



Abba Hillel Silver Collection Digitization Project

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

Series I: General Correspondence, 1914-1969, undated.

Sub-series A: Alphabetical, 1914-1965, undated.

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Zionist Organization of America, 1961-1963.

The Mission of Israel

JACOB BAAL-TESHUVA
EDITOR

840 WEST END AVENUE
NEW YORK 25, N. Y.
TEL. UN 4-9368

New-York March 24, 1961

Dr. A.H. Silver
The Temple
East 105 Street, Ansel Rd.
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Dr. Silver:

We would be honored if you would join a panel of distinguished world personalities who will contribute original articles on "The Mission of Israel", to a book of the same title which will be published this year by a leading American publishing house.

A number of prominent personalities the world over - statesmen, philosophers, historians, scientists, writers and others have already signified their interest in contributing, and we hope that you will join them with your valuable thoughts. You may write on any subject related to your interest in Israel.

Publication of "The Mission of Israel" will be a means of marking Israel's 13th - "Bar-Mitzvah"- anniversary.

Contributions up to 2,500 words should be completed by June 1 1961. We do hope that you will respond to this invitation.

Sincerely yours,

Jacob Baal-Teshuva
Jacob Baal-Teshuva
Editor.

The Mission of Israel

JACOB BAAL-TESHUVA
EDITOR

840 WEST END AVENUE
NEW YORK 25, N. Y.
TEL. UN 4-9368

New-York April 20, 1961

Dr. A.H. Silver
The Temple
East 105th Street, Ansel Rd.
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Dr. Silver:

I refer to my letter of March 24th regarding your contributing an article to the above mentioned book, which was not answered yet.

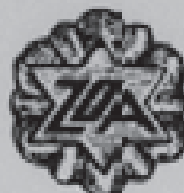
I have before me a speech of yours which you made on the 27th of August 1960 at the Z.O.A. Convention in N.Y. It is a wonderful speech and we intend to use it in this book, since it was never published. Mr. Barbarash of the Z.O.A. has sent it to me. I have headlined it: "Zionism must never die".

I hope you have no objection to our publishing it in this book.
With best wishes and high regard,

Sincerely yours,



Jacob Baal-Teshuva
Editor.



Zionist Organization of America

145 EAST 32ND STREET • NEW YORK 16, N.Y. • MURRAY HILL 3-9200

April 26, 1961

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
The Temple
E. 105th St. and Silver Park
Cleveland 6, Ohio

Dear Dr. Silver:

I was happy to receive your letter dated April 14th.

W. Mark

I encountered Jacob Baal-Teshuva many years ago when he came to this country as an Israeli correspondent. He never returned. Since that time he has been in many promotions including 1) a Jewish book club, 2) a Speakers' and Artists' representative, 3) a public relations man for Cafe Sabra and other similar places, 4) a promoter of various projects including childrens' stories.

In all events, he has made the rounds and that in sum total, is all that I and most of us know about him. I daresay that he is an Israeli that came here and does not intend to return.

I trust this letter finds you in the best of health and spirits.

My affectionate regards and please extend them to the family.

Cordially yours,

Dr. Sidney Marks
Executive Director

SM/bc

"Service to American Jewry and Israel through Zionism"

April 24, 1961

Dr. Sidney Marks
Executive Director
Zionist Organization of America
145 East 32nd Street
New York 16, New York

My dear Dr. Marks:

I have received a letter from Jacob Baal-Teshuva, Editor of "The Mission of Israel" -- 840 West End Avenue, New York 25, New York, asking me to contribute an article to "The Mission of Israel". Can you tell me something about this Mr. Baal-Teshuva?

With warmest regards, I remain

Very cordially yours,

ABBA HILLEL SILVER

AHS:bfm

TELEPHONE
MU 3-9201

CABLE ADDRESS
ZIONISTS, N. Y.

התאחדות הציונית של ארצות הברית

ZIONIST ORGANIZATION OF AMERICA

145 EAST 32nd STREET
NEW YORK 16, N. Y.

ERNEST E. BARBARASH, *Director*
PRESS AND PUBLICITY DEPT.

August 21, 1961

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
19810 Shaker Blvd.
Cleveland, Ohio

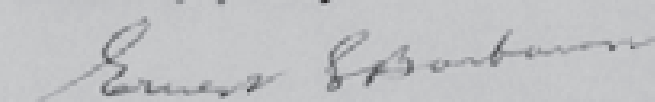
Dear Rabbi Silver:

I would greatly appreciate it if you will furnish me, for press coverage purposes, the salient excerpts of your address you are scheduled to deliver at the Saturday night, September 2, session at our Convention.

In order that I may do justice to the address it is vitally important that I have the copy not later than Wednesday morning, August 30.

With kindest personal regards, I remain

Cordially yours,



Ernest E. Barbarash
Director
Press and Publicity Dept.

EEB:es

Mailed copy of address 8/28/61



Zionist Organization of America

145 EAST 32ND STREET • NEW YORK 16, N. Y. • MURRAY HILL 3-9201

September 7, 1961

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

Dear Dr. Silver:

I'm sure that the enthusiasm and gratitude for your participation in the proceedings of the 64th Annual Convention of the Zionist Organization of America reached you.

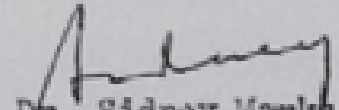
Delegates, many of whom you know personally, spoke of you and your efforts again and again.

Our appreciation goes out to you. You enabled us to bring a high peak in Zionist experience and the entire Convention body - Delegates and guests - are grateful to you.

Our gratitude and best wishes.

My kindest personal regards.

Sincerely,


Dr. Sidney Marks
National Secretary

*"New Horizons for Growth and Service—
to Israel and the Jewish Community"*

9a
September 8, 1961

Dr. Sidney Marks
Zionist Organization of America
145 East 32nd Street
New York 16, New York

My dear Dr. Marks:

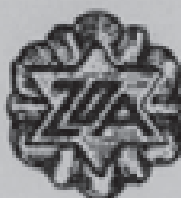
Thank you so much for your kind letter. I enjoyed the meeting of the Z.O.A. Convention very much. I believe that you took the manuscript from which I read my address. I would appreciate if you would have Mr. Bartarash use it in full. For the sake of the record, I should like the address to be published exactly as I delivered it.

With warmest regards and all good wishes for the New Year, I remain

Most cordially yours,

ANNA HILLEL SILVER

AHS:bfm



Zionist © rganization of America

145 EAST 32ND STREET • NEW YORK 16, N.Y. • MURRAY HILL 3-9200

September 13, 1961

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
The Temple
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Dr. Silver:

Many thanks for your letter of September 8th.

I did not take the copy of the manuscript, but
returned it to you on the platform.


I am checking with Mr. Barbarash regarding using
the manuscript. I would appreciate your sending
me another copy of it.

My affectionate regards and best wishes for a
Happy and Healthy New Year.

Sincerely yours,


Dr. Sidney Marks
Executive Director

SM/br

 "Service to American Jewry and Israel through Zionism"

S. a.

September 18, 1961

My dear Sidney:

Thank you for your letter of September 13th. I traced down the manuscript of the address which I delivered at the Z.O.A. Convention and I am enclosing it herewith.

With warmest regards and all good wishes for a Happy New Year, I remain

Very cordially yours,

ABRAHAM FILLEL SILVER

AHS:bfm

Dr. Sidney Marks
Executive Director
Zionist Organization of America
145 East 32nd Street
New York 16, New York

Zionist Organization of America

Office of the President
145 EAST 32nd STREET
NEW YORK 14, N. Y.
Murray Hill 3-7251

October 16, 1961

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
The Temple
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Dr. Silver:

I wish to extend a most cordial invitation to you and to Mrs. Silver to be present at the Testimonial Dinner which is being tendered by the Metropolitan Regions in honor of Dr. Emanuel Neumann, on Tuesday, November 28th, at 6:00 P.M. in the Biltmore Hotel, New York City.

Dr. Neumann will be the recipient this year of the Annual Theodor Herzl gold medal for Distinguished Service to Zionism and Israel.

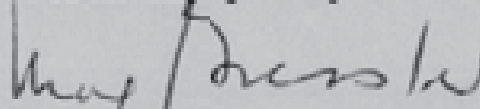
As your close associate, and his forty years of outstanding service to our Movement, we feel that Dr. Neumann is deserved of this distinction.

I would appreciate your participation in this gathering, and your presentation of the medal to Dr. Neumann.

May I hear from you at your earliest convenience.

With warm regards.

Cordially yours,



Max Bressler
President

MB/tr

DSa

October 27, 1961

My dear Max:

Thank you for your letter of October 16th. I was happy to learn that Dr. Emanuel Neumann will be the recipient this year of the Annual Theodor Herzl gold medal and that he will be honored at a meeting in New York City on November 28th.

I would have been delighted and so would Mrs. Silver to attend this function but on the evening of the 28th I have an important wedding scheduled here at which I must officiate and the next day I am to be in New York City in behalf of the Hebrew University at a function at the Hotel Pierre. I feel deprived in not being able to attend Dr. Neumann's testimonial on the 28th but I am sure that you and he will understand.

With warmest regards and all good wishes, I remain

Most cordially yours,

ABRA HILLEL SILVER

AHS:hfm

Mr. Max Bressler, President
Zionist Organization of America
145 East 32nd Street
New York 18, New York



Zionist Organization of America

145 EAST 32ND STREET • NEW YORK 16, N.Y. • MURRAY HILL 3-9200

October 30, 1961

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
The Temple
East 105th Street & Silver Park
Cleveland 6, Ohio

Dear Dr. Silver:

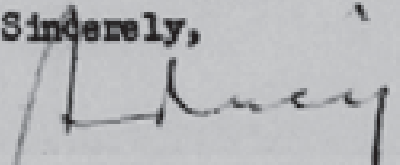
In Max Bressler's absence in Japan, I am taking the liberty of responding to your letter.

I sincerely regret your inability to be at the Dinner honoring Dr. Emanuel Neumann.

I trust this letter finds you in the best of health and spirits.

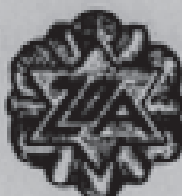
My affectionate regards to you and the family.

Sincerely,


Dr. Sidney Marks
Executive Director

SM/ee

"Service to American Jewry and Israel through Zionism"



Zionist Organization of America

145 EAST 32ND STREET • NEW YORK 16, N.Y. • MURRAY HILL 3-9200

November 6, 1961

Rabbi A. H. Silver
The Temple
E. 105th St. & Ansel Rd.
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Rabbi Silver:

I have been asked by the National Leadership to serve as Chairman of the Sponsors Committee of the National Testimonial Dinner which will honor Dr. Emanuel Neumann this year with the presentation to him of Zionism's greatest award, the annual Theodor Herzl Gold Award, for his forty years of distinguished service to Zionism.

It would be an honor to have you join with us as a Sponsor of this dinner and to have your permission to place your name upon our Distinguished Committee. The dinner will take place at the

Hotel Biltmore
43rd Street and Madison Avenue
New York City
Tuesday, November 28th, 1961
6:00 P. M.

I am sure you will want to join us on this memorable occasion which coincides with the 14th Anniversary of the United Nations decision on Palestine and climaxed the many years of Zionist effort to set up the State of Israel. Dr. Neumann was one of the architects of this glorious endeavor.

By joining this distinguished roster of Sponsors, you will also make possible the continuation of the Zionist Organization of America program for Israel and the American Jewish community.

Your cooperation will aid immeasurably in insuring the success of this affair. Please let me have your acceptance. A reply card is enclosed for your favorable response.

I anticipate the pleasure of seeing you at the Dinner.

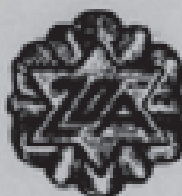
Sincerely yours,

David Lowenthal
Chairman
Sponsors Committee

DL/11
Encl.

"Service to American Jewry and Israel through Zionism"





Zionist Organization of America

145 EAST 32ND STREET • NEW YORK 16, N.Y. • MURRAY HILL 3-9200

November 15, 1961

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
The Temple
Silver Park
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Dr. Silver:

I was truly sorry to learn that you could not be at the Testimonial Dinner in honor of Dr. Emanuel Neumann, which is scheduled for November 28th at the Biltmore Hotel in New York City.

I do know that you will want to send a message in that connection.

I would appreciate your courtesy in sending such a message to me in advance of the dinner.

I trust this letter finds you and the family in the best of health and spirits.

My kindest personal regards.

Sincerely yours,


Dr. Sidney Marks
Executive Director

SM/dr



"Service to American Jewry and Israel through Zionism"

DSW

November 20, 1961

My dear friends:

I cannot tell you how sorry I am that circumstances make it impossible for me to attend the banquet on Tuesday evening, at which time the Annual Herzl Award will be presented to my dear friend, Dr. Emanuel Neumann. It is an occasion which I would certainly not wish to miss.

The Zionist movement of America honors itself by honoring Dr. Neumann who has given it great and distinguished leadership over a period of many years and whose activities will always remain interwoven with the history and the achievements of Zionism. Our people has, through the years of struggle, turned to him not only for inspiration, but for wise and dependable guidance at every critical juncture. I know of no one whose dedication has been more complete, whose utter selflessness and devotion through a life-time of closest identification with our great cause more exemplary. His supreme loyalty has been reinforced by a wide scholarship and a first-hand acquaintance with the treasures of Hebrew literature and the rich cultural traditions of our people.

It has been a great pleasure and a privilege for me to work with him through the years. You are tonight bestowing the Herzl Award upon one whose political philosophy most faithfully reflects the vision and realism of Dr. Theodor Herzl.

Most cordially yours,

ABRA HILLEL SILVER

AHS:bfm

The Zionist Organization of America
145 East 32nd Street
New York 16, New York

VIA AIR MAIL

CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a fast message unless its deferred character is indicated by the proper symbol.

WESTERN UNION

TELEGRAM

W. P. MARSHALL, President

SYMBOLS

DL=Day Letter

NL=Night Letter

LT=International Letter Telegram

SF-1201 (4-00)

The filing time shown in the date line on domestic telegrams is LOCAL TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is LOCAL TIME at point of destination.

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VIA MACKAY 29 2035

1962 MAY 29 PM 9 11

LT RABBI HILEL SILVER THE TEMPLE

105 ST AND SILVER PARK CLEVE

WE EXTEND TO YOU CORDIAL INVITATION TO GRACE ZOE CONVENTION
AND THE PRINCIPAL SPEAKER SATURDAY NIGHT JUNE 30 GREETINGS
MANUEL NEWMAN MAX BRESSLER MAX NUSSBAUM.

DSA



Zionist Organization of America

145 EAST 32ND STREET • NEW YORK 16, N.Y. • MURRAY HILL 3-9200

June 5, 1962

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
The Temple
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Dr. Silver:

In the absence of Max Bressler and the administration, we wish to extend to you a most cordial invitation to participate in our 65th Annual Convention which is to be held at the Willard Hotel, Washington, D.C., June 28th - July 1st, 1962.

As our Leader, we would like to know whether you would be willing to address the important Saturday evening Session, which is devoted to the Theme: "The American Jewish Community In Light of Contemporary History".

We do hope you are able to accept this invitation as we are all anxious to meet with you and to hear your views on this most fascinating subject.

With warm regards,

Sincerely,

Joseph Andelman *Isadore S. Turover*
Joseph Andelman Isadore S. Turover
Co-Chairmen, National Convention Committee

JUNE 28, 29, 30, JULY 1ST
65TH ANNUAL CONVENTION
WILLARD HOTEL
WASHINGTON, D.C.

Note Your Calendar

June 11, 1962

My dear friends:

Thank you so much for your kind letter of June 5th inviting me to participate in the Saturday evening Session of the Zionist Organization of America Convention. I have also received a cable from Dr. Newman, Max Bressler and Max Nussbaum from Jerusalem. I wish I were free to come to the Convention but my sister and her husband are celebrating their Golden Wedding Anniversary in New York City on Saturday, June 30th and, of course, I must be with them on that auspicious occasion. I trust that you will have a very successful convention and with all good wishes, I remain

Most cordially yours,

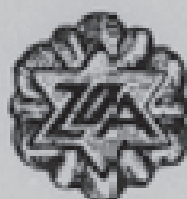
ABBA HILLEL SILVER

AHS:bfn

Mr. Joseph Adelman
Mr. Isadore S. Turover
Co-Chairman, National
Convention Committee
Zionist Organization of
America
145 East 32nd Street
New York 16, New York

CABLE ADDRESS:
ZIONISTS, N.Y. . . .

של ארצות הברית



ההסתדרות הציונית

IN ISRAEL:
1 DANIEL FRISCH ST., TEL-AVIV
CABLE ADDRESS: ZOAHOUSE, TELAVIV

Zionist Organization of America

145 EAST 32ND STREET • NEW YORK 16, N.Y. • MURRAY HILL 3-9200

[Handwritten signature]
[Handwritten signature]

July 5, 1962

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
The Temple
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Dr. Silver:

I trust that this letter finds you and your family in the best of health and spirits.

I have been asked to inquire which of the following dates are best suited for you in connection with your 70th Anniversary Birthday celebration in New York:

March 3rd, 1963 ✓

March 5th, 1963

Remember me to the family.

With kindest personal regards,

Sincerely,

[Handwritten signature: Sidney Marks]
Dr. Sidney Marks

S4/fs

"Service to American Jewry and Israel through Zionism"

July 18, 1962

Dear Dr. Marks:

This is to inform you that Dr. and Mrs. Silver left for a trip abroad yesterday. Dr. Silver will be back at his desk about the 18th of August at which time your letter of July 5th will be brought to his attention.

Sincerely yours,

Beatrice F. May (Mrs.)
Secretary to Dr. Silver

Dr. Sidney Marks
Zionist Organization of America
145 East 32nd Street
New York 16, New York

n. y. / 120
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August 20, 1962

My dear Sidney:

Replying to your letter of July 5th, of the two dates which you submitted, I would select the date of March 3, 1963 for the Anniversary celebration.

With all good wishes, I remain

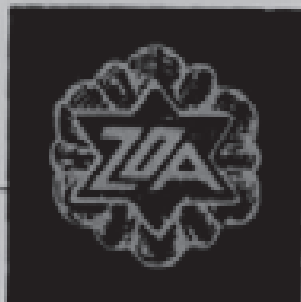
Most cordially yours,



APPA HILLEL SILVER

AMS:bfm

Dr. Sidney Marks
Zionist Organization
of America
145 East 32nd Street
New York 16, New York



Zionist Organization of America

145 East 32nd Street • New York 16, N.Y. • MUrray Hill 3-9200

CABLE ADDRESS:
ZIONISTS, N.Y.

IN ISRAEL:
1 DANIEL FRISCH ST., TEL-AVIV
CABLE ADDRESS:
ZOAHOUSE, TEL-AVIV

December 10, 1962.

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

Dear Boss:

Just a word to tell you how delighted I was to see you at the United Jewish Appeal Conference. Even a few words with you is most heartening to me.

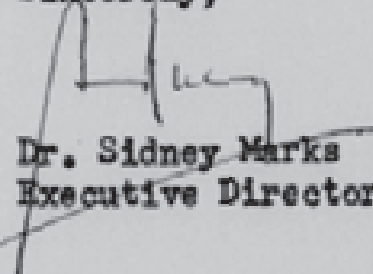
I was delighted to note the presentation to you of the Silver Medallion. The only thing that made me laugh was the "Indian Giver" quality of the presentation. They withdrew immediately as they presented it.

In all events, it was a warm testimony to a very great and wonderful Jew and someone I consider very precious as a good friend.

I trust that the years ahead will bring you continued commendation from the American Jewish community. It is certainly most deserving.

With affectionate regards to the family,

Sincerely,


Dr. Sidney Marks
Executive Director.

SM:kys

"Service to American Jewry and Israel through Zionism"



Zionist Organization of America

145 EAST 32ND STREET • NEW YORK 16, N.Y. • MURRAY HILL 3-9200

ZOACT

December 31, 1962

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
The Temple
105th Street & Ansel Road
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Dr. Silver:

I received an inquiry from the ZOA House in Tel Aviv as to whether you plan to be in Israel during February 1963. They have in mind a function to mark your 70th birthday.

I will greatly appreciate your early reply.


With warmest regards, I am

Sincerely yours,


Leon Ilutovitch

Assistant Executive Director

LI jk

 "Service to American Jewry and Israel through Zionism"

CABLE ADDRESS:
ZOA N.Y.

של ארצות הברית



האגודה הציונית

IN ISRAEL:
8 DANIEL FRISCH ST., TEL-AVIV
CABLE ADDRESS: ZOAHOUSE, TELAVIV

Zionist Organization of America

145 EAST 32ND STREET • NEW YORK 16, N.Y. • MURRAY HILL 3-9200

MEMORANDUM

To: Dr. Abba Hillel Silver

January 4, 1963

From: Leon Ilutovich

Enclosed please find, for your information, a Preliminary Outline of the ZOA Convention Program in Israel. As you will see, no details regarding the various sessions are included. Additional information will follow as preparations progress.

Any ideas or suggestions will be greatly appreciated.

Warmest regards.

LI

LI jk
encl.

*"Service to American Jewry and
Israel through Zionism"*

Z. O. A. HOUSE

TEL AVIV

1. DANIEL FRISCH ST.

PHONES: 21141-2, 24321 P. O. B. 4390

Cable Address: ZOAHOUSE, TEL-AVIV

בית ציוני אמריקה

תל אביב

רחוב דניאל פריש 1

טל. 21141-2, 24321

ת.ד. 4390

Tel-Aviv, January 14, 1963.

104/373

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
The Temple
E. 105th Street & Ansel Road
Cleveland, Ohio.

Dear Dr. Silver,

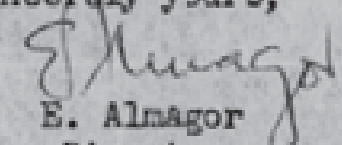
Somehow the news trickled through to us that
Mrs. Silver and you will be spending a vacation in Israel in the
near future.

We would be very happy indeed if this were true
and would very much like to organize some appropriate function
in your honor during your stay here.

Our Chairman, Mr. Serlin, will appreciate it very
much if you could let us know of your arrival and tentative
plans for this visit.

With best personal regards,

Sincerely yours,


E. Almogor
Director

EA/EO

January 23, 1963

My dear Mr. Almagor:

Thank you so much for your letter of January 14th. My present plans are to be in Israel the latter part of March following my visit to England where we have been invited to launch their Palestine Appeal. I appreciate your suggestion to have a function arranged in my honor during my stay in Israel. I am grateful for your thoughtfulness in the matter, but I would appreciate if no public functions were held during my visit.

With warmest regards and hoping to have the pleasure of seeing you, I remain

Very cordially yours,

ABBA HILLEL SILVER

AHS:bfm

Mr. E. Almagor
Director
Z. O. A. House
1 Daniel Frisch St.
Tel-Aviv, Israel

VIA AIR MAIL

Z.O.A. House

January 30, 1963

My dear Mr. Ilutovich:

My secretary told me that you had telephoned and inquired about my plans for a visit to Israel. My present plans are to leave for England on the 10th of March to open their campaign for the U. P. A. We will remain in England until the 21st and we plan to arrive in Israel on March 22nd, remaining in Israel until April 11th.

I do not wish to have any public functions arranged for me. I have so informed the Z. O. A. House. I shall, of course, visit Kfar Silver and other institutions in the country. I should like my stay in Israel to be a restful one after a week of campaigning in England.

With all good wishes, I remain

Very cordially yours,

ABEA HILLEL SILVER

AHS:bfr

Mr. Leon Ilutovich
Assistant Executive Director
Zionist Organization of America
145 East 32nd Street
New York 16, New York

[Feb. 8, 1963]

ההסתדרות הציונית של ארצות הברית
רח' דניאל פריש ו, תל-אביב, ת.ד. 4290

ZIONIST ORGANIZATION OF AMERICA, 1, DANIEL FRISCH ST. P.O. B. 4290

תל-אביב, 8 בפברואר 1963
104/486

לכבוד
ד"ר אבא הלל סילבר
קליבלנד
אוהיו.

ד"ר סילבר היקר,

אם כי בצנורות שונים ברכתך אותך כבר ליום הולדתך ה-70,
אני מוסיף ברכה על ברכותי, ומאחל לך עוד הרבה שנות בריאות
ופעילות בחוג משפחתך ובכל שדות הפעולה בהם אתה פועל.

שמחנו מאד לקבלת מכתבך מיום 23.1.63, בו הודעת לנו על
בואך הקרוב ארצה.

הנהלת בית ציוני אמריקה רגה בכמה תכניות לציון יום הולדתך
ה-70.

האחת - מדברת על הענקת פרס שנתי של ב.צ.א. על שם ג'ון תלסירי
בתי הספר התיכוניים והאוניברסיטאות, על נושאים הקשורים בתולדות
יהדות ארה"ב ופעולתם הציונית. גובה הפרס - 500 ל"י כל אחד.

השנייה - מסרתה להוציא לאור סידרת ספרונים בהוצאה עכפית
מוקדשים לאישים יהודיים באמריקה, ולפרקי הסטוריה אמריקנית יהודית.
סידרה זו תשא את שםך.

היו לנו עוד תכניות אשר בהתחשב בבקשתך בסכתבך אלינו בסלנו
אותן בגלל אופיין הפוסטבי. אולם על דבר אחד אין ברצוננו לוותר, דהיינו,
על ארוחת ערב חגיגית בב.צ.א., בהשתתפות כמה מאות אישי ציבור.

אני שמח להודיע לך שקבלתי כבר את הסכמתו של ראש הממשלה, מר
בן-גוריון להשתתף בסעודה זו. סעודה זו אינה מחייבת אותך לנאומים
פוליטיים אם לא תרצה בהם, אלא להשיב כמנהגו של עולם למבוכים, אשר
נשתדל לצמצם מספרם ככל האפשר. הואיל וראש הממשלה רוצה לובסית מראש
את הערב כדי שיוכל להתפנות, רצוי שנודע בדיוק מתי אתה, ד"ר סילבר היקר,
פגיע, כמה זמן תשהה בארץ, ועל איזה מהערכים אנו יכולים ללוס בכדי לקבוע
בהסכמה עם לשכת ראש הממשלה את הערב המתאים.

אנו בטוחים שתענה לבקשתנו ותודיע לנו את הפרטים המנוקשים.

שלך, בברכה חמה,
י. סרניץ

February 13, 1963

My dear friend:

Let me thank you for your kind letter of February 8th. If no changes occur in my schedule, I plan to arrive in Israel on Friday, March 22nd, and will remain there through Thursday, April 11th. I shall look forward with pleasure to seeing you.

As I indicated in my previous communication to the Z. O. A. House, I do not wish a public meeting or dinner in my honor. I would like my stay in Israel to be private, to give me an opportunity to spend some time with my friends and to see something of the country from which I have been away more than two years. Since writing to the Z. O. A. House, I received an urgent telephone call from Mr. Nussbaum, president of the Z. O. A., in which he asked me not to lend myself to any public function in Israel in connection with my seventieth birthday since the Z. O. A., which will hold its convention in Israel in July and of which convention I am to be chairman, plans to dedicate a special evening to my seventieth birthday. Clearly, two functions are out of the question. I am wondering, therefore, if it would not be better to postpone the affair which you have in mind and to join up with the Z. O. A. in July. Personally, I would prefer that even the July Testimonial be abandoned, but I suppose that I shall have to submit to it.

Please convey my good wishes to all my friends. I have just received a very beautiful article about me in the "Haaretz", written by our good friend, S. Z. Abramov. With all good wishes, I remain

Most cordially yours,

ABBA HILLEL SILVER

AHS:bfn

Mr. I. Serlin
Z. O. A. House
P. O. B. 4290
Tel-Aviv, Israel

CABLE ADDRESS:
ZIONISTS, N. Y.

של ארצות הברית



ההסתדרות הציונית

IN ISRAEL:
1 DANIEL FRISCH ST., TEL-AVIV
CABLE ADDRESS: ZIONHOUSE, TELAVIV

Zionist Organization of America

145 EAST 32ND STREET • NEW YORK 16, N.Y. • MURRAY HILL 3-9200

WZA

May 1, 1963

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
The Temple
E. 106 St. & Ansel Rd.
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Dr. Silver:

Enclosed you will please find a photo taken last
March in Jerusalem.

Warmest regards.

Sincerely yours,

Leon Ilutovich
Assistant Executive Director

LI/mh
enc.

"Service to American Jewry and Israel through Zionism"



THE EXCHANGE NATIONAL BANK OF CHICAGO

MILTON J. SILBERMAN
Vice President

La Salle and Adams
332-5000

May 22, 1963

Sent by Dec. 15, '63

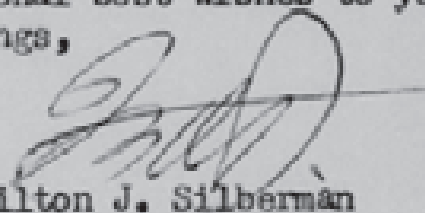
Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
The Temple
Cleveland, Ohio

My dear Dr. Silver:

I hope when this letter reaches you, you and the family are well and that you have fully recuperated from your recent trip to Israel. I know we are all looking forward to being together with you in July in Tel Aviv for the National Convention which we feel in many ways will be a historic one.

I am writing you at this time to see if we cannot arrange for Mr. David Bern, one of our Young Veteran Zionists who is to become President of the ZOC at the 66th Annual Convention on June 9th in the Palmer House, and I can come to Cleveland in the near future for a discussion with you of importance. I would appreciate your having your secretary call me at my office DEarborn 2-5000, collect, to arrange an appointment at a day that will be convenient to you. I shall await her phone call.

In the meantime may I send my personal best wishes to you and the family with Zionist Greetings,



Milton J. Silberman

MJS:mso

Take to Israel

קרן קימת לישראל

מינהל פיתוח הקרקע

משרד ראשי: בית הקהיל - רחביה, ירושלים, ח.ד. 283, מל. 24663

ירושלים, ג' בסיון תשכ"ג
(26.5.63)

מפה/0586/בצס

הסניפים:

מפרץ חיפה

סניף יישוב
ח.ד. 45
מל. חיפה 8-1947

טבריה

בית הקהיל
ח.ד. 42
מל. 20057

צפת

בית הקהיל
ח.ד. 1197
מל. 20159

יקנעם

בית הקהיל
ח.ד. 1197
מל. 20159

אשדוד

מסמכת הקהיל
דאר וס. חרי יחידה
מל. בית יסעם 278

קריית גת

סניף יישוב
דאר נק. לכיש דרום
מל. קריית גת 259

לכבוד
הרב אבא הלל סילבר
קליבלנד - אנהיו

רבי סילבר מכובדי!

מכתבך מה-10 למאי קבלתי, ומאד שמחתי לקרוא על ההלכתך
לבנות בית בירושלים כירחננו.

אמנם הטיפול ברכוש הקרקעי של הקרן הקימת לישראל הועבר
ע"פ החוק לטיפול מינהל מקרקעי ישראל, - אולם היה זה עונג
בשבילי לטפל אישית בבקשתך. לאחר שביררתי את כל האפשרויות
בנידון, הריני מתכבד להודיעך:-

בקריית היוכל (בין הר-הרצל ועין-כרם), אין כעת מגרשים
פנויים. המגרשים הראויים ומתאימים למסרתך כבר חפוסים. אמנם,
מתכננים עתה שטח חדש בשביל בתי-מגורים בקריית היוכל (מעבר
להר-הרצל), אבל גם אלה לא יתאימו, לדעתי, לצורך המבוקש.

לעומת זאת נמצאים בידינו 3 מגרשים פנויים בקרבת גן-
השושנים (שכונת שלביה), הראויים ומתאימים מכל הבחינות
(שכנים, נכיבה וכו') למסרתך. להלן פרטים אדוהם:-

| גוש | מס' המגרש | שטח המגרש | דמי חכירה ראשוניים חסלום חד-פעמי | דמי חכירה ענתיים |
|-------|-----------|-----------|----------------------------------|------------------|
| 30021 | 6 | 1.055 מ"מ | 84,400.- ל"י | 422.- ל"י |
| " | 9 | 861 | 68,880.- " | 344.- " |
| " | 10 | 849 | 67,920.- " | 339.- " |

ערך המגרשים הנ"ל הוא גבוה ביותר ודמי החכירה הראשוניים
המפורטים לעיל הם קטנים לעומת דמי החכירה הראשוניים המקובלים
בשכבה הנ"ל.

אם הנך מעוניין במגרש מתוך אלה שצוינו לעיל, - אשמח מאד
להמציא לך פרטים נוספים לפי בקשתך.

במיסב הבחירה
הנני חפיד לשרותך,

ש. בן-שמש.

העתק:- ד"ר מ. גורדון - גזבר.

THE EXCHANGE NATIONAL BANK OF CHICAGO

MILTON J. SILBERMAN
Vice President

LaSalle and Adams
332-5000

June 4, 1963

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
The Temple
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Dr. Silver:

It was good talking to you recently when you called in response to my letter. We here in Chicago have been anxiously awaiting a confirmation from you that you would be with us G'd willing on December 15th for our annual Chanukkah Festival so that we may honor you in your 70th year and as the leader, the head of our Zionist Movement in these United States.

As you know, Abba, 66 years ago ours was the first official Zionist body in the United States and we want to be able to feel that we can express to you our love and our devotion for all that you have meant not only to the cause but to the American Jewish Community and to the American scene.

I know you asked me if you could call off making a decision until we were in Israel, G'd willing in July for the Convention.

However, we would love to set our plans and programs at this time for the coming year, and we sincerely hope that this Sunday, June 9th at our 66th Annual Conference of the ZOC in the Palmer House we would be able to announce our much hoped for privilege of your presence on December 15th. Please do let me hear from you.

With kind personal regards and Zionist Greetings,
regards to the family,



Milton J. Silberman

MJS:mso

S. E.

June 5, 1963

My dear Milton:

Thank you for your letter of June 4th. I hope to be with you on December 15th for your Annual Chanukkah Festival. I am pleased that you wish to honor me on that occasion on my seventieth birthday. It is nice to be remembered.

With warmest regards and all good wishes, I remain

Very cordially yours,

ABBA HILLEL SILVER

AHS:bfm

Mr. Milton J. Silberman
The Exchange National Bank
of Chicago
LaSalle and Adams
Chicago, Illinois

EMANUEL NEUMANN

515 PARK AVENUE

NEW YORK 22, N. Y.

June 11, 1963

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
19810 Shaker Boulevard
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Abba:

As you know, we are having a World Conference of General Zionists in Israel the week-end following the ZOA Convention.

I am writing to ask you to address the World Conference at its opening session on Saturday evening, July 20th or Sunday, July 21st whichever suits your convenience.

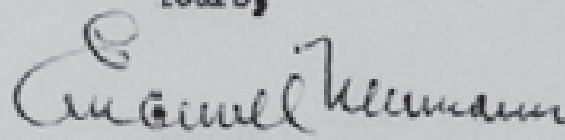
You will probably be staying on in Israel for a few days following the ZOA Convention, but even if you were not planning to do so, I hope you will adjust your plans. Our delegates who will be coming from many countries, would be deeply disappointed if you left Israel without their having an opportunity to welcome you at the Conference and have your blessing. I need hardly add that I would be equally disappointed.

Fan and I are now planning to leave for Israel during the first week of July. What are your plans?

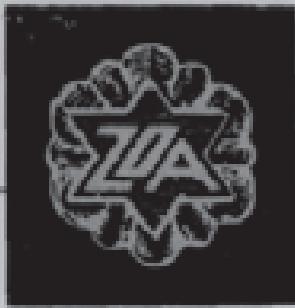
With warm regards to Virginia and yourself,

As ever

Yours,


Emanuel Neumann

EN:jf



Zionist Organization of America

145 East 32nd Street • New York 16, N.Y. • MUrray Hill 3-9200

CABLE ADDRESS:
ZIONISTS, N.Y.

IN ISRAEL:
1 DANIEL FRISCH ST., TEL-AVIV

CABLE ADDRESS:
ZOAHOUSE, TEL-AVIV

June 19, 1963

Dr. Atba Hillel Silver
The Temple
East 105th Street & Silver Park
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Dr. Silver:

I would greatly appreciate it if you were to air mail to me in Israel, care of the ZOA House, 1 Daniel Frisch Street, Tel Aviv, the text or salient excerpts of the address you are scheduled to deliver at the opening session of the ZOA Convention in Jerusalem.

I am flying to Israel tomorrow night to lay the groundwork for proper press coverage both in Israel and America. It is vitally important that I receive your advance copy at least 10 days before the opening of the Convention, preferably earlier, so that I may digest and process it for release at the proper time. Please mark the envelope "personal".

With kindest personal regards and best wishes, I remain

Sincerely yours,

Ernest E. Barbarash

EEB:ec

June 25, 1963

My dear Mr. Barbarash:

At your request, I am sending you a copy of the address which I am to deliver at the opening session of the Convention of the ZOA in Jerusalem. It would be well if some of the newspapers would print the address in full. Otherwise, I would suggest the excerpt -- that part of the address beginning in the middle of page one and continuing through page eight -- which tells of the role which American Jews played in the establishment of the State.

Please also procure some one who knows how to translate English into good Hebrew.

With warmest regards and all good wishes, I remain

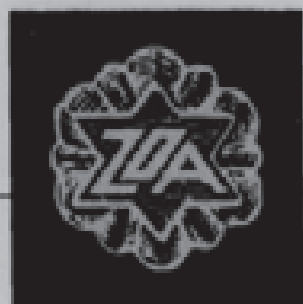
Very cordially yours,

ABBA HILLEL SILVER

AHS:bfm

Mr. Ernest E. Barbarash
ZOA HOUSE
1 Daniel Frisch Street
Tel Aviv, Israel

PERSONAL



Zionist Organization of America

145 East 32nd Street • New York 16, N.Y. • MUrray Hill 3-9200

CABLE ADDRESS:
ZIONISTS, N.Y.

IN ISRAEL
1 DANIEL FRISCH ST., TEL-AVIV
CABLE ADDRESS:
ZOAHOUSE, TEL-AVIV

June 26, 1963

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
The Temple
105th St. and Silver Park
Cleveland, Ohio

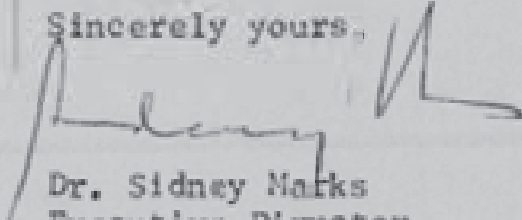
Dear Dr. Silver:

I am enclosing herewith your tickets from New York to Tel Aviv.

The tickets from Cleveland to New York and return are being forwarded to you directly by University Travel Bureau, which is located in Boston.

My affectionate regards.

Sincerely yours,


Dr. Sidney Marks
Executive Director

SM/br
enc.

You Are Expected to Attend -

The 65th Annual ZOA Convention in Israel, July 11th-17th, 1963

From the desk of

MAX HELVARG

6/27/63

TO: MRS. BEATRICE F. MAY
(Sec. to Dr. A. H. Silver)

Dear Mrs. May:

Mr. Helvarg asked me to send you, for your files, a photograph taken of Dr. Silver at the Israel Bond Cocktail Party in his honor June 19th in Philadelphia, in connection with the CCAR Annual Convention.

Sincerely,



Florence Weinstein, Sec.

CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a fast message unless its deferred character is indicated by the proper symbol.

WESTERN UNION

TELEGRAM

W. P. MARSHALL, President

SP-1201 (4-60)

SYMBOLS

DL = Day Letter

NL = Night Letter

LT = International Letter Telegram

The filing time shown in the last line on domestic telegrams is LOCAL TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is LOCAL TIME at point of destination.

407P EST JUL 1 63 CTE316

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LT DR SILVER UNIVERSITY CITY AT SILVERS PARK

CLEVE

JERUSALEM LIBERAL PARTY ASKS KINDLY YOUR APPEARANCE BEFORE JERUSALEM

PUBLIC JULY 13

BANDER POB 1466.

REPLY NIGHT CABLE - July 3, 1963

MY ONLY PUBLIC ADDRESS IN JERUSALEM WILL BE THURSDAY, JULY 11

OPENING Z OA CONVENTION KINDEST REGARDS

A FBA HILLEL SILVER

ADDRESS OF HIS EXCELLENCY THE PRESIDENT OF ISRAEL, MR. ZALMAN SHAZAR,
at the Opening Session of the Sixty-Sixth Convention
of the
ZIONIST ORGANIZATION OF AMERICA, JERUSALEM, JULY 11, 1963

Fellow-Zionists, Friends and Comrades,

Yours is the first convention from abroad that I have had the pleasure of greeting since I left the Executive of the World Zionist Organization to assume the Presidency of the State. It is for me a truly joyous thing that this first convention is a Zionist convention and - more than that - the convention of the Zionists of the largest diaspora community of our day, their first convention in the capital city of Israel.

Speaking of Jews going up to Zion in the ancient days when all of them lived on their soil, a Biblical verse says: "... all the men of Israel were gathered before the city, as one man, comrades", "כִּאִישׁ אֶחָד חֲבֵרִים". The Gemara comments in Hagiga XXVI,81: "Rabbi Hoshea ben Levi said, 'The verse decided that they were all haverim, because they went up as one man to the city of Jerusalem'". That is to say even if they were together on their pilgrimage to Jerusalem only for one week, they were haverim: the verse had decided it.

In the name of the free and independent Zion, I am happy to welcome haverim who have come up to their gathering in Jerusalem, capital of the independent Zion.

Since, then, we are all haverim, may I express the hope that your deliberations will be frank and open, never disingenuous, always striving honestly to see realities as they are, and never frightened of far-reaching and exacting conclusions - speaking as comrades speak with each other, in the tone and way of comrades with a sense of responsibility for their fellows and their fellowship.

Permit me first of all with comradely warmth to thank you as a group and individually for having so swiftly and so heartily, in letters and cables and in the press, wished me well upon my entry into this office. To all of you my gratitude and my appreciation - to those who are here and those who have not come, to those represented by you and to those not so represented. Your felicitations and your kind words were a true support to me in days of hesitation and groping. May the hopes you place in me not remain unfulfilled and may my deeds, at least to some degree, justify your trust.

Let me speak to you with the same comradely frankness and tell you of some of the hopes the State of Israel places in you, the Zionists of the greatest diaspora center. May our prayers and my blessing not remain unanswered and may your deeds justify our trust.

This Zionist ideal of ours, fruit of the longings of all the generations of exile, entered upon its realization eighty years ago, reached the crystallization

of national autonomy fifteen years ago - and is still far, very far, from its consummation. Even after the marvels of the State's establishment and the entry into it of a million five hundred thousand Jews from all the dispersion, there are still numerous diaspora lands where the problem of Jewish existence grows constantly more acute, and there is not a single land where the problem of Judaism's survival is not aggravated by constantly growing dangers.

Jewish public life everywhere is still fragmentized into groups and cliques, consumed by feuds and rivalries. Day by day and hour by hour, organized and non-organized Jewish communities lose more and more of their inherited values, while in both tranquil and insecure diaspora centers masses of the younger generation of Jews grow up without knowledge of their people's culture and without concern for their people's fate and future. Even faithful Zionists are not all, and not always, successful in making their homes Jewish and in assuring the Zionist education of their children.

At the same time a very large part of the area of our land is still desolate, waiting for those who will come and bring with them strength and means, faithfulness of spirit and creative intellect. How great this need and craving are, the veterans among you know, and the novices will surely learn as they travel about the country. To discover all the resources hidden in this land, to ensure maximum strength for the military forces that guard the peace of this land, to bring closer to each other and fuse together the large and varied groups of immigrants streaming to this land - to achieve all these, capital alone is not enough, nor laboring hands, unless they have the active and constant cooperation of highly trained young people, gifted with expert skills and imbued with a pioneering spirit. And you know, as well as I, that in the United States, the country where you work and where you bear so large a share of responsibility for Jewish education, there are today some 275,000 Jewish young men and women studying in universities and not yet certain precisely where and how they will use their intellectual talents. Try to imagine how different this land could be if there arose among these young people a strong and serious movement to go up to Israel and with their lives and talents to become part of the process of growth and building going on in it. Think how different American Jewry, too, would be then, and how different the American Zionist movement would become!

Can there possibly be a more vital and significant task than this for American Zionists? They would be enriching their own lives by becoming true partners in the redemption of their people and the creation of a new society striving towards greater happiness and greater justice, a society which is being built in their own day, almost within their own sight, but to which they are now outsiders. At the same time, the personal participation of American Jewish youth would strengthen the land and enable it to absorb more and more settlers for whom, without Israel, there is neither security nor future. Certainly, financial aid is indispensable, and we appreciate more than we can say, your great

✓ generosity and your readiness to do even more in these times of stress. Certainly, too, we understand the enormous importance of your political aid, at all times and above all in days of emergency like the present; we place our hopes in you, trusting that you will go on with, and strengthen, political aid. But neither in financial nor in political aid is there the potential blessing for us and you that will spring from large-scale aliya of youth who will take their stand in science and labor and development - those three upon which all our future depends.

Can it be that you will not find it possible to increase your efforts for aliya and to persevere until the process goes on of itself? Think for a moment how different the situation would be if the entire Zionist movement - all its organizations, parties, groups - were united and the links between this unified Zionist movement and the general American Jewish organizations strengthened. Would it not then become less difficult to increase efforts for aliya?

In America itself you have more than a million Jewish children to concern yourselves with. These, may their number increase, are a great host, rich in possibilities, twice as many in number as our ancestors when they came out of Egypt. For how many of them are there good Hebrew schools? And proper textbooks? And teachers adequate both in number and quality? You know better than I that only a minority of these children have so far been reached by the entire Jewish and Zionist educational effort, all its trends and groups included. Worthy of respect and even sometimes of great praise as this effort is, it has been able to give only a tiny smattering of learning to most of the children it has managed to reach. The overwhelming majority of American Jewish children, however, are completely cut off from Hebrew culture; there is no Hebrew book, old or new, rational or religious, that is not shut and sealed for them. But are not these children a precious trust put into your hands by our people's fate? And, once more, can it be that you will not be able to alter this painful reality? What has been done in American Jewish education is not to be deprecated: on the contrary, the future historian will surely evaluate its accomplishments with respect. Do not these achievements demand even greater effort and audacity, energy and systematic work to follow upon them? Is not such an educational effort one of the most significant Zionist duties, a matter of life and honor for Zionism in America?

Independent Zion has served and continues to serve as a challenge to Zionists in the diaspora. Just so, ought they now serve as a challenge to the masses of Jews among whom they live. This should be so, above all, in the United States, the diaspora community that is largest in size, richest in talent of many sorts, and outstanding in its generous response to the needs of Israel.

My brothers, delegates of the Zionist Organization! It is on a high watchtower that American Zionism has been stationed by Jewish history. It has been charged with the task of preparing for their destiny half of the Jewish people, who are in fact three fifths of diaspora Jewry in both the free and closed lands and who constitute a community such as we have never had before - prosperous, endowed with the gifts of the spirit, rooted in their country's culture, heirs to a noble tradition of generosity and Jewish responsibility. And despite all this, the trained eye cannot fail to discern the dangers lurking both within and without, dangers to the future of this Jewry which is sui generis, so unprecedented in vigor and so unparalleled for precariousness.

All the signs indicate that American Jewry is living through a period of intense spiritual ferment and that many of the intellectual trends which dominated and shaped it for decades are today open to reexamination and self-criticism. Zionists, with their historic responsibility, are in duty bound to be attentive in the extreme to all that is taking place in the inner life of American Jewry: they must be ready for a serious confrontation with new ideas, through constant elucidation of the doctrines of Judaism and the Zionist revival; through analysis of the conditions that prevail and that are to be anticipated; through fostering constructive forces and deepening Jewish awareness among all circles; above all through providing a living personal example of tangible connection with Israel and with aliya.

Israel wishes to be sure that it can rely upon Zionists as before, in this struggle during these days of decision.

Twice in our annals American Zionism rose to the occasion and led all American Jewry in efforts that saved Zionism. Once, in the period after the First World War, when the political future of Palestine was decided at Versailles and the Third Aliya stormed its way to the land, then - for the first time in Jewish history - all eyes were turned towards America. American Zionism, after a sharp inner struggle, succeeded in leading the entire community towards support of the pioneering beginnings. During these very days we mourn the death of a great Zionist whose name is linked forever with that period of aspiration and achievement - Louis Lipsky.

The second time was closer to us. During the Second World War, when the mortal wounds we suffered were revealed and we stood on the threshold of the fateful decision on the future of the land, American Zionism once more rose in strength, carrying all American Jewry with it. The die was cast for life and revival and aid to the people on a scale we had never known before. The hero of that political struggle is here with us now and the whole Zionist world is celebrating his seventy-fifth birthday. In the historic memory of our people the name of my distinguished friend, Dr. Abba Hillel Silver, will be engraved forever - his vision and his achievement in the days of Lake Success, as well as before and after them. May he be blessed with length of years and happiness - and return to

activity and success.

Once more we have reached a crucial period. These are days of dangers threatening our land; of Aliya making its way constantly to our land; of unprecedented large-scale development of our land. From most of the countries of the dispersion aliya streams towards us: from America where the majority of diaspora Jews are concentrated, it comes in drops, while even financial aid finds it difficult to keep up with the ever growing needs. Is this a passing difficulty or a permanent and most distressing feature of Jewish reality?

We dare to hope that this third time, too, you, together with all the friends of Zion in the United States, will wish to change the face of things. What is more, we are sure that you will not only wish, but be able, to do so - and the inspiration of Zion will come to your aid and to ours.

It is my prayer that this convention, meeting in Israel's capital - symbol of our people's eternity and pride of our movement's achievement - will aid you in carrying out your mission. My prayer, I am certain, is the prayer of all of you.



SIXTY-SIXTH ANNUAL ZOA CONVENTION

Jerusalem--Tel Aviv, July 11-17, 1963

PRELIMINARY OUTLINE OF CONVENTION PROGRAM

Jerusalem

Wednesday, July 10 -- Reception for ZOA delegates by Jerusalem Municipality in the Garden of Roses.

Thursday evening, July 11 -- Public opening session at Binyaney Ha'uma.

- Note: (1) A special reception by President Ben Zvi for a select ZOA leadership group is under consideration but is not certain as yet.
- (2) Invitations to deliver greetings at the opening session were extended to President Ben Zvi and the Mayor of Jerusalem, Mordecai Ish-Shalom.

Tel Aviv

Note: The delegates will move to Tel Aviv Friday morning, July 12th. There will be no Convention sessions or any other Convention events on Friday.

Saturday morning, July 13 -- Services at the Great Synagogue of Tel Aviv, and/or at respective hotels, for ZOA delegates and guests.

Saturday evening, July 13 -- Public Convention session at the Emanuel Neumann Garden of ZOA House.

Theme: Tenth Anniversary of the ZOA House -- Inauguration of Anniversary Programs.

Sunday, July 14 -- Three plenary sessions, in the morning, afternoon and evening, at ZOA House.

Monday, July 15 -- Two plenary sessions, in the morning and afternoon, at ZOA House.

Evening reception by the Mayor of Ramat-Gan, in the Ramat-Gan National Park -- Outdoor concert.

Note: A reception in the American Embassy in Tel Aviv is under consideration for the same day. Arrangements have not been finalized as yet.

Tuesday, July 16 -- Convention Day at Kfar Silver.

Wednesday, July 17 -- Plenary sessions, morning and afternoon, at ZOA House.

Evening -- Public closing session in the Mann Auditorium in Tel Aviv.

- Note:
- (1) Should the Mann Auditorium not be available for Wednesday night, July 17th, the public session to take place in this hall will be held on Tuesday evening, July 16th, and the Convention Day in Kfar Silver will be switched to Wednesday, July 17th. The Convention will then adjourn in Kfar Silver on July 17th in the evening.
 - (2) A special bronze Convention Medal will be cast for presentation to all delegates by representatives of the Israel Government.
 - (3) Negotiations are under way with the Israel postal authorities for the issuance of a Special Convention Envelope and Cancellation Stamp in Post Office branches, to be established for the opening session at Binyaney Ha'uma and the ZOA House in Tel Aviv.
 - (4) All travel arrangements to and from the Convention, as well as travel and sightseeing within Israel, and hotel reservations, will be handled by the ZOA Tourist Department.



Dinner of the Zionist Organization of America

IN ASSOCIATION WITH THE

WORLD CONFEDERATION OF GENERAL ZIONISTS
AND THE LIBERAL PARTY OF ISRAEL

IN HONOUR OF

Dr. ABBA HILLEL SILVER
ON THE OCCASION OF HIS SEVENTIETH BIRTHDAY

SUNDAY, JULY 14, 1963, AT 7.00 P.M.

P R O G R A M

Presiding:

✓ Dr. Emanuel Neumann, New York, N. Y.

National Anthems

✓ Invocation

Greetings:

✓ His Excellency, David Ben-Gurion

On behalf of the Government of the United States,
✓ His Excellency, Walworth Bartbour,
Ambassador of the United States to Israel.

On behalf of the Zionist Organization of America
✓ Dr. Max Nussbaum, President

On behalf of the Liberal Party
✓ Honorable Yosef Saphir, M.K.

On behalf of the World Confederation of
General Zionists
✓ Honorable Yosef Serlin, M.K.

On behalf of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem
✓ Honorable Eliyahu Eilat, President

✓ Response - Dr. Abba Hillel Silver

Address by Mr. David Ben-Gurion at ZOA Convention
Dinner in honor of Dr. Abba Hillel Silver's
70th Birthday.

Sheraton - Tel Aviv Hotel

July 14, 1963.

Before going on to my main subject this evening - the nature of the Zionism of our friend Dr. Abba Hillel Silver - I feel an inner need to congratulate the leaders of the Z.O.A. on their wise decision to convene their 66th Convention in Israel. I am confident that the representatives of the Zionist Movement in the United States have something to say and teach to Jewry in Israel, and perhaps they also have something to learn from Israel, from the resurgence of a nation that is taking place here, from the capacity for creative pioneering that is manifested in this enterprise, from the unique character of this Jewry, to which there is no parallel anywhere in the Diaspora, a Jewry that is not nourished solely from one spiritual corner in its soul but all of whose economic and cultural life, all its work in field, factory and mine, in land, sea and air transport, all its Jewish and universal education, its literary, artistic and scientific activity, are stamped with the Jewish seal. This is a Jewry with no dichotomy in its soul between two spheres, one external and the other internal: the public sphere, where it is a minority, and its own minority sphere, foreign to the majority. Its present is not rent and divided between a Jewish past and a non-Jewish future; it constitutes a singleness, a single sphere, one hundred percent Jewish and one hundred percent human. It is a sovereign Jewry, which has already become an international factor of no little significance, equal in rights to all the other nations. The bread these Jews eat, the houses they live in, the trees that give them shade, the roads on which they walk or travel, the ships in which they sail and the planes in which they fly, the police that controls their traffic and maintains their laws, and the army that protects their security - all are Jewish and the work of Jewish hands.

Here you will also learn of the grave difficulties and problems that give us cause for anxiety, and you will examine at close quarters the great and momentous tasks that confront us, tasks that may perhaps determine the destiny of the Jewish people the world over.

I believe with implicit faith that it is the destiny and the obligation of this Jewry, which you are now, as a body, meeting for the first time, to be a model nation and a light to the Gentiles - and this depends on the cooperation and unity of the Jews of the entire world, with the independent Jewish nation in its land as their centre.

Zionist ideology before the establishment of the State of Israel, which reached America as well over sixty years ago, was mainly founded on conditions in Europe, both those that existed among the Jews and those that existed among the non-Jews, and there was a great difference between the Jews of Eastern and Southern Europe and those of the Western and Central parts of the continent.. The Eastern and Central European Jews - first and foremost those of Tsarist Russia, who were the largest and most important section of European Jewry - spoke a language of their own - the Ashkenazi majority Yiddish and the Sephardi minority Ladino - and they regarded themselves as a separate people, distinct from all the peoples amongst whom they lived. In contrast, the Western and Central European Jews regarded themselves, ever since the emancipation of the 19th century, as a part of the peoples amongst whom they lived; speaking the same language and thinking of themselves as Germans, Frenchmen or Italians of the Mosaic faith. This difference also led to differences in their Zionism and their Jewishness. The Jews of Eastern Europe were rooted in Jewish tradition, and looked upon the concept of exile (Galuth) not as a novel Zionist idea, but as the feeling of generation of Jews who regarded themselves as foreign in the countries where they lived, even if they had been there for centuries, and always felt that their true Homeland was the land of their fathers, the Land of Israel. They came to Zionism through their Jewishness.

It was quite different with the Jews of Western Europe. They saw, or tried to see, the land where they lived as their own land, the people amongst whom they dwelt as their own people, its language and culture as their language and culture. It was only anti-Semitism, the unwillingness of the nations to regard the Jews (in spite of their formal emancipation) as bone of their bone and flesh of their flesh, and the attitude of suspicion, jealousy and hatred that they adopted towards the Jews, that made many of them Zionists, and through their Zionism they returned to Judaism. The Jews were prepared to assimilate with the peoples amongst whom they lived, but these peoples did not wish to absorb them, and for lack of any alternative they became Jews.

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

American Jewry, like America as a whole, is a comparatively new phenomenon in history. The very existence of America was unknown until the end of the 15th century, and at the beginning of the 19th century there were no more than 10,000 ^{Jews} in America. Even at the beginning of the 20th, their number did not exceed a million - less than half of the Jewish population of Israel today. America itself assumed its place as a world power on the international scene only at the end of the First World War - or perhaps, to be more exact, only at the end of the second.

American Jewry has never known discrimination, persecution and hostility, for ever since America became an independent State in the last quarter of the 13th century it has been a land of freedom and equality before the Law. The emergence and growth of the American nation is quite unlike that of the European peoples. It is entirely the result of mass migration - or, to use our own term, "the ingathering of ~~tribes~~" - ~~in 1492~~

of exiles" - in recent centuries.

The President of the United States today is the grandson of an Irish Catholic immigrant, and the Jews of America are in this respect on the same footing as other Americans - apart from the Indians, who are only a small minority; they are immigrants, or sons and grandsons of immigrants.

In America there was never any legal discrimination against Jews, and the Jew in that country feels that he is an American by virtue of the same right as all other Americans - because he lives in America. Not all the immigrants of whom the American people is composed brought with them the English Language as their mother-tongue, and the same applied to the Jews; as with other immigrants who did not come from English-speaking countries, only the second generation learned to speak English. If there are anti-Semitic manifestations in some circles in America, this is only one example of the friction between communities of different origins. What, (then), was the true, specific source of Zionism in America? It was solidarity with the fate of Jews in Europe. Almost all American Jews are descended from European Jews, either from Eastern or Western Europe. Such was the Zionism of the first generation of immigrants in America - who still spoke Yiddish and to some extent kept up the ways of life and thought that they had brought with them; such was Zionism among the second and third generations, who felt that they must help the European Jews who wanted a national home of their own in the Land of their Fathers. Such was the Zionism of that great Jew Supreme Court Justice Louis Brandeis, or Julian Mack or Louis Lipsky, or Stephen Wise.

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

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

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

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

Stop (our work. | There is one condition that must be fulfilled if we are to complete it: the unity of the Jewish people, the unity of Jewry in the Diaspora and Jewry in Israel, and this unity cannot be achieved unless those who are devoted to Zion and the Jewish people dedicate their energies in every country - and first and foremost in the United States of America - to the Jewish education of the younger generation and the intensification of their personal bonds with the Jewish people and the Jewish Land.

My greeting to my friend Abba Hillel Silver is that from now onward he should show the same ardent faith and courage that he showed in his fight for the establishment of the State of Israel in his fruitful efforts to ~~Mr~~ provide Hebrew education for the younger generation of Jews in the United States, to deepen the personal attachment of every Jew to Israel, and to strengthen the unity of the Jewish people the world over. For only by virtue of these three things shall we stand firm and survive both in Israel and in the Diaspora: through a feeling of a common Jewish destiny, drawing sustenance from the depths of the Jewish history and tradition of 4000 years; through a knowledge of the Hebrew language and the immortal books created by Israel's great men in that language; and through the personal attachment of every Jew to the Homeland of the Jewish people in past and future.

And my greeting to the Convention of the ZOA that has assembled in Israel is that it should take its place loyally by the right hand of Dr. Abba Hillel Silver in the execution of the three great tasks of our generation.

הסתדרות הציונית של ארצות הברית
ZIONIST ORGANIZATION OF AMERICA

Z. O. A. H O U S E

1, DANIEL FRISCH ST., TEL-AVIV

PHONES: 21141-2, 28823, P.O.B. 4290

Cable Address: ZOAOUSE, TEL-AVIV

בית ציוני אמריקה

רחוב דניאל פריש 1 תל אביב

טל. 21141-2, 28823

ת.ד. 4290

Tel-Aviv, July 21, 1963.


Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
The Temple,
Cleveland, Ohio.

Dear Dr. Silver,

... Enclosed please find the requested text
of Ben-Gurion's address delivered at the Dinner in
your honor at the Sheraton Hotel in Tel-Aviv.

Hope you had a pleasant trip home.

Sincerely yours,



Dean Ilutovich
Assistant Executive Director
Zionist Organization of America

LI/EO
encl.

cc. Dr. Max Fussbaum

התאחדות הציונית של שיקגו

ZIONIST ORGANIZATION OF CHICAGO

220 SOUTH STATE STREET • CHICAGO, ILLINOIS — 60604
WAbash 2-1285

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October 15, 1963

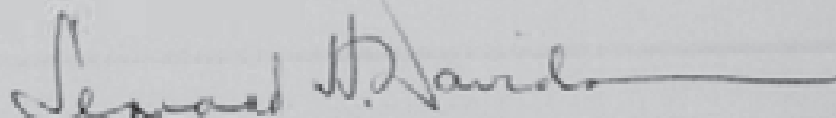
Secretary to Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
The Temple
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Miss Secretary:

We will appreciate it very much if you will send us a current biographical sketch and glossy photographs of Dr. Abba Hillel Silver. These are required for publicity and public relations purposes in connection with our Hanukkah Festival being held on December 15, 1963 at which Dr. Silver will be present.

Since we are this week preparing our publicity and advertising campaign, we will appreciate your immediate attention to this request. Thank you for your kind courtesy and cooperation.

Sincerely,



Leonard H. Davidson

LHD:ne

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| | | |
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S.9.

October 16, 1963

Dear Mr. Davidson:

As requested in your letter of October 15th, I am enclosing a biographical sketch which we prepared here at the Temple, as well as a glossy photograph of Dr. Silver.

I thought you might be interested in seeing a copy of "Current Biography" which contains a more detailed biography so I am sending it along. If I can do anything further, please write.

Cordially yours,

Mrs. Lee J. May
Secretary to Dr. Silver

ZIONIST ORGANIZATION OF CHICAGO

220 SOUTH STATE STREET • CHICAGO, ILLINOIS — 60604
WAbosh 2-1285

October 17, 1963

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Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
The Temple
Cleveland, Ohio

My dear Dr. Silver:

I wrote to you August 19, 1963 with reference to your expected visit with us at our Hanukkah Festival on December 15, 1963 when we expect to be privileged to celebrate with you your 70th birthday.


Frankly, I did not expect an immediate answer as this was the pre-Holiday season, and for a Rabbi in Israel, those Holidays take precedence over anything else. However, the time of December 15th approaches rapidly and we certainly would like to know whether it would be possible for you to come to Chicago on Saturday Evening preceding that date.

As I pointed out to you in that letter, this would afford us an opportunity to have a private dinner with you and the leadership of the Zionist Movement and the Chicago Jewish Community who I know are looking forward to this event. However, should it be impossible for you to spend another night with us, we will then plan an early dinner on that Sunday prior to the Festival at the Civic Opera House, which is scheduled to start at 8:15 P.M.

Please favor us with an early reply so that we can make our plans accordingly.

With Zionist greetings and best wishes.

Sincerely,



David S. Bern, President
ZIONIST ORGANIZATION OF CHICAGO

DSB:ne

59

October 21, 1963

My dear Mr. Bern:

Let me thank you for your letter of October 17th. I am looking forward with pleasure to the Chanukah Festival on December 15th.

It will not be possible for me to come on Saturday evening preceding that day as I must remain in Cleveland. If you plan an early dinner on Sunday prior to the Festival at the Civic Opera House, it is perfectly agreeable to me, but please do not count on me to address the group prior to the meeting. I have to conserve my strength a bit and I do not wish to speak twice the same day.

With all good wishes, permit me to remain

Very cordially yours,

ABBA HILLEL SILVER

AHS:bfm

Mr. David S. Bern
President
Zionist Organization
of Chicago
220 South State Street
Chicago, Illinois

THE EXCHANGE NATIONAL BANK OF CHICAGO

MILTON J. SILBERMAN
Vice President

LaSalle and Adams
332-5000

October 28, 1963

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
The Temple
University Circle at Silver Park
Cleveland 6, Ohio

My dear Dr. Silver:

I was in Cleveland yesterday, Sunday, meeting with our friends of the Greater Cleveland Zionist District and while there, I communicated with you and found that you were away from the city and would not be back for another week or so. I much regretted not having the opportunity of talking to you.

Mr. Bern has advised me of your letter of last week. I had not known that he had written you for a possibility of coming Saturday night which I too agree is out. I had suggested to him and our officers for you would arrive, if at all possible, sometime early Sunday afternoon. We could have a small dinner of say 35 couples, again keeping within the theme of seventy, your birthday at 5:30 p.m., no speeches so that we could adjourn to the opera house for the program at 8:00 p.m.

If you feel this will suit your convenience, please let me hear from you upon your return to the office. We shall make hotel reservations for you and I will have your plane reservations forwarded to Cleveland. If you have any preference for time or flight, please let me know and also what flight you would want to leave Chicago on.

With kind personal regards to Mrs. Silver and Danny and his family.



Milton J. Silverman

MJS:KM

5 a
November 7, 1963

My dear Milton:

Upon my return to Cleveland, I found your letter of October 28th. I should be very pleased to meet at 5:30 P.M. on Sunday at a small dinner with some of our friends.

As far as plane reservations are concerned, I should like to leave Cleveland at about two o'clock Sunday afternoon and return the following day, some time early in the afternoon.

With all good wishes and looking forward, with pleasure, to seeing you, I remain

Very cordially yours,

ABBA HILLEL SILVER

AHS:bfn

Mr. Milton J. Silverman
The Exchange National Bank
of Chicago
La Salle and Adams
Chicago, Illinois

ZIONIST ORGANIZATION OF CANADA
2025 UNIVERSITY STREET
MONTREAL

November 25, 1963

Office of the President

Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver
The Temple
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Rabbi Silver:

I have to acknowledge the kind and generous response you have made to a call for a contribution to the Jesse Schwartz Memorial Fund which is to be used for a Youth Center in his name in Israel. This is most encouraging to the committee who is conducting the campaign, which is a project of the Keren Hayesod.

It is the means the Z.O.C. has chosen to commemorate our late beloved Director who gave of himself in complete and selfless devotion over a lifetime to the cause which is so dear to all of us.

Once again, it is my very special pleasure to thank you for your remembrance.

Sincerely yours,

Joseph N. Frank
Joseph N. Frank
President

JNF:PW

12-1-44
(Drawer)

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אברהם בן יצחק - אברהם בן יצחק

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והציונים לרגל זיהוי



ABBA HILLEL SILVER

AN APPRECIATION

by

Harold P. Manson



Reprinted By
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1963

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**IN THE
TIME OF HARVEST**

ESSAYS IN HONOR OF

Albion Hillel Silver

ON THE OCCASION OF HIS

70th

BIRTHDAY

THE MACMILLAN COMPANY, NEW YORK

COLLIER-MACMILLAN LTD., LONDON

1962

Abba Hillel Silver—An Appreciation

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A REMARKABLE UNITY pervades the still-incomplete life-work of Abba Hillel Silver. His entire career runs in a straight line toward an almost inevitable meeting with an exacting assignment from history.

The nature of that assignment was decreed by "the inescapable logic of events" (a phrase that would figure prominently in his public utterances). His historic task was to realize the revolutionary program which had been set in motion by Theodor Herzl in 1897—to secure international recognition for the reconstitution of an independent Jewish State.

An American rabbi, preeminent as a leader of Reform Judaism, but nurtured by East European Jewish traditions and folkways, and bound in love to the masses of his people; undeviatingly committed from early childhood to the Herzlian concept of political Zionism; schooled in the processes of political action in a democratic society; endowed with a powerful intellect, a commanding personality, and oratorical skills that could persuade masses and move them to action, Dr. Silver was perfectly cast for his role by life itself.

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The *S. S. Köln*, out of Bremen, reached New York harbor on a June day in 1902. Among the new immigrants whom it brought to Ellis Island was a thin, dark, curly-haired, nine-year-old boy, decked out in a sailor suit for the occasion. Abba Silver, held in tow by his mother, Dinah, had arrived together with his older brother and a sister to rejoin their father, Rabbi Moses Silver, in the new home which he had established in America. Behind them was the Lithuanian town of Meinstadt-Schirwindt where the six Silver children were born—and also a tradition of learning and scholarship which they would transplant in the exciting new land that welcomed them.

One of the dominant themes of Abba Hillel Silver's later life and action was born on that day: belief in America as a force for good in the world. He would come to know America intimately—her vastness and diversity, but mostly her power to achieve a better life—and would eagerly make his own contribution to her civilization.

The America he first encountered was New York's lower East Side. His childhood in the family's tenement on Madison Street was altogether happy. The drabness of tenement life at the turn of the century seems to have been shut out. Here, as in Neinstadt, his home was a place of scholarship, tolerantly administered by Rabbi Moses Silver.

The third in a succession of ordained rabbis, Moses Silver did not make the rabbinate his profession. In Neinstadt he had earned a modest livelihood in the soap business, but learning was the essence of his life. In New York he taught in a Hebrew school and also gave free instruction to many gifted youngsters. He remained dedicated to scholarship until his death at the age of eighty-seven at his home in Jerusalem, where he and his wife settled in 1924. Shortly before his eightieth birthday Moses Silver published two volumes of a Biblical commentary, *Hishukei Kessef* (*Filigree of Silver*), which were well received by both scholars and laymen and which reflect his learning and his piety. The range of his intellectual interests was wide and included not only traditional Biblical and Talmudic studies, but modern Hebrew literature and the secular humanities as well.

There were not many Jewish homes at the turn of the century in which such coexistence was actively encouraged or even acceptable. Traditional Jewish learning and "secularism" were generally in conflict, giving rise to fanaticism and intolerance on both sides. Moses Silver taught his children to view Judaism in its entirety and to reconcile, rather than accentuate, apparent diversities.

Zionist thought was, inevitably, a central influence in such a home. Heroic Biblical figures inspired visions of a reborn Jewish nation. The essays of Ahad Ha-Am, the philosopher of cultural Zionism, were read and discussed in Hebrew. The lifework of Theodor Herzl, the founder of modern political Zionism, was followed avidly by the entire family.

In 1904, the year of Herzl's untimely death, the two Silver boys formed the Dr. Herzl Zion Club. It was the very first Zionist Hebrew-speaking group in America and was to serve as a training ground for the future leadership of the movement. Its first president was thirteen-year-old Maxwell Silver, who was succeeded two years later by Abba Hillel Silver. The club held debates and performed plays in the

Hebrew language. A half-century later one of the group reminisced: "Abba always played the young hero, with flashing eyes and sword-play. He was built for the role. He looked the part."

The club's membership included Emanuel Neumann, who would later head the Zionist Organization of America and be Silver's closest associate in the political leadership of United States Zionism; the future Hebrew educator Israel Chipkin; a number of subsequent leaders of the rabbinate, including Barnett R. Brickner, Abraham Feldman, Benjamin Friedman, Jesse Schwartz, as well as many others who were destined to make significant contributions to American Jewish life. Of this élite group and its meetings on the lower East Side, Neumann wrote in 1953: "I joined . . . on a wintry Saturday evening, when the club was celebrating the Bar Mitzvah of the president. Its president then and its natural leader for years thereafter was Abba Hillel Silver. His was a firm rule, tempered always with a saving sense of humor. He was loved, admired and obeyed. His word at the end of a long debate had the ring of finality and was accepted without demur. The very quality of his voice brought conviction."

One of the recorded incidents in the history of the Dr. Herzl Zion Club is prophetic. The club had been plunged into ideological controversy almost from its inception. At first, the anti-Zionist views of the rigidly Orthodox left it without a meeting place, but for the home of Rabbi Moses Silver, to whom the boys turned for guidance and support. Finally, the group received permission to meet in the nonsectarian Educational Alliance. With the advent of a new director of that institution, the club was again facing homelessness. Its name was considered too "political." One day the director was making the rounds with one of the benefactresses of the Educational Alliance. On entering the room where the Dr. Herzl Zion Club boys met, they were astonished to find the meeting being conducted in Hebrew. The director and the good lady lectured the group severely on their poor display of "Americanism" in choosing to speak an alien tongue. When they finished, a tall boy in his early teens stood up and announced calmly that the Dr. Herzl Zion Club identified itself with the Zionist movement, that it would continue to use the language which David had found suitable for the composition of the Psalms, and through which Isaiah had expressed his vision of universal peace and justice. Quite speechless, the director and the lady withdrew. The Dr. Herzl Zion Club continued to conduct meetings in Hebrew at the Educational Alliance—and Abba Hillel Silver had won his first ideological battle against an attitude which he would encounter and best time and again in his career.

In 1911, after graduating from Townsend Harris High School, where he was one of the top students, Abba Hillel Silver took a step which must have been anathema to some of his neighbors and also worried a number of his young Zionist comrades. Like Maxwell a few years earlier, he decided to enter the Hebrew Union College in Cincinnati—the center and stronghold of Reform Judaism. To the ultra-Orthodox this was a few steps short of apostasy. To some of the Herzl Zion boys, mindful of the anti-Zionist attitude which then permeated Reform Jewry, it represented a threat that their leader might be taken over by the "enemy." He, however, was certain that he and other friends who were to accompany or follow him to Cincinnati would ultimately occupy and dominate the citadel of Liberal Judaism. Interestingly enough—perhaps typically—the Silver boys' decision received warm encouragement and support from their father.

Accepted by the Hebrew Union College, he also enrolled in the University of Cincinnati with the intention of completing his rabbinical studies simultaneously with his general college education. He carried this off with resounding success, accomplishing nine years' work at the College in four years and graduating from both institutions in 1915.

The motif of leadership runs throughout his college years and is fresh in the memory of fellow students.

Young Rabbi Silver's first pulpit was in Wheeling, West Virginia, at the Eoff Street Temple. Wheeling was chiefly significant in his life for the presence of Virginia Horkheimer, daughter of a leader of the community, and the product of five generations on American soil. The courtship outlasted his stay in that city and was continued from Cleveland until their marriage in 1923.

This wonderfully happy union must occupy a central place in any evaluation of Rabbi Silver's career. Virginia Silver, a personality in her own right, has been content to realize herself as wife to a remarkable man and mother to two fine sons. Living in the atmosphere of love and support which she created, Rabbi Silver received an added measure of confidence and strength for his career. He also received valuable counsel—for Virginia Silver proved to be very astute in taking the measure of a person.

Silver was all of twenty-four when, after two years in Wheeling, he received a call to one of the most important pulpits in America—Cleveland's Tifereth Israel (The Temple). From 1917, the year of his arrival in Cleveland, it has been his beloved spiritual home and the workshop of his creative spiritual life.

There were, of course, doubts about his maturity. He was, after

all, succeeding the venerable Rabbi Moses J. Gries, and skeptics anticipated a fiasco. His first sermon, which has become something of a legend, swept away all reservations. An electrified congregation came away with the proud knowledge that they had chosen as their spiritual leader a most extraordinary man.

Not that it was all smooth sailing thereafter. The words which rang out from Rabbi Silver's pulpit were not designed to please, but to summon to moral and social action. His uncompromising Zionism, his internationalism in a Midwest stronghold of isolationism, his espousal of the cause of organized labor long before labor became a major force in American society, his attacks against some of the most powerful economic and political interests in the state and nation—these and other views were extremely distasteful to some leaders of the city. Conflict and controversy were inevitable, as were victory and vindication for the unyielding rabbi who had won the hearts and minds of the congregation and large sections of the community. It became clear at the very outset that Abba Hillel Silver could be held only on his own terms.

The beginnings of his work in Cleveland were interrupted by the First World War. He served in France where his ministry to the Allied troops won him the Academic Palms as *Officier de l'Instruction Publique*.

Upon his return he plunged into the work of making The Temple not only the largest, but perhaps the most progressive and educationally creative Liberal Jewish congregation in America. Two years after his arrival the membership had risen from 725 families to 916. Five years later, in 1922, Rabbi Silver laid the cornerstone for the inspiring edifice where the congregation has worshiped since 1924. In 1959 a great new wing was added to The Temple, which today boasts a large school, a fine library, and an exceptional museum of Jewish religious and ceremonial art among the many other educational and cultural facilities available to its membership of 2,400 families. This many-faceted institution is now jointly administered by Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver and his son, Daniel Jeremy Silver, the fifth in the family's unbroken chain of rabbis and scholars—a moving and poetic culmination of one of the senior rabbi's most cherished dreams.

An achievement like The Temple would for most men represent total fulfillment, leaving little time or inclination for other endeavors. The very process of building and physical expansion can become an all-absorbing occupation. Spiritual and moral purposes have too often been trapped and entombed in the cornerstones of magnificent edifices. Their size and complexity impose heavy administrative de-

mands on the spiritual leader, who is in constant danger of being transformed into a corporation executive or professional fund raiser. But Rabbi Silver has kept the emphasis where it belongs: on Jewish teaching and worship.

Moreover, the daily tasks of the rabbinate, however significant and rewarding in themselves, could not contain his searching mind. He heard other voices. The love of scholarship could not be stilled and he somehow found time to study and to write—though never to the extent that he wished.

In 1925 he received the degree of Doctor of Divinity from Hebrew Union College. His thesis was later expanded into his first published book, *Messianic Speculations in Israel* (1927)—regarded by scholars as a classic contribution to the study of Messianic concepts. The subject matter is highly illuminating in relation to Silver's total personality. Superficially it would appear that nothing could be more alien to the spirit of one who is so totally committed to action in the modern world than the mystical quest for the Messianic era and its meaning. Nevertheless, it is precisely this subject which absorbed him as a young scholar and which has recurred frequently in his writings. He applied his keen intelligence to gain a fuller understanding of the Messianic motif which is unmistakable in Jewish experience over the centuries. The qualities of Jewish mystical thought—its fervor and scope—appealed to him, though he firmly rejected mystical solutions to man's problems. He brought these qualities to his work in the rabbinate and the Zionist movement.

In attempting to define the unique nature of Silver's leadership of the Zionist movement, the author wrote in 1949: "No real understanding of Dr. Silver—the man and the leader—is possible without an appreciation of the fact that he is first and foremost *Rabbi Silver*, a person of deep spiritual convictions and a profound scholar. . . . He regards his pulpit in Cleveland, Ohio, with the reverence and devotion of one for whom there can be no greater calling in life. If we bear this fact in mind, many things which at first glance appear mystifying become crystal clear: why he underwent the physical discomfort of spending many days of each week on trains and planes, commuting between New York and Cleveland or Washington and Cleveland—this over a period of six years—in order to be back in his pulpit on the Sabbath; why, even in the midst of the most severe crises in his political life, he could be found at The Temple happily engaged in teaching a class of children; why, surrounded by admiring multitudes in New York, he would confide to his friends that he yearned for the peace of his study; why he always spoke so wistfully

of the days when he could devote himself to Jewish scholarship—the days when he wrote the profound *Messianic Speculations in Israel*.

"When we view Dr. Silver in the light of his dedication to the spiritual essence of Judaism, we are better able to understand his unshakable faith that the Zionist cause would triumph, no matter what the obstacles, as well as the quality akin to mysticism which is present even in his most 'political' utterances—a quality which some regarded as a contradiction of his basic character, but which those close to him understood to be the true expression of that character."

Two decades of intermittent but impressive scholarly activity were abruptly halted when Silver was called to the leadership of the American Zionist movement—though this phase of his creative life was energetically resumed following his withdrawal from Zionist politics. He wrote three more books prior to his assumption of active political leadership. *The Democratic Impulse in Jewish History* (1928) is a compact presentation of his view of Judaism as essentially a people's religion and of Jewish creativity as people-based. The primary role occupied by the Jewish people in his concept of Jewish history would determine his approach to all aspects of Jewish life—including, of course, the Zionist program which, to his mind, required a strong popular foundation. The interaction between people and leader—each drawing inspiration from the other, with the former always paramount—would be a fascinating subject of inquiry throughout his life. He would also have the opportunity, given to few scholars, of translating his concepts into living history.

Silver foresaw the vast economic changes that would sweep over America in the 1930's. In *Religion in a Changing World* (1930) he outlined a program toward a just social order and described the role that a vigorous religion would have to assume. It was in the prophetic tradition. The volume was for many months a nonfiction best-seller.

In *World Crisis and Jewish Survival* (1941), a collection of essays (including his 1940 Duddleian Lecture at Harvard), the scholar is embattled against the then-triumphant Nazi tyranny, and there are signs of the emerging political leader. There is also a ringing confidence in the Jewish people's ability to survive the holocaust and to go forward toward the fulfillment of its role in history.

With his passionate devotion to social justice, Rabbi Silver was impelled to take stands on vital issues in the life of his city, state, and country. His Sunday morning sermons, which supplement the regular Temple services on the Jewish Sabbath, quickly became events of community-wide importance, attracting huge audiences of both Jews and non-Jews. One of the most civic-minded cities of

America, Cleveland responded warmly to Abba Hillel Silver, and forward-looking citizens turned to him for guidance and leadership. His unabated popularity has been phenomenal, not merely because he managed to remain a "prophet with honor" in his own community for so many years, but because he has achieved this without aiming at popularity. Never concerned with his professional career as an end in itself, he sought no favors and did not tailor his opinions and actions to conform to prevailing attitudes. Indeed, his words and actions were frequently disturbing to the comfortable and socially unconcerned.

After the First World War, when Cleveland, like so many other American cities, fell prey to the Palmer anti-Red hysteria, Rabbi Silver took the lead in restoring civic sanity. In 1921 he engaged in a running debate with no less formidable an opponent than Newton D. Baker, the former Secretary of War in Wilson's cabinet and one-time Mayor of Cleveland. The issue was the open shop versus the closed shop, with Silver arguing vigorously in support of the labor unions. He resigned from the Chamber of Commerce, of which Baker was then president. But vindication was not long in coming and Cleveland's unions achieved the closed shop.

In 1928 he initiated an enterprise in social pioneering which had tremendous effects. It was due to his vision and energy that The Temple became the birthplace of the unemployment insurance movement in Ohio and perhaps also in the United States. Eight years of unremitting effort on the part of Rabbi Silver and his associates resulted in the passage by the Ohio State Legislature of an unemployment insurance bill which he helped to frame.

During the depression years he was a militant champion of organized labor and an unrelenting foe of the "wreckers" among Ohio's industrialists and financiers. With the intensity of a Biblical prophet he denounced by name the prominent citizens who qualified as "financial jugglers" and "pirates." His zeal stimulated public protests and reform movements which made decency and social responsibility prevail.

The importance and scope of Rabbi Silver's contributions to his community may be gathered from the section on Cleveland in John Gunther's *Inside U.S.A.* (1947) where he is described as "probably its most distinguished citizen."

All of these works, however, were prologue and preparation for the chief task which was still to come. Silver had retained his intimate association with the Zionist movement from the days of the

Dr. Herzl Zion Club. By 1920 he was well known in Zionist circles as a brilliant young orator and was invited to address the international Zionist conference in London that year, sharing the platform with such eminent personalities as Lord Balfour, Lord Cecil, Dr. Chaim Weizmann, and Max Nordau. In the rift that developed between Dr. Weizmann and Louis D. Brandeis, the leader of American Zionism, Silver strongly supported Brandeis. The conflict, which was ideological in part, involved the control and administration of philanthropic funds raised in the United States for work in Palestine through the efforts of American Zionists. Silver was a loyal member of the group headed by Brandeis and Judge Julian W. Mack, and when Brandeis and Mack withdrew from leadership of the Zionist Organization of America, he went with them. He returned to active service in the movement in the late twenties, accepting Dr. Weizmann's leadership. But his early differences with the head of the World Zionist Organization would recur periodically and, at one critical moment, decisively.

With the rise of Nazism in Germany, Silver reacted with characteristic militancy. He was not content merely with denunciation of Nazi persecutions. Together with Samuel Untermyer he organized the anti-Nazi boycott in the United States. This brought him into sharp conflict with those American Jewish leaders who objected to "provocative" actions which, they held, might worsen the plight of the Jews in Germany. His dire predictions, based on a keen awareness of the evil forces which had been unleashed in the world, were borne out by subsequent horrors.

The immediate importance of Palestine became increasingly apparent with the growing acuteness of the Jewish refugee problem. Huge sums of money were required for the rescue and rehabilitation of the largest possible number of European Jewish refugees—and the greater holocaust was still to come. Regarding this task as the solemn responsibility of American Jewry, Silver undertook a leading role in fund raising, becoming chairman of the United Palestine Appeal in 1938 and also co-chairman of the United Jewish Appeal. The years of his leadership in this sphere were marked by greatly intensified activity and by the establishment and attainment of ever higher fund-raising goals. It is well worth noting that some of the highest peaks in the history of American Jewish fund raising were reached under the leadership of a Zionist rabbi. It would appear—after organizational mythology notwithstanding—that the Zionist label was not a liability in the raising of "big money" and that successful leadership is not necessarily confined to successful businessmen.

In the midst of his fund-raising efforts Dr. Silver was primarily concerned with Zionist statesmanship, rather than mere philanthropy. He made the United Palestine Appeal an instrument of education, which served to prepare American Jewry for the decisive political role that it was to play some years later. He had remained true to the Herzlian vision.

When the Zionist Revolution entered its climactic phase during the Second World War, no cause seemed more hopeless than the goal of a Jewish State in Palestine. The phenomenal progress of the Yishuv, the courageous Jewish community of Palestine, and its significant contributions to the war effort were rewarded by the White Paper policy barring Jewish refugees from the country. While the slaughter of European Jewry was being carried out with methodical efficiency by the Nazis, Great Britain left no doubt about her determination to scuttle her international obligation to assist the development of a Jewish National Home. Nevertheless, World Zionist diplomacy, based in London, clung resolutely to the hope that the partnership with Britain, which had begun so promisingly in 1917 with the issuance of the Balfour Declaration, would be resumed. In such circumstances the very idea of an independent Jewish State was fading fast from the world of political reality, even as this idea became the sustaining hope of the Jewish people, even as the Yishuv was readying itself for the decisive struggle, and even as the Zionist movement was confronted by a never-to-be-repeated opportunity to place its case high on the international agenda and to press for Jewish statehood as an act of world restitution and justice.

Only the entry of a powerful new force in support of the Zionist cause could avert a political disaster and infuse new strength and confidence for the major battles that lay ahead. That force was—had to be—the United States of America. The pivotal fact of the political struggle for Jewish statehood was that its center was shifting—at first slowly, almost imperceptibly, and later with tradition-shattering velocity—from London to Washington, as the center of world leadership generally was moving to an America which had neither sought nor prepared itself for such a role.

To anticipate this major trend and bring the Zionist cause into the mainstream of a historic process, and then to accelerate that process to win international approval of a Jewish State—this was the challenge to Zionist statesmanship. A new type of leadership, closely attuned to the American scene but motivated by classic Zionist concepts, was required. This became the monumental task of Abba Hillel Silver.

He had perceived the trend even before the beginning of the Second World War. A conversation, which took place between Emanuel Neumann and himself at the Twenty-first World Zionist Congress, held in 1939 in Geneva under the shadows of impending war and the recently issued British White Paper, is highly significant in the light of later developments. Neumann urged him to aspire to active political leadership of the Zionist movement in America. He replied that a world war would surely break out soon, that one of its probable results would be a shift of the center of gravity in world affairs to America, and that this would be the appropriate moment for his entry into the political arena. Neumann, then returning to America from a seven-year stay in Palestine, resolved to prepare the ground.

The American Emergency Committee for Zionist Affairs, representing all major parties in the United States, was established in New York in 1940. In the three years that followed Neumann struggled to create a foundation for Zionist political action. Hampered by the inadequate commitment of Zionist colleagues to such a course, as well as by budgetary problems, he nevertheless managed to bring about the formation of the American Palestine Committee, numbering hundreds of members of both Houses of Congress, cabinet members, governors, and many other influential figures in public life. Subsequently he also fostered the formation of a special national committee of Christian clergy, the Christian Council on Palestine, and initiated other important activities in the field of public relations. Official contacts between the Zionist movement and the State Department in Washington were developed and cultivated. However, Neumann was the first to decry the inadequacy of Zionist efforts against the background of slaughter in Europe, perfidy in London, and silence in Washington. He voiced his protest by resigning his post. The ways of personal diplomacy had brought Zionist polity to a dead end. The old methods of *shetadlanut*, the approaches to governmental leaders by eminent Jews reinforced by nothing more than personal prominence and charm, had been thoroughly discredited.

The new voice and new approach were sounded on May 2, 1943, at the National Conference of the United Palestine Appeal in Philadelphia. Dr. Silver unfolded the Jewish people's condition in all its shocking reality. Then he took the offensive. He attacked not only British policy—criticism of which had been frequently voiced by other Zionist orators—but challenged the attitude of President Franklin Delano Roosevelt himself. ("The tragic problems of the Jewish people in the world today cannot be solved by chiefs of government or promi-

nent officials sending us Rosh Hashanah greetings!") He next summoned the Zionist movement to carry out a program of political action, prophetically describing the outcome:

"We are confident that the inescapable logic of events will in due time make Palestine a Jewish State. For a shorter or longer time this may be halted or retarded, but the rebirth of Israel as a nation in its historic home is as sure to come to pass as God's word never returns empty until it has accomplished that for which it was sent.

"The inescapable logic of events! When all the doors of the world will be closed to our people, then the hand of destiny will force open the door of Palestine. And that hour is rapidly approaching."

His assumption of active political leadership was now an inevitable—and for his opponents, an unavoidable—development. Dr. Weizmann had suggested it in 1942 during a visit to America. He had developed a high appreciation of Silver's talents during the latter's 1942 visit to war-torn London. But Weizmann's proposal had been blocked by some Zionist leaders who feared Silver's militancy and resented his none-too-gentle criticism. Now a group of American Zionists headed by Neumann earnestly requested Silver to head a reorganized Emergency Committee. It was to be called the American Zionist Emergency Council and it would create an imperishable record.

From August, 1943, onward Silver's biography and the history of Israel's establishment become inseparable—for any review of the momentous years that followed his acceptance of the chairmanship of the American Zionist Emergency Council brings into bold relief the decisive influence he exercised in determining the character, policies, and program of Zionism in its most crucial period.

He made a careful—and, as it turned out, accurate—estimate of the many fronts on which he would have to fight. He would have to contend with the British and with Arab propaganda (in those years largely a creation of British policy); with the United States Administration, headed by the most popular of world leaders, Franklin D. Roosevelt, and guided by an anti-Zionist State Department; with the oil interests and with the confusion-spreading anti-Zionist minority in American Jewry—and others as well. His confidence that this array of powerful forces could be—and would be—subdued was not motivated by foolhardy courage, though courage he had in full measure. It was a combination of iron logic and iron nerve which dictated his every action and which he sought to instill in the movement he led. Had he not succeeded in this, had the Zionist movement remained

embedded in conventional methods and attitudes, the outcome would surely have been different. Recognizing this at the very outset, he set about to transform the whole character of American Zionism—to convert a club of well intentioned and highly motivated, but politically passive, Zionist personalities into the nerve center of a revolutionary program with a mass following. And since time was short and his own temperament rebelled against procrastination and clever rationalizations, he was often impatient and "difficult" with those who would not or could not meet what he regarded as the clear and unmistakable challenge of the hour.

There was ample evidence that an overwhelming majority of American Jewry was prepared to support the full Zionist program. The opportunity for an impressive demonstration of this fact was at hand at the inaugural gathering of the American Jewish Conference in New York in the late summer of 1943. The resolution favoring a Jewish Commonwealth was violently opposed by the non-Zionist minority and was all but abandoned by prominent Zionist spokesmen in the name of "unity" and in return for non-Zionist support of unlimited Jewish immigration into Palestine. It was saved by Silver's powerful plea to the delegates to reject such compromises. "If we surrender our national and historic claim to Palestine," he warned, "and rely solely on the refugee philanthropic appeal, we shall lose our case as well as do violence to the historic hopes of our people."

The Jewish Commonwealth resolution was adopted by a vote of 502-4.

American Jewish opinion had been crystallized and confirmed. Now the task was to make that opinion a potent force in influencing American policy. This was the responsibility of the American Zionist Emergency Council which within a year became the most effective instrument of public relations and organized action in the history of the Zionist movement and probably in the history of American Jewry. Indeed, in the melancholy and perhaps exaggerated opinion of some targets of the Emergency Council—British Foreign Office spokesmen, United States State Department officials, and Arab propagandists—it was for a time the most successful activity of its kind on the American scene. In its final form it was the handiwork of Dr. Silver—a highly efficient and sensitive instrument, completely responsive to his technique and style.

A Washington Bureau was established and superbly conducted by Rabbi Leon I. Feuer, the many-talented spiritual leader of Toledo, Ohio, who had served as Rabbi Silver's close associate at The Temple

in Cleveland for many years. An intensive program of education on the Palestine problem had to be carried out in Washington. Friends were won in Congress and other areas of government.

The Emergency Council's policies were hammered out in an executive committee composed of representatives of all Zionist parties. This in itself was a formidable task in view of historical differences in ideology and methodology between the parties and their leaders. Inevitably, too, there were clashes of personality which sometimes overshadowed issues; old grudges which intruded into discussions of vital questions and made objective evaluations difficult. Nevertheless, this group was the power center of the organized Zionist movement. It had to be held together and made to function effectively—often against the wishes of some of its own members. Silver achieved this by a combination of reason and power. In political debate his arguments were usually irrefutable. But this alone would not have persuaded the opponents of his militant policy of exerting pressure on the Administration in Washington. His policy had to be backed by the force of public opinion. A mobilized mass movement, dedicated to the realization of his program, would not only be the chief factor in the main struggle for a Jewish State, but would prove vital on the internal front as well. It would enable him to push through his policies and frustrate those of his opponents who were bent on scuttling his program. In any case, his philosophy of Jewish life determined that the leader must seek and obtain his mandate from the people. This he did—and the masses of American Jewry, led by the Zionist rank and file, responded with unprecedented enthusiasm. It soon became clear to the British Foreign Office, the American State Department, and to the leaders of Zionism in the United States and abroad that the overwhelming majority of American Jews strongly supported Abba Hillel Silver.

The Emergency Council's program was carried out by a staff personally directed by Silver, and this was a main factor in its success—apart from the dedication of its members. Many observers of the American Jewish scene have said that never before or since was there a staff performance to approximate that of the Emergency Council team which functioned from late 1943 through 1948. It was not a very large group by present organizational standards, though the allegations of its anti-Zionist enemies created the flattering impression of a heavily financed army of propagandists. The anonymity of many of its most important members is a deficiency in the recorded history of Zionism which will, one day, be corrected. For example, the name of Harry L. Shapiro, the devoted and profoundly human

executive director of the Emergency Council, surely belongs in any record of Israel's emergence. The Silver method excluded any dichotomy between the leader and the professional executive. Key executives of the Emergency Council became his close and loyal friends and, when occasion required, fighters for his policies and program.

The history of the Palestine Resolution which was introduced in both Houses of Congress early in 1944 is an object lesson in political action within the American democracy. The sponsorship was impressive—in the Senate it was called the Wagner-Taft Resolution; in the House, the Wright-Compton Resolution. The primary purpose of the bipartisan measure was later explained by Silver in an address to the convention of the Zionist Organization of America: "If our cause was to be placed on the national and international agenda, if the attention of the American people and of the world was ever to be drawn forcibly to our problem on the eve of the effective date of the White Paper, and if the official silence in Washington was ever to be broken, the most effective, perhaps the only way in which it could be done, was by producing the discussion of our problem in the world's greatest forum of opinion—the Congress of the United States. What happens there is news, national and international. In fact, the very discussion of a problem before such a forum is a political event.

"Our investigation indicated beyond any reasonable doubt that sentiment among the members of Congress was highly favorable. Our nationwide poll, taken by our three hundred community contact groups all over the country before we introduced the resolutions, made it clear that when and if the resolutions came to a vote they would pass by very large majorities."

But the resolutions did not come to a vote. The Administration brought about a postponement of action through the intervention of the War Department, which argued for delay on military grounds. In response to the strong public resentment which this evoked, President Roosevelt, after a meeting with Dr. Silver and Dr. Stephen S. Wise, authorized the two Zionist leaders to issue a public statement in his name to the effect that "the American Government has never given its approval to the White Paper of 1939 . . . and that when future decisions are reached full justice will be done to those who seek a Jewish National Home."

Only later was it learned that immediately after the issuance of this and subsequent pro-Zionist pronouncements by the President of the United States, the State Department sent reassuring messages to Arab governments, advising them that there had actually been no change in American policy.

Silver refused to let the matter rest with Roosevelt's statement. He felt that the President's declaration should not be considered a substitute for Congressional action, but a powerful argument for speedy passage of the Palestine Resolution. He was, moreover, convinced that the "military" objections to the resolution would be withdrawn if sufficient public pressure was exerted on the Administration. The Emergency Council therefore held a great rally in New York's Madison Square Garden—the first of many huge mass demonstrations that would take place at critical moments of the struggle.

Silver then shifted the Zionist political front to Chicago, where the national conventions of the Republican and Democratic parties were to take place. Intensive efforts by the Zionist representatives at the conventions brought about the adoption of unequivocal Jewish Commonwealth planks in the platforms of both parties.

There is a widespread tendency to write off the platforms of our major parties as pronouncements dictated exclusively by expediency, designed solely for vote-catching purposes, and therefore not really binding on the winning party. If this cynical view has any validity, the fault lies chiefly with some of the best elements in American society. Their own attitude is what, in the end, determines the seriousness and the binding character of party declarations. If they choose to regard the platform of the party in power as a solemn commitment and insist on action to redeem the party's pledge, they may be astonished to find that platforms are highly meaningful. The author was one of those engaged in the effort to secure the 1944 pro-Zionist planks in Chicago and the 1948 pro-Israel planks in Philadelphia, and can assure the cynics that they were not lightly or easily adopted. Moreover, their subsequent significance on the highest political level was unquestionable—simply because the organized Zionist movement chose to view them as serious declarations of policy and proceeded accordingly.

The wisdom of Silver's policy of seeking support from both of the major parties (a political truism today, but an unsettling concept for some Zionist leaders during the Roosevelt era) was strongly illustrated when President Roosevelt was induced to affirm his support of the Palestine plank in the Democratic platform. His memorable message to the convention of the Zionist Organization of America in October, 1944, had been immediately preceded by the pro-Zionist declaration of the Republican candidate for the Presidency, Governor Thomas E. Dewey. The "military" objections to passage of the Palestine Resolution were removed in a letter from Secretary of War Stimson to Senator Robert A. Taft, co-sponsor of the measure, and it was

decided that the matter be reopened in Congress. Clearance was sought from President Roosevelt and Secretary of State Stettinius; but notwithstanding the Democratic Party's declaration and Roosevelt's own statement, the Administration opposed action. On December 11, 1944, Stettinius appeared personally before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee and argued against the Palestine Resolution in the name of the Administration. Such pressure from the Executive Branch made it impossible to pass the measure and it was tabled by a bare majority.

Within the American Zionist Emergency Council the situation was even more discouraging. When the Administration's opposition was encountered, a violent dispute developed. Those Zionist leaders who preferred to rely on Roosevelt's promise that he would, at some future date, support Zionist aspirations opposed further action which might prove embarrassing to the just-re-elected President or incur his hostility. Silver, on the other hand, felt that every effort should be made to induce the Administration to withdraw its opposition. Unfortunately, the proponents of these two views adopted separate and conflicting procedures in Washington. Thus, while Silver was pressing for a change in the Administration's attitude toward the resolution, other Zionist leaders were assuring public officials that they would not seek action against Roosevelt's wishes. The tabling of the resolution was, in these circumstances, inevitable, and Silver was forced to resign from leadership of the American Zionist Emergency Council.

The heated controversy in American Zionism which followed these developments proved to be an essential phase in the political education of the movement and of American Jewry. Silver's supporters sprang to the defense of his policies. Led by Neumann and organized by executives of the Emergency Council who had resigned in protest following Silver's removal from leadership, they formed the American Zionist Policy Committee which conducted a whirlwind campaign for the recall of Dr. Silver. In six months of debate between the "Silver activists" and the "Wise moderates" the central issue was crystallized: "The most effective representation (to leaders of government) in a democracy is through organized public opinion . . . Zionist leaders who cannot whole-heartedly join in such an effort, or who are too entangled in party politics to appraise situations objectively and to follow an independent Zionist line should step aside. We have nothing to lose now but our illusions. We have a new life to build for our people!" This was the essence of Silver's challenge.

It was taken up by the vast majority of American Zionists. After President Roosevelt's death and the disclosure of his secret corre-

spondence with King Ibn Saud, the demand for Silver's return to political leadership became ever more insistent. In July, 1945, he was recalled to head the American Zionist Emergency Council and shortly thereafter he was also elected President of the Zionist Organization of America.

The Palestine Resolution was reintroduced in Congress, with Dr. Neumann representing the Zionist position in Washington. Opposition on the part of the State Department under President Truman was no less vigorous than it had been under President Roosevelt. But this time the Zionist ranks could not be split. After a full debate in the Senate, the resolution was overwhelmingly adopted on December 19, 1945.

The lessons taught by Dr. Silver during this period were to be applied definitively during the next three years. The rank and file, if not all Zionist leaders, now understood that a Jewish State could not be won by appeals to vague humanitarianism and that the tragic plight of European Jewry was not, in itself, a persuasive argument for action by the world's leaders. The Zionist case had to be backed by political force—and the movement had come to realize that it was not without real political bargaining power. It had the increasingly strong and determined Yishuv in Palestine, and it had the growing support of American Jewry, the largest Jewish community in history. Now it had, too, the full endorsement of the Legislative Branch of the United States Government and the backing of millions of non-Jewish American citizens. It could no longer be put off or ignored and would henceforth address itself to the Executive Branch with greater confidence and far better results.

Silver's clashes with the Roosevelt Administration had led some of his opponents to attribute partisan political motives to his actions. In certain instances their own involvement in the affairs of the Democratic Party caused them to think in such partisan terms. Silver was a Republican, hence bent on embarrassing and defeating Democrats. For them it was as simple—and crude—as that. His friendship with his fellow-Ohioan, Senator Taft, was, moreover, proof that he was a "reactionary" to boot.

He never bothered to reply to these insinuations. He was disdainful of labels like "liberal" and "reactionary." In Ohio he had supported both Democrats and Republicans for high public office, always seeking the better man. In national affairs he had strongly supported the New Deal during Roosevelt's first two terms. He had opposed a third term for Roosevelt and had announced his support of Wendell Willkie (whom many liberals belatedly recognized as one of their own). He

had awakened Robert A. Taft's interest in the Zionist cause early in the latter's political career and had carefully nurtured the Senator's Zionist sympathies which, in the end, became a powerful factor in determining the course of American policy on Israel. As for his political views, he was quite content to let the record speak for itself. A review of that record—of the positions he has taken on both national and international issues—makes it clear that neither of our great political parties fully encompasses his political and social philosophy. If there were those who preferred to regard his program of political action as pro-Republican in purpose, he merely shrugged and went on with his work. His attitude proved advantageous to the Zionist cause during the Roosevelt and Truman Administrations, in view of their concern about the way in which "that Republican rabbi" might exploit the shortcomings of their Palestine policies.

Silver's initial assessment of President Truman was hopeful where Zionist aspirations were concerned. As a good Missourian the new President would "have to be shown." He would have to be convinced that American public opinion truly supported the establishment of a Jewish State, but once so convinced he would move forward. This analysis proved to be amazingly correct—though it was Silver's sometimes unpleasant duty to create the kind of public pressure which, while serving to persuade the President, also irritated him. Such a relationship may not cement personal friendships, but it can make for good politics, American style. In this instance, it helped to bring about the establishment of the State of Israel.

Silver was not similarly hopeful about the new Labor Government which had come to power in Britain at war's end. He urged restraint and a wait-and-see attitude on his Zionist colleagues, some of whom were prepared for dancing in the streets in view of the Labor Party's official position on Palestine—a policy declaration that was more "maximal" than the World Zionist program. The rude awakening was not long in coming. The White Paper policy was to be continued, and by one who would prove to be a bitter and vengeful foe—Ernest Bevin.

In August, 1945, President Truman sent his famous letter to Prime Minister Attlee requesting that 100,000 certificates be granted for the immigration of Jews into Palestine. The British Government countered with the suggestion that an Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry be set up to investigate the position of the Jews of Europe, as well as the situation in Palestine. Silver refused to cooperate with the Committee, correctly appraising it as a delaying device and an excuse for inaction.

The Anglo-American Committee completed its report at the end of April, 1946. Silver immediately initiated representations in Washington, and President Truman, in releasing the text of the report, issued a statement which drew an important distinction between the positive recommendation that 100,000 homeless Jews be transferred to Palestine *immediately*, and the long-term recommendations which were opposed to Zionist aspirations.

However, there was no action on the 100,000 certificates. Instead, a Cabinet Committee was appointed on June 11, 1946. The product of the discussions between the deputy members of this committee and a corresponding British group was the "Morrison-Grady Report," which was actually Foreign Secretary Bevin's favorite scheme for the federalization of Palestine. This plan would have put an end to the idea of an independent Jewish State. Silver called for the full mobilization of American Jewry against it and, under pressure of an aroused and indignant public opinion, President Truman was persuaded to reject it. Bevin's fury against the "New York Jews" and the rabbi who led them was echoed in large sections of the British press which sought, without success, to discredit Dr. Silver.

Meanwhile, a carefully designed trap was being laid. With their guns pointing at the heart of the Yishuv, the British were projecting a round-table conference with the Jews and the Arabs. It was reported that the British would be willing to entertain a proposal for the partition of Palestine if such a proposal were to emanate from the Jewish Agency. The Executive of the Jewish Agency, meeting in Paris in August, 1946, responded that "it is prepared to discuss a proposal for the establishment of a viable Jewish State in an adequate area of Palestine." Silver, who had not been present at the Paris meeting, denounced this action as an enormous tactical blunder, declaring: "If it is true that the present Government of Great Britain is unwilling to grant us statehood in even part of Palestine, and the record of the present British Government is very clear on this subject, what point is there in making one grand gesture of renunciation after another and in publicly proclaiming our readiness for supreme sacrifices when our gestures are disdained and our sacrifices are condemned?"

He demanded a reaffirmation of the Biltmore Program calling for the reconstitution of *all* of Palestine as a Jewish Commonwealth, adding: "When proposals will be made to us by governments, which we will find truly reasonable and which will meet our fundamental needs and satisfy our rational aspirations and our sense of justice, the whole movement will be prepared, I am sure, to give them every serious consideration. . . . Sound and just proposals are bound to be

made to us sooner or later if we do not lose our nerve and our perspective." He resigned from the Jewish Agency Executive, determined to bring about a decisive disavowal of its action at the World Zionist Congress.

The fateful Twenty-second World Zionist Congress—the first since the beginning of the war in 1939—opened at Basle, Switzerland, on December 9, 1946. It was to make one of the most momentous decisions in modern Jewish history. The underlying issue was clear from the very outset: would the Zionist movement persist in its efforts to achieve its goals through Great Britain, or would the Congress terminate a relationship which had become tragically unhappy and which foretold political disaster for the movement? The lines were drawn on the specific question of the London conference announced by the British Government for January, 1947, with the participation of representatives of the Arab states and of the Jewish Agency. Was the Jewish Agency to go to London in order to propose partition as its solution of the Palestine question, or would the Congress reaffirm the Biltmore Program?

Dr. Chaim Weizmann, President of the Jewish Agency and of the World Zionist Organization, was emphatically in favor of participation in the London conference on the basis of the partition proposal which the Jewish Agency Executive had put forward the preceding summer—and he made it clear that his future leadership of the World Zionist Organization depended on whether the Congress would support his stand. Dr. Silver was the chief spokesman against the course of action proposed by Dr. Weizmann. Declaring that it was bad tactics for Zionists to have proposed partition, he categorically opposed any proposal which would establish partition as the maximal Zionist position in international discussions of Palestine's future. He contended that this would inevitably result in the further whittling down of Jewish rights in order to arrive at a new compromise solution. Underlying his position was the confident expectation that a reasonable partition proposal would be offered to the Zionists (as indeed it was in 1947 by the United Nations Special Committee on Palestine) if only the movement would stand firm.

In the final vote, a winning bloc, extending from left to right, upheld Dr. Silver's position.

Another major issue at the Congress was the Jewish resistance movement in Palestine. On this question, too, there was a sharp difference between Weizmann and Silver. Weizmann deprecated physical resistance to the British regime in Palestine and deplored "the heroics of suicidal violence" on the part of Jewish youth. He urged instead

"the courage of endurance, the heroism of superhuman restraint." Silver, on the other hand, hailed the resistance movement as one of the chief factors in the creation of a Jewish State and pledged his help to it.

Soon after the Congress a frustrated British Government, in its meetings with Zionist leaders, revealed the plan for Palestine which it had hoped would emerge as a compromise between the White Paper policy and a Jewish Agency partition formula. The British solution turned out to be an inferior edition of the Morrison-Grady federalization plan. The soundness of the "Silver line" which the Congress had adopted was further demonstrated when Bevin, having been defeated in his attempts to impose a Palestine solution unilaterally, had no alternative but to announce that the British Government would refer the Palestine question to the United Nations—though some Zionists were alarmed by the British move. Many observers anticipated that the Jews would suffer a crushing defeat in the United Nations; not without reason, for the balance of forces did not, in the beginning, seem to favor the Zionist cause.

As head of the newly established American Section of the Jewish Agency, Dr. Silver was now charged with the enormous responsibility of directing the preparation and presentation of the Jewish case before the United Nations. He proved to be no less skilled in the arts of diplomacy than in the techniques of political action. He and his colleagues sought and won the understanding and, ultimately, the support of members of widely divergent blocs and groupings of nations.

Two years earlier he had boldly declared that the Zionist movement should seek support not only in Britain and the United States, but from the nations of the world generally—including the Soviet Union. This struck many as incredibly naïve, in view of the Soviet Union's consistent record of violent hostility to Zionism. Others applied stronger epithets to his proposal, though finding it difficult to reconcile "radical" with "reactionary." The appropriate word, of course, should have been "statesmanlike," as was shown when the Soviet Union—motivated by self-interest, to be sure—supported the establishment of a Jewish State in the United Nations debate.

Convinced that the results of the United Nations deliberations would depend largely on the position that would be taken by the United States, Silver once again mobilized American Jewry and the non-Jewish supporters of the Zionist cause. The case for a Jewish State became a burning issue throughout America.

On April 28, 1947, the United Nations General Assembly opened its first session on Palestine. After prolonged debate an invitation to

present its case was extended to the Jewish Agency. On May 8th a unique event took place. A spokesman of the Jewish people sat in a council chamber together with the official representatives of the nations of the world and formally voiced the demands of his people for national recognition and for the right to reestablish a national state in their ancestral home. It was a moment rich in drama and in historic significance. Dr. Silver's persuasive address, as well as his subsequent appearances before the United Nations, brought a new sense of pride and dignity to Jews the world over.

Silver's strategy proved to be decisive in the achievement of the United Nations Partition Resolution. During the last nerve-racking days of the General Assembly's session it was by no means certain that the necessary two-thirds majority would be obtained for the resolution. The outcome depended entirely on whether the United States would use its great influence with the nations which normally follow its lead and urge them to vote in favor of the plan. Some representatives of the State Department were not at all helpful. As the time for the vote approached, the issue was very much in doubt. A last-minute respite was afforded by the Thanksgiving holiday, and during those critical twenty-four hours the Jewish Agency delegation exerted the most strenuous efforts to avert defeat. Silver, Moshe Shertok (Sharett), Neumann, and all their colleagues of the Jewish Agency Executive were indefatigable, as were the members of the Jewish Agency staff, including Abba Eban, Eliahu Epstein (Elath), Moshe Toff, to name only a few. The cooperation of many other Jewish leaders and friends of the cause was quickly enlisted. The results of this concerted effort were discernible when the United States delegation warmly urged other nations to follow its lead in support of the partition plan. On November 29, 1947, by a vote of 33-13, the General Assembly gave international sanction to the establishment of a Jewish State.

In a moving description of that memorable day, Neumann writes: "One by one we left the hall and drifted into the lobby. We were all overcome by emotion. I glanced at Silver and saw what I had never seen before—he wept."

While a Jewish State had been voted by the United Nations, it was far from established. The British now devised a series of schemes to frustrate the will of the United Nations and upset its decision. By systematically disarming the Jews and arming the Arabs, they anticipated that the Jewish State would be unable to defend itself against the Arab onslaught and that, consequently, British forces would be in a position again to take over control in Palestine. In order to carry

out this plan the British Government had to ensure that the United Nations Security Council would do nothing to halt the Arabs' attacks or to implement the Partition Resolution. However, the British miscalculated two vital factors. They underestimated the determination of the Yishuv to stand firm even against the most discouraging odds, and they believed that, in cooperation with their friends in the United States Department of State, they would be able to win—and hold—American support.

For a time they were remarkably successful. A shocking reversal of United States policy took place on March 19, 1948. The American Government argued in favor of an international trusteeship over Palestine in place of partition. For almost two months the United States delegation worked to reverse the November 29th decision and to substitute its trusteeship plan. During this period Silver devoted himself chiefly to the activities of the American Zionist Emergency Council, which gave massive expression to public indignation over the Administration's reversal. On April 4, 1948, an estimated 50,000 Jewish war veterans paraded down New York's Fifth Avenue in protest against the State Department's betrayal, while 250,000 demonstrators denounced the Administration at a rally in Madison Square Park.

Silver and his colleagues conducted a simultaneous offensive in the United Nations against the United States trusteeship scheme. In the Security Council and in the Political Committee of the General Assembly he presented effective refutations of the arguments which had been employed to justify the United States proposal.

The Jewish Agency's representatives had succeeded in defeating every attempt of the British and American delegates to bring about a repudiation of the Partition Resolution. As the May 15th deadline for the proclamation of the Jewish State approached, representatives of the State Department tried a last-minute gambit to avert the proclamation. They sought to engage the Jewish Agency in a round-table conference and proposed a temporary trusteeship arrangement. They implied that this proposal was supported by the President and coupled the offer with threats of dire consequences if it were rejected. Some Jewish leaders—including men who were soon to become high dignitaries of the new Government of Israel and of the World Zionist Organization—were ensnared by this maneuver and were prepared to accept the State Department's plan. They had been persuaded that the alternative might be the physical destruction of the Yishuv. Silver, however, insisted that the sole purpose of the proposal was to postpone indefinitely the establishment of the Jewish State. He believed

that David Ben-Gurion was determined to proceed with the proclamation and, moreover, that only the Jews of Palestine could make the final decision, since it would have to be underwritten with their blood. All that he and his colleagues could do was to offer a political judgment, leaving the ultimate decision up to the *Yishuv*. At the same time, Silver felt, the action that would be taken by the American Section of the Jewish Agency could either fortify Ben-Gurion's position or weaken it. This was, therefore, the most crucial action ever to be taken by the American Section. Fortunately, a bare majority voted with Silver to inform Ben-Gurion that they had rejected the State Department's offer.

On May 14, 1948, the State of Israel was proclaimed, and the President of the United States announced *de facto* recognition—even as American delegates to the United Nations were still busily engaged in trying to block the establishment of the State.

On that day, too, Abba Hillel Silver, in the last of his appearances before the United Nations, said: "At ten o'clock this morning the Jewish State was proclaimed in Palestine. . . . Thus, there has been consummated the age-old dream of Israel to be reestablished as a free and independent people in its ancient homeland.

"The Jewish State is grateful to the United Nations for having placed the stamp of its approval, and the stamp of the approval of the world community, upon the historic claims of Israel, and for the efforts which it made in the face of opposition to achieve that which the Jewish people have accomplished. The Jewish State, in setting out upon its career, is conscious of the many grave problems, foreseen or unanticipated, which confront it. It prayerfully appeals, therefore, to all freedom-loving peoples, and especially to those who gave their fullest endorsement to the establishment of the Jewish State a few months ago, to give a full measure of their support and of their strengthening to this newest republic established by this, the most ancient of peoples. The Jewish State will strive to be worthy of the confidence which has been placed in it by the nations of the world, and will endeavor to realize, as far as it is humanly possible, those prophetic ideas of justice, brotherhood, peace and democracy which were first proclaimed by the people of Israel in that very land."

He had completed his greatest work.

The leaders of the new Government of Israel lost no time in showing their appreciation. There is irony—and, for the Zionist movement, tragedy—in the fact that almost immediately after he had achieved this triumph, Dr. Silver was compelled to resign from lead-

ership of the movement. The internal conflict which precipitated his resignation was presumably over the management of fund raising for Israel in the United States. It is now generally understood that this was a false issue, and that the real question was the negative attitude of Israel's leaders toward the post-State Zionist movement. Silver's philosophy of Zionism—all-encompassing in its view of Jewish history and the Jewish people in their entirety—could never be reconciled with Ben-Gurion's negation of all Zionist activity that is not Israel-centered or State-based.

Realizing that a prolonged controversy with the Government of Israel on the question of the funds could destroy the campaign of the United Jewish Appeal, which was indispensable for Israel's survival, Silver preferred to resign his chairmanship of the American Section of the Jewish Agency. The underlying issues of that conflict are, thirteen years later, still being debated. Validation of Silver's position has been amply provided, particularly by those Zionist leaders who had opposed and succeeded him in 1949, but who adopted his views when they were confronted by Ben-Gurion's unabated ideological warfare against the movement.

Silver's withdrawal from active Zionist leadership did not, of course, affect his profound commitment to Israel's growth and development. His frequent, though for the most part unpublicized, interventions in Washington at crucial moments of Israel's recent history; his distinguished services as Chairman of the Board of Governors of the Israel Bond organization, and especially his incisive analyses of major political developments—these have kept him at the center of affairs. For the masses of American Jewry he is the living symbol of their own greatest moment.

Once again he found time for scholarship and for writing. His *Where Judaism Differed* appeared in 1956. It is an extraordinary blending of painstaking research with a strong reaffirmation of Judaism's distinctiveness and of its rational character. Existentialist fad-dists or those interested in jet flights to salvation will derive no comfort from this book, but it has all the qualities of a permanent contribution to the literature on Judaism.

Moses and the Original Torah (1961) is a scholarly quest for the pure faith of Moses imbedded in the Pentateuch. Rabbi Silver finds the classic impulses of Judaism in that original Torah and in the moral revolution wrought by Moses, "throneless monarch of a spiritual kingdom."

That he himself has been motivated by these same impulses and by the prophetic tradition is manifestly clear from his life and work.

The public image of Dr. Silver differs considerably from the man. His overpowering personality on the platform, his forcefulness in debate, and his fighting spirit have obscured other qualities. The first word that comes to mind is simplicity—a directness of approach, a quick arrival at the heart of the matter—a quality which one tends to associate with great artists. With friends he is hearty and warm. His enjoyment of life is huge and without ambivalence.

Abba Hillel Silver, Jewish statesman, taught a generation and trained it for the privilege of experiencing Israel's rebirth. He poured his gifts—his very soul—into this generation, and it became strong and proud. He has ennobled his time.

