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Ben-Horin, Eliahu, 1962.

December 14, 1962

My dear Eliahu:

I received your three articles which appeared in the "American Zionist". I read them with great interest, especially the first one on "American Zionism in True Perspective". Your analysis of the post-Israel confusion in Zionism is excellent. I cannot repress, however, the thought that were the offices of president of the World Zionist organization and of the World Jewish Congress not combined in one person, and had that person not lent himself in the early years to disrupt the General Zionists' party (which he later sought to repair), and had he not violently attacked the very positions which he now so eloquently defends -- positions which I and my friends championed in the years immediately following the establishment of the state, the situation today would be appreciably different.

It was very pleasant to see you in New York. With all good wishes, I remain

Most cordially,

ABBA HILLEL SILVER

AHS:bfm

Mr. Eliahu Ben-Horin
c/o "The Reconstructionist"
15 West 86th Street
New York, New York

Dear Dr. Silver,

I was very glad
to see that you were

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ELIAHU BEN-HORIN

So well.

I enclose the
articles. Best regards,
Eliahu

ELIAHU BEN-HORIN

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December 19, 1962

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
The Temple
Cleveland 6, Ohio

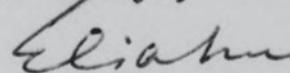
Dear Dr. Silver:

I agree, of course, with every word you say. I am sure, however, that by that you don't mean to convey that the past "sins" of Dr. Goldmann provide the least excuse or extenuation for Mr. Ben-Gurion's present "sins." Even if one can see in it an act of poetic justice, it is rather questionable whether Ben-Gurion is the man to administer it.

During my visit with you in New York, I mentioned, I believe, my intention to have a talk with Moshe Sharett. I did meet with him, a few days ago, and it was the first, if not heart-to-heart then "mind-to-mind" talk that I had ever had with him in the forty years of our acquaintance. The above figured prominently in our conversation, which was quite interesting. I would like to tell you about it, but when and where do we meet next? Short of getting invited for a speech or a lecture, I see no chance of getting to Cleveland.

My very best to you and yours,

As always,



Eliahu Ben-Horin

EBH:sb

P.S. In case you have not seen my article on "Trembling Jews," I enclose a copy. I think you'll like it.

BOOKS

Sharp Dissent on Judaism

THE AUTHENTIC JEW AND HIS JUDAISM

By Leonard B. Gewirtz. Bloch Publishing Co., New York, 1961, 306 pp., \$4.75.

Reviewed by
RABBI CHARLES E. SHULMAN
Rabbi, Riverdale Temple, New York

THIS book was originally presented in the form of sermons by Rabbi Gewirtz to his congregation on the high holy days over a period of years on themes dealing with the authentic Jew, Jewish ritual, Jewish prayer, halachah, the nature of man, etc. It could more fittingly be described as a book of sermons on the above themes rather than an authoritative work. For one thing, authenticity is here equated with Orthodoxy. Conservative and Reform representatives of Judaism will hardly consider seriously Rabbi Gewirtz's thesis as the only authentic expression of Judaism in our time. For another thing, the prejudices of the author and his carelessness in dealing with non-Orthodox points of view hardly lend authenticity to his rather pompous claim of guide for the Jewish perplexed in our day. This despite the praise heaped upon him in the foreword by Oscar Z. Fasman, President of the Jewish University of America of Skokie, Illinois.

The author, quoting Saadia Gaon, bids the reader to treat his book objectively. This is asking a lot by one who is anything but objective in appraising points of view other than his own. His comments on Reform, Reconstructionism and Conservative Judaism illustrate this point. They are invariably subjective opinions lacking the authenticity which concerns the author so much. Of Reform he says (p. 126):

"The classic Reform position took over Paul's disdainful attitude toward Halachah. It opposed 'any religion of laws', seeing in halachah an imprisonment of the free prophetic spirit."

And further, (p. 128) he says:

"You cannot correct a Reform Rabbi or congregation by saying 'This is against Halachah'. There is no halachah in Reform. There is freedom—every one is free to do as he pleases. At best Halachah serves those few Reform rabbis who are acquainted with it, as an 'etzah tovah', a good piece of advice. . . . As you can see, Reform blows hot in the summer and cold in the winter. Today it returns to normative Judaism and in the next decade it will turn away. Reform reflects the needs of the non-religious mass of Jews and caters to them" (italics added).

The author shows little knowledge of Reform and considerable prejudice against it when he claims that it took over the Paulinian doctrine of the New Testament and when he asserts categorically that it reflects the needs of the non-religious. In dealing with the Reconstructionist and Conservative points of view he displays the same bias and lack of adequate information. What, for example, can any serious student of the teachings of Mordecai Kaplan make of a two-page description of his movement that includes the following? (p. 129):

"The term folkways has romantic 'overtones.' You conjure up an idyllic picture when all the Jews in the peaceful *shtetl* lived quietly and happily away from the confusion of the twentieth century. The 'folk people' had their own way of life and lived with shabbos, cholent, Pesach and kneidlach. Think of a pleasant painting by Chagall where everybody is

angelically flying about 'out of this world.' This 'folkway' approach has an appeal for all the Jewish sentimentalists—the people who eat kneidlach on Pesach with their ham sandwiches, or the loyal sons who at Yahrzeit eat a kosher meal at Poliakoff's because they are sentimental on that day."

IN the same fashion the author treats with absurd superficiality the Conservative Judaism movement and the "Catholic Israel" concept of the great scholar and revered head of the Jewish Theological Seminary, Solomon Schechter when he says (p. 133):

"The Schechter view of Halachah is truly 'Conservative' when the majority of Klal Yisroel live according to it, and we can say to the minority of assimilated Reformers: 'you can't change—the will of Klal Yisroel is against change.' But when the majority of Klal Yisroel in America, at least in practice, do not live with the Shabbos, and we say that Klal Yisroel has changed the Halachah about Shabbos, what are we conserving or preserving? 'To pretend that the present chaos in Jewish life is the American way and to justify it by some high-sounding name, or to acquiesce in it and accept it, constitutes sheer self-deception and would make a mockery of our religion' (italics in original)."

"Does the Schechter view offer a valid interpretation of the past? To some extent. Does it offer an adequate motivation of the present? It can't, Klal Yisroel today are the very sinners who need the motivation to change themselves. Does it offer a program for the future? no; sinners can be guided by their own sinfulness."

It should be noted that the italicized quotation which the author uses above to buttress his own point of view is taken from Robert Gordis' book "Judaism for the Modern Age." This reviewer is quite confident that Rabbi Gordis was writing in support of the very Schechter point of view which the author denigrates, and would consider it odd indeed to find his exposition quoted in support of the Orthodox argument used by Rabbi Gewirtz. Any reader of Kaufmann Kohler's "Jewish Theology" or Solomon Schechter's "Studies in Judaism" and "Aspects of Rabbinic Theology", of Mordecai Kaplan's "The Greater Judaism in the Making" or Robert Gordis' book "Judaism for the Modern Age" referred to above can, without much difficulty, gain a totally different idea of Reform, Reconstructionism and Conservative Judaism than that so skeletally offered in this particular volume. They would be badly misled if they followed the slanted opinions of the author. To take on Kohler, Schechter, Freehof, Mordecai Kaplan and Gordis even within the confines of a sermon is a brash undertaking. But to endeavor to make such a sermon stand up in print indicates more courage than scholarship.

Books representing the Orthodox Jewish point of view can be instructive and stimulating reading when the arguments they represent are couched in objective language and when the criticism of other points of view held in Judaism are fair and comprehensive. Precisely because this book was written ostensibly for the layman it ought to be free of the bias which manifests itself so frequently in its pages. The modern Jew will respect arguments on behalf of authentic Judaism which are fair and thoroughgoing. He will look askance at the mere preaching on behalf of the cause with which the author concerns himself.

WOMEN OF ISRAEL

By Sam Waagenaar. 112 plates, 48 pp. of text New York: Schocken Books. \$3.95.

A HIGHLY attractive volume which promises to be a favorite gift book for the coming seasons, "Women of Israel" contains magnificent photographs—more than a hundred of them and a lively text. Waagenaar's book makes a happy choice for either the traveler or the stay-at-home. And for anyone who wants to know something about what Israel is



really like, the pictures and stories here of the women add up to a candid portrait that captures the special "flavor" of the country as a whole.

Who are the women of Israel? Let it be said from the start that they are of more types and varieties than are to be found even in the United States, traditional melting pot of humanity. They have come from all over the world, from as many as seventy or eighty different nations. The photographs show women both old and young, women at work and at play, those who till the soil and those who help defend it with guns. There are sophisticated women at a fashion show and typical teen-agers sipping soft drinks in blue jeans; sabras and refugees; Jews, Christian and Moslem Arabs, and Druzes. Israel has her celebrities like Golda Meir, Hanna Revina, and Rahel Shalon, the country's expert on concrete—women in every walk of life.

Of the five stories which, together with an informative introduction, account for the text part of "Women of Israel," one is about Naima, from Yemen. For her the passage to Israel during Operation Flying Carpet was uneventful compared to the changed ways of her new world and the world of her paratrooper groom Simon. It was a passage of a different sort which brought Avigayil from Dvinsk, in Latvia, to her personal "promised land." But then who could blame a girl if Baltic politics and the red tape of six countries get so tangled she had to marry three husbands before she was allowed to travel and, incidentally, marry her fourth and true love.

Rahel is another of the "Women of Israel." Once she was called Maria, in the little Italian village of Sannicandro where she was born a Catholic. How she became one of the "Women" is a remarkable story, but equally so are the others Mr. Waagenaar tells.

These women seem to possess something in common, an élan of their own, a glad feeling of being at home in the world and proud of it. An Israeli woman will say: "I am nearly a Sabra"—meaning that she was nearly native-born, that she came there at a very young age. That, says Mr. Waagenaar in his introduction, is nationalism, and not a wrong type of

nationalism either. The Israelis made their country with their bare hands, both militarily and agriculturally. Hence the feeling among Israeli women of "this is mine."

To be able to say "I am a Sabra—I was born here," is good. To be able to say "I am nearly a Sabra" is just about as good. And to be able to say "I am an Israeli" covers both categories, and gives a feeling of strength to the newcomers, of whom there are many.

Author Sam Waagenaar has caught this spirit with sensitivity and perception to produce a memorable book. He is a good teller of tales and a competent photographer, twin accomplishments he demonstrates amply in "Women of Israel." The publisher, Schocken Books, has established a notable tradition of outstanding books on Jewish subjects. V. M. D.

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American Zionism: In True Perspective

by Eliahu Ben-Horin

EVEN if the reader of *The Political World of American Zionism* (by Samuel Halperin, 431 pp., Detroit, Mich., Wayne University Press) had not noticed on the jacket of the book that its author was a political scientist and a university professor, he would have gathered that much from the first page of the book — not only from what the author states there, but also from the way he states it. Although political science and sociology are not exact sciences, there is no mistaking Dr. Samuel Halperin's professorial approach to his subject, the thoroughness of his research, and the scientific objectivity of his analysis. The book, which is a politico-sociological study of American Zionism and its impact on American Jewry, has all the qualities and all the shortcomings of a work by a political scientist.

From the viewpoint of a Zionist reader or reviewer, what Dr. Halperin's book is clearly lacking is best described by the Hebrew word *Neshama*. In English translation it is *soul*, but it means much more than that. It is a warm soul with inspiration, hope and enthusiasm. As these elements do not fall in any category of science, this volume is completely devoid of them. The author deals mainly with facts, figures, organizational structures and their interrelations.

Great historical events come into this book only by way of explaining the shifts and changes in the fortunes and in the numerical strength of this or that organization; or the changes in the prevailing mood and attitudes of this or that group in the American Jewish community. At no stage in his survey and analysis of American Zionism, does the author forget or allow the reader to forget that this is a book written by a political scientist, who undertook the assignment of examining a certain phenomenon called "Zionism in America" and of arriving at a conclusion as to what made it tick.

There is no question that the author has done his job conscientiously and competently, and that he has presented us with a comprehensive, accurate, detailed (at times much too detailed) and well documented account of the forces at play on the American Jewish scene and their attitudes throughout the years towards Zionism and the Jewish State idea. All that could have been discovered under the political scientists' microscope, has been duly recorded — and we are duly grateful.

THE first reaction of the Zionist reader is bound to be one of disappointment. Not only does he not find in the book any trace of *Neshama*, but he will look in vain for an exploration in depth of the Zionist ideology; for an analysis of the political, spiritual, economic, social and psychological factors — on the international and on the world Jewish scenes — which have combined their positive and negative influences to bring about the materialization of Herzl's *Judenstaat* idea.

Except for reference purposes, the march of history — of world history and of Jewish history — was not permitted to enter the pages of this book. It seems that the author, knowingly and intentionally, has kept his inquiry into Zionism within the geographic boundaries of the United States. In the same vein, he kept strictly to the surface of things, never attempting to dig down below in search of deeper and broader interpretations of the events and developments which he so faithfully records.

Eliahu Ben-Horin, eminent authority on Middle East affairs, served as adviser to the American Zionist Emergency Council, 1944-50. He is author of *The Middle East: Crossroads of History and Conduct* a column, "Middle East Cockpit," in *The Reconstructionist*.

Whatever the reasons which caused these limitations in the scope of Dr. Halperin's analysis, the regrettable fact remains that Zionism — a phenomenon of historical significance not only to the Jewish people but to the world at large — was surveyed and examined on artificially limited grounds. It is no wonder that the author fails to observe and comment upon the most important achievement of American Zionism, which many of those intimately acquainted with contemporary Zionist history considered as bordering on the miraculous.

We refer here not to the fact that American Zionism succeeded in mobilizing the support of the Jewish community in the United States almost in its entirety, as well as that of a large portion of Christian public opinion, in the fight for the partition of Palestine and the establishment of a Jewish State. This fact, accompanied by figures, statistical tables and accounts of inter-organizational negotiations, is brought out adequately and in detail in the book under review. What we have in mind and what one cannot find in the book at all is the wondrous fact that, "at a moment's notice," American Zionism was capable of accepting and brilliantly discharging the responsibility of political leadership in world Zionism.

IN order to understand and properly assess this accomplishment of American Zionism, we must digress into the field of Zionist history. For over four decades — from the formation of the World Zionist Organization, in 1897, until the outbreak of World War II, in 1939 — European Jewry, and most particularly Russian Jewry, have provided "the brains" and top leadership for the Zionist movement. Achad Ha'am, the philosopher of Zionism; Chaim Weizmann, Vladimir Jabotinsky, Yechiel Tchenov, Israel Idelson, Leo Motzkin, Victor Jacobson, Shmaryahu Levin, Daniel Pasmanik — the ideologists, political leaders, propagandists and colonizers of Zionism — all came from the midst of Russian Jewry (in the case of Sokolow, from Russian-Polish Jewry). So did Ber Borokhov, the ideologist of "Poalei-Zion" and of the synthesis between Zionism and Socialism, as did most of those who were later to create and lead Labor Zionism and to head the State of Israel: A. D. Gordon, David Ben-Gurion, Yizhak Ben-Zvi, Joseph Sprinzak, to mention just a few. Chaim Nachman Bialik and Saul Chernichovsky, the great poets of Jewish national renaissance; Eliezer Ben-Yehudah, the reviver of modern Hebrew; Joseph Trumpeldor, the hero of Tel-Hai and founder of the "Hechalutz" — also came from Russia. Other European Jewish communities have contributed to a lesser degree to the ranks of world Zionist leadership, but they did this mostly in the areas of sociology and colonization (Arthur Ruppin, Franz Oppenheimer and others), though from their midst came the two titans of political Zionism who are in a category by themselves: Theodor Herzl and Max Nordau.

Not only did every new idea in Zionist thought, ideology, politics, forms and methods of Palestine colonization originate within the framework of Russian-European Zionism, but also the actual control of everything both in the World Zionist Organization and in the Palestine Yishuv securely rested in the hands of the Russian-European leadership of the world movement.

THROUGHOUT the years, all that the world Zionist leadership wanted of American Zionism was money — maximum financial support for Palestine colonization and for Zionist institutions. They

did not invite, expect, or even desire any contribution from American Zionism in the field of ideology, formulation of policies, or of any other politico-intellectual endeavor. It seemed as if the leaders of Zionism shared the popular conception of the American Jews as "money-bags," who had nothing to offer except money.

To be sure, if the great prominence, influence and personal connections in high places of men like Louis D. Brandeis, Felix Frankfurter, or Stephen S. Wise could be used to advance Zionist political objectives, full use was made of these men. But the fact that there were American Zionists made little impression in London or in Jerusalem. Their influence was welcome in the same way as that of non-Zionist Jewish notables of the type of Louis Marshall or Bernard Baruch in America, Lord Melchett in England, or Leon Blum in France. The attitude toward the Zionist movement in America, toward the ZOA and other organizations, remained very much the same. All that the American Zionists deserved from the world movement was delegates and speakers for fund-raising campaigns. Brains, *khakhma*, the world leaders had enough of their own, and should they ever need more, American Zionism would be the last place where they would look for it.

Then, came the tragic caprice of history. European Jewry was in the murderous hands of the Nazis, soon to be physically annihilated. Russian Jewry was still imprisoned by the Soviets. The small, pioneering, politically advanced Palestine Jewry was still under the anti-Zionist rule of the British. All of a sudden, the American "money-bags" were called upon to supply something more precious than money: brains, leadership, political strategy and tactics, diplomatic know-how, enlightenment and organization of public opinion — all that was needed to bring about the establishment of a Jewish State. And the "money-bags" did it all with unsurpassed excellence.

The central question, therefore, which *The Political World of American Zionism* should have analyzed and answered is this: From what sources did American Zionism derive in an hour of critical need all the political know-how, high-grade idealism, selfless dedication of the Zionist rank and file and statesmanlike vision of its leadership — to bring about a total mobilization of American Jewry on behalf of Palestine partition and the creation of a Jewish State?

IN attempting to find the right answer to this question, one must keep in mind that, if Russian Jewry made such outstanding contributions to our national renaissance and to the Zionist idea, it was due only in small part to the great talents or brilliance of those individual Russian Jews who grew up to be the ideologists, poets, writers, orators and organizers of world Zionism. The major portion of the answer is to be found in what Russian Jewry represented in its totality: in its historical background, prevailing spiritual and social ideals, cultural standards — in all that combines to form the "climate" of a given country or community. The climate prevailing in American Jewry was most certainly unfavorable for any political mass action in the name of Jewish nationhood and statehood. Yet, American Zionists did it! How? Where is the answer to this question?

Curiously enough, it is here that Dr. Halperin's book may make a valuable and most timely contribution to the records of our times. Although what we called "the central question" was never even raised in the book, the author's factual, dispassionate and detailed account of the various conferences, negotiations, mergers and splits between the

American Zionists, on the one hand, and the major non-Zionist organizations (particularly the American Jewish Committee), on the other, sheds much light on the problem. What is more, there is also a great deal to be learnt from this book about the causes of the Zionist movement's deterioration in America and in the Galut in general in the years following the establishment of the State of Israel; about the present day Israeli-Zionist relations; and about the internal ideological debate on the meaning of Zionism and of being a Zionist in the Galut after Jewish statehood has been achieved.

Indeed, this writer has no hesitation in recommending Dr. Halperin's book to the special attention of David Ben-Gurion. If the Prime Minister of Israel can spare the time for it, he may find in this survey of American Zionism the right answers to the many doubts he voiced in recent years about Galut Zionism and Galut Zionists; to his questioning their right to call themselves "Zionists"; and to his statements that, as far as he is concerned, or the State of Israel, there is no real difference between Zionists and non-Zionists.

Not that Dr. Halperin's book deals with the "post-State" period. It does not. His survey ends with the emergence of the

(Continued on next page)

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AMERICAN ZIONISM

(Continued from Page 6)

State of Israel. However, his account of what happened on the American Jewish-Zionist scene in past years, and particularly in the critical pre-Partition years 1943-1947, has a direct bearing on subsequent developments and the present Israeli-Zionist situation. Once again, if Mr. Ben-Gurion honestly entertains the illusion that, from the viewpoint of Israel, there is no difference between an Abba Hillel Silver and a Jacob Blaustein, he had better find the time to read this book.

THE ideological difference between Zionists and non-Zionists was basic and has remained basic to this day, as the research and documentation of Dr. Halperin proves beyond doubt. Innumerable quotations from this book of official statements by spokesmen and leaders of the American Jewish Committee clearly spell out that "... non-Zionists opposed partition and the consequent Jewish State for a host of 'emotional, economic, social, cultural and political reasons,' as well as 'on principle,' since they considered a Jewish state 'dangerous' to the Jewish people ... and they are frank to say that they will not accept a Jewish State." Because of space limitations, we shall reproduce here only a few of these quotations, but they should suffice.

As late as 1944, the AJC (American Jewish Committee) still ... "objected to the Zionist demand for a commonwealth. Again the AJC proposed an international trusteeship until the 'final status' of Palestine could be determined by 'as yet unpredictable circumstances.'" As late as 1946, Judge Proskauer, president of AJC, "testifying before the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry ... still maintained a preference for an international trusteeship while diplomats continued the search for alternatives to independent Jewish statehood."

After persistently fighting against political Zionism and the idea of Jewish nationhood and statehood for over a score of years, the AJC had to ultimately accept the fact that a Jewish State came into being and try "to make the best" of this "misfortune." Some of the reasons behind this ultimate shift in AJC's position are divulged in a memorandum by one of its staff members, in 1945, in which it is stated that the local AJC chapters could not

... be held together by antipathy to or disinterest in "political" Zionism. If the Committee is to remain in direct and overt opposition to political Zionism, it will become but another American Council for Judaism. It will inherit the prejudice that is wide-spread against this organization. It will attract "cranks" ...

A leader of the AJC, Morris D. Waldman, stated it even more clearly, in November 1944, when he advised the AJC to "... gracefully withdraw from its controversial position vis-à-vis the Zionists, and so liberate itself from the unpopular position in which it allowed itself to be falsely maneuvered ..."

How graceful was their subsequent withdrawal is a matter of opinion, but it must have been graceful enough to take in a man of Ben-Gurion's political experience. The political scientist who authored this book, however, arrives at a more sober and realistic conclusion about the AJC, when he observes that "... in the final analysis, then, the Committee's belated support for an independent Jewish State must be attributed primarily to political necessity rather than to any change of heart about Zionism...."

THE Zionist heat was on in America to such a degree that no Jewish organization and no Jewish leader, no matter what their views and objectives were, could afford to fight against, obstruct or fail to cooperate in some form with political Zionism in the drive for attainment of Jewish statehood. Who put the heat on?

The Zionists of America, of course, and their leaders. In this respect, there was a wonderful unity of purpose among the various factions in the leadership of American Zionism. Louis Lipsky and Louis Levinthal were no less militant and uncompromising on the question of the Jewish State than Abba Hillel Silver and Emanuel Neumann (by the way, all four of them past Presidents of the ZOA). At least for a time, all the personal likes and dislikes, differences in temperament and even differences in viewpoint on many Zionist issues were buried, and American Zionism stood united as never before — and, one is sorry to say, as never since.

The other basic difference between the Zionists and non-Zionists of America was about the very character, scope and militancy of the political action to be undertaken on behalf of Palestine partition. The AJC, true to its philosophy, was opposed to any mass action, to speaking out loud, to any public demonstrations or manifestations. Theirs was a philosophy of *Shtadlanut*. They believed that the best results could be obtained by having Mr. X., a Jewish notable, make representations to Mr. Y., a non-Jewish politician or man in power, and that, under all circumstances, it must be done quietly and unobtrusively.

The viewpoint of American Zionism was best expressed by Abba Hillel Silver, who wrote to Chaim Weizmann, on March 3, 1944:

... We are definitely not of the opinion that quiet diplomacy will alone bring about the desired results or that we should pin our hopes entirely upon the good will of one or two people. ... Our good friends here, upon whom we have been relying so much (referring to President Roosevelt, primarily) will not move on their own accord, inspired by the moral righteousness of our cause. Nor will the intercession of a few powerful people achieve the desired results. Our friends might be inspired to move and take some definite action as a result of the pressure of five million Jews in a critical election year.

And on another occasion, Silver again advises:

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

The two philosophies of political action, the Zionist and non-Zionist, were poles apart. And what hung in the balance was nothing less than the future of the Jewish people. Had the AJC's philosophy prevailed, there is little doubt that the U.N. Partition resolution would not have been secured and the State of Israel could not have come into being. Most fortunately, the Zionists won the day and proceeded to organize a political campaign of unparalleled scope and intensity, which lasted for several years and which never abated — until the day victory was won.

The chief architect of that victory was the American Zionist Emergency Council (AZEC), the central political and public relations instrumentality of American Zionism, specially created to conduct the mobilization of American Jewry and of public opinion in support of partition and the Jewish State. Under the chairmanship of Dr. Abba Hillel Silver and the executive direction of Harry L. Shapiro, the AZEC developed into the most formidable and most effective political headquarters that ever existed in the Zionist movement anywhere in the world.

No one who has had the privilege of observing at close quarters the work of AZEC in New York and the response of the people all over America, could ever sin in underestimating the political capabilities and high idealism of American Zionists, or the spiritual and intellectual potentialities of American Jewry.

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Argentine Jewry Builds on Zionist Foundations

by Jacob Beller

ZIONISM is an active, live movement among the Jews of Argentina. It can be said that Argentina is the most Zionist-minded community in the Jewish Diaspora. There are many reasons for this. One is that Argentina's Jews live in greater concentration than those of other Latin American lands. The first generation of immigrants is still Yiddish-speaking and it is not difficult to talk to them in the Zionist vernacular and idiom. And what is essential, they feel themselves to be Jews and Jews primarily. Argentina Jewry is a community of the *folksmensh* whose leaders stem from the Baron de Hirsch colonies where they were exposed to a solid Jewish background.

It is characteristic of the Argentine variety of Zionism that it started in the Baron de Hirsch colonies. It is a paradox that it stems from those colonists who were settled on the soil of this baronial Jewish dreamer whose plan was actually meant as an alternative and a competitive force to the Zionist goal; these colonists nevertheless still dreamed of the Return to Zion and there on the Jewish fields of Argentina created a Zionist movement which later entered the urban community with such success.

The Zionist dream began to take on an increasingly important role in the

communal life of the colonies and in the hearts of the toiling, overworked colonists. The thought was: once we have decided on the hard task of working the soil why not do it in and for our own land? Riding the untamed mustangs in the mud and mire of the perilous pampas or in the swamps of Entre Rios, Jews went about to sell the shekel. At one end of every colony there was a piece of land which even the Argentine Gentiles called "Palestine." Each of the colonists contributed a strip of his land for the Jewish National Fund, and the planting, plowing and harvesting of these strips were celebrated with great pomp, with blue-and-white banners fluttering from the primitive plows of the colonists. The wind would blow the burning sand over the bronzed faces of the colonists, and through the air would ring the childish voices of the pupils who came with their teachers to sing "Hatikvah."

THE writer of these lines who was once a teacher in the ICA schools in the Argentine colonies witnessed many such scenes in years gone by. Later Zionist groups arose in the colonies with names such as "Agudath Nahum Sokolow," "Agudath Zion Luiz Brandeis," "Zerubavel," "Ohavei Zedek," and the Zionist movement moved rapid-

ly from the colonies into the cities. When the San Remo treaty was signed about 39 years ago, the writer of these lines was present in a giant parade carried out by the Jews of Buenos Aires on the streets of that metropolis. The newspapers of that day reported it as the greatest street demonstration ever seen in Buenos Aires. Jews carried flags aloft, took out the scrolls of the Torah, and the strains of "Hatikvah" were heard in full chorus in distant Argentina for the first time.

The Argentine government, not knowing what the excitement was about and being quite unoriented in the whole matter, became alarmed at this gigantic demonstration and immediately called out the police to be on the alert for trouble. The police appeared alongside the marching masses ready to crush a rebellion, for in the rather uneasy domestic situation that prevailed at that time a revolution was quite to be expected. However, when they saw that the demonstrators bore no firearms, that no anti-government slogans were being displayed, that not a single shot was fired, it very soon became clear that there was nothing to fear.

ONE of the pioneers of Zionism in the old province of Galicia was the late Nachman Gesang. For many years he was also the president of the Zionist Organization of Argentina. Himself a person with an experience and a talent for organization which he brought with him from the former Austrian province of Galicia, he put the Zionist Organization on a well-administered base with a modern apparatus. It was a model for the Argentine Jewish community of his day—at that time a community that still lacked the experience of systematic organizational planning and activity.

His son—aptly named Herzl—has carried on his spiritual legacy. He is also president of the Argentine Zionist Organization, chairman of the Latin American Zionist Confederation, and a member of the Actions Committee. He was a pupil in the Zionist school his father founded. Himself a native of the Argentine, he is familiar with the mentality of the younger generation that is now beginning to replace the immigrant generation.

Herzl Gesang, a successful businessman with commercial contacts and enterprises in many countries, received me in the company of the director of the General Zionist Organization, Mordecai Kaufman, in his office located in the commercial center of Buenos Aires. To the question I put to him about Zionist activity in Argentina he replied:

"We are virtually the pioneers of this community, having stimulated and expanded its growth and development. Long before Jewish education had reached its present level we established our own school system which still exists today. Our schools are organized in a 'Fraternal Association of Jewish Schools,' and I can say with the fullest justification that we originally set the tone for Jewish education here as it has persisted until now.

"And this goes beyond Jewish education," added Senor Gesang. "We have been the pace-setters in all avenues of Jewish cultural and communal life and thanks to us it has remained thoroughly Zionist-oriented in spirit.

"Our predecessors, like my father of



HERZL GESANG

blessed memory, were thinking of the future when he and his colleagues laid the foundations of Jewish education in the spirit and traditions of our movement. We have in effect eliminated the distinctions between Ashkenazim and Sephardim, and lately also the differences with German Jews, who are an important element in our community. Zionism has become a non-partisan platform where the Sephardim, German Jews and 'our' East European Jews can come together and where the mutual grievances and differences can be ironed out.

"OUR community," Senor Gesang continued, "is officially affiliated with the Zionist Organization, and the challenge of our immortal leader Dr. Theodore Herzl, 'Capture the communities,' has been fulfilled here. The achievements we have realized for our ideal—the *aliya* of a large number of our youth, the close contact between us and Israel, the periodical visits of youth groups to Israel where they learn to be *madrichim*, the winning of the Argentine Jewish press to our side, and in general the penetration of our ideal into virtually all corners of Jewish life—all this no doubt is a result of the labor and efforts of our Zionist pioneers in Argentina."

What are the prospects for the future? I asked the Argentine Zionist president. And what is generally the situation with the Jewish youth of the country?

"Our chief problem at the moment is our youth. We already have not only a second generation born here but a third as well, and we must exert all our efforts to see that they remain with us. Our efforts today must be stronger and more intensive than they were 25 or 30 years ago when Jewish life in general both here and abroad had quite a different outlook. It was a much easier matter then.

"Today we must approach the youth quite differently. First we must come to them in their own language, acquaint them with our cultural treasures, with our glorious history, and with our present and our future. It is true that the existence of the State of Israel has immeasurably helped in bringing our youth closer to our problems, but we cannot afford to take this sentiment for granted on the part of our youth and be content with phrases and superficial propaganda. Our goal must be to penetrate with all necessary means into the ranks of Jewish youth, to bind them to Jews and Jewishness of whatever form. If we lose the youth, we have lost all . . . and the long chain of our survival which lasted for centuries in all corners of the globe could be broken."



Drawing by Saul Raskin

REMEMBER

The memories of Passovers gone by—the search and sale of the **Chometz**—Grandpa poking around the kitchen, making the horseradish and the **Choraches**—putting on the new suit of clothes and shoes—pockets full of hazel nuts—and almonds— anxiously waiting for the Seder to start—Uncle Joe and Aunt Sadie were always late—the whole family together—Grandpa looking like a king propping the pillow on the chair beside him—Grandma tired after baking and cooking all day but "My Malke" my queen, he called her—the Kiddush and then my turn for "Ma Nishtanah" and the answer given with Grandpa's voice ringing out over all—the first half of the Hagadah almost over—even the bitter herbs tasted so good—Passover it was always "strong"—all were compelled to eat it otherwise we could not get the hard boiled egg and salt water—and then the meal—nobody, but nobody, could cook better than Grandma—we ate—and ate and then the "Benchen"—and the rest of the Hagadah—and some more cups of wine—and the opening of the door—and the stories of how in the old country someone frightened the whole family by appearing at that door—but best of all the songs with which the second half of the Hagadah abound—and the feeling of drowsiness—contentment—and the thought that tomorrow the same thing once more . . .

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Producers of Traditional Passover Wines

In Tribute to Reuben Brainin — 1862-1939

A Symbol of Hebrew Culture

by Louis Lipsky

[From a forthcoming book by Mr. Lipsky on memorable Zionist personalities and events.]

IT is about time the Zionist Movement reassessed many intra-Jewish misunderstandings that arose during the Russian Revolution, especially the treatment of Reuben Brainin, the Hebrew writer whose 100th anniversary is being celebrated this year in the Jewish literary world. Enough time has elapsed since these distant events for reconsideration and re-evaluation to be given in the light of history. The old slogans have lost their tang and partisan meaning. They no longer correspond with the emotions of those who were then concerned, and the passions that moved Jewish life have passed on to another plane.

Reuben Brainin was a delicate personality of the first period of the Hebrew renaissance. He remained a man of letters all his life, except for a few excursions into other fields.

He came into the Zionist Movement at its very beginning and was one of the first Hebraists to worship at the shrine of Theodor Herzl. He remained Herzl's bold and skillful partisan the rest of his lifetime. He had become an emancipa-

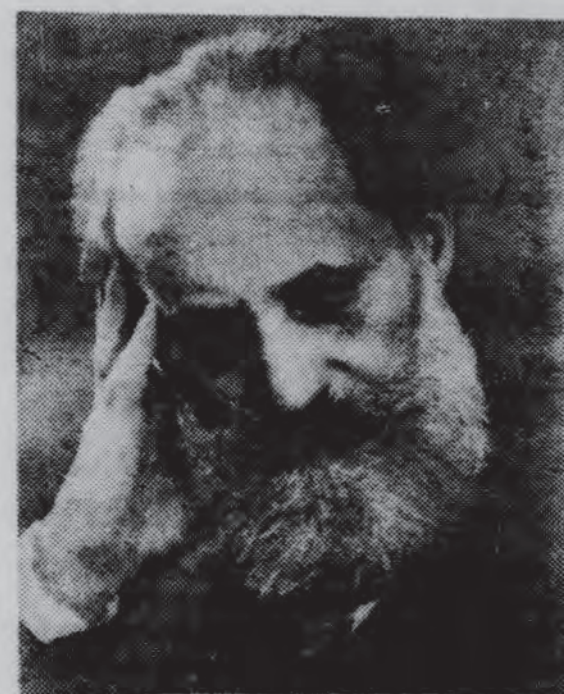
ted Jew at an early age and sojourned in the Western world, studying and appreciating its art and literature. He was a "European", and proud of it. He had a great capacity for absorbing and translating into Hebrew the things he read and heard of in the literatures of other peoples. His Zionism was bound up with a high appreciation of the literary side of the life of both Herzl and Nordau. All he wrote in Hebrew was colored by his surroundings in Vienna and Berlin. He was never provincial. As a Hebrew writer he was inspired by the fashions of the great writers of the Western world. He never really belonged to any local community or Zionist organization.

When he came to the United States, everything from Vienna and Berlin had to be discarded, except as memoirs, and he established himself as a writer in Yiddish, with Hebrew literature as his avocation. He served as a literary critic and publicist in the Jewish Day for many years, and continued in Hebrew literature as the editor of several Hebrew journals. But the old European flair had disappeared. He could not maintain himself strictly within the field of the belletristic. He had to be a publicist and was called upon to

discuss a wide variety of subjects. He was caught in many controversies, and overthrown in some of them. He should have remained an essayist, a judge of literature, a reviewer of policy and belletristics, and avoided "debate" as bitter experience and the disturber of calm thinking. But he did not know how to protect himself.

IN the last years of his life, he became entangled in controversies in which the Communist regime in Russia was involved principally in support of Jewish colonization in various parts of Russia. These efforts ran counter to prevailing Zionist and Jewish opinion. He found himself in a sea of dialectics; he was influenced in his judgments by the cunning propaganda of his new-found friends. At first he was merely a friend of Soviet Russia, and tried to explain away certain harsh and oppressive measures the Soviet Government had invoked against Zionists. It was clear that he was out of his element in those controversies. He outraged the sentiments of scores of his best Zionist friends who had held him in high esteem as a Hebrew writer. But it seemed that he was unable to go back and begin over again a discussion that had become greatly involved, vindictive and personal.

He was a victim of the dialectics of the time. In the last years of his life, frail and feeble, he found himself isolated from many of his Jewish friends, and forced to



REUBEN BRAININ

consort with crafty pro-Soviet elements, who did not understand him and who were unable to appreciate him. This must have made him feel frustrated and defeated and alone.

It is good to remember the Reuben Brainin of the days when he stood out as a symbol of Hebrew culture, a gracious and refined personality, a writer of keen insight and literary sensibility, a slave of the right word and correct form, a good listener and a sensitive interpreter of books and their makers. All that he did for modern Hebrew literature and for the Zionist renaissance should be remembered with gratitude. The Zionist Movement cannot pass by this record of a fruitful and creative life.

POST-ISRAEL CONFUSION IN ZIONISM

(Continued from Page 3)

public relations offices in every land.

- 2 — For all practical purposes (fund-raising, mass-pressure on governments, etc.), the frontiers which in the past have divided Zionists from non-Zionists seemed to have disappeared. This, however, was a most superficial view of things. The ideological frontiers were still there and would remain for a long time to come.

Whether the Israeli leaders were incapable of correctly assessing the true values of that all-Jewish enthusiasm, or preferred to interpret it in a manner which would "liberate" them from dependence on Diaspora Zionists, they now felt confident enough to put Galut Zionism "in its place." A loose alliance with the Jewish people as a whole was much more to Israel's liking than the continuation of the close, fifty-fifty partnership with organized world Zionism. *While enthusiasm is a passing phenomenon, ideology is not.*

The Psychological Factor

In addition to these calculations—which, in our judgment, were bad miscalculations from the viewpoint of Israel's best interests—a psychological factor should be mentioned.

The Jewish Yishuv in Palestine had been always extremely ego-centric. In the eyes of a Sabra, Palestine is the center of the universe. Anything happening there is of the greatest significance, overshadowing everything else in the world. This ego-centrism had bred an exuberant self-confidence and an exaggerated self-importance in the Palestinian Jews.

Before the emergence of the State of Israel, this self-confidence of the Palestinian Jews was tempered by the reality of their constant dependence on world Jewry. However humiliating this reality was in the eyes of the Palestinian Jews (in the light of their attitude towards the Galut Jews mentioned above), it was a reality all the same. For without Zionist help they could neither exist nor ever achieve their goal.

In May 1948, however, a sovereign State of Israel came into being—equal among equals. The former Yishuv now had a Prime Minister and a Cabinet,

ambassadors, generals and all the paraphernalia of statehood. And it went to their heads. What is more, Israeli Jews were now in possession of a status which was clearly out of reach of the non-Israeli Jews. Coming as it did on top of the exaggerated self-confidence of the Palestinian Jews, this new sense of importance has had a devastating effect on the egos of many a leader of the fledgling state.

From the Prime Minister down, the intoxication with the newly won (and so long eagerly awaited) international recognition has caused many Israelis to lose all sense of proportion. On top of the ladder stood the Prime Minister who clearly believed in his omnipotence and omniscience. Those on the lower rungs of the ladder still had a long way to climb to the pinnacle of self-importance. Even so, they entertained no doubts as to their superiority over those Jews who had no state of their own, no Prime Minister, no ambassadors and no generals.

Thus, psychological factors had combined with inner-political calculations. Both pointed in the same direction. The World Zionist Organization was no longer indispensable for the welfare and growth of the State of Israel. Were not all Jews pro-Israel? Did not Jews of all "denominations" and affiliations contribute to the United Jewish Appeal, buy Israel Bonds, support every Israeli institution, applaud Israel's achievements? Why then should some of the Jews be honored with the title "Zionists?"

In all fairness, not all the Israelis followed this line of reasoning, not even all in Mr. Ben-Gurion's Party, the Mapai. But the all-powerful David Ben-Gurion, who rules both the Party and the Government, arrived at the conclusion that the time was propitious for the liquidation of the old and irksome partnership with Zionism. He, therefore, embarked on a campaign of debunking, degrading and demoralizing the world Zionist movement.

This is the historical truth about the causes and course of the ideological confusion and organizational decline in American and world Zionism. The present day confusion in Zionism was not the result of a natural evolution, but it was "man-made." Even if the man in question is a great man, whose services to Zionism, the Jewish people and the State of Israel, are second to none, he is not great enough to be allowed to destroy the Zionist revolution in Jewish life.

He Opened a Window on Europe

by Dr. Samuel Margoshes

[Excerpts from an article published in the *Day-Jewish Journal*. Translated from the Yiddish by Leo M. Glassman.]

The centenary of the birth of Reuben Brainin is a noteworthy date, both because of personal reasons for those of us who knew him and because of its great cultural-historical significance. Brainin was a fascinating person and an outstanding literary figure with a far-reaching influence upon our culture and social life.

If we had to characterize Brainin, the man and the writer, in one word, it would be: European. His personality, his manner, his appearance and his behavior were essentially European. About him there was an air of cosmopolitanism, civilization and worldliness which he exuded in private conversation as well as in his public appearances. His literary work was steeped strictly in the European spirit; it had elegance, fine style, comprehensive knowledge and a familiarity with the latest developments in the sphere of European literature. A non-conformist, he was ready to tread new paths in new and often strange fields. He was a man with a mission—to create in the ghetto a window upon Europe.

When Brainin began his Hebrew literary career, the problem of the transition from the ghetto to Europe was at its most acute stage. The end of the '80s of the last century was a difficult period for the close to seven million Jews living in the Czarist empire. The persecutions by the Government were increasing and while the Jewish people, in an attempt at self-preservation, strove to find a solution, some through emigration across the seas and others through Haskala (the "Enlightenment"), the large majority of the masses remained frozen in the medieval mould. Those of us who remember the *shtetl* of the period prior to the First World War have a picture of the old tradition-bound ghetto way of life which had changed little since the Middle Ages. By opening a window in this ancient world Brainin let in a stream of fresh air which stimulated a new life and a new creativity.

Many complaints are being levelled cur-

rently against the Haskala and against Europe on the ground that they undermined the foundations of traditional Jewish life, and exposed it to the dangers of assimilation. But it must be clear to all that those circles which still cling to the ideal of preserving the wholeness, the totality of the Jewish tradition, lack imagination; else they would ask themselves, where would the Jews of the world be today were it not for the Haskala and the crumbling of the old medieval walls which surrounded and isolated Jewish life in all its forms? Intellectually we would all still be where the gentlemen of the Neturei Karta are today. We would not have witnessed the appearance upon the Jewish scene of the various national and social movements which altered the face of Eastern European Jewry; we would have today neither the modern Hebrew nor the modern Yiddish literature; all of us would still believe in and wait for the supernatural Messiah; we would have no Jewish state.

Reuben Brainin was a leader in the struggle for the exodus from the ghetto. He opened wide for his readers the gates of European culture and invited them to partake of it and enjoy it. There were others who called and beckoned in the same direction: David Frishman and Ahad Ha'am, relying upon more than two generations of Haskala, praised and recommended Europe to their readers. But perhaps they spoke in too lofty a tone or perhaps they aimed too high—none of them exerted the persuasive influence upon their readers that Reuben Brainin did.

Brainin's Zionism, his Hebraism, his efforts to bring to the attention of the Jewish people the creative work of the leading figures in European literature of his time—all that was motivated by the same mood which sought expression in the freedom of thought, word and deed which was possible only outside the walls of the ghetto. We who are so far from those walls that we have almost forgotten how they confined and imprisoned us, should be grateful for Reuben Brainin, for his urge toward freedom and for his struggle which demanded many sacrifices of him.

The American Zionist Forum

Realism and Faith — Formula For ZOA Action

by **Harold W. Carmely**
Chairman, ZOA Administrative Committee

On the success of this 65th Annual Convention, and its decisions, depends the future welfare of the Zionist movement in America. It rests on the realization that the Zionist Organization of America is the foundation upon which American Zionism exists. It rests upon the special responsibilities of the ZOA for Israel and Jewry in the American Jewish community.

Each Zionist Convention is called upon to write its own chapter in the long and stimulating story of the ZOA. In the Zionist world as it is today, the chapter which we are called upon to write involves both strength of organization for a widespread Zionist program and a mighty creative Hebrew cultural effort.

We know that strength must be coupled with Zionist leadership. We must make sober and persistent efforts through leadership courses to bring young people into our ranks of leaders. Furthermore, it is no simple matter to transform the nature of our Zionist District activity. But the transformation can come through a vigorous program in every Zionist District. We must be ready to contribute in every appropriate way to the building of strong, stable and revitalized Districts. Finally, our cultural orientation must basically rest upon the encouragement and strengthening of Hebrew.

In confronting all its unfulfilled objectives, the Zionist Organization of

America would do well to define them. These are not the same objectives which confronted us at the time the State was created. The assumption that American foreign policy would continue to be favorable towards Israel is seemingly illusory. In American Jewish life, there are individual Zionists who play an important role. But what is lacking is the corporate force which existed at Statehood. American Zionism, our ZOA, must once again become the leading force in American Jewry. New leadership must be drawn into our work from among the young people who are entering the Jewish community scene, trained and educated by us. Our structure must be so revitalized and reorganized as to enable us to embark upon a major program for Zionist resurgence.

There is a great potential reserve for Zionism in America. At this 65th Annual Convention of the Zionist Organization of America, we can realize a great historic task; we can help build up the Jewish State under exceptionally difficult conditions and solve the problems confronting the Jewish People in the Diaspora that are without parallel, at least at the present time. With this synthesis of hard realism regarding the present and firm faith in the future, the Zionist Organization of America can fulfill its historic mission and implement its unique functions on the American Jewish scene.

operate on a systematic and adequate day-in, day-out basis. The enemies of Israel and of Zionism toil ceaselessly, and we must be prepared for the times ahead.

There need be no conflict or duplication of activity; we could well work separately yet in harmony with existing groups. Naturally, there are bounds of propriety, but there is plenty of room in permissible areas in which ZOA long played an indispensable and irreplaceable role.

We must readress ourselves fully and with utmost vigor to disseminating the facts to our membership and to the American public at large. Regardless of whether the average Senator or Congressman, the White House or State Department official personally reads all our communications on any subject, he is made aware of them in one way or another. Certainly, a cessation or a reduction of public relations activity does not go unnoticed. I recall a conversation I had with a Congressman who did not seem particularly interested in Zionism, but who surprised me by asking why he hadn't been receiving communications in our field in recent months.

We must again build up a unit membership of at least 150,000-200,000. This would enable our voice to be heard where it counts. We cannot rely simply on the goodwill and occasional favorable expressions of a few fair-minded Congressmen. We must cultivate understanding of our cause on a far broader and more intensive basis. And if, as was indicated at our NEC meeting, we do not have the funds required for the great task that is involved, then perhaps it is time that we transferred our Israel projects to the Israel Government. We could then channel our funds and efforts in the direction where we think it will do the most good for the ultimate survival of Israel. If this be heresy, it is, I submit, in a worthy cause.

If You Only Will It

by **Rabbi I. Usher Kirshblum**
ZOA Administrative Vice-President

Every Zionist convention is a source of inspiration for the Zionists and for the entire Jewish community. It captures the attention of America and Israel. It draws to its tribune great statesmen. It rises to very lofty heights. Yet we must concede that when it is all over often it has failed to add to our inner strength.

It seems to me that we should devote a goodly part of our convention to stock-taking and allow more time for our delegates to pour out their hearts in a frank discussion. Why leave this task to inimical forces who answer for us with such glee, "Their bones are dried up, and their hope is lost." It is high time that we ourselves ask the question, "Is there a need for the ZOA?" and after a thorough analysis produce a forthright answer.

It is important that our present members, and those who have fallen by the wayside since the creation of *Medinat Israel*, recognize that there is still a great need for Zionism in America. None of them would dispute the fact that the American Zionists have helped immeasurably in the creation of the State. It is they who were Israel's greatest allies. No one can deny that at present the State is far from being so secure as to need no more help from the American Zionists. Much can be said for the role that we Zionists must still play in solving the problem of Jewish homelessness, in rebuilding the life around Israel, promoting *Aliya* and *Hebraizing* the American Jewish community.

Some will question our ability to fulfill these tasks while others will deny our right to do so. But there is one field in which we can play a singular and most effective role and that is in the area of public relations. Rather than doubt the need for a ZOA we ought to have the courage to seriously question the necessity for the continued existence of those organizations to whom we have consigned this role which can be so effectively played only by us if given the opportunity to do so. Every time a crisis arises about Israel, whether through a statement of our own State Department or through a resolution of the United Nations, our members clamor for action. It is most frustrating to have to answer them each time that we must keep our hands off this field. By re-engaging directly, and not through emissaries, in the field of public relations we can very easily regain our numerical strength and our lost prestige.

There is another great problem which vexes the ZOA. By and large the new generation, the American youth, is missing from our Districts and Regions. There are some Regions which are headed by outstanding young men. But they are, alas, too few in number. We must make a strenuous effort to mobilize the youth into our movement. We must groom them for future leadership and allow them to play a more active part on the national scene. Youth does not like to sit idly by and watch from the sidelines. Zionism is a movement which can kindle their imagination and exercise their sense of creativity. We must devise the means by which to attract them to us.

There is much life and vitality left in the Zionist Organization of America. Anyone who has traveled extensively on behalf of our organization can tell you that the Zionist spark can easily be blown into a flame. It is not the critics from without who are killing off our organization but those among us who suffer from suicidal

tendencies. Some blame the Prime Minister of Israel for hastening our death. I get the feeling that by his constant barrage of criticism, rebuke and death pronouncements he actually proclaims the strong life that still exists within our Zionist body. We are not that desperately ill as to require a *shinui hashem*—a change of or an addition to our present name. Let us not destroy our faith, shatter our courage and lose our hope in our future.

A voice is heard from Zion, *Im tirzu tichyu*—If you only will it you will live!

Zionism and the JNF

by **Jacob Tsur**
Chmn., JNF Board of Directors

The Jewish National Fund always prided itself on the fact that it is a popular fund and that it collected pennies from many Jews. Very great value attached to the fact that a Jewish tailor was sparing in his food in order to contribute a few pennies to the JNF. The situation is different now when a wealthy Jew running an expensive car and the owner of vast enterprises also contributes only a few pennies to the Jewish National Fund. This is no partnership in the upbuilding enterprise of this country. This is mere charity and in the Zionist Movement there is no room for charity.

Another problem is that the activities on behalf of the Fund do not occupy their proper place in the general Jewish public work in every country. A situation has been created where Zionism must defend itself against those who express doubts as to its necessity, and the Jewish National Fund must defend itself against the Zionist Organization. The Zionist Organization in every country must shoulder responsibility for the activities of the national funds, for regular and systematic work, and should not limit itself to granting offices in accordance with the party key.

We are hoping for the day when the JNF will be able to finance all its activities and expenditures from its own income. Today its income amounts to only 45% of its budget. Throughout the world the JNF collects the sum of \$6 million, because it is limited in the raising of money. Only recently has there been a departure for the better in this respect. So far the JNF activities which are the Zionist educational media for the masses, have been limited. USA Jewry contributes only \$2.5 million to the JNF, while the remaining \$3.5 million comes from other countries.

Far be it from me to want to compete with the Keren Hayesod or the United Jewish Appeal. There is need for coordination of activity of all institutions and funds, but there are fields of activity which are particularly those of the JNF, such as for example legacies for the JNF. In many countries there are people who hail from Eastern Europe who have now reached the evening of life. The linking of their names with certain enterprises in this country may appeal to them.

The Zionist Movement has for many years nurtured the Jewish National Fund as a great financial-Zionist instrument which was able to attract the masses to Zionism, to the practical precepts of upbuilding and creation in this country. The Zionist Movement must not now shirk its responsibility for the activities of this Fund.

ZOA Public Relations An Indispensable Role

by **David Oppenheim**
National Executive Council

The need for a revitalized public relations department, emphasized by speaker after speaker at our NEC meeting in May, presents a great deal of food for thought at our forthcoming National Convention. It was obviously the consensus of the "grass roots" that our Organization's stress on *aliya*, projects in Israel, and education here—though extremely important—has not the urgent appeal for our members that ZOA's militant role in the field of public relations and information had in former years.

Members are perplexed and smarting under the rebuff by the White House and the State Department in connection with the recent Israel-Syrian incidents and the UN resolution thereon which our Government fathered.

This is a revealing attitude which lends added urgency to the need for adopting and implementing the resolution proposed by the Long Island Zionist Region at the February meeting of the NEC—the resolution which memorialized the ZOA to reactivate a vibrant public relations department.

The recent efforts in that direction by the Executive Director are to be applauded, but sporadic activity in times of special stress is not sufficient. We must

Give to the
UJA

The Post-Israel Confusion in Zionism

by Eliahu Ben-Horin

The Ideological Confusion

For over a decade now, the ideological confusion in Zionism has been growing at an ever increasing pace. The Prime Minister of Israel, confirmed Zionists, non-Zionists and anti-Zionists clamor for the liquidation of the Zionist Organization. They claim that Herzl's movement and organization have fulfilled their mission, and there is no longer any need or justification for their existence.

What aggravates the confusion is the fact that even the "patriots" of the WZO (World Zionist Organization), who advocate its continuous existence, appear utterly incapable of formulating a new and positive program for Zionism which would leave no doubts as to the viability of the WZO and would be meaningful enough to attract the young generation.

As matters stand today, the WZO patriots are very much on the defensive. They read the writing on the wall and they are desperate. They are ready to accept any and all interpretations of "Neo-Zionism," however meaningless or inadequate, provided the opponents would, in exchange, condone the existence of the WZO.

The protagonists of the WZO are amenable to the reduction of Zionism to the status of an agency whose only aims and functions would be the fostering of Aliya to Israel and the dissemination of the Hebrew language and culture. It is my guess that they would accept even less than that in exchange for a formal pledge from Mr. Ben-Gurion that henceforth he would "let sleeping dogs lie."

Were this writer to subscribe to this conception of Zionism, he would have unhesitatingly joined hands with Mr. Ben-Gurion and all those who claim that Zionism has no longer a *raison d'être*. Sentimental attachment of old Zionists to Herzl's inheritance or vested interests of Zionist parties and functionaries do not provide justification for the WZO's existence. Herzl's organization has the right to exist, to grow and to play also in the future a great role in Jewish life—in Israel, no less than throughout the world—only if it has a positive mission to fulfill. Does it have such a mission?

"Israelism" and Zionism

There can be no right answer to this question without a searching inquiry into the past. When, how and why did the decline in Zionism start? Is Mr. Ben-Gurion's idea of equating Zionism with Israelism founded on historical truth and on a correct interpretation of Zionist ideology?

Zionism and "Israelism" are not and never were synonymous, either formally or in actual fact. At no time in the history of Zionism, was Palestinian Jewry the predominant element. It was not even a leading element in the making of Zionist history. This is equally true about the development of Zionist thought and ideology, about the political fight for the achievement of the goals of Zionism, and the recognition of Jewish rights to Palestine by the outside world. The only two notable exceptions were the Histadrut Haovdim and the revival of the Hebrew language. These two were distinct contributions of Palestinian Jewry.

Let us look at the most significant moments in Zionist history throughout the fifty years which have elapsed between Basle, in 1897, and Lake Success, in 1947. It was Theodor Herzl who created modern Jewish statesmanship. It was Vladimir Jabotinsky who brought about the creation of the Jewish Legion in World War I. It was Chaim Weizmann, Nahum Sokolow, Louis D. Brandeis and their colleagues who negotiated and obtained the Balfour Declaration. At the Peace Conference in Versailles, it was Weizmann, Ussishkin, and other non-Palestinian Zionists who represented the Jewish people. The famous letter of King

Feisal, pledging Arab cooperation with Zionism, was addressed to Felix Frankfurter. At the fateful session of the United Nations at Lake Success, it was Abba Hillel Silver who presented the Jewish case.

These significant facts from Zionist history are cited here not in order to deny to the Palestine Yishuv its enormous share in the credit, or to belittle its role in the achievement of Zionist aims. Without the reality of a Jewish Yishuv in Palestine, its pioneering spirit, its sacrifices and perseverance, the Jewish State could never have come into being. The Yishuv was the indispensable foundation for all Zionist work and for its ultimate triumph.

Yet it is undeniable fact that every new idea and major plan formulated throughout the most critical years invariably originated outside Palestine: The Jewish Legion (Jabotinsky), Hechalutz (Trumpeldor), Mass immigration (Nordau), Private capital (Brandeis), "Seventh Dominion" (Wedgewood), Enlarged Jewish Agency (Weizmann), Evacuation (Jabotinsky), Aliya Beth (Jabotinsky). And even after the establishment of the State of Israel: Indemnification agreement with Germany (Goldmann).

Once again, without the reality of the Yishuv, none of these ideas and plans could have ever been formulated, let alone carried to fruition. But there is no getting away from the fact that the Yishuv has hardly ever produced any major political idea or thought. This is the more puzzling, when we remember that the same Yishuv was a daring innovator in creating new social forms of life and society. Yet, in the field of Zionism's political thought, it appeared to have lost all its daring and constructive imagination. Where is the answer to this puzzle?

Is the explanation to be found in the Yishuv's narrow political horizons? In its provincial outlook? Or in its fantastic ego-centrism? If so, these traits were fully inherited from the Yishuv by the sovereign State of Israel.

State and Diaspora

Since "Israelism" and Zionism were not meant to be synonymous, Zionism never expected the future Jewish State to absorb the Jewish people in its entirety. Not even the wildest fantasist considered this feasible. It was taken for granted that a part of the Jewish people would continue to live in the Diaspora after the Jewish State will have been established.

For purely physical reasons, the part living outside of the Jewish State would indeed be the majority of the Jewish people. The greatest optimists as to Palestine's absorptive capacity never went beyond the 4-5 million figure. As at that time, there were about 17 million Jews in the world, 70 percent of them were *a priori* "condemned" to live outside of the future "Judenstaat"—even if all of them were willing and ready to pack up and go.

Was there ever a suggestion that Zionism turn its back on that majority of the Jewish people who were destined to remain forever non-citizens of the future Jewish State? Of course not.

Was there ever a suggestion that Zionism restrict its propaganda, enrollment of membership, etc. only to the potential citizens of the Jewish State? Of course not.

Was it ever required of applicants for membership in the WZO to sign a "declaration of intention" to settle in the future Jewish State? Of course not.

All that was required of applicants was to pay a Shekel and endorse the Basle Program. It was on this basis that the Zionist movement—including the various Zionist Parties—was trying to "Zionize" every Jew in the world, wherever he lived at the time and whatever his in-

dividual plans might have been with regard to the future. At that time, neither Mr. Ben-Gurion nor anyone else had dared to present to the Jews any qualifying conditions for their affiliation with the Zionist movement.

There was absolutely no subterfuge or compromise in this ideological concept of Zionist membership. For it was abundantly clear that those Zionists who chose—or were forced by circumstances—to remain in the Galut, were bound to be greatly affected by the existence of a Jewish State. Their lives, their status in the world, their cultural interests, the education of their children, their relations with the non-Jews among whom they live, could not be the same as before the creation of the Jewish State. All this was clearly envisaged in Zionist theory, and, in fact, it came to pass since May, 1948.

All Zionists, therefore, had a personal stake in the attainment of the Zionist ideal, regardless of whether a given Zionist intended to settle in the Jewish State. Zionism—full-blooded, Herzlian, political Zionism—meant, of course, much more than buying a Shekel, voting in Congress elections, or belonging to one of the Zionist Parties. It meant a complete revolution in one's thinking, an adherence to Jewish nationalism, and both an intellectual and emotional revolution, deeply affecting the course of one's life, outlook and interests. Once again, when Jews were called upon to make this revolution in their lives, no condition was attached to that call regarding future emigration to the Jewish State.

In plain honesty, therefore, not only has Mr. Ben-Gurion no right to demand of Zionists to settle in Israel or to disqualify Diaspora Zionism as a whole, but it is an act of mental cruelty on his part to come that late in the day and tell all the non-Israeli Zionists that they may as well forget the revolution they made in their lives—for in the eyes of Israel or of its Prime Minister they do no longer qualify as Zionists.

The Beginning of the Great Confusion

The great confusion in Zionist minds, resulting in a progressive deterioration

of Zionism and of the WZO, started with the State of Israel. Almost overnight, as soon as yesterday's Yishuv became today's sovereign state, there developed an attitude towards Zionism which was a combination of contempt, impatience, slight and disparagement. While Prime Minister Ben-Gurion was one of the very few who on many occasions openly voiced that contempt, lesser luminaries of the State of Israel gave expression to the same attitude in their day-to-day actions and practices.

There is no mystery about the inner-political considerations which motivated the downgrading of the WZO by Israel's leadership. The Mapai and the Histadrut have since long commanded a solid preponderance in the Yishuv, and later also in the State. At the World Zionist Congresses, however, they were a minority. To gain ascendancy in world Zionism and to maintain it, the Labor movement in Israel needed the support of Zionist parties and groups in the Diaspora.

For the Palestinian Jews, who deep in their hearts have all along considered the non-Palestinians as second-rate Zionists, this dependence on the latter's support was very irksome. In the pre-Israel era, however, this dependence went much further than votes at the Zionist Congress. Without Zionist support in every field of endeavor, the Yishuv would have been lost. The "bad" therefore had to be taken with the "good." For there was no way of denying world Zionism status and influence, while retaining its badly needed help.

In the eyes of the Israelis, this state of affairs and this relation of forces had changed with the establishment of sovereign Israel. In the years immediately preceding 1948, the fight for the Jewish State had enjoyed universal Jewish support. The enthusiasm aroused by the formation of the Jewish State has been also universally Jewish. In the great excitement of those days, it was easy to overlook two most important facts:

- 1 — This all-Jewish backing and enthusiasm did not come by themselves. They were skilfully cultivated, mobilized and marshalled by the Zionist movement and its

(Continued on page 5)

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THE PRESIDENT'S COLUMN

(Continued from Page 1)

partment heads of the Jewish Agency were brought home in their full import to the more than one hundred delegates to the Actions Committee assembled in Jerusalem from all parts of the Diaspora.

V. The treasurer of the Jewish Agency, Arie Louis Pincus, in his report amazed the assemblage when he stated that the outlay for immigration for the fiscal year of 1962-63 will amount to four hundred million Israel Pounds and may have to be increased by at least twenty percent if the immigration hits an accelerated pace.

This is by far the greatest budget ever adopted by the Jewish Agency, but it is one dictated by the extraordinary conditions throughout the Jewish world which necessitate extraordinary measures to rescue large masses of Jews fleeing from lands of insecurity and oppression.

VI. Dr. Nahum Goldmann, President of the World Zionist Organization, in his opening address placed into a worldwide context the extreme urgency of the tasks confronting the Zionist Movement in coping with the problem of Jewish insecurity and Jewish flight from many countries the world over. "There are," he pointed out, "many countries in the world where their internal social problems are unsolved and where an objectively explosive and pre-revolutionary situation prevails. Whenever this explosive situation erupts the position of the Jewish communities in those countries is threatened or ruined. The classic example is Castro's Cuba where a flourishing Jewish community was ruined overnight, not because of anti-Semitic tendencies of the Castro regime but because of the social revolution he brought about which destroyed the middle class and affected the Jewish community more totally perhaps than any other part of the Cuban population.

Dr. Goldmann added: "It is generally a very interesting feature of the Jewish position in the world today that whereas in the past centuries most Jews in the world belonged to the 'haves' and were therefore naturally allied with the oppressed and revolutionary forces, Jewish communities today mostly belong to the 'haves' and to the prosperous middle or upper class society and are therefore threatened by any social upheaval."

VII. This new plight of the Jewish masses, it was felt, imposes additional obligations upon the Zionist Movement throughout the world. Not only must the Zionist Movement step up its efforts, material and moral, on behalf of the uprooted Jewish communities, bringing as many of them as possible

to a safe haven in Israel, but the Movement finds itself under the necessity of shoring up Jewish life in the countries of the free world where the threat of assimilation is not less formidable than that of possible loss of civic position.

Jewish education in various countries of the world thus becomes the central concern of the Zionist Movement in its endeavor to secure the survival of the Jewish people. It is important in this connection to point up the fact that due to the enormous pressure of the current Jewish plight Jewish education is receiving but a pittance in comparison with sums expended on immigration and absorption. Thus, while immigration accounts for 37.5 percent of the total budget of the Jewish Agency and the cost of absorption amounts to 22%, the outlay for Jewish education is no more than 6% of the total expenditure of the Jewish Agency.

VIII. This disproportion of funds and interest as it affects Jewish education is partially detrimental to the development of the Zionist Movement in the United States. Delegates felt it and some gave utterance to their dissatisfaction. I for one took the opportunity to voice my own chagrin and that of the Zionist Organization of America at the lack of leadership which is at the root of all that ails American Jewry and which is largely responsible for the planlessness and inverted scale of values that prevail on the American Jewish scene.

"The crisis in the Zionist Movement and in American Jewry of which there has been so much talk here," I pointed out, "is primarily a crisis of leadership. American Jewry as well as the American Zionist Movement is leaderless. Without leadership we cannot expect to win the battle against chaos and irresponsibility in our Jewish life and this goes not only for our organizational set-up but also for the Zionist situation in the United States. Both the Presidents' Conference and the American Zionist Council will have to make room for a truly effective central organization if American Jewry and American Zionism are to enjoy the benefits of authoritative and far-sighted leadership."

IX. It is noteworthy that for a change the criticism levelled at American Jewry came from Americans and not as before from delegates hailing from Israel and other countries, whose knowledge of American conditions is derived principally from newspaper reports or brief visits to the United States. Time was when most of the discussions of the Zionist Actions Committee rang with denunciations of American Jewry and American Zionism for all sins of omission and commission—mostly for the failure to provide a large aliya. That time is gone; whatever strictures were aimed at American Jewry and American Zionism came from within American Jewry and American Zionism and not from the outside. It was a most welcome change.

X. Another welcome change was the brevity of the discussions. While the so-called "General Debate" still prevailed, a distinct desire to cut unnecessary talk and to proceed to action was manifest. The discussions generally were on a high level.

XI. Of course, the discussions would not have been complete without a controversy projected by the Prime Minister of Israel David Ben-Gurion.

Already before the opening of the

israel newsletter

by Malkah Raymist

● The hanging of Eichmann was just as uneventful as his abduction and trial were conspicuous and full of tension. The rejection of his appeal by President Ben-Zvi was of course a foregone conclusion. But somehow it was a strange feeling to open the morning paper and read that he was already hanged a day after the appeal was denied. His trial dragged on so long that it became almost a part of the country's life. And then suddenly—full stop: No more Eichmann.

The event was of course reported in banner lines all over the globe. The world press praised once more the efficiency of the Israel police and the scrupulous fairness and correctness of the trial. There were four newspapermen present at the hanging, two Israelis and two foreign correspondents, of whom one was German. Eichmann, although denying that he belonged to any Church and his beliefs in Christ, used the Nazi formula to describe himself as a "believer"—*Gottgläubiger*. He died unrepentant.

There was a strange sense, as of relaxing of tension, all over the country. One actually drew a sigh of relief.

● Israel has now a population already slightly over two million. The two millionth immigrant arrived in May. Since then more immigrants have arrived and of course there has been a number of births.

● An editorial published recently in "El Jihad," an Arabic daily published in the Old City of Jerusalem, in Jordan, voiced the following criticism of Arab delegates at the United Nations: "The Arab delegates are a lazy, good-for-nothing bunch; they hardly ever attend meetings of the United Nations, do not even meet among themselves to discuss Arab problems and to coordinate their efforts."

Actions Committee sessions, Mr. Ben-Gurion aimed his arrows against Dr. Nahum Goldmann, charging him in a letter to Mr. Sharett, Chairman of the Jewish Agency, with meddling in Israel diplomacy by holding conversations with American and other statesmen and high government officials on matters that concern the citizens and the State of Israel.

To make the relations between the head of the State and of the World Zionist Organization even worse, Premier Ben-Gurion sent a letter to the Zionist Actions Committee which was read at the concluding session, advising the Zionist Organization to change its name to "Jewish Organization," inasmuch as the Zionist Organization in his view forfeited its claim to the name "Zionist" the moment it declared it did not obligate every Zionist to settle in Israel. As expected, Mr. Ben-Gurion did not have to wait long for an answer from the Zionist leadership. It came from Dr. Goldmann, Mr. Sharett, and a number of other dignitaries in the Zionist Movement.

Dr. Goldmann, in opening the Actions Committee Sessions defended his right to confer with political figures on matters of concern to the Zionist Movement and the Jewish people. He was more outspoken in his reply to the letter of Israel's Prime Minister at the concluding sessions of the Actions Committee. Speaking quietly, though with evident restraint of his emotions, he made four rejoinders to the charges of Mr. Ben-Gurion:

● The Zionist Movement never obligated the Zionists to settle in the Jewish Homeland. This was not done

They are only interested in killing time in the most pleasant way, and when they do meet, their conversation is usually limited to dirty jokes.

"In contrast," continues the Arab paper, "the Jewish representatives are continually active. While the Arab delegates spend their time at the public lounge of the UN or in its restaurants, barely knowing each other and having no contacts with African and Asian delegations, the Jews do everything, go everywhere and make friends with the delegates of emerging African and Asian States. The result of all this we know well: there are dozens of Israeli experts and technical advisers all over Africa and Asia, and where are ours?..."

● The visit of Frank Sinatra to Israel was a heartwarming affair. The charm of his personality, his sincere desire to help, drew enormous crowds to welcome him and to hear him sing, often merely to see him. He came here to lay the foundation for the Frank Sinatra International Youth Center in Nazareth, and gave a number of performances for the benefit of this institution. He also sang to children, to soldiers, was invited by President Ben-Zvi, and was generally acclaimed by the Israeli public.

● In anticipation of greater immigration in the course of this and the following years, the Ministry of Housing is now completing 2,000 housing units per month, a building rate unprecedented since the establishment of the State.

● A civil aviation agreement has been signed with the Ivory Coast.

● A "most favored nation" agreement has been signed with Cyprus.

● The Near East International Fair opened in Tel Aviv on June 5.

by the Zionist Organization even when David Ben-Gurion himself was chairman of the Zionist Executive and head of the Zionist Movement.

● Zionists never maintained that they alone helped to build the Jewish State, Mr. Ben-Gurion's charge to the contrary notwithstanding.

● The Zionist Organization has not failed, as Mr. Ben-Gurion charged, to fulfill its obligation to aid in the building of Israel under the terms of the agreement between the Zionist Organization and the Government of Israel.

● The work of building Israel in cooperation with other segments of the Jewish people could be greatly facilitated and augmented if David Ben-Gurion, as Israel's Premier, would seek to strengthen the Zionist Movement instead of using every opportunity to undermine it.

In retrospect the last session of the Zionist Actions Committee may be reviewed as an improvement over many sessions in the past. It was a fruitful meeting inasmuch as it dramatized the current desperate Jewish position in the world, which finds its expression on the one hand in a largely increased Jewish migration and, on the other, in the urgent necessity for a vastly increased financial obligation on the part of world Jewry.

If awareness of these two phenomena penetrates the consciousness of the Jews of the world the last session of the Zionist Actions Committee will have written a significant chapter in the Jewish history of our times.

THE gates of Israel are wide open to any Jew in search of a home. The people and Government of Israel are willingly accepting hardships and making great sacrifices for the sake of absorbing a maximum Jewish immigration. There is no question that the Jews of Israel are proportionately doing much more to help European and African Jews in the areas of danger than the most generous Jewish communities in the world. In this respect, the State of Israel deserves our highest admiration.

The moment, however, we approach the area of Israel's political relations with world Jewry, an entirely different picture unfolds itself before our eyes. In fact, what we see there is a curious and most disturbing paradox. In the Middle East, the State of Israel is the only faithfully democratic state. In its relations with the new nations of Africa and Asia, Israel provides a shining example of a progressive society willing to lend a helping hand to the less developed countries, and do so without any imperialistic designs, whether political or economic. On the international scene, Israel can be trusted to align itself with any liberal cause and forward-looking idea. Within its own confines, the democratic way of life and of parliamentary government is carefully nourished and preserved. But, as we look at Israel's attitude towards the world Zionist movement and indeed towards the non-Israeli majority of the Jewish people, we see no sign of that laudable faithfulness to the democratic ideal and democratic procedures.

What we see is unbelievable arrogance on the part of the Government of Israel, or, to be exact, on the part of its Prime Minister. Inasmuch, however, as David Ben-Gurion became the symbol, almost the personification of the State of Israel, anything he does or says becomes the responsibility of the government as a whole.

The widely publicized incident, in May of this year, between Prime Minister Ben-Gurion and

Between Israel and Zionism

by Eliahu Ben-Horin

Dr. Nahum Goldmann, president of the World Zionist Organization, has highlighted the steadily growing crisis in the political relations between the State of Israel, on the one hand, and world Zionism and world Jewry, on the other.

The Prime Minister of Israel did not hesitate to publicly administer a rebuke to the President of the World Zionist Organization, who is also the President of the World Jewish Congress, and who is unquestionably one of the most prominent non-Israeli Jewish leaders of our day. Mr. Ben-Gurion has freely indulged in the past in slighting remarks about Dr. Goldmann. He called him once "a wandering Jew." On another occasion, he referred to him as "an American tourist." By inference, he questioned Dr. Goldmann's right to the title "Zionist," as he questioned the right to that title of all non-Israeli Jews. However, there was something strikingly new in the latest episode in the strained Israeli-Zionist relations.

This time, Mr. Ben-Gurion must have decided to handle the situation "with a strong hand and an outstretched arm." For, according to *The New York Times*, he demanded of Dr. Goldmann "to declare publicly that he would not deal with concrete questions of Israel's foreign affairs without first consulting the Israeli Government." One wonders whether, by way of mutuality, Mr. Ben-Gurion has agreed "to declare publicly that he would not deal with concrete questions of Zionist and world Jewish affairs without first consulting the Jewish Agency or the World Jewish Congress"—as the case may be.

This is rather doubtful. For here we come to the very crux of the difficulties in Israeli-Zionist and Israeli-Jewish political relations. While the Govern-

ment of Israel is extremely jealous of its prerogatives and insists on a clear demarcation line between Israelis and non-Israelis in all matters touching on the State of Israel's sovereignty, it entertains no doubts as to its own right to actively interfere in the affairs of world Jewry. In fact, it often claims to itself the decisive voice in such affairs. Mr. Ben-Gurion, moreover, is most certainly not prepared to abide by the rule of "first consulting" the appropriate public bodies of the world Jewish community. He did not "first consult" the authorities of the World Zionist Organization before publicly disqualifying all Jews outside of Israel as Zionists; or before he publicly questioned the right of the World Zionist Congress to call itself "Zionist."

NEEDLESS to say, the principle of a demarcation line dividing between Israeli and non-Israeli Jews is sound enough. Jews in various countries would insist on having such a demarcation line, even if Israel did not. Their citizenship status, rights and obligations in the respective countries may depend on a clear demarcation line. On this point there is no controversy. The controversy begins when we come to relationships, rights and obligations within the framework of the Jewish people in the world, which embraces both Jews of Israeli citizenship and Jews of other citizenships. It is here that the demarcation line becomes more delicate and sensitive. It is here, too, where the leaders of the State of Israel and the leaders of world Jewry should have shown a maximum tolerance and mutual respect. Instead, they indulge with gusto in incessant bickering.

As seen from Jerusalem, the demarcation line is utterly one-sided. Its purpose is to define the sovereignty of Israel vis-à-vis the Jewish people, but not the sovereignty of the Jewish people vis-à-vis the State of Israel. In the eyes of Mr. Ben-Gurion, the Jewish people is a vassal of the State of Israel. A vassal, as we all know, has heavy obligations towards his suzerain, but few rights and privileges. A vassal owes unquestionable obedience to the suzerain and must pay him tribute. In exchange, the suzerain is the vassal's protector. Judging by Mr. Ben-Gurion's pronouncements on various occasions and by his declared attitude towards the Zionist movement and its duly elected spokesmen and leaders, one is driven to the painful conclusion that the Prime Minister of Israel is knowingly and intentionally trying to build the relationship between the State of Israel and the Jewish people on this suzerain-vassal pattern.

Coming back to democratic procedures, would it be too much to ask of Mr. Ben-Gurion, that he keep in mind the simple fact that the Jewish people outside of Israel did not vote in the election which led to his appointment as Prime Minister of the State of Israel?

Likewise, Mr. Ben-Gurion should remember that he is neither the democratically elected President

of the World Zionist Organization, nor the President of the World Jewish Congress. He is the democratically elected leader of the State of Israel but not of the world Jewish community, whereas Dr. Goldmann is the democratically elected president of two most representative world Jewish organizations. The question of the respective statuses of the two men, their respective accomplishments in the past, their prominence and importance, their qualities and shortcomings—does not enter our discussion at all. Nor should our discussion be influenced in any way by the views we may hold on the various political issues on which Mr. Ben-Gurion and Dr. Goldmann reportedly disagree. At this point, we are concerned with the bare facts.

Dealing with facts, it is pertinent to mention that one of the two world Jewish organizations over which Dr. Goldmann now presides—the World Zionist Organization and its executive instrumentality, the Jewish Agency—not only performed an outstanding role in bringing about the creation of the State of Israel, but it was granted official status in Israel and in all matters pertaining to Israel. On December 16, 1959, Prime Minister Ben-Gurion himself submitted to the Knesset (Parliament) a program of basic principles which should govern the relations between the State of Israel and the World Zionist Organization (the Jewish Agency).

This program, approved by the Knesset, envisages among the activities of the World Zionist Organization: "Support for Israel in its struggle for its rights and international position." It is so stated in Article 59 of Mr. Ben-Gurion's program. How is the Zionist movement to discharge its duties under Article 59, if its representatives are constantly harassed by the Israeli Government and accused of meddling and doing more harm than good? At the same time, we understand, a coordinating body between the Government of Israel and the Jewish Agency, which is officially in existence, is being systematically ignored by the Government.

ON the face of it, therefore, it is not Dr. Goldmann but Mr. Ben-Gurion who is breaking the approved program for Israeli-Zionist cooperation, when he attempts to veto political negotiations by the President of the World Zionist Organization. For this is what the ambiguous formula "concrete questions of Israel's foreign affairs" actually amounts to. As all the interests, dreams, hopes, political planning and everyday activities of the Zionist movement are exclusively centered on Israel, any political question important enough to make Dr. Goldmann or any other Zionist representative go to Washington, London, Paris, or Bonn is bound to fall into the category of "concrete questions of Israel's foreign affairs."

In other words, in his lasting campaign against the World Zionist Organization, the Prime Minister of Israel has now reached the stage where he wants to of-

ficially empty it of all political content and deny to it all political status. Mr. Ben-Gurion's systematic efforts to undermine the Zionist movement in the world could have never reached such an advanced stage, were it not for the ideological confusion in Zionist ranks and the submissiveness of the Zionist leadership. The stand taken by Dr. Goldmann in the last incident, when he refused to bow to the Ben-Gurion—Golda Meir dictate, was refreshingly new. If the Zionist leadership will also in the future uphold the rights and prestige of the movement and organization which they head, there is still hope for a fairer and more normal Israeli-Zionist relationship.

Following accusations and recriminations on both sides, Mr. Ben-Gurion has announced that he considered the latest Goldmann incident as settled. While we are here not concerned with the personal rivalry and bickering between Mr. Ben-Gurion and Dr. Goldmann, there are aspects of this quarrel which cannot be settled by a simple announcement made by either of the two gentlemen or by both of them together. Were Mr. Ben-Gurion and Dr. Goldmann to embrace in public and declare their undying love for each other, this might settle the personal "B-G — N-G incident," but it would not settle what is basically wrong in the existing political relations between the State of Israel and the Jewish people outside of Israel. To settle that, the issues at stake must be satisfactorily settled. The demarcation line, desired by both sides, must not be a one-sided one, but a line defending and respecting the rights and prerogatives of both sides.

The demand of Mr. Ben-Gurion and Mrs. Meir that no Zionist representative should engage in political negotiations without first consulting the Israeli Government—not only runs contrary to the basic tenets of a democratic Zionist movement, but it is meant to officially legalize a "suzerain-vassal" relationship. It is also apt to place the Zionist organization and groups in various lands in an untenable and even dangerous position.

Should this rule be accepted and become an officially recognized procedure, Zionism could no longer claim to express the views and sentiments of the citizenry of a given land. Instead, Zionist representatives would be classified and treated as foreign agents, acting and speaking on behalf of a foreign state—the State of Israel, whose Foreign Office they were obliged to consult before making representations in Washington, London, Paris or Bonn.

Should anyone accuse this writer of making a mountain out of a molehill, because the people in the State Department or in the British and French Foreign Offices are not that naive as not to know about the close cooperation between the Zionist movement and the State of Israel; and that, therefore, the new "Ben-Gurion Law" is just an official and public acknowledgment of an existing state of affairs—my answer would be: "Exactly." Appearances count a great deal in private life, in political life and also in diplomatic negotiations. There is nothing

(Continued on Page 10)



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BE A "GUEST"...GO ZIM!

Dr. Weizmann and André Spire

An Episode of April, 1920

by Samuel Landman,

General Secretary, World Zionist Organization 1917-22

NEITHER the recent biography of the famous French poet André Spire, by Paul Jamati, in the "Poetes d'Aujourd'hui" series, nor André Spire's own account of his "Visit to Palestine in 1920" (reprinted in "Souvenirs a Batons Vompus" 1962) mentions the fact, known to very few, that André Spire saved (or at least helped to save) Dr. Weizmann from assassination by Arabs in April, 1920.

In March, 1920, there was great tension in Palestine between the Zionist Commission in Jerusalem (under Dr. M. D. Eder and Menahem Ussishkin) and the British O.E.T.A. (Occupied Enemy Territory Administration), of which the H.Q. was in Cairo, under Lord Allenby. Ussishkin had cabled to London for me to come to Jerusalem, but Dr. Weizmann decided that I should not leave the London office.

Although more than two years had elapsed since the Balfour Declaration of November 2, 1917, and notwithstanding express cabled instructions to Allenby in August, 1919, from Balfour himself (at the request of Justice Brandeis, who had personally visited Palestine) to consider the Jewish National Home policy of the Balfour Declaration as "chose jugée" (the text of this cable was shown to me by Balfour's assistant, Mr. A. Clark Kerr, later Lord Inverchapel, British Ambassador first in Moscow and then in Washington), the situation was rapidly deteriorating. Our own Zionist reports from Cairo and Jerusalem revealed a very dangerous situation. Hence Dr. Weizmann decided to go personally to Cairo and Jerusalem, to try to improve relations with the British military authorities.

It was thought at that time that the differences between Brit-

ain and France on the future of Syria and Lebanon, and in particular regarding the northern frontier of Palestine, were holding up a final settlement. Dr. Weizmann accordingly invited André Spire to accompany him to Cairo and Palestine. This was a very shrewd move, as Spire was a highly placed French civil servant, with excellent contacts in the Quai d'Orsay, as well as a sincere and devoted Zionist, of whom there were not many in France, where all the leading French Jews supported Professor Sylvain Lévi. It will be remembered that it was Sylvain Lévi who opposed (fortunately without success) the three Zionist speakers at the Paris Peace Conference in the spring of 1919, Dr. Weizmann, Nahum Sokolow, and Menahem Ussishkin (who spoke in Hebrew).

WHEN Weizmann and Spire arrived in Cairo on March 18, 1920, on their way to Jerusalem, they discovered from their own secret intelligence reports that plans to assassinate Dr. Weizmann had been completed, to be accompanied by anti-Zionist riots by the Moslem population, on Easter Sunday, April 4, which coincided with the Jewish Pesach and the Moslem Nebi Musa.

Despite this rather alarming information, Dr. Weizmann decided to go ahead with the visit to Jerusalem, governed by General Storrs, who was strongly suspected of being anti-Zionist. In order to protect Dr. Weizmann, whose features were not then so well known, André Spire volunteered to impersonate him whenever the train stopped, at Lod, El Kantara (the crossing point of Suez), and other stations

on the route between Cairo and Jerusalem.

The riots duly broke out in Jerusalem on Sunday, April 4, and continued on the 5th and 6th. Many Jews were killed and wounded before the British intervened. Jabotinsky (assisted by Rutenberg) found ways and means of distributing arms to the Jewish soldiers of the battalions of the Royal Fusiliers which had not yet been demobilized. This helped to prevent what could have become a massacre. Jabotinsky was arrested and sent to Acre Prison with a sentence of 15 years. Dr. Weizmann was forced to go to Cairo, where he found all doors closed to him, and decided he must go back to the then heads of the British Government Lloyd George and Balfour, who were due at San Remo about that time.

THE only high British officer who helped Dr. Weizmann, and in fact saved Zionism at a most critical stage, was Allenby's Chief of Intelligence, Colonel Richard Meinertzhagen, D.S.O., who is happily still alive and is a sincere Christian. He has given the facts in "Middle East Diary" (1960). He risked (and lost) his career in the Army by cabling to Lloyd George, as well as to the Secretaries for War and Foreign Affairs in Whitehall, the strong evidence he had carefully collected that the plot to destroy Zionism was approved (if not devised) by General Waters Taylor, Chief of Staff in Palestine, and his wife, who was in secret contact with the Mufti of Jerusalem, Haj Amin el Husseini, and acquiesced in by General Bols O.C., O.E.T.A. (South)—i.e., Palestine.

Colonel Meinertzhagen was ordered to come to Cairo at once by Lord Allenby, who dismissed him and said he must leave immediately. To this, Meinertzhagen (who had expected this outcome) said with a smile, "I suppose you realize that you would have had to give your housemaid longer notice." (The truth of this story is vouched for by Viscount Wavell, Viceroy of India, in his book, "Allenby in Egypt," page 33.)

André Spire, who is now 93, has never published this Weizmann episode, but in 1929 it was disclosed in a letter to the Editor of "La Terre Retrouvée," in Paris.

The cable sent to London by Meinertzhagen was so detailed and unchallengeable that Lloyd George was only too glad to accept the proposed English Mandate demanded by all Zionists. He proposed at the San Remo Conference of the Allies the termination of the military occupation and the establishment of a Civil Government for the Mandate, and he offered the very difficult post of first High Commissioner to Herbert Samuel.

In May it was decided that I should go to Palestine for some weeks during the change-over. I received letters of introduction from Herbert Samuel, Lord Curzon, and Dr. Weizmann. Fortunately, I found my old friend Clark Kerr in the Residency at Cairo as First Secretary of Lord Allenby, and he smoothed my path everywhere. I was present when Herbert Samuel landed at Jaffa and at Government House

in Jerusalem when he read the King's Speech announcing the establishment of the Civil Government on July 1, 1920.

DURING my stay in Palestine I saw and heard the Arab crowds welcoming Herbert Samuel, saying, "The King of the Jews has arrived." I also visited Jabotinsky in his prison in Acre and found him (to my surprise and delight) drilling in Hebrew the considerable number of Jewish soldiers of the Royal Fusiliers who were interned with him. I informed him of the message I had from London that, thanks to the intervention chiefly of Wedgwood, a pardon could be arranged for him. Jabotinsky refused on the ground that he could

not accept a pardon, for he had committed no crime in helping Jews defend themselves. This view finally prevailed and the sentence was quashed.

The rest of the story is well known. I believe, however, that Zionists should show their gratitude in some permanent form in the State of Israel to those who helped our people at critical moments, such as the late James Malcolm, about whom Dr. Weizmann wrote to Lloyd George in 1922 mentioning Mr. Malcolm's "initiative" in 1916 in suggesting to the British War Cabinet (via Sir Mark Sykes) that a promise of Palestine for the Jews in the event of an Allied victory would carry very great weight with United States Jewry.

BETWEEN ISRAEL AND ZIONISM

(Continued from Page 9)

ing wrong, reprehensible or illegitimate about the closest and even intimate cooperation between American, Canadian, Argentinian and other Zionists with the State of Israel. Indeed, nothing less is expected of them in the light of their declared devotion to the Zionist ideal. There is everything wrong, however, the moment Zionists are officially placed in the position of subordinates of Israel's Foreign Office.

ONE more utterance by Mr. Ben-Gurion defies comprehension. In the first dispatch from Jerusalem in *The N. Y. Times* about the Ben-Gurion-Goldmann controversy, which was clearly inspired by the Israeli Government, Mr. Ben-Gurion's grievances against Dr. Goldmann included also this one: "... Another matter to which the Premier took objection was a talk that Dr. Goldmann had earlier this month with Philip Talbot, United States Assistant Secretary of State for Near Eastern Affairs. This talk centered on the Israeli project to divert the waters of the Jordan River. The Premier said that project was clearly outside the legitimate interest of the World Zionist Organization."

We read this statement of Israel's Prime Minister and could not believe our eyes. In our innocence, we always believed that there was nothing, absolutely nothing, in the State of Israel or about the State of Israel which could be classified as lying "clearly outside the legitimate interest of the World Zionist Organization." Now no less an authority than the top leader of the State of Israel tells us otherwise.

It is bewildering. A revision is clearly indicated. The question is who should make the revision? Is it Mr. Ben-Gurion who should revise his harsh and hasty statements to the press, or is it the Zionist movement in the world which should revise all its basic concepts which form the very essence of its ideology, program and activities?

Year after year, we have come to Jews in every land on earth and told them — through newspapers, magazines and books; from the lecture platform and over the radio; and through every medium available — that the State of Israel is not only their "legitimate interest," but it should be their direct and immediate concern. We told them that it is their noblest duty to help Jews to come to Israel and to help Israel to absorb the

Jewish immigration. We told them to be concerned with the security of Israel's borders and with the development of Israel's economy; that they should invest in Israel's industry and buy State of Israel Bonds. We told them, as we told ourselves, there is complete interdependence between the future of the State of Israel and the future of the Jewish people.

Does the Prime Minister of Israel want Zionism to revise this concept of a common future, which offers the soundest basis for the continuation of the fruitful Israeli-Zionist partnership? Or would he rather revise his own statements in the past and help re-establish that partnership in a spirit of cooperation and mutual respect?



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