged & effer of a populoskid all the devisive & dis rule tix frees to deding denser. port. Which was entangening it's econ. provelying they seeps afor Autorn. tured it an a weapon to descreent likevelin, and the A seion to direct the enteres the nation from rocide her to their advanty. They filled their quite with the arms 7 in Maraules later may bed to the same of the same behicgues the states. that quite as overt & shawles & shay life and a say in May' fermines. The tom formula ty any Hillion - for-Fory n- tom - Can a verit, when under vanis them verbid dequerce - as a pol slopen and battle-cry. and it is nothing nior a ben > the classic Naci pruda, & waars

very second observation

No government or people will approve more enthusiastically the conjution recently expressed opposition of President Eisenhower to an arms wace in the Niddle East than the government and people of Israel. They want no arms race. They want to spend every precious dollar available to them on the upbuilding of their country, on agriculture, irrigation and colonization, on science, education and health and on caring for the broken in body and spirit who come to them from many lands, and most of them in recent years from Arab lands where their positions have become insecure and fraught with danger.

Jermon?

But the State of Israel wants to live! - wants to make sure of its survival as a free nation. On every border surrounding Israel are threatening governments which for seven years now have refused to make peace with Israel, to recognize its existence or to sit down with its representatives to negotiate a settlement for any outstanding issue between them. They have preferred the ways of boycotts and blockades and have encouraged raids upon Israeli territory, pillage and sabotage.aut? 24 Miles,

When Israel now appeals to the free world in an hour of danger, when its bitterest foe has succeeded in augmenting its considerable military additional areenal with staggering purchases of weapons of all kinds, it is not of an arms race that Israel is thinking but of survival! and then is no law of Tot or man which device an underded on a notion the right of sulf defines. Dees America believe that Israel is entitled to survival! America

helped to establish the State of Israel. It was the first to give it official rocognition. The American people, the major political Farties, the Congress of the United States **inve** heartily approved these acts.

Has Israel done anything in the last seven years to justify its abandonment, through defencelessness, to avour energies who have the paterned the uniter 7 the World 1 to present? Has it betrayed any trust which had been confided to it? Has

destruction?

it launched any war upon its neighbors? Has it instituted any boycotts or blockades? Has it coveted any of its neighbors' territory? Has it declined to sit down with the Arabs to explore ways for an amicable adjustment of these differences? No, Israel has dome none of these things. But the Arabs have done all of these things.

Has Israel built in new State competently, housity, with an eye to progress, education and freedons The consensus of world opinion has been loud in praise of the amazing work of construction and rehabilitation which the poung State has carried on.

why, then, should Israel be penalized now by isolating it in a hostile world, or by impairing it through a denial of adequate means of A self-defense?

This will be playing directly into the hands of the Soviet. When the Czechs firstbegan to sell vast quantities of arms to Egypt at bargain rates, we wondered what desperate game they were up to. We were for a time mystified by the action. The Soviet had been proclaiming from the housetops that it wanted peace more than anything else in the world, that it wanted the Cold war between the East and the West to come to an end, that it was straining every muscle to bring about disarnament. Its propaganda machine had gone in high gear extolling the new Jeneva, spirit of better understanding and cooperation between nations.

We failed to understand how all this tallied with shipments of large scale armaments to Egypt. Surely the Sovie; leaders must have known that this could only lead to an all-out armament; race in the Near East, to the increase of tensions which were fast reaching a point of explosion and under fonceivably to the disaster of war. Was Russia encouraging war in the Eastern Mediterranean while urging peace in Geneva? Did Molotov hope to persuade the Allied statemen that Russia's penetration into the Arab

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world by way of tanks, jet planes and submarines was intended to demon-

It is clear now that the Geneva peace effort, which was so nobly advanced by the President of the United States, was abortive and we wave the no longer left in any doubt as to what wave the original intentions. The game of power politics has not been abandoned. What may follow now is an intensification of the Cold War, and increased activities on the part of the Soviet Union to provide arms in wast quantities to other Arab states.

What alternatives are there for Israel? If must either acquire from the free world adequate arms for self-defense, or alternatively, it must be invited by the free nations of the world into a Security the free which would make the further acquisition of arms both on the part of Israel and 7 the Arabs guite pointless/

Both the Governments of the United States and of Great Britain have from Bizakuren Meaks y 6 reasons urged upon Israel and the Arabs to sit down and negotiate their differences. Selle Israel has repeatedly expressed its desire to do so. The Arabs have consistently refused. The President and Mr. Dulles have both indicated that the United States is prepared to guarantee the boundaries which will be agreed upon in such negotiations. But here's the rul! The Arab Governments will not engage in any negotiations with the representative: of the State of Israel. Israel has in the past indicated that it would be prepared to grant the Arab states reals across her territory, free port facilities at Haifa, and compensation for lands left by theArabs when they flet in 1948. These have Cauyabalt he was renner been brushed aside as of no moment. It is now suggested in a roundabout way by Prime Minister Eden of Great Britain that Israel should surrender territory to placate the Arabs. The formula of whittling down the territory of Israel to placate the Arabs has been a favorite one with the British since 1922, when they withdrew Transjordania from the terms of the Ealfour Declaration, and thus reduced the size of the Jewish National Homeland by two-thirds. Every

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subsequent White Paper of Great Britain, and there were many, proceeded along this line of curtailing the size of the Jewish Homeland and simultaneously mauring for Great Britain a corridor from Jordan to the sea.

The Arabs however have consistently maintained, as did the Egyptian Minister of National Guidance last year, that "even if Israel should consist only of Tel Aviv, we should never put up with that." The Arabs even rejected the ill-considered, unrealistic Bernadotte Plan, which would have given the whole of the Negev to the Arab state of Jordan.

Israel will not sacrifice any of its sharply reduced territory of 8000 sequare miles in order to augment the 2,700,000 square miles of its Arab neighbors. The need of the Arab states is not for additionab territory in the desert wastes of the Negev, which can only be reclaimed by irrigation and tremendous application of human resources as the Israelis are doing today. If the Arabs are so inclined, they have weed deserts of their own which can be made fruitfol and productive. If they are so inclined, they can hasten to approve of the Jordan Valley per project which the American Government has been fostering and which would provide water for the irrigation of vast tracts of land upon which Arab refugees can be settled.

Egypt certainly has no claim upon any territory in Israel. What What the back would and Masser wants is not more territory but more prestige to bolster up his dicof when tatorshipp by victories over Israel. a by concession is non from from the

The basic intentions of the heads of our government towards Israel have always been friendly, and on decisive is uses affecting the fate of interval is the second of the blocks of the fate of free the areas of liplomatic action which have led to a serious deterioration in the Near that part of the world. Our government could have pressed for peace and the lifting of the blocks against Israel when Egypt courted of support of the in her efforts to free the Suez Canal Zone frem British troops. It was the book

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the logical thing to have asked for as part of the general pacification of that region. But it was not done and Egypt was given a full measure of support unconditionally. When we arned Iraq, it was part of statesmanship to arm also Israel so as not to create a military imbalance in that part of the world such as Russia is now doing in the arming of Egypt. Or when our government encouraged the original Defense Pact in the Middle East. Israel should have been included. This was not done. Had our government served notice on the Arab states that unless the vitally important fordan were Valley project is approved of by them, it would not only not retrain ierreel but would encourage Israel to proceed with water projects of its own, there would have ensued no political juggling with the plan such as has taken place.

The same blindness which formerly afflicted the Mandatory Power in its dealing with the Arabs and the Jews of Palestine, has now come to afflict some of the people in our government who deal directly with the Middle East. Woo the Arabs -- by-pass Israel -- and you will save the Middle East from Communist penetration! The very opposite of course has happened....

President Eisenhower and Secretary Dulles must know, I am sure, that Israel is no threat to the basic interestiof American foreign policy in the Middle East. They must know that Israel is a democracy deeply rooted in the millenial democratic transitions of the Jewish people and of Judaism and that it will to the last defend its democratic way of life and institutions. They must knew that there is a large reservoir of goodwill and gratitude to the government and people of the United States among the citizens of Israel for having helped so vitally in the establishment of their State and for the economic assistance which has been given to it to this day. They are too proud to put their friendship on the auction block or use it in any diplomatic game of blackmail. They know that Israel wants peace with all her Arab neighbors. They know that Israel is prepared to cooperate in the solution of all the outstanding issues between it and its neighbors in a spirit of goodwill.

Grane Israel asks for the right to live and todefend itself.

Tews

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