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Jewish Agency, 1954-1955.

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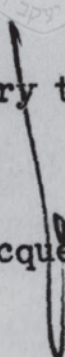
Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
The Temple
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Dr. Silver:

Please find enclosed a memo which I prepared which shows in what predicament we are concerning the payment of shekolim for the next Congress.

With best personal regards to Mrs. Silver and you, I am

Very truly yours,


Jacques Torczyner

JT:gs
enc.

MEMORANDUM

T H E S H E K E L P R O B L E M

1) The decision of the Jewish Agency Executive that representation of delegates to the next Zionist Congress should be based on a four-year shekel means that the cost of the shekel in the United States will be \$2. As the organizations are entitled to a 20% service charge on the shekel, the net amount that will have to be paid to the World Zionist Organization is \$1.60. Having roughly about 100,000 members, we have theoretically to pay \$160,000.

2) From the membership dues that we receive, we are supposed to put aside each year 50¢ per member. This was not done by the Browdy administration in the last year of its rule and this was not done, due to our deficit, during the two years of the Miller administration. Measures should be taken immediately that this year, 50¢ should be deducted from the membership dues and put in a special account so that we shall have by next year, in June or July, \$50,000.

3) Due to the clause adopted by the Actions Committee that a participation of 25% of the shekel holders in the election entitles a country to double the number of delegates, the chances for an election in the United States are much greater than they were.

But from the rules and regulations of the World Zionist Organization and confirmed by talks we had with Dr. Goldmann, any person in possession of two shekolim will be entitled to vote. This means that if we want to entitle our membership to participation in the election, we will have to pay only \$80,000. If we have in our reserve account of this year \$40,000, it will mean an additional cash outlay of \$40,000.

But for the determination of the number of delegates to which the U.S. will be entitled, shekel holders who pay only for two years are only counted for a half. This means, for example, that if Hadassah pays at the rate of \$2 for 300,000 members and we pay at the rate of \$2 for 100,000 members and Poale Zion pays at the rate of \$2 for 100,000 members, this would make 500,000. If the number of shekolim sold in the world is 2,000,000 and the number of delegates to the Congress 400,000, the U.S. will be entitled to 100 delegates. But, if we pay only at the rate of \$1 and the Poale Zion the same, it would mean that the U.S. would have only 400,000 and its delegation would be reduced to 80. But if 100,000 people out of the 500,000 shekel payers will go to the elections, the U.S. will have 160 delegates, following the new rule.

4) The last time that there were elections in the U.S., the total sale of shekolim in the world was 2,159,850 of which the U.S. had 956,250 shekolim. That entitled us to 121 mandates. In the elections, 206,380 persons participated out of 956,250. This is in percentage about 22%. This in the year of greatest interest in the Zionist Movement, just after the end of the war at the height of the political crisis in the U.S.

I therefore doubt very much that you will find in the U.S. 25% of the shekel payers interested in going to the elections. On the other hand, what do they mean by elections? We live in a world where, if you submit one list of all the parties united to a referendum of the constituency, we might be able to get 25% of the shekel payers to endorse the united slate and have in this way, an election which would entitle us to double representation.

5) At this stage in the history of our organization, I doubt very much that it would be wise or advisable to launch a shekel campaign and use the few volunteers we have left to engage in a shekel campaign at \$2 a shekel. I doubt very much that other organizations will go into a large shekel campaign. Our position should be that we are going to do the best we can but that we shall force an election where the people will be able to express themselves freely, because it is written nowhere that the 300,000 Hadassah women will go to the polls enthusiastically and all vote by sex and not by reason.

6) There is also the possibility that we shall make a great effort for a shekel campaign and that the Progressives, headed by Dr. Goldmann, will put up a separate ticket and get votes for efforts which we will have made. If Dr. Goldmann and his friends threaten us with a separate ticket, let them first sell shekolim.

7) In order to enable us to have an election at the end of the shekel campaign, whatever its shape or form, machinery has to be set up now by the National Shekel Board which will cost several hundred thousand dollars. If the Jewish Agency is willing to undertake such an effort they should let us know now.

In conclusion, the setup is heavily loaded against us and we have to overcome lots of difficulties and obstacles if we want to come to the Congress with some strength.

These are my practical recommendations for the moment:

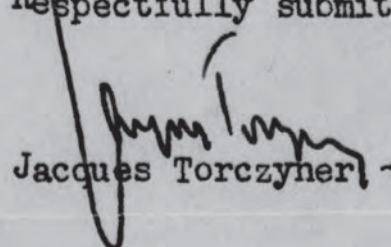
1) In the National Shekel Board, we should demand now that negotiations for a united slate should be concluded before October 15. If we cannot get an agreement with Hadassah for at least parity with us, we will have to go to an election.

2) We should do our best to have control of the Shekel Board and watch carefully what the other parties are doing.

3) If we should engage in a shekel campaign, it is to our advantage to do so at \$1 per person, taking the risk that the shekel should count for only half of the number of shekolim being considered in fixing the number of delegates to which the U.S. will be entitled. I believe that we will find better ways of using our meager funds in strengthening General Zionist organizations all over the world.

4) We should make it clear to our ambitious friends who want to be delegates to the Congress that they can only ~~become~~ a mandate if they really do some work and that minority participation without participation in the work of the organization is not justified.

Respectfully submitted,


Jacques Torczyner

Zvi Lurie

January 4, 1955

Rabbi Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
THE TEMPLE
East 105 Street & Ansel Road
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Rabbi Dr. Silver:

Enclosed you will find my open letter to my fellow Zionists
in the Tercentenary Committee.

This letter is written solely on my own responsibility and
not in the name of any organization or association to which
I belong.

If any blame is to be assigned, it is only to me personally.
If I have to be praised in some way, please praise the Zionist
Movement of which I am a part.

With best greetings.

Zvi Lurie
Zvi Lurie

Zvi Lurie

To the Zionist Members of the Committee for the Celebration
of the Tercentenary of Jewish Life in the United States

Neither with a light heart nor in a haughty spirit do I approach the writing of this open letter on the occasion of your holiday. I unashamedly admit a number of hesitations have held up the writing of this missive for the past few months since the celebrations of 300 years of the beginning of the Jewish community in the U.S. actually began. Finally - despite the hesitations - I determined to write in this form.

The first hesitation arises from the tragic lack of understanding (let us label it in this fashion even if it doesn't exactly express the content of the matter) which is deeply anchored, to my sorrow, in the relations between American Jewry and between Israel Jewry. I, of course, am one of the sons of Israel's Jewry. I have been Israeli for the past 30 years. This is the homeland which I adopted and which adopted me. My family is there, living and working in a pioneering village. As for me, I have been in the midst of American Jewry for the past six years. I go and come back and work among you. I have thousands of friends here, among them wonderful young people, others professionals, and intellectuals, still others just plain Jews, Jews who are warm-hearted and full of national and social understanding, and from amongst them several hundred who, during the period of my stay here have emigrated to Israel and are pioneers - chalutzim there. Yet, despite this, how will American Jewry receive my words? Will not one of them ask: What would happen if some Reform Rabbi from Cincinnati, for example, would sound the drums at the gates of Jerusalem and would chide the Jewish community of Israel and try to teach it law -- would Jerusalem listen to him? This fact only proves that there is no Sanhedrin in Israel, not in the religious sense (I do not deal with that) but in the sense of Israel being the authority and the center of teaching, and of law and of hope. Many links have been loosened in Jewish life -- this also is a sign of the times.

There are many American Jews who are convinced that the ancient axiom "And the Law Shall Come Forth From Zion" is outmoded. There is a new Egyptian Alexandria which is at least equal to Israel in wealth, in brilliance, in quantity. And there are even those who are convinced that "laws" of equal merit shall go forth both from Zion and from Washington. And there are even some who place the laws of Washington before the laws of Zion and who believe that the land of Washington is destined to save Israel from some Levantine degeneration, the Lord forbid, and even raise it to the level of civilized nations. Paths have become entangled and weeds have increased -- this too is a sign of the Exile. And to the increasing sorrow of the writer of these lines -- there is not one law which emanates from Zion today. They are not single and unified tidings which come to the U.S. from Zion and Jerusalem. There are many counterfeit coins as well as coins dipped in blood, in the heart, in the sweat of work. And I have my own belief, very clear and shining, in common with many tens and perhaps hundreds of thousands in the Homeland. This is the uncompromising teaching of the chalutzim who believe in actual self-realization -- who demand all of themselves and much from others.

The second hesitation is of a different nature. Not many Jewish communities in our history, a history steeped in blood and full of millions of human sacrifices during thousands of years, have been privileged to celebrate their holidays in so public a manner, in such an abundance of well-being -- and, above all, in such material well-being. Large numbers among them feel subjectively a measure of

stability (whether it be justified or exaggerated) and a sense of pride in their past and in their present. Is this the proper moment to speak up or perhaps one should wait until the joyous day is past? Will there not be an instinctive antagonism against anyone who tries to deflect from the holiday spirit even a little bit?

Nevertheless, without descending to maudlin pathos, I cannot remain quiet. "For Zion I Shall Not Be Still" - is an axiom which does not recognize boundaries of place or of time. My hesitations diminished more and more as I continued to observe the character of the Tercentenary celebrations. It seems to me that I have read the overwhelming majority of educational and instructive material which has been issued by the organizers of these events and it literally constitutes a whole library. I listened to many speeches during the various celebrations - and I was shaken.

Let us put aside the question of whether this is the most appropriate time for such Jewish celebrations and in such a gigantic manner. Is there any Jewish stability in this world? Are we not only a few short years since a third of our people was massacred in the most bestial manner -- and now we are orphans, widows, and bereaved ones? Are we not all, as Jews, living on a volcano in the midst of a cold war which divides the Jewish people into different and opposing regimes and loyalties? Has Jewish independence in the State of Israel, its peace, its entirety, its undisturbed future been assured? Let him who will say, "This is not a time of mourning", and we can answer him that neither is this a "time of rejoicing". Perhaps this is a time for thinking and evaluation of pathways. Have these been the intentions of the organizers of the Tercentenary?

But the optimist in me won out over the doubter in me, who is a product of the exile. First of all since I did soul-searching and I decided: This is a Jewish celebration. Whether at the proper time or not -- do not separate yourself from the community. If you demand that others adhere to your fate -- you, first of all must join in their fate. Join and become a partner. This is no trifle -- five and a half million Jews are celebrating their holiday -- even if their vast majority is here only 70-80 years and not 300 years (a hundred years ago there were less than 50,000 Jews in the U.S.) One must not be too exact in such matters. It is not the figures and their exactness which are decisive - it is the content which counts.

My Jewish heart grew proud when I saw the Jewish-American exhibition arranged at the New York Public Library on 42nd Street and 5th Avenue, which was arranged by the wonderful Jewish man of science, Mr. Joshua Bloch, with taste and knowledge. My heart swelled with pride when I saw that the exhibit which was supposed to be devoted to the history of American Jewry contained almost exclusively items from the Jewish culture of the "old world". I rejoiced at the masterful work from the hands of the scribe, Joseph of Xanten, who wrote the Tanach on parchment in Germany in the year 1294; and at the scientific exactness of the Humash with commentaries of Rabbi Moses ben Nachman of Garrona, Spain (1195 - 1270) which was written on Italian parchment in the 15th Century. The Biblical original was written in red letters, the commentaries in black letters, and many sentences still needing further explanation and research, written in blue letters. The entire work was executed with the highest artistry, unsurpassed delicacy of penmanship and taste, which testifies to generations of culture totalling more than 70 years and perhaps even more than of 300 years. My heart swelled at the sight of the works of the Hebrew printing shop in the Portuguese town of Leiria, a fortified town near Lisbon, which was operated by the devoted hands of the brothers Samuel and Abraham DeOrtas, even

in the days of the expulsions and of the inquisitions of 1492. It is this shop which printed the famous calendar-almanac in 1496 of Abraham ben Samuel Zacuto of Salamanca with the Latin title "Tabulae Tabularum Coelestium Motum Sive". And attached to it is the naive and charming sub-title "Almanach Perpetuum". Legend has it that it was this manuscript which guided Christopher Columbus in his travels across the ocean to America.

Are there any more wonderful things than these which show the connecting links of the chain of Jewish generations in their wanderings, which unite the Jewish people in its exiles of the past with the wave of Jewish immigrants which reached the shores of America. They are, all of them, from start to finish, identical in fate and characteristics and are all the product of the conditions of a homeless people wandering and full of longing for its only Homeland which is missing.

I looked through the gallery of Jewish-American personalities which the Tercentenary Committee underlines and endorses in its pamphlets to American Jewry, as worthy of tale and praise -- as the Haggada says. I found in their midst dear and worthy persons who will go into the pantheon of world Jewish history, broad-minded, far-visioned, and warm-hearted; men of action, and men of state; men of thought and of utterance. I searched and searched for certain names, branches from the main trunk of the American Jewish community, but they were not to be found and some were overshadowed. Whom didn't I find in the gallery of Jewish personalities which the organizers of the Tercentenary had erected for the respect and veneration of every American Jew, and in which the younger generation is to take pride?

In this pantheon is the name of Henrietta-Hadassah Szold overshadowed. She was an American Jewess. She, who was not satisfied with the mere contribution of money, but who fashioned with her own delicate and aristocratic hands, and with her heart (which had room enough for all the supplications of the mothers of Israel who orphaned their children at the edicts of tyrants and barbarians) one of the greatest humanitarian and social undertakings which was ever created on the face of this blood ridden globe. She saved tens of thousands of young children, hapless orphans, and restored them to full human and Jewish lives. And today -- the children of Henrietta Szold occupy the border settlements of Israel from Dan near Mt. Hermon to Revivim on the road to Elath. And additional tens of thousands of children -- her children -- escaped from darkened lands, are today learning and working in the bosom of nature in a creative, laboring, collective life in preparation for a creative, straightforward, healthy and forward looking adulthood.

Her name and her beaming visage were overshadowed. I remembered those long days and nights which I spent with her at the time of the immigration of the "Teheran Children" who came to us, to our Land, after long wandering across Soviet Central Asia. I saw her in her small modest room towards the end of her days in Jerusalem. Her tiny heart was among the greatest that ever existed in this world. Her love embraced all of mankind, and she especially loved children, orphaned children, remnants of gas chambers and of feudal whippings.

Henrietta Szold wasn't privileged. In the books which are recommended by the Tercentenary Committee appear as heroines of American Jewry: Emma Lazarus, Clara de Hirsch, Lena Straus, Sophie Irene Loeb, Peninah Moise, Rebecca Gratz, etc. Was Henrietta Szold's name treated differently because she decided to leave the U.S.? Was this her sin? And is this sin so great that all the admiration which the entire world, without regard to country and regime, extends to her memory, from Norway to Argentina, from South African to Bulgaria, is not enough to atone for this great sin?

And in the Tercentenary Committee sit representatives of this gigantic Jewish American Women's Organization "Hadassah" with its 300,000 members. Three hundred thousand Jewish-American women are quiet.

I searched and did not find in this gallery of the American-Jewish pantheon, the name of Dr. Judah Leib Magnes. This man, too, is a branch of the American Jewish tree. He stood out among his fellow men. His head was always high and his gait modest. He went his own way without regard to popular acclaim. He was faithful to the very depths to his naive belief in the renaissance of the Jewish people in its own land, in peace amongst peoples, and in peace between Israel and the Arab countries. He was the first Rector of the Hebrew University on Mount Scopus, which is today in the hands of hordes of the Trans-Jordan Legion. He was a philosopher who devoted his life to stabilizing modern academic life for the Jewish people, renewing the appellation "People of the Book", and to a synthesis of the cultural legacy of generations of traditional Israel and of the broad vistas of modern culture. And all this precisely in the city of peace - Jerusalem. It was possible to differ with the Zionist concept of Professor Magnes, and this writer did so differ. But just as he was an extremist against compromising with any principles of his social and national outlook, just so was he an extremist in all matters concerning the attainment of his goals through peaceful means. He was the great liberal, the man of Jewish-Arab friendship. He dreamt about Jewish-Arab bi-nationalism within the framework of an independent common state. Were these ideals of the great Jew Magnes not an expression of the true and ancient democratic ideals for which the finest Americans spilled their blood in conflicts, in wars, in revolutions against British rule? Did Magnes bring his idea of bi-nationalism, of the brotherhood of various peoples living in peace in one political framework, from the intellectual world of socialism? Magnes, as it is known, was never a socialist. Perhaps he brought it from another source of freedom-seeking, of brothers and peoples sitting together, of mutual tolerance, all ideas impressed in the American character in all the generations which finally gave birth to this wonderful figure of Magnes.

I remember the beginning of the Arab attack on us in Jerusalem at the close of 1947. All around the Jewish commercial center in Jerusalem went up in flames; the Hagana men entrenched themselves in the final last-ditch battle strongholds of Masada in the Old City of Jerusalem; the British High Commissioner MacMichael still sat in his palace and was "neutral" against us and "neutral" for the attacking Arabs. We had already made many sacrifices and our strength was very small. Seven Arab states organized their forces against us.

It was then that I saw Magnes in his home in the Rehavia section of Jerusalem trying to arrange contact through the broken-down cut-off telephone system in order to send messengers to both sides, to beg even the hypocritical help of the British, to mediate, to convince -- for peace, for a calming of spirits, and most important, to try and save the old Jewish community in the Old City of Jerusalem, which we already knew at that time, was destined for destruction despite the heroic defense actions of our boys. The Old City was doomed to fall. I looked at this tall, soft-spoken man and I thought: Here is a wonderful combination of the stubbornness of the Pharisee who is a learned man, a realist, a believer, who avoids bloodshed, and one of those great figures of the American Revolution who were ready to give his all for the freedom of peoples. A kind of George Washington, even though Magnes was an uncompromising antagonist of any sort of militarism, he was a wonderful Jew and an American of the finest tradition.

Judah Leib Magnes was not included in the pantheon of the American Jewish Tercentenary. There was nothing to fear except the foundation of peace in his Jewish-human world outlook. (After all, today even the very concept of "peace" is enough to induce fear.) Yet, apparently there was some defect in his makeup: he gave his life for the rebirth of Israel in its Land, in his own way.

Then, for example, there are the Jewish boys of the U.S. who went to spill their blood with us in the War for Israel's independence, for freedom and for a national future. Some of them remained and settled there and some returned. They served in planes and behind cannons, in all the works of warfare and even in the meteorological service. This Machal (Mitnadvey Chutz La'aretz - Volunteers from the Diaspora) - are they not veterans? And those American Jews who joined in Allenby's campaign against Turkish enslavement - are they not veterans? But in the program for celebrations and parades of the Tercentenary Committee, it is written: "Participation of Jewish military men and Jewish war veterans, chronicles of American Jews in the wars, etc...."

In the U.S. great celebrations are held for the Polish Generals Kosciuszko and Pulaski who came from afar while their own homeland shed blood and fought against enslaving tyrants, to add their strength to the war for the freedom and independence of the American people. Do the leaders of the Jewish Tercentenary Committee show the same apathy, forgetfulness, deafness, in such celebrations, or do they join in praise of Kosciuszko and Pulaski? In their memory great bridges are named, monuments and memorials are erected. Their names are given to mighty highways on which millions of drivers travel, recalling the names of these men en route. And Jewish men who are themselves American (not from Poland!), the men of Machal who exposed themselves to danger for the honor of their people and the honor of the Jewish-American community are hidden away on such a day - silenced, forgotten, as if they never were, and had never happened.

I would be less than just if I did not mention the fact that the name of Colonel David (Mickey) Marcus, who fell on an Israel battlefield, is mentioned rather frequently in the literature of the Tercentenary Committee. Nevertheless, I cannot be satisfied with that. He is not mentioned in a manner as befits a Jewish-American figure. Much less is there a hint of the hundred of anonymous soldiers of Machal who endangered their lives for Israel's honor and future, for the honor of Jewish arms and for the future of a new life in the Homeland.

Yet it would not be honest on my part, if I fought the battle of these people only. For not only individuals erected this bridge - a bridge not of paper, but of flesh and blood, of life and of death - between the Jewry of the U.S. and the rebirth of the Jewish people in Israel. Such bridges do not exist in the program of these celebrations. I brought these few examples only in order to illustrate my point.

For truly this is not a matter of individuals. It is something far greater. There is, for example, a very small aliya from the U.S. to Israel, of individuals and of small groups, which has gone on for a generation and more. How many among the celebrants of the Tercentenary know that the founder of the Moshav Ovdim (Smallholders' Cooperative) in the Land of Israel, as well as its practical man of action was a Jew from America, named Eliezer Yaffe? This is one of the very few agricultural creations in the world, based on one's own work without exploitation of anyone, on land belonging to the entire Jewish people, without landlord's, in social forms of cooperation and mutual aid. Today, this is a large movement of free Jewish farmers, which absorbs thousands of formerly

exploited immigrants from Morocco. This man was a pioneer, modest of mien, who, well along in years, turned to farming. He died and was buried in the Homeland for which he strove, and the movement which he encouraged flowers and bears fruit. Even today, small groups of American Jews come to join this Moshav Ovdim movement. Among them are those who founded the settlement called Herut Bet in the heart of the Sharon Valley, many of whom left their grocery stores in American cities in their idealism to live in Israel. In Israel, this settlement is already known for its developed economy and the settlers are proud of their children and even grandchildren. Amongst their children are those who have cast their lot in our Darom area and are establishing the Moshav called Orot, near Be'er Tuvia. These are everyday Jews who have left their little farms in Vineland, New Jersey, and their stores in Washington, D.C., and their television sets and have gone to be pioneers in an unknown country, to fight against the difficulties of neglected land, under new conditions, with small means. They are Americans, Jewish Americans. Yes, they are part of you, your representatives, whether you designate them as such or hide yourselves from it.

Then there are the children of American Jews, graduates of high-schools and colleges from New York, Boston, Los Angeles, Chicago, and other smaller cities who were educated in an American-Jewish pioneer Youth Movement and who have founded kibbutzim in Israel - and they are wonderful kibbutzim! Among them is the first and finest - Kibbutz Hashomer Hatzair, Ein Hashofet, in the Hills of Ephraim. Ein Hashofet is named for Justice Louis D. Brandeis, whose greatness needs no reminder and among whose admirers are certainly the members of the Tercentenary Committee. Among the members of Ein Hashofet are learned men who without difficulty would have been able to attain titles and degrees in the U.S. Instead of this, they chose to conquer barren hills, and established a magnificent pioneer settlement. Then there is the Kibbutz Kfar Blum with which are connected young American Jews who are building a workers' farming economy, which is an honor to them and to the Jewish-American community. This settlement is developing in the midst of the Huleh swamps, in a constant struggle with malaria.

Two months ago, I took part in the celebrations of two American settlements in Israel. They celebrated, not three hundred years, but only five years of their existence. The first is named Sasa, and it is also a kibbutz of Hashomer Hatzair. It is an eagle's nest in the heights of the hills facing Mt. Hermon on the Lebanese border. Seventy-five of your children who left their comfortable homes in Beverly Hills and in Queens, came to Israel to struggle with a language strange to their lips and to adopt it forever. They conquer microscopic pieces of land between the stones in order to grow fruit trees, a little fodder for the cows, and some beds of tomatoes. They are investing much soul and initiative, as well as intelligence (what do you call it? "American know-how"?) in their work in each garage and drying plant for figs and tomatoes, which they are establishing. They have already set-up a district factory for complicated precision repairs for agricultural machines. A young Jewish-American engineer is in charge there and the reputation of this repair shop and of its engineer is spreading to the far corners of Israel.

The second place is called Barkai. It, too, is only five years old. It is situated on the edge of Wadi Ara, along the highway leading from the center of Israel, through valleys to the Galilee. It is a crucial point in the defense of this important highway. Even the ancient Egyptians already knew of its importance. In ancient times troops traveled on it. The Romans called it Via Maris - Sea Route. And the American sons of Barkai are blessed with sources of water, a

wonderful view, a pleasant climate and - poverty. They are absorbing new immigrants, raising a second generation, building a settlement, and are striking roots in the Homeland.

And there are Jewish-American settlers in Raanana, and skilled workers throughout the land. There are professors in the Hebrew University in Jerusalem and at the Technion in Haifa. There is a simple housewife who emigrated from the U.S. in Ramat Gan who raises flowers and thereby supports herself and her family.

Were representatives of these pioneers of Jewish-Americans who have settled in Israel invited to come and participate in the Tercentenary celebrations? Did you, Zionist members of the Tercentenary Committee, think of sending a delegation from the largest Jewish community celebrating 300 years of existence to this community in Israel - to bring them the news that you have grown and become great, and that their future is intertwined with your future? Have you considered that this good-will mission - which never came - is obligated to bring a small gift to the Jewish Americans and the pioneers in Israel, not through the usual philanthropic-campaign channels, but specially from heart to heart, from the great community to the small community, to bring better housing to the Sasa pioneers, many of whom still live in damaged Arab houses, or even to prepare sanitary facilities for them? Do not be ashamed. Many of you have two bathrooms in your homes, while there on the Lebanese border there is only one, made of sheet-metal in the Arab style (do you know what that is?) for many dozens of Jewish-Americans? Or has it occurred to you to pave a "Highway of Hope" or a "Highway of Peace" or a "Highway of Three Hundred Years" to one of the American settlements on a dangerous border in the south or in the Huleh swamp, so that in Israel too there might remain a memory of the celebration for generations to come? Has it occurred to you to set-up a new settlement of American pioneers in Israel and name it for the 300 years of its sponsoring community? All this - or part of it, or something similar - could be accomplished as a special, festive addition to the existing, worthwhile campaign projects, not from self-exaltation nor from self-belittlement. It was possible to say: "Look here. You are our sons, a branch of the same tree. Let us rejoice together that we have reached this far - you and we. You are not better than we are, but you are ours - like us."

Instead of this, your representatives were satisfied with one concert in the Z.O.A. House in Tel Aviv to mark the event.

In the Celebration Program, it is written: "Who are fitting candidates (to direct the celebrations)? Rabbis who have sufficient time and the necessary academic interest; history and social science teachers with research training; Jewish educators; laymen with a flair for serious historical research." Thus is it written in the official Tercentenary Program which was planned by Rabbi Dr. Bertram W. Korn ("Jewish Roots in Democracy - Planning a Community History Project"). Dr. Korn, if I am not mistaken, is a Zionist. Everyone can direct these celebrations: Rabbis with sufficient time, history teachers, educators, laymen with a flair for history. Who shall not participate and who shall not be invited? Those who left the Rabbinate to take up work in the Land of Israel, those who educate Youth Aliya groups, an American woman, who not only has a flair for history, but is herself making history in Israel. Their places are left vacant - a vacuum.

Would the Irish (and I know that this analogy is drastic and in many senses not to my taste) in the U.S. who are in the upper echelons, even national

leaders, who are important in the economy, in basic industry, in banking, as mayors of cities or the elite of society, would these Irish even conceive of forgetting their origin at the height of their celebrations, their old mothers, their tiny, poor, and torn homeland across the sea? On the contrary, they take pride in it, in their origin, and in their mother-homeland. Not only this, but on their holidays, they invite or arrange "perchance" the presence of mayors and public figures from Ireland to participate in the public celebrations of Irish-Americans in the U.S.

I purposely chose this example, not because it is close to my heart, but because it has meaning for many American Jews. It is often said: What does this concept of national ex-territorialism do? There is no anomaly in it at all. Look at the Irish and learn from them. Their vast majority are in American and yet they are a self-conscious people - and they show no signs of any kind of anomaly, the Lord forbid! So it is with us: a minority of us is in Israel and a majority in the U.S.A. And those with a "flair for history" (Rabbi Dr. Korn will forgive me if I use one of his definitions for an opposite proof) will add: We are certain that there will be a complete ingathering of the exiles, and we shall live to see the day of the ingathering of the exiles of Europe and the Arab world. Perhaps we shall also see the ingathering of the exiles of some of the Latin-American Jewish communities, indeed from the whole world, and this will be precisely in the Land of Israel, and the largest dispersion of the Jewish people may live securely in the U.S. This, according to them, is an entirely normal thing. And yet these Irish act differently at their celebrations. They prize their folk culture, they exalt Irish films, they demonstrate their ties to their homeland.

Some years ago I had the opportunity of seeing a celebration of Greek-Americans in New York. It was rather a scrawny parade and it awakened in me a feeling of sorrow for the grandsons of Agamemnon and Phidias. They, the Greeks of Hellas and their immigrants to the U.S., are no longer able to hide behind the great trees of Plato and Socrates. We take pride in Maimonides and Rashi and in the maps which guided Columbus in his stormy journeys, which were printed in Hebrew printing shops. Yet I saw these Greeks in Manhattan, how they encouraged their fold tradition, donned silver and gold embroidered hats from the mountains of Salonika and dresses from the Aegean Islands. In this way, Greek-Americans, living in the U.S., express their longings for their origin, their unity with the Greeks across the seas.

You may say: This example is like the broken potsherd. These Irish and Greeks have recently come from their original melting-pot and the milk of their motherland and its folk-songs, and colorful dress, are still on their lips and bodies. Whereas, we, children of the Eternal Jew, have been uprooted from that Land for thousands of years. And yet, the example is there and demands further contemplation.

We are not speaking of the folklore from the times of Hyrcanus the Hasmonean, nor of the folklore being created today in the fields of the popular dance festivals at Dalia or at the music festivals at Ein-Gev. We speak of a more prosaic folklore, full of fighting spirit of defense and construction of those who were children of the Jewish-American community only a few years ago. How was this thing banned, silenced, hidden, and why? Is it only forgetfulness, a lack of activity, my Zionist brothers, negligence? Or perhaps there are deeper reasons?

In the American Jewish Tercentenary programs for youth groups in the section entitled "Forums & Workshops", we find questions designed to serve as starting points for discussions. Among them is question number six: "What is our relation to World Jewry?" and question number seven: "What is our relation to Israel?"

This pamphlet as well as others of the programs give no answers to these questions. They are apparently intended, in a liberal manner, to allow each group in the community to supply its own answers. However, the suggested sources for background material listed include: "all kinds of materials from Jewish sources -- mountains of material -- synagogues, charitable organizations and their buildings, bar-mitzva, confirmation exercises, Jewish marriages and funerals", etc.

It might have been worthwhile to add to the above-mentioned sources one other - the history of Zionism in America and its situation today. I do not presume to suggest the inclusion of Herzl, the man of Vienna (and actually of Vilna, as well, after he was adopted by its Jews). Yet Luther, who wasn't born nor died in the land of Columbus, has exerted a great influence on American culture and his teachings have contributed much to the liberal-humanitarian approach of the early colonists and he stands out today. Nor do I propose to include Pinsker, the author of the Jewish "Auto-Emancipation". He was, after all, from Czarist Russia. And certainly not Ber Borochov and his teachings, even though he spent part of his life in the United States. But was Major Mordecai Noah placed properly in these sources? He saw his Utopian state "Ararat", not as an end in itself (as certain historians have tried to misrepresent his plans and visions), but as a preparatory situation on the road to the concentration of Jews, including American Jews, in Israel. (See M. Wishnitzer, "To Dwell in Safety", Jewish Publication Society.) And perhaps I overlooked it, but I failed to find reference to the important letter from the President of the United States, John Adams, to Major Noah in the year 1818, which states: "I really wish to see the Jews again in Palestine as an independent nation."

And from the date of that letter, from 1818 until 1954, the year of the celebrations, it would have been worthwhile mentioning all the sources of Zionism in the United States, and they are legion. Also, to sum up, (the emphasis is on the also) in figures like the following:

- in the State of Israel, which gathers in exiles from the four corners of the earth, from seventy lands and languages, there are wonderful American-Jews, but - their number doesn't exceed one-half percent of the total Jewish population in Israel. Mark well: more than ninety-nine and one-half percent are from that half of Jewry spread throughout the world outside the United States and less than one-half percent are from the other half of Jewry which is found in the United States;

- the second figure which is worth mentioning in the final chapter of the source material for studying the history of American Jewry will be: not much more than three hundred Jewish-Americans have been emigrating annually to Israel during recent year.

How is it possible to answer question number seven, on "our relations to Israel" without taking into account the two figures mentioned above?

Cannot the great and successful Jewish community of the United States find an answer to this question on the day of its joyous holiday? It certainly

can, for the answer is written on the tens of thousands of pages - both yellow and brand-new - authored by Jews in this country, almost from the very arrival of the first twenty-three Jews in New Amsterdam until this very day.

From the history of Jewish participation in the liberation of the United States from the yoke of foreign rule you learn that Jewish emancipation didn't go hand in hand with Jewish self-rejection as Jews by nationality. The opposite is true. Just as it occurred among Jewish communities in Western Europe who didn't throw their prayer shawls and phylacteries into the sea at the first stage of the Emancipation, so with American Jewry. Jews who participated in the American Revolution were proud Jews, close to their people and many of them tied to the vision of the Return to Zion. How did Benjamin Nones, a Democrat from Pennsylvania in Jefferson's time, put it? "I am accused of being a Jew, of being a Republican and of being poor. I am a Jew. I glory in belonging to that persuasion." Benjamin Nones did not know of the conflict of dual loyalty between his being a proud national Jew and his being a true patriot fighting for the freedom of the land in which he lived.

And one of the fathers of American Zionism, Rabbi Gershon Mendes Seixas proclaimed proudly: "I am a Jew and if for no other reason - even only for this reason - I am a Republican....How is it possible for a Jew not to be a Republican?" With the strength of this synthesis of Jewish national self-recognition and a tremendous love of freedom, without half-words and without complexes of contradictions, Rabbi Gershon Mendes Seixas in 1776, led the majority of his Jewish community from New York into exile so as not to fall into the hands of the British nor have to swear an oath of loyalty to them.

The same lack of inner conflict between the Jewish national feeling and the striving for human freedom which repeats itself throughout America's struggles, is expressed in the poetry of Emma Lazarus, whose words are etched on the base of the Statue of Liberty which stands at the portals of one of the biggest cities of the world.

The answer is engraved in the sincere prayers of Rabbis and Cantors which are full of longing for Zion, in the Yiddish folk-poems written in the ghettos of the east side of New York. The answer is given crystal-clear in the scientific Zionist teachings of Ber Borochov who saw the ingathering of exiles as an imminent historical necessity. It is given in more sensitive form by Nachman Syrkin. It is given today by the pioneer youth movements, few in number and small in membership, who educate thousands of youth on this continent in the face of struggles and difficulties, towards full aliya to Israel.

Go and visit the pioneer farm at Hightstown, New Jersey, almost the only one in the United States, to my sorrow. There you will find, even today, 30 young men and women, American Jews, preparing themselves for Israel, technically, socially, ideologically.

However, the Zionist movement did not stand in the forefront of those historical processes which sought to elevate the longings for the complete identification of American Jewry with the oneness of Jewish fate and with the future of the Jewish people in Israel to an actual realization, to immigration to Israel. It is only this which gives meaning and substance to Zionist education and philosophy.

Pious prayers and the immigration of a few pioneers remained singular phenomena in contradiction to the spreading concept of a "Tefutza" Zionism, which sought to replace the concept of an active Zionism, which advocates personal national Jewish identification in the full sense of the word. I know that I am stepping on mine-strewn ground, but I have no alternative but to take the chance. The insulted and enraged people will far outnumber the readers of these lines. Despite this, there is no avoiding a clarification of these matters.

Fundamentally, there is no essential difference between the path of the "Yahudim" from Germany who emigrated to the U.S. and the Bundist trend of Medem which landed in the U.S. The former, as soon as they set foot on U.S. soil, and even before the English language replaced the German, saw themselves as an isolated group, as a Jewish phenomenon on the American continent with only the thinnest threads connecting them to the sources of their being, the Central European Jewish community, and without any ties to the Jewish ideals of the Return to Zion. The same development is largely true of the Bund of Medem, which, while largely made up of folk elements and closely concerned with the laborers in the shops and the encouragement of Yiddish, has remained a strange creation and offspring of the Bund of Poland, Russia and Lithuania. And if, over there, there was some element of discipline, here in the U.S. it has a rootless appearance. Wasn't there created a similarity of concepts between the conscious assimilationists and the conscious separatists, which means: atomization of the Jewish people into grouplets, minorities, separate and independent communities, each concerned with itself only? For a few in this camp, only the thin thread of formal religion united the different Jewish communities. For others, this thin unifying thread was the Yiddish language. But a thread does not serve as a bridge. It is only a thread, easily torn, particularly when caught up in storms.

Is there a common bond between the two very different worlds of the educational undertakings of the Lubavitcher Rabbi and the teachings of Dr. Robert Gordis, Conservative Rabbi, Zionist, editor of the American Jewish Congress quarterly "Judaism"? I am sorry to say that there is such a similarity.

The network of Yeshivot and religious schools for thousands of children who will remain in the U.S. permanently, or at least, until the redeemer arrives in the form of the Messiah, the son of David, for them a Zionism of aliya and the State of Israel is "trefa" - forbidden. And since they have an instinct (if not direct information) that the coming of the Messiah will be long delayed, therefore, all their efforts are devoted to the "temporary" and very permanent stay here. Rabbi Gordis (see his article in the Spring, 1954 issue of "Judaism") cites half-sentences from the Prophets to prove that even the ancient prophecies declared that the Dispersion - including that in the U.S. - is something always with us and that the matter of aliya to Israel does not concern it. It would take too long to quote his words. I have previously written a lengthy article about Rabbi Gordis' theories and quotations.

However, so that my readers may orientate themselves, I shall mention two points from his teachings.

1) He quotes verses from Isaiah I out of context in order to prove that even in the days of the First Temple there were many and large Jewish communities outside the boundaries of Israel and Judea. As proof he gives:

"That shall remain from Assyria, and from Egypt,
And from Pathros, and from Cush, and from Elam,
And from Shinar, and from Hamath, and from the islands of the sea."

But he does not cite the sentence which directly follows the above:

"And He will set up an ensign for the nations,
And will assemble the dispersed of Israel,
And gather together the dispersed of Judah
From the four corners of the earth." (Isaiah, Chapt. 11 verses 11 & 12.)

2) But this is not sufficient. Rabbi Gordis proves that in those days in the lands of Dispersion, Hebrew culture was a permanent phenomenon outside the bounds of the Land of Israel. And here is the proof:

"On that day there will be five cities in Egypt speaking the tongue of Canaan."

From this we may learn that there was not merely an organization of sympathizers or levers of the Hebrew language in Egypt, but actual speaking and use of the Hebrew language as a living tongue. And what was possible on the banks of the Nile and the Red Sea, in a land in which the Pharaoh once sought to destroy us, should obviously be more than possible in the Western Democracy which lies on the banks of the Hudson and Ontario Rivers.

It seems to me that there is no essential difference in the matter of Israel and the Diaspora between the Lubavitcher Rabbi and Dr. Gordis and his followers. And there is certainly no difference between them regarding the proper path to be outlined for Jewish youth.

But there is something more. Even Maurice Samuel, who is a writer with great talent, in lyric tones, and in the finest English style, has recently not contributed anything constructive to an active Zionism based on aliya and self-identification. His latest book, "Level Sunlight" is full of distortions, blunders, and slanders on the chalutz camp in Israel. Every intelligent, sensitive, and understanding youth who reads this book written by one of the theoreticians of Zionism in the U.S. will drop any feeling or particle of desire to emigrate to this Land of strange tribes, unimaginably confused, worshipping alien gods, heretics with regard to Jewish existence, "Canaanites" in the most dangerous sense, carrying in vain the name of pioneers, of builders of a Land, of revivers of a wasteland, and of the other fine things. Any man worthy of the name will shun them as much as possible, and if he separates himself far enough from them and their land, then, it will follow (and it is necessary for the author only to hint at this and it will suffice for the wise one, etc.) that he must come closer to the culture of the country in which he dwells and he will adopt it as his own. Thus - Maurice Samuel.

Then there is the "truly Orthodox" Jews who claims that Maimonides ordained that the Commandment of settling in the Land of Israel at this time doesn't hold good. He quotes the Gemarra as saying that he who emigrates from Babylonia (and as Reb Zadok HaCohen of Lublin, May His Memory Be Blessed, interpreted this, not Babylonia literally, but the entire Exile since it is a kind of Babylonia) transgresses a positive commandment. Similar was the judgement of Tashbetz (see The Day - Morning Journal, New York, November 6, 1954). What is the connection between the shining intellectual and the keen writer, Maurice Samuel, the teacher of many in the American Jewish Community, and that follower of the Neturei Karta who looks at his Boro Park or his Brownsville dwelling place as a kind of second Babylonia, which may not be abandoned in order to emigrate to Israel lest he be guilty of a transgression? In other words, remain there, in the Brownsville section of Brooklyn, New York, in order to fulfill the commandments in accordance with the best interpretations of our blessed sages and the learned Rabbis, and in this way you will perpetuate your Judaism.

Parallel lines meet at infinity. This is a mathematical axiom. But in our very confused political world, it happens that parallel lines -- antagonistic in essence -- meet even in our day or at least pair off. The American Jewish Committee sees the permanent and eternal strategic base of the Jewish community in the U.S. Does everything in it merit only glorification? Let us be just to men like Blaustein and Proskauer and say that this is not their opinion. They too see both sides of the coin. However, on those days when they don their evening clothes, the presentation of the local Jewish community which they make is a most polished one. Then everything is lovely and in good order: freedom, full equality of civil rights, justice on earth. Yet this same "American Jewish Committee" participates actively in various organizations fighting anti-Semitism, an indication that anti-Semitism apparently exists in some degree. They spend gigantic sums for research concerning anti-Semitism and for fighting it. But the research isn't always entirely objective and the methods of combatting anti-Semitism which this group has adopted could possibly be improved in a number of ways. However, it is an incontrovertible fact that anti-Semitism exists even in the opinion of this group. But not only this. Examine each volume of the American Jewish Yearbook issued annually by the American Jewish Committee and you will see sociological analyses of Jewish communities in the U.S. in which the Jewish socio-economic anomaly in the U.S. is salient. Nevertheless, the members of the American Jewish Committee believe that the American Jewish Dispersion is stable and firm and if something needs correction, it must be done here. On the other side of the fence one finds American Jews who have the most pessimistic outlook on the present status of American Jewry both socially and politically. I do not speak of the Yevsektzia, which is cut off from its people and denies its existence, for where will one find a similar group in the history of other peoples? I speak rather of those Jews who strive for far-reaching social changes and at the same time have a strong Jewish national sentiment. They hold dear their ties to Judaism, to its holidays, to its tradition. What do these Jews say? The strategic base for the war against anti-Semitism, against poverty and degradation, and against political reaction is here, where the "dispersion" exists. Any emigration, including aliya to Israel is "flight from the battlefield". From which battlefield? What is their strength in these struggles? Yet they will propound a theory for you that the situation is getting worse and that reaction is conquering more and more positions. They obviously must know that wherever reaction increases, there anti-Semitism increases. And before salvation comes, death may arrive. Until the redeemer appears, the Jews will find themselves, as always, between the millstones and may be pulverized. Yet this latter group continues to maintain "the strategic base? - it is here".

Nevertheless, the Jewish masses in the U.S. unlike their spiritual, political or organizational leaders, differ in their basic approach. The ordinary, "everyday" Jews does not suffer from the disease of "double loyalty". He feels no conflict between his love for the country in which he lives presently and his historic Jewish national longings. And the most blatant proof of this is the great peoples' volunteering of the masses of Jewry in the U.S. for Israel. Check into the many fund raising campaign activities and you will discover that millions of Jews are the contributors, in larger or smaller amounts, to the United Jewish Appeal, to the Bond Drive, to the Hadassah undertakings, to the Jewish National Fund and to the tens of other Israel campaigns, some "legal" and some "illegal". This is not only a form of personal atonement, nor is it only an expression of "assistance to our endangered brethren in the East". This sincere contributing Jew surely looks askance at the curious, self-denying formulation of the fringe elements of the community (some of them even at the fringe of the Zionist element!) that this aid is necessary "because we are Americans and as Americans our hearts are always open

to help any young democracy which seeks to maintain itself." For him the Land of Israel is not like "any democracy". It is rather the democracy to which he always looks. The peoples' great contribution is a proud expression of the axiom, "all Jews are responsible for one another"; of the deep understanding of the unity of Jewish fate despite its division into dispersions and exiles; of the desire to identify with the fate of the State of Israel, of which they wish to be a part, and to be among its builders.

Only the spiteful apostates (such as Moshe Sneh) can argue impudently and with complete disregard of reality, that the contributions which reach Israel from American Jewry are the contributions of a few capitalists who desire Jewish capitalistic (Jewish? - what an echo of the Nazi accusations!) control of Israel policy. Only conscious or unconscious assimilationists who live in the U.S. will argue that Jewish contributions are an expression of the American spirit of financial benevolence and will deny the active national aspect which lies at the basis of the great undertaking. (I am told, that general American fund raising campaigns, not for specifically Jewish needs, come to study the methods of the Jewish campaigns.)

Jews are seeking personal identification with the State of Israel as a bulwark against the assimilation of the younger generation. They do not find it in Jewish education, which is given in driblets, lacking any wholeness. Nor do they find it in Zionist activity in the U.S. which has estranged itself from the classic sources of Zionism. Therefore they emphasize the synagogues and try to convert them into Jewish centers as a substitute for personal identification. Will their children continue to accept the synagogue as their center? They, and certainly their children's children will already be very far from the sources and in the midst of assimilation - if only the general economic and political conditions will permit this.

In the face of these opposing phenomena in American Jewry, the Zionist movement ought to take a clear stand, if it wishes to survive. It should present fighting programs to encourage every pioneer and dynamic force. It ought to call for personal and spiritual identification with Jewish unity and with the State of Israel. To advocate aliya as a world-outlook, as a way of saving the American Jewish community from assimilation and as the maximal expression of assistance that this community can give to Israel, as a bridge for the saving of Jewish youth from dissolution, loss of direction, ignorance and detachment - this should be its program.

Instead, there is the compromise in Zionism, the half-hearted education. The vast majority of Jewish children in the U.S. who receive some Jewish education, and they total only 20-25 percent of the entire young Jewish generation, receive only a one- or two-hour a week education. Instead of a complete Hebrew or Jewish school, you have a paltry scrap of an education, a third, a fourth, an eighth, and perhaps even less than that. Instead of identification with the culture of Israel, you find the worship of a few formal aspects of the religion (the four pillars of Jewish quasi-existence are: circumcision, bar-mitzva, marriage, and funeral). In place of personal identification - instead of converting the folk-contribution into an instrument of spiritual and personal uplift for Zionism - it becomes an end in itself. Instead of encouraging aliya of all types and in all forms, and especially pioneering aliya there is the conception of "service to Israel", of pilgrimage, of seminars, for a year, for a half-year, for six weeks in summer, for a two week visit to Israel. (I do not negate these things in themselves. On the

contrary, I support them wholeheartedly. I negate them only as substitutes.)

It should be obvious that in the light of this practice of half-way measures and compromise, it was necessary to achieve a theoretical basis for "half-way-ism". First of all, came the "Marxist-like" proof from the mouths of sworn anti-Marxists that because, so to speak, there are no specific social-economic stimuli for the Jewish community, there is no reason for the emigration of American Jews to Israel. The pessimistic Zionist analysis of the Golah was correct, they say, except - for the United States. Consequently, they have developed theories of exaggerated optimism, of glorification of the present, and of the blurring of painful problems within the American Jewish community.

Such a half-way approach is no program. It cannot breathe new life into the youth. It has no content and gives no direction for the younger generation. It is not likely to assist in the serious mobilization of private capital for Israel, and it will certainly not bring Jews with capital to consider the possibility of emigrating to Israel and of settling there. Such an approach has resulted in the fact that chalutz groups among Jewish youth are few in number, isolated, and struggling against tremendous odds. Nor does it help the State of Israel in moments of political or security crises, when the most serious aid which can be extended to it is aliya, increase in manpower, in materials, in bodies and souls - all together and not just one single element from among them.

Perhaps at this point I should look for the answer to the question: How did you, Zionist colleagues in the Tercentenary Committee, agree that thus should the holiday be seen? How did you agree to this kind of a vision of the future of this noble community? And how few you are, Zionist comrades, in this Tercentenary Committee. I asked myself: Is this an accident or was it done purposely by the Zionists? Is their mark unrecognized (and yet they are active and initiators in the local communities, in the press, in the fund raising campaigns, in organizational life, in spiritual and literary endeavors), or have the differences between Zionists and non-Zionists already become so blurred that the Zionists have acquiesced with the fact that their work should be done by others in the manner of those righteous men who allow others to act for them? Are there no differences between the two works? Are there no differences as to the manner in which this thing can be accomplished?

Is this symptomatic of strength which spreads its wings over all that passes by, or is it perhaps a sign of weakness, to be a few among many others. A painful few - I don't dare utter the truth.

I asked myself whether I have the right to turn to you in this fashion and whether you will accept this with the same good will in which it is written, for it is written without "a priori" judgement, without a sense of superiority or a feeling of lack of equal worth between various Jewish communities and their representatives.

There is one more thing I must add which will probably rule me out absolutely as a witness. I admit without shame that I have a pessimistic outlook concerning the future of all of Jewry's Diaspora. The emphasis is on "Diaspora" and on "all" - together. This is not to say that I have contempt, Heaven forbid, for the Diaspora. Nothing is further from my mind than to look down on Jewish creativity during long historic periods, as well as today. I am, myself, a product of the Jewish exile and its faithful son, despite the fact that I found my homeland

in Israel. There is no existence for Israel without Diaspora culture and without Diaspora Jewry. I myself think in Hebrew and my children's mother tongue is Hebrew. Yet I am bound with every part of my being to Yiddish. I am concerned with its situation, yet I do not pray for its disappearance and am very doubtful about its future. Wherever Yiddish will wither and disappear, Hebrew will not arise. Even more than this, every faithful Jewish creation, truly Jewish in spirit, is dear to me even if it is expressed in an alien tongue.

Morris Rosenfeld is very dear to me, and I love the naive anarchistic poems of David Halberstadt from that stormy and oppressive period of Jewish poetry written on American soil. And sevenfold dearer to me is Menahem Boraisha and Opatoshu, and the songs of the sweatshops and the folk songs in Yiddish about the tragic famous Triangle fire. It is unnecessary for me to emphasize that I find much of value in the Hebrew literature which is being created in the American exile to the degree that it is not meant to be a Hebrew language, in place of Israel - a kind of American "Canaanism".

But what can I do if my basic conception concerning the historical outcome is pessimistic insofar as it concerns the future of Jews in the Diasporas - including that of the U.S. This does not mean that I am proposing to Americans or Canadian Jewry to pack their belongings and emigrate at once en masse to Israel. If I had to write a letter to the Jews of Morocco, I would certainly utilize the language of "let us pack our bundles and return home". But that is our tragedy. Where one can write such letters, there is no longer any need for them, for it is perhaps already too late to read them. Where there is need for such letters, who knows if anyone reads them.

I do not say, "Jews of the U.S. or American Zionists, go immediately or you will not be worthy of the title Zionists." After all, this isn't the only difference between my viewpoints and those of the former premier of Israel, Mr. D. Ben Gurion. Zionists will remain loyal, in my opinion, even if they do not do so forthwith and at once, on condition that they encourage every form of aliya, stand behind every oleh, show the road of aliya to American Jewry as the one and only destination, Israel, for their children, for their brethren, and even for a part of themselves.

Perhaps the time has not yet come for the call, "House of Jacob, let us go forward". But the hour certainly has come, and perhaps in a little while it will be too late, to call American Jewry towards "the base of the ascent". "Yessod Hamaalah".

There are two alternatives and no others:

a) Attachment to the one Jewish fate across oceans and continents and regimes; full identification with it, not only through philanthropy, but through the recognition that despite all the variants, the same processes operate amongst us everywhere. There is but one solution to these processes, whether we label them, each in his own language, the Jewish tragedy, the Jewish problem, the Jewish anomaly, guarding Jewish existence or maintaining Jewish continuity, and the solution is, again in various languages but with one objective - return to Zion, aliya to Israel, support of chalutzit and its maintainers, strengthening the State with human material, with capital imported by owners of capital.

This is the starting point for the revival of the Zionist movement here; for the renewed and constructive clarification of the problems of Jewish education

(which were not the subject of this letter); for the erection of non-artificial barriers to the assimilation of the younger generation; to halt the backsliding, and to provide a leaning post for future aliya; for a future for American Jewry and not only a glorified tie to its past; for a powerful and not a timid stand before the storms of the times; for self-respect and praise.

b) The second alternative demands acquiescence with the existing situation as it is expressed in the content of these Tercentenary celebrations. Moreover, it is even possible to break out of this accepted framework projected in a super-abundance of program material and preach "the two-way bridge" from New York to Jerusalem but always to return on this same bridge and to anchor in New York. It is even possible to encourage American-Hebrew culture, not for the sake of Hebrew in Israel and not for the sake of Hebrew in America, but for a Hebrew which replaces Israel. It is possible to speak of strengthening the State and to think in terms of voluntary financial support only (and nevertheless I am full of praise for the wonderful open-handedness of American Jews). This is a path bereft of a future for American Jewry and of a degeneration of the Zionist movement - first of all.

Which will you choose, representatives of the Zionist movement in the Tercentenary Committee (even if you weren't chosen officially for the job)? Will you choose humans or angels - reality or fantasy? The matter is most serious - you are in an historic moment. But even more than this, you stand before the bar of Jewish history. It will judge you, each of you by name and by deed, for shame or for praise.

In any case, I should be satisfied if there would prevail in your tabernacles during these days, not only the spirit of Simchat Torah and Hakaffot, but also the day of soul-searching, of Kol Nidre.

Perhaps I dared too much, if so I ask your forgiveness. Yet, believe me, I express but the smallest iota which any Jew in Aretz, any worker, any builder, and fighter in Israel, could express today.

Perhaps my labor should have been done by one of the sons of American Jewry now living in Israel. I hope the latter will not be angry with me doing it, for their sakes, for your sakes, for our sakes - and for all of us.

Sincerely yours,

Zvi Lurie
Zvi Lurie

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February 25, 1955

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

Dear Dr. Silver:

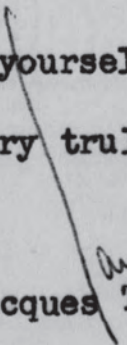
I regret very much that I had no opportunity to talk to you on Monday night and I can assure you that if we had organized the meeting, you would have had a crowded hall.

At the suggestion of Harold P. Manson, I am enclosing a report of a meeting which I attended in Dr. Goldmann's office and, as I had not yet had the occasion to hear your speech, I took the most fighting position against an alliance with old friends of yours like Nahum, Rose and Mr. Kenen.

When you know that Mr. Chasin gets \$2,000 a month, you will understand that he is not interested in a short and successful campaign.

Best regards to Mrs. Silver and yourself.

Very truly yours,


Jacques Torczyner

JT:gs
enc.

REPORT OF MEETING AT JEWISH AGENCY FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 18, 1955

Present: Dr. Nahum Goldmann, Mrs. Rose Halprin, Louis Segal, Dr. Seidel, Rabbi Irving Miller, Jacques Torczyner, I. L. Kene, Judd Teller, Mr. Chasin

Dr. Goldmann opened the meeting stating that everybody knew what it was all about and he gave the floor to Mr. Chasin who gave the following picture:

- 1) \$41,000 was raised by 1100 individual contributions. There was at the end of 1954 a deficit of \$17,000. There is now a deficit of \$24,000. The necessary budget for the current year is \$125,000.
- 2) I asked Mr. Chasin to break down the donations by organizations. Mr. Kenen stated that most of the contributions were individual tributes to Mr. Lipsky. The \$5,000 that Rabbi Nussbaum raised in Los Angeles, etc., are not on an organizational basis.
- 3) Mrs. Halprin stated that Hadassah was cooperating and that the ZOA is not cooperating, that we don't do the political work. Mr. Segal stated that something must be done and he was ready to guarantee \$5,000 from the Labor Zionist groups. I asked Mr. Chasin if he would be willing to accept having the four parties underwrite \$100,000. Mr. Chasin was not interested in such a plan for two reasons:
 - a) because he wants to build up a machinery
 - b) because such contributions by parties would endanger the tax-exemptability of those parties.
- 4) A great stress was laid in the discussion on the fact that the Bond people are fighting the Committee all over the country. Mr. Kenen stated that perhaps the Committee on Public Affairs should be dissolved and a committee of 30 non-Zionists and Zionists be set up. Mr. Segal felt that this was a terrible thing and that the Zionists should remain in this activity.
- 5) Rabbi Miller said that the decision to establish this Committee had been made a year ago, that it was final and he suggested that 100 communities be chosen and that each be asked to contribute \$1,000 per community. He also promised the cooperation of the local councils to raise that money. All parties present except the ZOA agreed to send out directly to their members letters to that effect. I announced that we had a special meeting of our Executive Committee on March 2 where we would discuss the matter fully. Dr. Goldmann said he had received a phone call from Dr. Neumann who had assured him that he would receive the full cooperation of the ZOA in this matter.
- 6) Mr. Kenen said that Rabbi Miller had refused to pay the expenses of the Johnston Dinner called by the Committee on Public Affairs. When we asked Mr. Kenen how the contribution of \$1 for the Dinner was different from \$50,000 in principle, he said that this was a matter of education (which shows once more that if there were good will on the other side, they could find the money).

The meeting adjourned with the decision that the Executive Directors of the various organizations would meet and determine among themselves the quotas for the various cities.

Respectfully submitted,

Jacques Torczyner

To: Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
Abraham Goodman
Dr. Leon Feuer
Dr. Harris J. Levine
Herman L. Weisman

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March 16, 1955

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
The Temple
East 105 Street at Ansel Rd.
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Dr. Silver:

I regret not writing to you earlier to thank you for your kind reception during my stay in Cleveland. It was really a pleasure meeting you and Mrs. Silver. I spoke to Raphael and I am glad to hear that he is feeling better.

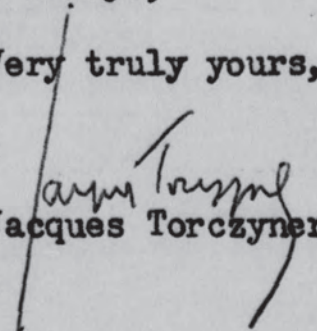
As you saw, it seems that Montor is out, but I am very much afraid of the interim period from now till May 1. He still can do a lot of damage.

I understand that Joe Schwartz is supposed to get in touch with you. I hope that these changes mean the beginning of a general change of attitude of the Israel Government.

I sent a special message to our friends in the Israel Government telling them that now, they have the opportunity to show some influence in the management of Israel affairs on the American scene.

With best personal regards, as always,

Very truly yours,


Jacques Torczyner

JT:gs

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April 19, 1955

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
The Temple
E. 105 Street at Ansel Rd.
Cleveland 6, Ohio

Dear Dr. Silver:

I tried to reach you on the telephone, but you were out of town.

I heard from Mr. Lubinsky that he is going to Cleveland on Thursday and I want you to know that he is doing a very good job. He is a dynamic person. He spoke at our Administrative Council and wherever he speaks, he not only makes a wonderful impression, but gives the people courage to continue the fight within the Zionist Movement.

Since I was in Cleveland, the situation has not improved. Montor's defeat has not brought us any glory yet. The Government of Israel suddenly discovers that there are many skeletons in the closets of the Bond Drive, but they are afraid to open them because they helped to put the skeletons there.

I hope that you will be able to help Mr. Lubinsky. He is especially wonderful in private conversations and I am sure that if he would meet a group of your devoted friends, he could do a magnificent job. X

With best personal regards to Mrs. Silver and yourself from all of us, I remain

Very truly yours,

Jacques Torczyner
Jacques Torczyner

JT:gs