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Speech notes. 1967, 1972.

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RABIN - 3 June 64 - Y.L. Cabinet

4 OPTIONS OF FUTURE DEVELOPMENTS

- 1.) Change of heart - and Arabs would agree to peace.
- 2.) Change of position - and Egypt will move toward partial agreement, which could lead to an overall settlement
- 3.) Status quo - followed by renewed Russian pressure on US to press Israel
- 4.) Resumption of hostilities

1 - not likely. No Arab leader can do so. This is reality.

2 - partial arrangements ^{our best chance} (which don't require commitment to total peace). This is U.S. position and Israel agrees

3 - This is least which we must try to achieve.

4 - nothing for Israel to gain

6 m. each with a face.

HERBERT A. FRIEDMAN

Culture is first
of all memory

Thread of blood
connects all these
dots - Shon
Eikow
Atzman

we are here

Allen

הזכרון / ס' 3 / יאאל"ה

ניסוח"ט

3/12

יְדִישׁ

רשות הזיכרון
לשואה ולגבורה



תכנית עצרת הנעילה

של יום הזיכרון לשואה ולגבורה

בהר הזיכרון בירושלים

כ"ז בניסן תשל"ב (וו באפריל 1972)

תכנית עצרת הנעילה של יום הזיכרון לשואה ולגבורה

- בואו של מר זלמן שזר, נשיא מדינת ישראל ורעייתו.
הקהל קם.
התייחדות — קריאה — מרדכי פרימן.
הקהל יושב.
נגינת אבל — התזמורת של משטרת ישראל בניצוח רב פקד
אריה זמאנק.
"מן הדליקה ההיא" — קריאה — אילנה צוקרמן.
"אני מאמין" — המקהלה והציבור.
נגינה — התזמורת.
דברים: — חה"כ גדעון האוזנר, יו"ר מועצת יד ושם.
— מר שלום (סטפאן) גרייפק, נציג ארגון הלוחמים,
הפרטיזנים ואסירי המחנות לשעבר.
— סגן ראש הממשלה ושר החינוך והתרבות,
מר יגאל אלון.
המקהלה של הרבנות הצבאית בניצוחו של מנשה לבירן.
הרב איסר יהודה אונטרמן, הרב הראשי לישראל — תפילה.
מצעד הלפידים — יחידת גדנ"ע — תופי אבל.
קינה מתוך "מגילת הדוי העוז והמר"י מאת יהודה ליב ביאלר.
קריאה: מרדכי פרימן, אילנה צוקרמן.
הדלקת המשואות על ידי לוחמים ואסירי מחנות לשעבר.
הקהל קם ונשאר עומד עד תונו העצרת.
משמר כבוד של יחידת צ.ה.ל. נכנס לאהל יזכור — שיר
הפרטיזנים.
"אזכרה" — החזן הראשי של צ.ה.ל., מר אברהם כרמל.
קדיש בציבור בהדרכת מר יהודה ליב ביאלר.
"התקוה" — התזמורת, המקהלה והציבור.
הקהל עובר לפני אפר הקדושים הטמון באוהל יזכור וליד
עמוד הגבורה לזכר גיבורי העוז והמר"י.
- הקהל מתבקש להישמע להוראות הסדרנים

קִינָה

אֵתָהּ בֵּן אָדָם אֶל דָּמֵי לֶךְ. מֵעֲלֵי פְרִיזִים אֶל תְּשׁוּבָתָהּ.
עַל שִׁבְרָה עִם שָׂא קִינָה. לֵב מִיָּדָה מִיָּדָה. רָגַל מִיָּדָה
בִּימֵי מַמְשַׁלְתֵּי זְרוּן עַל אֲרַמְתֵּי הַשְּׂכּוֹל. קָם מִטָּה רֶשַׁע
וּמִחֲלָלֵי צוּן פָּרְעוֹ פָּרְעוֹת בְּיִשְׂרָאֵל. לֵב מִיָּדָה מִיָּדָה
גִּוִי-נֶאֱצִי וְהַמּוֹן מִשְׁפָּטָיו נִקְבְּצוּ יַחְדָּיו. לֵב מִיָּדָה
כּוֹנְנֵי מִזְבְּחֵם לְהַשְׁחִית. לְהַאֲכִיד שְׂרִיד מַעֲסָם.
דָּעוּ זֹאת כָּל הַעַמִּים. הַאֲוִינוּ יוֹשְׁבֵי תְּבֵל.
הַמִּמְהוּ תִמְהוּ. לֹא יֵאֱמֹן כִּי יִסְפָּר.
הִמָּה יִשְׂאֹן קְלוֹנֵם. לְעַד יֵאֱמָמוּ. עַל כִּי חִקְקוּ אֲוֹן.
הִלְכוּ אִימִים וְלִבָּם לֵב פִּתְנִים אֲבָנִי
רָצִי קָטֵל הַבְּדִילוֹ. אוֹשְׁרִיץ. טְרַבְּלִינְקֵי וּמִתְנַוֹת סִגְרֵי אֵין מִסְפָּר.
גְּדֻרוֹת חַיִּי. מוֹקְדֵי לְהַכּוֹת וְסָפִי רַעַל שְׂמוֹ לְמוֹתָהּ.
זָקֵן וְעוֹל יָמִים כְּמִוֹת שְׂדֵה גִרְדָּפוֹ.
נִלְבְּדוּ וְהִסְגְּרוּ לְטַבַּח. כִּסְתָה עֲלֵיהֶם צִלְקוֹת.
חִלְכָאִים בְּרַעַב וּבְסֶרֶךְ נִמְקוּ. מִם לַחֵם.
רָחַפוּ עֲצֻמוֹתֵיהֶם. וַיִּתְרַם אֶכְלָה אֵשׁ.
טְמָאֵי מַעַשׂ עַל פְּרִי בֶטֶן לֹא רָחֵמוּ.
עוֹלָלִים רָכְסוּ בְּטִיט חוֹצוֹת.
יִפְעוּת בְּנוֹת שַׁחְתוּ. גִּזַּת קֶדֶשׁ טָרַם בְּנוֹת יִאֲסֹפוּ. —
כְּאִסְפֵי קֶשׁ. מְלוֹא שִׁקִּים. לְפִנְיֵי מִשְׁכַּבּוֹתֵיהֶם.
לְמַעַן סְפוֹת חֲשָׂאת עַל חֲשָׂאת.
רָצוּהוּ. בְּזוּוּ בּוֹ וּמְלָאוּ חֶמְסֵי אֲרַמְנוֹתֵיהֶם.
מִקְדָּשֵׁי אֵל חִלְלוּ. חוֹמוֹתֵיהֶם שִׁלְחוּ כְּאֵשׁ.
הָיוּ לְחֶרֶבָה וּלְאִסְפָּר וּרְגֵנֵת הַפְּלָה חֲדָלָה.

נשמו קריות חכמה. נצדו מקלי איש.
בכתי סדרש באו פריצים וקול תורה נדם.
ספרו זאת לבניכם ובניכם לבניהם ובניהם לדור אחר.
כי פשטו גדודים — התהללו. השתוללו ואין מושיע.
עו נפרי. איך נפלו גבורים. גבורי רוח ואמיצי לב.
הולכי על מות. — הלח עד לראשם.

פקדו על מקדשי השם ברכם. בטעלות קדושים.
עם שיר אמונה על שפתים במסיל המשקפות.
צפוני אלי חרב וכליון. בגיטו בין חומותים.
בנשא גם. נלחמו על נפשם ביום נשק.
קשר קשרו מצנים במתנות השמד. בקצור ובקצוק.
בקרית המתור במצניהם וקרדו.
רצשו מוסדי ארץ. בצבא עמים התפקדו.
בקרבות עלי שדה ובסבכי יצרות נפלו חללי ישראל.

שמר נשמר וזכרם וזקר שדיון נפשם.
דור לדור יספר תהלתם ובגבורתם ושיחו.
תהי גבורת רוחם משגב עו בציון.
באדיר יצבו גבולות ושבנו בנים לגבולם.
השיבנו ה' אליה ונשובה חצ'ש מינו בקדם.

וינצתם כי אני ה' בפתחי את קברותיכם ובהעלותי אתכם מקברותיכם
עמי ונתתי רוחי בקם וחייתם והנחתי אתכם על ארמתכם וינצתם
כי אני ה' דברתי ופשיתי נאם ה'.

Pincus - 9 June 72

In five years since war —
\$800 m. average spent per year
in foreign currency. Of this
350 m. per year average has been
available in credits. So 450
per year $\times 5 =$ \$2250 m spent
in foreign currency

Foreign currency reserves — over 900 m.
Illusory figure. Foreign debt

1966	\$ 1.6 b.
1972	\$ 3.8 b.

~~WHERE'S SAM?~~

SOCIAL DISEASE SAPS

THE ROOTS OF OUR

SECURITY

RUSSIAN IMMIGRATION

IN JEOPARDY

ALSO OTHER IMMIG.

EDUCATION MOST
PERPLETING

Simcha Dinitz

10 June 72

Today 25000 Russian personnel
in Egypt - including hundreds
of Russian pilots.

MiG 23 and accompanying MiG 21
(for protection) are piloted by Russians.

Hussein 1967 Order of Day
re Killig every man woman & child
in Metzra.

More sophisticated Russian missiles,
etc. in Egypt than in Vietnam.

Politically we see improvement.
US permitted sale of phantoms
& gave credit.

How long will this last?
until end 92 - after election.

Could get worse.

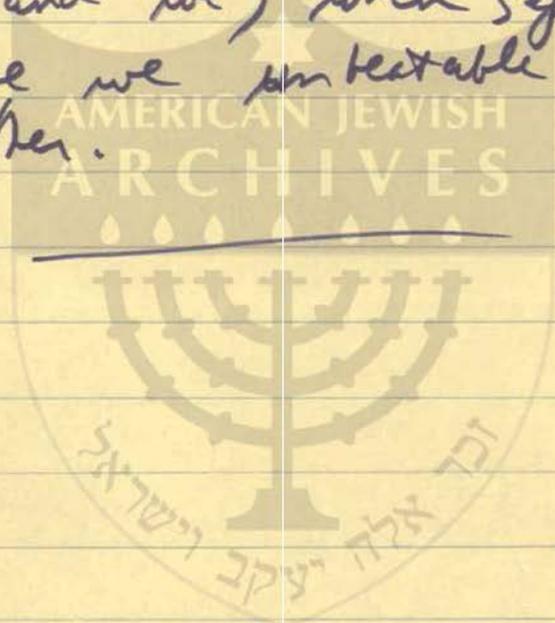
We need your support - as we
have had in past - to remain
strong and refuse to capitulate.

Sadot is ready for war.
We are too strong for him at moment.
But we want no war. We
must deter.

We can, if we are strong,
with a society of quality. Thus
all social problems are also
inter-related.

Not only might we
deter war, but even advance
a tiny bit toward real peace.

Just as we are in jeopardy
(you and me) when separated,
so are we invulnerable when
together.



whites to the suburbs and, more seriously, it may be acting as a force against a rising black middle class which wishes to move into better housing, and can afford it, but cannot find it."

The university should make every effort to house its students in such a way that it does not exacerbate New Haven's housing problem. It should explore creative channels for helping them and the New Haven community meet their future housing needs. New programs such as mixed student-community housing should be given consideration.

Dean Goodman, '73,
New Haven, Conn.

Homage to E. Wight Bakke

Sirs: I was deeply saddened at the news of E. Wight Bakke's untimely death last fall. One of the most endearing of my professors at Yale, he was truly a "raconteur extraordinaire."

Professor Bakke taught the collective bargaining course offered by both the Administrative Sciences and Economics departments, and I'll never forget his highly entertaining and persuasive impersonations of the "accented" laborer and the steadfast management negotiator whose styles he'd picked up over the many years he had served as an industrial arbitrator. Indeed, he was well-suited for such an emotionally demanding position, for throughout his many hours of informal lecture and recollection he never revealed a bias for either side of the negotiation table. In this day of increasing social and political polarization, E. Wight Bakke will be sorely missed.

Richard J. Neefe, '71,
St. Petersburg, Fla.

'How Long?'

Sirs: When your April issue arrived I was disturbed enough anyway at the renewal of our bombing raids on North Vietnam. I did not need the three letters you printed assailing a January article by Mr. Coffin.

By now the methods that anyone may advance for getting us out of Vietnam seem to me to take second place beside the incredulity one feels on encountering the reasons of those who still manage to avoid seeing what we are doing there.

A good many people since the worst of this began six or seven years ago have worked their minds to the bone trying to understand what Nemesis it is that keeps us on a path in which the nation seems not only to have taken leave of its senses, but to have lost all memory of the

Christian heritage one of these letters wishes to invoke.

I have finally settled down to the belief that we have been struck by the same sort of obsession one sees in a gambler. When one system does not work, he tries another. When this fails, he leaves the gaming table long enough to work up still another and comes back to play, confident that this time not only will he win back everything he has lost, but that he will regain his own opinion of himself and that of the people whom he has injured.

In the meantime, the more he risks, the more he forces on other people the need to pay for his inability to rid himself of his delusion.

This is the only theory that seems able to explain how a people nurtured in the principles in which this people has been nurtured—both political and religious—can, hour after hour, day after day, month after month, year after year, and, soon, decade after decade, continue to brutalize the peoples of Indochina. At this last barbarous round I begin to feel as if I were watching someone kicking a corpse. Where is there a spot in Indochina where we can drop a bomb that will not merely serve to enlarge an old crater?

Harriet Marot Taylor, '59 M.A.,
East Sandwich, Mass.

'Wretched' Winter Sports

Sirs: A glance at Yale's record in sports this past winter indicates that some pigeons have come home to roost. Despite continued interest and pride in Yale's athletic traditions on the part of many alumni, it would appear that University decisions of several years on several levels have inevitably brought about a progressive discouragement and weakening of Yale's organization of Old Blue recruiters. Presumably this is not irreversible but it appears unlikely to change overnight.

At any rate, in all contests with Harvard and Princeton in hockey, squash, swimming, basketball, fencing, track and wrestling, on varsity, J.V. and freshman levels, the tally showed Yale with exactly seven victories, her traditional rivals with twenty-eight.

Obviously one wretched season doesn't mean that all seasons will be equally wretched, but to many shaken but still interested supporters of the University the sad handwriting has been on the wall for some time.

Richard M. Rossbach, '36,
New York, N.Y.

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In Defense of The Ivory Tower

Though the popular cry is for relevance, America's real need is for fundamental thought, creative innovation and speculative flights.

by Eugene V. Rostow

Universities have a legitimate role to play in the social process and in the life of the nation. But they will fail in that role if they cease to be universities and become part of the research and planning apparatus of the state, of business, of labor or of any other institution. They will fail even more abysmally if they plunge into political action, for which they are even less fitted than they are for applied research.

Today universities are being embraced by public and private bodies eager to find students and professors to do their research for them, write their reports and become involved in their concerns. The universities, we are told, must cease to be ivory towers and must become "relevant" to immediate social tasks. In general, however, participation in such programs only diverts the university from the work which is its special charge and which no other institution is capable of undertaking—that of fundamental thought.

The application of knowledge to urgent problems presupposes the existence of a body of knowledge that could be applied to their solution. But in many areas, although we have plenty of enthusiasm for the work of applied policy, we have no policy to apply. In dealing with race relations or crime, for example, or the management of cities or international peace, we know what we yearn for but haven't the faintest idea how to get there. We are in the position of the economists in 1930, who literally had nothing to suggest to the poor politicians about how to bring prosperity about. The gap between reality and the systems of ideas in our minds has never been wider.

The universities are uniquely the institutions in which minds are encouraged to take high speculative flights, with the benefit of perceptions and perspectives available because universities are insulated from the pressures of everyday life. If professors and students do not take the long view, contemplate the unthinkable and sometimes cherish lost causes, they fail in their most important

Eugene V. Rostow, Sterling Professor of Law and Public Affairs and former dean of the Yale Law School (1955–65), was Undersecretary of State for Political Affairs from 1966 to 1969. This article has been adapted from a lecture at York University, Toronto.



"Although we have plenty of enthusiasm for the work of applied policy, we have no policy to apply."



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duty. Society needs the testimony of free minds and philosophical spirits.

Our world today is more unstable and more threatening than any universe in which man has had to live, at least since the collapse of the Roman Empire. Its structure has never recovered from the shock of 1914, which destroyed a political system that had kept the general peace for a century and had encouraged a cultural and moral renaissance of extraordinary quality. That war and all its subsequent shocks released and stimulated the growth of powerful forces of aggression and violence, which it has always been the concern of civilization to keep in check.

Several other seismic changes are also changing the climate of life. One is the decline in the influence of religion, of the family and of other traditional centers of social authority. The other is the way in which science keeps playing tricks with technology, the population, the birth rate, the death rate and a thousand other features of life, creating new problems more rapidly than it solves old ones. Science not only stirs up the environment and other familiar landmarks of our lives; it renders knowledge obsolete. The industrial revolution continues to drive people from the farms to the cities, whose size and complexity are beyond the reach of governmental forms developed to govern the small and stable towns of long ago.

Creative innovation is essential if the model of the universe in our minds is to retain any relation to the teeming world of astronauts and new nations, of burgeoning new cities and universities, and of innumerable paradoxes that we try to ignore because they are incompatible with the myths and conventions to which we are loyal.

Until recently the central need for innovation in our intellectual life has been concealed from us by circumstance. American intellectual life, including the life of science, has been largely derivative. Emerson's famous call for the American scholar has never been answered. "We have listened too long" he said, "to the courtly muses of Europe. Our day of dependence, our long apprenticeship to the learning of other lands, draws to a close. The millions that around us are rushing into life cannot always be fed on the sere remains of foreign harvests." Emerson's buoyant nationalism

has not been fulfilled. Our science and scholarship have been largely preoccupied not with basic changes in whole systems of thought, but with the perfection and application of original ideas developed abroad or by Europeans living among us.

If Emerson's plea is to be interpreted as one for a national scholarship, it is silly and self-defeating. Nationalism in knowledge is wrong in itself. It is also unworkable—ideas have no boundaries. One of the finest traditions of the intellectual world is its international character. The universities are still linked by a surviving faith in the old idea of a transnational fraternity of professors and students beyond the direct reach of the states, and not quite their servants. Long may it stir our hearts and minds.

But if we read Emerson's call as one for greater strength in North American scholarship, then we can agree that its time has come. Responsibility for intellectual leadership, like many other aspects of responsibility, has been thrust upon us. Our universities must become the yeast of the nation and the intellectual world, a source of moral and intellectual leadership and a force for humanity and reason. No other group of universities is strong enough to take leadership in the effort. It cannot be accomplished if our universities falter or fail.

In the American hierarchy of values it is rare to find pure theory and the higher reaches of philosophy appreciated as the source from which all else flows. They represent forms of intellectual activity almost without precedent among our people. Even Emerson thought action indispensable to the life of thought. So did Holmes, who left Harvard to become a Union soldier and later gave up his professorship without hesitation to become a judge. It is also the instinct of many scholars and research workers, in universities and in industry, who regard the transfer to administrative work as a promotion.

This doubt about the theoretical is characteristic of our outlook. We persist in believing ourselves to be a practical, empirical tribe. And neither the intellectuals themselves, nor the general public, appreciate basic study for what it is. But until we come to consider the advance of knowledge and the writing of books as the first and only job of the scholar, American scholarship cannot fulfill its promise. When we accept such work not as a means to an end, but as an end in itself, and the sufficient goal of a great career, only then can we expect to fulfill the American potential for innovative thought.

"Our universities must become the yeast of the nation, a source of moral and intellectual leadership and a force for humanity and reason."

"Until we come to consider the advance of knowledge and the writing of books as the first and only job of the scholar, American scholarship cannot fulfill its purpose."

The work of the men who made the American Constitution was a glorious achievement, but the theorists of our Constitution were Locke and Montesquieu. Even Madison and Hamilton danced to their tune. And their great books could never have been written if they had tried to live the lives of modern American scholars, shuttling from committees to conferences, consulting the Ford Foundation or the State Department, and putting in sabbatical years on the White House staff.

In this age when the forces of habit and example press men to write articles and monographs, who will have the time and the detachment to see the intellectual system as a whole and to reshape it to a new idea, an idea more consonant with emerging reality? Professor Fred Hoyle recently remarked that the well-trained armies of science in the second third of the 20th century—by far the largest such armies in history—have been far less creative than the smaller groups which preceded them. The science of the golden Edwardian years and of the 1920's included men like Planck, Einstein, Bohr, de Broglie, Schrodinger, Heisenberg, Rutherford and Dirac.

Hoyle wonders whether the "dinosaur" mentality is not to blame for this condition, which insists on mobilizing a vast apparatus before thought can begin. It is easy for the scientist to become slave to the machine and to the big organization that is needed to handle it. But if we confine ourselves exclusively to lines of thought where the machine can be useful, we may bar the consideration of more important problems beyond its reach.

It may be that we can't avoid the fate of the dinosaur. But it is imperative to try. Today there is such a fragmentation of knowledge that it is becoming more and more difficult to get any general sense of where we are and where we are going—to say nothing of where we ought to be going. It was said of Jefferson and some of his contemporaries that they had read every book worth reading in all the modern languages. It is unimaginable today for anyone to dream of reading all the books, articles, monographs and theses worth reading in his own field. Yet unless we can somehow put the particular into its context as part of a larger whole, our scholarship will be sterile and the sickness of the intellectual system will never be cured.

How can basic work of this kind—work on a grand scale and in the grand manner—be encouraged or brought into being? Certainly the men who undertake such work, whether their aim is the solitary treatise or the inevitable encyclopedia, must be relatively isolated. Their universities or research institutes should have no government contracts and should be protected from private or public companies doing applied work in related fields. There should be arrangements to keep scholars from drowning in conferences, lectures, conventions and other plausible excuses to prevent scholars from working. My years in Washington and in the United Nations reinforce my conviction that what government needs most from universities is not research assistance and tactical criticism, but detached and disciplined scholarship, totally independent, and capable of opening new vistas.

I don't mean that men need to live in monasteries or country homes to do basic work. But they cannot be expected to do such work in the hubbub of Washington, either. Machiavelli wrote his book in retirement and exile, and many great books were written in prison. I do not propose such drastic remedies—at least not yet. Fundamental work has its source in the living flow of experience. But that experience must be seen from a distance and through a prism of high talent. Only thus can we expect the deeper layers to be revealed.

"The justification for a university," Alfred North Whitehead wrote, "is that it preserves the connection between knowledge and the zest of life by uniting the young and the old in the imaginative consideration of learning. The university imparts information, but it imparts it imaginatively. At least this is the function which it should perform for society. A university which fails in this respect has no reason for existence."

Some of the loudest voices in our modern culture urge faculties and students to mount the barricades and solve the pressing problem of war, of the ghettos and of racial discrimination. My belief is that the universities are not well equipped to deal with such problems, and can try to do so only by sacrificing the vital work which they alone have been formed by history to undertake. The life of a university is not passionate action, but passionate thought.

"There should be an arrangement to keep scholars from drowning in conferences, lectures, conventions and other plausible excuses to prevent scholars from working."

"Machiavelli wrote his book in retirement and exile, and many great books were written in prison."

Go placidly amid the noise and haste and remember what peace there may be in silence. As far as possible, without surrender, be on good terms with all persons. Speak your truth quietly and clearly; and listen to others, even the dull and ignorant; they too have their story.

Avoid loud and aggressive persons, they are vexations to the spirit. If you compare yourself with others you may become vain and bitter; for always there will be greater and lesser people than yourself. Enjoy your achievements as well as your plans.

Keep interested in your career, however humble; it is a real possession in the changing fortunes of our times. Exercise caution in your business affairs; for the world is full of trickery. But let this not blind you to what virtue there is; many persons strive for high ideals; and everywhere life is full of heroism.

Be yourself. Especially, do not feign affection. Neither be cynical about love; for in the face of all aridity and disenchantment it is perennial as the grass.

Take kindly the counsel of the years, gracefully surrendering the things of youth. Nurture strength of spirit to shield you in sudden misfortune. But do not distress yourself with imaginings. Many fears are born of fatigue and loneliness. Beyond a wholesome discipline, be gentle with yourself.

You are a child of the universe no less than the trees and the stars; you have a right to be here. And whether or not it is clear to you, no doubt the universe is unfolding as it should.

Therefore, be at peace with God, whatever you conceive Him to be, and whatever your labors and aspirations in the noisy confusion of life, keep peace with your soul.

With all its sham, drudgery and broken dreams, it is still a beautiful world. Be careful. Strive to be happy.

(Found in old Saint Paul's church, Baltimore: 1692)

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Irving Kirsch.

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