



Abba Hillel Silver Collection Digitization Project

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Series II: Harold P. Manson File (Zionism Files), 1940-1949, undated.

Sub-series A: Main Manson File, 1940-1949.

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American Zionist Policy Committee, Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
Testimonial Dinner, 1943, 1945.

file

ABBA HILLEL SILVER AT FIFTY

SOLOMON B. FREEHOF

(From the Congress Weekly, January 15, 1943)

A dominant personality in Jewish affairs for over a quarter of a century, Dr. Abba Hillel Silver has only reached the age of fifty. His birthday will be celebrated in Cleveland next week and by friends elsewhere. Rabbi Freehof, noted scholar and spiritual leader, who has watched Dr. Silver's development from the time they went to school together, here provides a portrait of this distinguished Jewish leader.

They must have aged more quickly in Ancient Palestine. The Mishna describes the ages of man as: "thirty for vigor, forty for understanding, fifty for counsel." They evidently visualized a man of fifty as having used up most of his energy, as having become philosophical, and now useful chiefly in giving counsel to a younger and more energetic generation. This description may still be true of most men, but it is certainly not yet true of Abba Hillel Silver. While he has a wealth of understanding and, indeed, had it at forty, his courage and his ability to work are at full tide. He is not yet ready at fifty, not yet by a long stretch of time, merely to sit back and give advice to a younger generation of leaders.

It is, in fact, difficult to think of Abba Hillel Silver as being fifty, even though in modern times fifty is still considered young. He gives the impression of youth. His method of work, his reaction to problems, his fighting spirit all are young. It is not merely my own impression, the impression of a classmate and a contemporary who himself likes to feel young, but it is the impression which he gives to all who meet him. His impact upon American Jewish life is the impact of youth.

He entered public life as a brilliant young man and that youthful brilliance has remained with him as a blessed endowment. His type of oratory was that of a talented youth. It was heroic in concept, powerful in dynamic sweep and lavishly, warmly emotional. He had from the beginning that grand characteristic of young

men at their best, the ability to take a situation deeply to heart, to be aroused emotionally, and to convey that warm-hearted concern to an intently listening audience. I thought as I listened to him years ago and was carried away by the flood of his emotion, that this vast tempestuousness could not possibly endure. It would inevitably slow down. But it has not slowed down. He still has the capacity in full measure of arousing himself and stirring his audience. The years have subtracted nothing; they have only added understanding, knowledge and depth. He is still the heart-warming young speaker and so, we hope, he will remain for many, many years.

Abba Hillel Silver has influenced American life in many ways. He has been a leader of thought in American education, pointing out the road of social idealism and intellectual progress to a whole generation of public school teachers. His magnificent addresses at the various state conventions of public and high school teachers all over the country have left a lasting impression upon his hearers and have undoubtedly had their effect upon the course of American education.

He is best known in Jewish life as a leader in the Zionist movement. His Zionist achievements have been unique. Brought up from childhood in a Zionist atmosphere, his love for Palestine, for modern Hebrew literature, is part of his very personality. He did not adopt Zionism; he grew up in it. He helped build an appreciation of Zionism and Hebrew culture among his colleagues in the reform rabbinate. He helped integrate Zionism into American life. This was perhaps his greatest achievement and one that will be appreciated more and more as the years go by. He was in a unique position to do this. As rabbi of an old-time midwest reform congregation, he learned to appreciate and love the American Jew of western European origin who formed the backbone of the historic reform

congregations of America. He understood them as human beings with a definite point of view, with a definite emotional reaction to their American environment. Understanding them, he knew better than anyone before him how to bring the cause of Zionism to the average American Jew. That is why he was so outstandingly successful with the United Palestine Appeal, helping to blend it into a United Jewish Appeal and to teach more Jews in America than ever before to participate in the upbuilding of Palestine.

In all his activities Abba Hillel Silver is Rabbi Silver. His rabbinate is not merely his profession or the convenient opportunity of a platform from which he can advocate matters that some might consider of greater import. To him his rabbinate is his life. It is as a rabbi that he can best be understood. He possesses the classic characteristics of a rabbi to a noble and unique degree.

By definition a rabbi is a scholar. His very title, which means teacher, and the long tradition which has created his profession, requires of him the knowledge and the understanding of one of the most extensive and multifarious literatures in the world of human culture. This professional standard has unfortunately become somewhat theoretical. A rabbi in the present disorganized state of the world and, in fact, for a generation or two in the disorganized state of immigrant Jewish life, is so busy a man and has so many outer duties which drag him away from his books that the knowledge with which he was provided when he entered the rabbinate and which was meant indeed to be only a beginning of his intellectual self-development, generally becomes all the classic Jewish knowledge which he possesses and even that modicum tends to dry up and evaporate from neglect and disuse. So it is noteworthy that Rabbi Silver, in spite of the fact that his activities involve constant travel all over the country, innumerable private negotiations with representatives of various groups and public meetings, although he is busier than most of his colleagues, has nevertheless managed not only to maintain his Jewish learning but constantly to extend it in many fields.

He is at home in traditional and modern Hebrew literature to say nothing of the wide fields of general human culture. He is well aware of the urgent importance of the tasks which take him away from his books but by determined effort he has always managed to return to them. He has never permitted the "life of the hour" to destroy the "life of eternity," the life of culture and learning; or to use his own phrase, he never permitted "the timely" to erase "the timeless."

It is to be presumed that every rabbi is a religious man. He is the protagonist of a religious philosophy which must be not only his reasoned conviction but his normal life. There are, however, degrees of religiosity and various attitudes to religion. Rabbi Silver's religion, though he is a man of great energy, is not primarily activist but mystic. His sense of the in-dwelling of God, his awareness of the Divine Presence in the inner as well as in the outer world, is a permanent reality and a vivid awareness. This warm mysticism breathes through his public speech and finds reflection in the favorite subject of his scholarship. His writings on Messianism and mysticism reveal not only the historian's learning but the mystic's fellow feeling. He understands not only what books and what ideas were expressed by the writers whom he studies, but he appreciates why they felt as they did and what emotions moved them.

Every sensitive Rabbi is occasionally discouraged. He is depressed by the limitations forced upon him by the very state of present-day Jewish culture. Rabbis and preachers three or four generations ago spoke to people of Jewish knowledge. The average man read at least the Bible and perhaps a commentary regularly every week of his life. He had listened to the words of Moses, of Isaiah, Jeremiah and Rashi during the week. He came to the synagogue already as a product of Jewish culture and the rabbi or preacher added or amplified or heightened the knowledge which the auditor already possessed. The modern rabbi

every now and then is shocked by the awareness that he is speaking to people of almost no historic Jewish knowledge at all. That is as true in New York as in Cleveland, in orthodoxy as in reform, in Europe as in America. People who sometimes complain of the inadequacy of the rabbinate should remember the tragic inadequacy of the modern Jewish audience. The rabbi, particularly, if he tries to embody and voice the historic Jewish culture, often feels that he has very little Jewish companionship and that he is a voice calling in the wilderness.

This culture-solitude explains one of the interesting characteristics of Rabbi Silver, his staunch, almost stern insistence upon the status and the dignity of the rabbinical office. He has a deep sense of respect for his profession and insists upon maintaining it. He never permitted himself the over-easy Rotarian jollity which tends to lower the learned to the level of the unlearned. He has never permitted the purse-proud to confuse their knowledge of the stock market with a right to pass judgment on Jewish culture and idealism. He has done much to enhance the dignity and status of the office of the rabbi in the chaotic disorder of the American scene.

Public speech is an art and Rabbi Silver is an artist. All that he thinks and feels can be judged from his public utterance. That is his mode of expression. His profound Jewish knowledge, which reveals itself in his original and creative use of classic phrases, his wide world-view revealing the problems of the Jews and humanity in large perspective, the dynamic energy which sweeps his thoughts forward in a torrent of feeling, manifest the youthfulness which he has brought with him unimpaired to the age of fifty and which we pray will go on at least to the age which the rabbis describe as "eighty for power."

The Temple

EAST 105TH STREET AT ANSEL ROAD

TELEPHONES GARFIELD 0150-0151

Cleveland

WILLIAM M. KRAMER
ASSISTANT RABBI

ABBA HILLEL SILVER, D. D.
RABBI

HARRY A. LEVY
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

January 26, 1945

Mr. Emanuel Neumann
749 West End Avenue
New York, N.Y.

My dear Emanuel:

I am enclosing herewith a preliminary list of people who should be asked to be sponsors at the March 21st dinner. There are other names which should be added, which you, Shapiro, Manson and Tuvim may think of. I will send in some additional names myself. The invitations to these people should be sent out pretty soon. Their names can then be used on a letterhead.

Please ask Mr. Shapiro to check over the addresses. They may not all be correct. Most of them are correct, I believe.

Have you given some thought to charging only \$10 per plate and not counting on the income of the banquet to meet our financial needs? The fifteen thousand dollars or so which might be raised could well be obtained from a small group of people. There would be some who would hesitate to come to a testimonial meeting when they know that the profits would be used to fight the ZOA Administration. Conceivably the ZOA gang would give wide publicity to the fact that the purpose of the meeting is not a testimonial to Dr. Silver but to raise money to finance a campaign against the ZOA. It might be better from a public relations point of view to have the meeting on the 21st as a straight testimonial affair. Think this over and talk it over with Shapiro and our other friends.

After you have discussed it with them, call me on the telephone.

With all good wishes, I remain

Very cordially yours,

Abba
K

AHS:BK
Enc.

ARB

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver Testimonial Dinner Committee

Suite 704 - 55 W. 42nd St., New York 18, N. Y.

Telephone Lackawanna 4-7319

PROF. WILLIAM F. ALBRIGHT
HON. M. MALDWIN FERTIG
RABBI WOLF GOLD
HON. NATHANIEL L. GOLDSTEIN
JUDGE EMANUEL GREENBERG
PROF. HORACE M. KALLEN
PROF. MORDECAI M. KAPLAN
EMANUEL NEUMANN
DAVID PINSKI
HON. CARL SHERMAN
CHARLES J. ROSENBLUM
JUSTICE MEIER STEINBRINK
PIERRE van PAASSEN
Co-chairmen
ABRAHAM GOODMAN
Secretary
MARK SUGARMAN
Treasurer
(Committee in formation)

February 19, 1945

On behalf of my associates and myself, I am writing to invite you to serve as one of the sponsors of the testimonial dinner which we are tendering to Dr. Abba Hillel Silver, on March 21st, at the Hotel Commodore, New York.

We are organizing this dinner as a tribute to one of the most illustrious figures in Jewish life and a distinguished American who has devoted his life to public service. His fruitful years in the ministry, his effective championship of public causes and his brilliant leadership in the Zionist movement have richly merited this tribute. We are confident that you will gladly associate yourself with it by lending your name as a sponsor.

We would appreciate the receipt of the enclosed card bearing your signature.

Very sincerely yours,

Emanuel Neumann

Emanuel Neumann

EN:jg
Enc.

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver Testimonial Dinner Committee

Suite 704 - 55 W. 42nd St., New York 18, N. Y.

Telephone Lackawanna 4-7319

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CHARLES J. ROSENBLOOM
JUSTICE MEIER STEINBRINK
PIERRE van PAASSEN

Co-chairmen

ABRAHAM GOODMAN

Secretary

MARK SUGARMAN

Treasurer

(Committee in formation)

February 23, 1945

Several days ago we sent you a formal invitation to the testimonial dinner in honor of Dr. Abba Hillel Silver, which will be held on Wednesday evening, March 21st, in the Grand Ballroom of the Hotel Commodore. We hope that you are planning to participate in this testimonial to one of Jewry's great leaders.

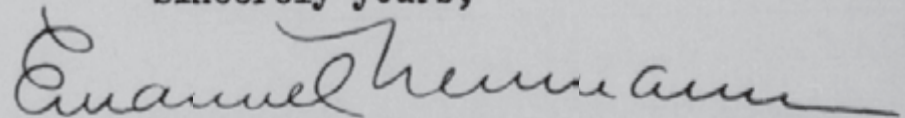
The makeup of the sponsoring committee, which is still in the process of formation, already indicates that it will be representative of the civic, religious and cultural life of America. Leaders in all walks of life, both Jewish and non-Jewish, are joining to pay tribute to Dr. Silver's great achievements over many years of devoted and unsurpassed service to his people and to American life generally. This testimonial will reflect the admiration, respect and affection in which Dr. Silver is held, not only by our country's outstanding personalities, but also by the great masses of American Jews whom he has led so brilliantly.

A fine program is being arranged for the evening of March 21st, the participants including leaders in various fields which touch upon Dr. Silver's manifold activities. We can promise you a very stimulating evening.

Seating will be arranged in the order in which reservations are made, and inasmuch as a large audience is expected, we suggest that you send in your reservation at the earliest possible date. Tickets are ten dollars each; checks should be made payable to Mr. Mark Sugarman, Treasurer, and mailed to the above address.

We look forward to the receipt of your reservations.

Sincerely yours,



EN/MNY

Emanuel Neumann
Co-Chairman

PLEASE NOTE: THERE WILL BE NO SOLICITATION OF FUNDS AT THE DINNER

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver Testimonial Dinner Committee

Suite 704 - 55 W. 42nd St., New York 18, N. Y.

Telephone Lackawanna 4-7319

PROF. WILLIAM F. ALBRIGHT
HON. M. MALDWIN FERTIG
RABBI WOLF GOLD
HON. NATHANIEL L. GOLDSTEIN
JUDGE EMANUEL GREENBERG
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JUSTICE MEIER STEINBRINK
PIERRE van PAASSEN
Co-chairmen
ABRAHAM GOODMAN
Secretary
MARK SUGARMAN
Treasurer
(Committee in formation)

February 27, 1945

You will be pleased to learn that Dr. Abba Hillel Silver plans to be in New York next Monday and will be glad to meet and take counsel with a limited number of our friends and co-workers from all sections of the metropolitan area.

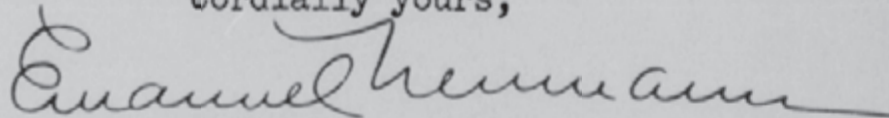
Such a meeting is therefore being arranged for Monday evening, March 5th, at 8:15 at the Hotel Commodore, in the West Ballroom. Participation in the meeting will be limited to persons who are invited.

Will you please consider this a personal invitation which is not transferrable and present this letter on your arrival.

I hope you can be with us and join in our deliberations. We are counting upon your attendance. If you cannot be with us, please telephone Lackawanna 4-7321.

Looking forward to the pleasure of meeting you next Monday, I remain,

Cordially yours,



Emanuel Neumann

EN/M

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver Testimonial Dinner Committee

Suite 704 - 55 W. 42nd St., New York 18, N. Y.

Telephone Lackawanna 4-7319

March 8, 1945

PROF. WILLIAM F. ALBRIGHT
HON. M. MALDWIN FERTIG
RABBI WOLF GOLD
HON. NATHANIEL L. GOLDSTEIN
JUDGE EMANUEL GREENBERG
PROF. HORACE M. KALLEN
PROF. MORDECAI M. KAPLAN
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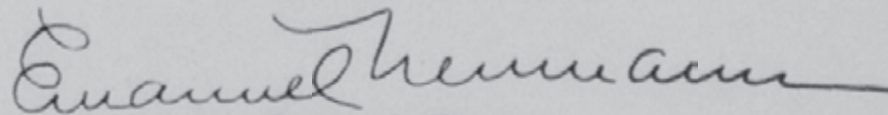
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We look forward to the receipt of your reservations.

Sincerely yours,



Emanuel Neumann
Co-Chairman

EN/MNY

PLEASE NOTE: THERE WILL BE NO SOLICITATION OF FUNDS AT THE DINNER

The Temple

EAST 105TH STREET AT ANSEL ROAD

TELEPHONES GARFIELD 0150-0151

Cleveland

WILLIAM M. KRAMER
ASSISTANT RABBI

ABBA HILLEL SILVER, D. D.
RABBI

HARRY A. LEVY
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

March 9, 1945

Mr. Harold Manson
55 West 42nd St.
New York 18, N.Y.

My dear Manson:

You will recall that I advised the issuing of our statements direct to the Anglo-Jewish press instead of through the news services. The enclosed clipping of the "Jewish News" of Detroit is an indication of what the news services do to our releases.

With all good wishes, I remain

Very cordially yours,

Abba Hillel Silver

AHS:BK
Enc.

P.S. I am sure that you will make proper arrangements for coverage of the March 21st meeting in the New York City press. You might wish to contact the representatives of the Cleveland papers in New York and arrange for coverage of the meeting in The Cleveland Plain Dealer, The Cleveland Press and the Cleveland News.

I have asked Senator Taft to send me the advanced copy of his address which I will forward to you as soon as I get it. I have asked none of the other speakers for theirs. You will, I am sure, take care of that.

file

done

The Temple

EAST 105TH STREET AT ANSEL ROAD

TELEPHONES GARFIELD 0150-0151

Cleveland

WILLIAM M. KRAMER
ASSISTANT RABBI

ABBA HILLEL SILVER, D. D.
RABBI

HARRY A. LEVY
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

March 12, 1945

Mr. Harold Manson
American Zionist Policy Committee
55 West 42nd St.
New York 18, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Manson:

What final disposition has been made of Mr. Lowenthal's article?

I should like to see a copy of Rabbi Steinberg's sermon of last Friday? Did any reports of it appear in the press? Are you distributing that article to the Anglo-Jewish press?

In connection with our March 21 meeting, I believe that a few editorials in the New York English press -- Post, PM, The Nation, etc. would be appropriate if they can be had.

With all good wishes, I remain

Most cordially yours,

Abba Hillel Silver

AHS:BK

March 15, 1945

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

Dear Dr. Silver:

Following is a report on my activities with the press in connection with the Testimonial Dinner:

Two preliminary announcements have already been carried by the Yiddish and Anglo-Jewish press. Another release, highlighting the complete list of honorary sponsors, goes out tomorrow *to all papers, including the general press.*

Material for feature stories and editorials has been sent to all the Anglo-Jewish wire services, and I have been assured by both Mr. Teller (I.J.P.S.) and Mr. Ziprin (Seven Arts Features) that their next bulletins will carry editorials incorporating the information supplied by me. These editorials, which will be sent to a major portion of the Anglo-Jewish press, will deal not only with your Zionist activity, but with your various activities as a champion of labor and social progress as well.

A translation of the material ^{noted} ~~in~~ above will be sent to the Yiddish press tomorrow. In addition, I am urging our friends on the Yiddish newspapers to write special articles during the coming week.

I have spoken to friends on P M about a "Hats Off" column devoted to you and believe that, barring unforeseen developments, such a column, together with your picture, will appear early next week.

There will be an exceptionally large press representation at the Dinner and we have reason to hope that the occasion will attract widespread and favorable attention in the general press, as well as in the Yiddish newspapers. Of course, the real groundwork must be laid within the next few days.

I received a copy of Milton Steinberg's sermon from Emanuel Neumann. Unfortunately, however, we have not been able to put it in the works. Our small and considerably overworked office staff has been working feverishly on matters connected with the dinner. The pamphlet will be sent to the printer tomorrow, and a copy of the typewritten draft will go forward to you then.

March 15, 1945

Marvin Lowenthal's superb article was sent to the Independent Jewish Press Service today. Teller has promised to play it up nicely, and simultaneously with its appearance in his bulletin, we will wire the important Anglo-Jewish papers and call their attention to the piece. Following its publication in the Anglo-Jewish Press, it will reappear in the form of a pamphlet issued by us. The printer will begin to set up type for the pamphlet tomorrow.

Incidentally, Milton Steinberg's sermon was not covered by the press at his own request. Neumann told me that Steinberg had decided against giving his remarks publicity for a bit. However, in announcing the publication of Steinberg's pamphlet, I expect to issue a press release covering the major points made in the sermon. Of course, the full text of the sermon will be distributed to the Anglo-Jewish and Yiddish press.

With kindest regards, I am

Cordially yours,

HFM:ab



Harold P. Hanson



Dr. Abba Hillel Silver Testimonial Dinner Committee

Suite 704 - 55 W. 42nd St., New York 18, N. Y.

Telephone Lackawanna 4-7319

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Secretary

ABRAHAM GOODMAN

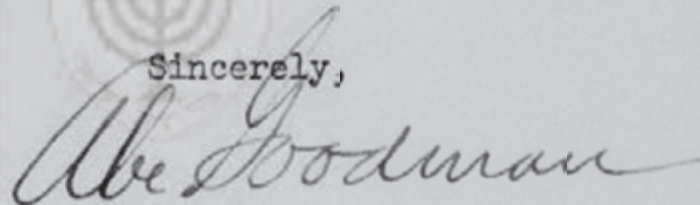
Treasurer

MARK SUGARMAN

March 15, 1945

We are pleased to invite you to attend a reception to Dr. Abba Hillel Silver which will be given at the Hotel Commodore, in the West Ballroom at 6 P.M. on Wednesday Evening, March 21st. The Dinner in honor of Dr. Silver will take place immediately following the reception.

Sincerely,



Abe Goodman
Secretary

AG:ny

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A WELL-DESERVED TRIBUTE

Approved in
Jewish Day
3/1/45

On Wednesday evening, March 21st, the Jews of New York, together with leaders from all walks of life, will honor the most effective spokesman for the Jewish people in America, our beloved Dr. Abba Hillel Silver. No one has earned such a tribute better than Dr. Silver, whose brilliant mind, powerful personality and dynamic leadership have made an indelible impression on American Jewish life and American life generally.

Throughout his eventful career Dr. Silver has championed the rights of organized labor ^{ever} at a time when such efforts resulted in bitter opposition; he has been a pioneer in the fields of Unemployment Insurance and modern education. His achievements in the Rabbinate have been unprecedented, and from his pulpit in Cleveland's Temple have come some of the most stirring words of our time.

But it is as a Zionist leader that Dr. Silver has made his greatest and most lasting contributions. As a result of his heroic efforts, millions of enthusiastic friends were won for the Zionist cause. He placed Zionism on the agenda of American public opinion, where it belongs.

In this tragic hour, when our people's needs are so great and the importance of vigorous leadership is so overwhelming, the Jews of America will continue to look to Dr. Abba Hillel Silver.

John W. McCormack
12th Dist. Massachusetts

Eugene T. Kinnally
Secretary

OFFICE OF THE MAJORITY LEADER
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, U. S.
WASHINGTON, D. C.

March 20, 1945

Mr. Elihu D. Stone
44 School Street
Boston 8, Massachusetts

Dear Elihu:

Please convey on my behalf the following message to the gathering at the testimonial dinner in honor of Rabbi Silver:

"I deeply regret that official business in Washington makes it impossible for me to attend personally the Testimonial Dinner to Dr. Abba Hillel Silver on March 21, 1945 in New York.

Indeed, I will be at the Dinner in spirit.

I deem it a privilege to have been included among the sponsors of this deserved tribute to a great Jewish religious and civic leader who has consecrated his life to the service of his people and his God and who is also a Great American.

I recall with satisfaction the many occasions during which I had the pleasure of meeting Dr. Silver personally relative to the problem of the homelessness of the Jewish people and the rebuilding of Palestine as a free and democratic Jewish Commonwealth.

I am persuaded that a new and better world is coming onto being--a world of which our great President, Franklin D. Roosevelt, is and will be one of the architects, and in which our American principles of democracy, equality and liberty for all people regardless of race or creed, will find practical application.

It is my hope and prayer that at long last there will be an end to the sufferings of humanity, the ravages of warfare and the agonies of Israel. Palestine--the Jewish National Home--will indeed become the national home of the Jewish people, to which the Jewish people may go freely as a matter of right. I have a vision of Palestine being constituted by the nations of the world as the third Jewish Commonwealth.

When these happy events shall come to pass, the guest of honor, Dr. Abba Hillel Silver, as the eloquent voice of Zion and the leader of his people, shall have a great share in them.

It is in this spirit of hope and faith that I salute a distinguished American and an illustrious son of Israel, Dr. Abba Hillel Silver, and

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wish him many years of happiness and fruitful service.

With kind personal regards, I am,

Sincerely yours,

(Signed) John W. McCormack

MAJORITY LEADER



March 17, 1945



Dear Emanuel:

The above is a message from Congressman McCormack which he sent to me, as his tribute to Dr. Silver.

I expect to attend both the meeting on the 20th and the dinner on the 21st. I will bring the original with me.

Regards,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to be 'Emanuel', followed by a long horizontal flourish.

Program

Testimonial Dinner to

DR. ABBA HILLEL SILVER

GRAND BALLROOM, HOTEL COMMODORE
NEW YORK CITY

MARCH 21, 1945

Program

National Anthem

Hatikvah

CANTOR AARON CAPLOW

Invocation

RABBI LEON I. FEUER

DR. EMANUEL NEUMANN, *Chairman*

HON ALBEN W. BARKLEY

DR. REINHOLD NIEBUHR

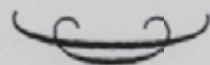
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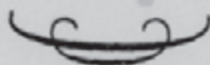
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ABBA HILLEL SILVER TESTIMONIAL DINNER COMMITTEE
~~████████~~ SUITE 704
55 WEST 42nd STREET
NEW YORK CITY
~~████████~~ TEL. LA 4-7319

100
11:30 AM
WED.

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

MESSAGES

Following ~~████████~~ are some of the messages sent to the Testimonial Dinner in honor of Dr. Abba Hillel Silver, at the Hotel Commodore, New York City, March 21st, 1945:

"I am very glad to join Dr. Abba Hillel Silver's many friends in the tribute which will be paid to him at the Testimonial Dinner on March 21st. For many years Dr. Silver has devoted himself wholeheartedly to the welfare of his people. His fearless and eloquent championship of the establishment of a Jewish Homeland in Palestine and his untiring labors in behalf of the ideals to which he has dedicated himself have won for him the esteem and respect of all who have concerned themselves with the problems of the Jewish people."

Senator Robert F. Wagner (D., N.Y.)

"For over three decades Dr. Silver has been one of the most dynamic forces in the American Rabbinate, one of the most outspoken, liberal fighters within American clergy. He has been an impassioned advocate of social justice, brotherhood and equality in the spirit of the finest American traditions."

"As a Jew and an American, he has staunchly fought for the rehabilitation of the homeless Jewish people and his influence has been felt around the world in the cause of Palestine.

"A constant and brilliant student of Biblical teachings, Dr. Silver is outstanding in the splendid galaxy of American Rabbis. His utterances, verbal and in writing, have always reflected his great heart and his love of his fellowman. His whole life has been distinguished by a moral fervor which has given him the courage to speak out, whether in the majority or in the minority."

Governor Thomas E. Dewey (~~Gov. Dewey~~)

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"It is my hope and prayer that at long last there will be an end to the sufferings of humanity, the ravages of warfare and the agonies of Israel. Palestine-- the Jewish National Home-- will indeed become the national home of the Jewish people, to which the Jewish people may go freely as a matter of right. I have a vision of Palestine being constituted by the nations of the world as the third Jewish Commonwealth.

"When these happy events shall come to pass, the guest of honor, Dr. Abba Hillel Silver, as the eloquent voice of Zion and ^{the} leader of his people, shall have a great share in them.

"It is in this spirit of hope and faith that I salute a distinguished American and an illustrious son of Israel, Dr. Abba Hillel Silver, and wish him many years of happiness and fruitful service."

Representative John W. McCormack (D., Mass.),
House Majority Leader.

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"Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver, as he is best known to us in Cleveland, is in our minds one of the great prophets and leaders of our time. He has won a place in the

hearts of the people of his generation, and his influence will long be felt and appreciated.

"Rabbi Silver has given his life to the service of God and man in a way which not only has been of tremendous direct value but of infinite value as an example to others. It is a privilege to join in honoring him, and if by doing so we can help to impress his personality upon others we shall ourselves have done a constructive service."

Senator Harold H. Burton (R., Ohio)

"Out of a long association in a variety of good works I am happy to add my testimonial to the public service of Dr. Silver whose name should be written in letters of gold on the pageant of America."

Senator Owen Brewster (R., Maine.)

"Dr. Abba Hillel Silver can hardly be praised enough for his magnificent contributions to Jewish life. His scholarly attainment, so clearly manifested in his fine book on Messianic currents in Jewish history and in other writings, stamp him as a scholar who can recreate the past into a pattern for modern inspiration. His outstanding leadership in his own pulpit and nationally has been an inspiration to younger colleagues and a source of strength for progressive Judaism in America. As for his contributions to the future of world Jewry, the record of day-by-day history tells the story. We do not often find a leader in whom profound culture, a deep religious mood, and great public responsibility and courage are so magnificently combined."

Rabbi Solomon B. Freehof,
President, Central Conference of American Rabbis.

"In February 1944, I heard Rabbi Silver speak before the Committee of Foreign Affairs on Capitol Hill. It was a great event for me to hear and to see such a rare combination of wisdom, love, and oratoric talent. If I had to choose a leader for the Jews in America, I would choose Abba Hillel Silver."

Emil Ludwig

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"Dr. Silver's distinguished leadership has been an inspiration to the religious forces of the nation. He has revealed both courage and understanding, and has never forgotten the equally important factor of sympathy. In these hours in which we seek to build a new world, the moral principles he has enunciated are the essential foundation upon which such a structure may be reared. Christians everywhere, I am sure, will join me in this brief word of tribute and gratitude."

President, ~~Federal~~ ^{the} Council of Churches of Christ ^{G. Bromley Oxnam} in America

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"Although this tribute is a gesture embodying sincere respect and friendship, I doubt whether even it can be more than a feeble symbol of the good esteem in which Dr. Silver is held by all men of good will. He has been a distinguished spokesman for a great spiritual tradition and also a citizen concerned with the realities of our sorely troubled time. Personally, I have long since admired his integrity and his ability, and so I hope you will permit me to add these few words to the other messages which will mark the occasion."

George N. Shuster, President, Hunter College.

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"Dr. Silver is not only a distinguished and useful leader of the Jewish people in America and throughout the world, he is also one of this generation's greatest American citizens of any faith or of any racial inheritance. I admire him greatly and prize his friendship."

*Dr. Daniel L. Marsh, President, Boston University, and Executive
Chairman of the American Palestine Committee.*

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file

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTES ON DR. ABBA HILLEL SILVER, ~~WHO WILL BE~~
~~HONORED WITH A TESTIMONIAL DINNER ON WEDNESDAY EVENING,~~
~~MARCH 21st IN THE GRAND BALLROOM OF THE HOTEL COMMODORE,~~
NEW YORK CITY

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver has been preeminent as a leader of American Jewry for many years and has made lasting contributions to American thought and public welfare. He is generally regarded as one of the foremost scholars of our time and as the most effective spokesman for the Jewish People in America.

An outstanding figure in the American Rabbinate, Dr. Silver has always been in the forefront of American Jewish efforts to rebuild Palestine and to reconstitute that country as a free and democratic Jewish Commonwealth.

Dr. Silver was graduated from the University of Cincinnati in 1915 and the same year was ordained by the Hebrew Union College at Cincinnati. Since 1917 he has been spiritual leader of The Temple in Cleveland, Ohio, and has made of this institution one of America's foremost Jewish congregations.

He earned an exceptional record during the First World War when, at the request of the American and French Governments, he served in France. At the conclusion of the war, he was decorated by the French Government.

Dr. Silver served as National Chairman of the United Palestine Appeal, the central American instrument for the rebuilding of Palestine, for seven years. His vigorous and dynamic leadership of the American Zionist Emergency Council during the years 1943 and 1944 is generally regarded as his most notable accomplishment.

Dr. Silver has been a leader in the fight for the rights of the common man throughout his long and eventful career. He has been a continuous champion of organized labor, even at a time when such efforts resulted in bitter opposition and criticism. Scores of labor unions have, over a period of a quarter of a century, expressed their appreciation and affection to Dr. Silver for the stand which he has taken in defense of the basic rights of labor.

Dr. Silver was a pioneer in the field of Unemployment Insurance, and has been called The Father of Unemployment Insurance in Ohio. It was he who urged a system of Unemployment Insurance for the United States before the economic depression set in. He organized a committee in Cleveland, which for a year met in his Temple, studied the subject and finally drafted the first Unemployment Insurance Bill which was introduced in the Ohio State Legislature in 1931 and which became a model for similar measures.

Dr. Silver's frequent addresses before the National Conference of Social Work are regarded as classics in the interpretation of economic trends and in the formulation of social measures to correct abuses. In his preaching Dr. Silver has always emphasized the application of basic religious convictions of justice to the economic conditions of our day.

Dr. Silver has influenced American life in many other ways. He has been a leader in American education, pointing out the road of social idealism and intellectual progress to a whole generation of school teachers.

But Dr. Silver's greatest contributions have been as a leader of the Zionist movement. His Zionist achievements have been truly unique. Apart from his great accomplishments as National Chairman of the United Palestine Appeal, he was responsible for the vast program of education and mass effort in behalf of the Zionist cause which was conducted over the past year and a half. As Executive Chairman of the American Zionist Emergency Council he won millions of enthusiastic friends for the Zionist movement throughout the length and breadth of America. He achieved unprecedented support for Zionism from leaders in all walks of life and from various branches of our Government.

file

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Abba Hillel File

Dinner

Emanuel Neumann's Address at Silver Testimonial

We are gathered tonight to give expression to our esteem and our affection for one of the great personalities of our generation, a man whom Israel delights to honor. Yet this is no ordinary occasion. It is not another of the numerous testimonial dinners which punctuate our calendar with increasing frequency and growing profusion. The times are too serious; the plight of our people too tragic for us to indulge in mere festivity, in the exchange of conventional felicitations and an outpouring of encomiums, however richly deserved.

This dinner derives its special significance from the very circumstances in which it is held. It is not just a celebration. Alas, we Jews have so little to celebrate these days. Rather it is a meeting between a leader and those who look to him for guidance - in an hour big with destiny.

But yesterday his firm hand was at the helm. His stalwart figure towered in the forefront of the battle, leading the forces of American Zionism in a powerful political offensive. He led and we followed, taking fire from his eye, and courage from his heart. We knew the road was hard and tortuous, beset^d with pitfalls, bristling with difficulties. But we experienced the satisfaction of soldiers who are on the march, confident of ultimate victory.

Then something happened! The great offensive was interrupted and our standardbearer resigned his command. Three months have passed - months of heart searching, of internal discussion and the testing of conflicting viewpoints in the forum of public opinion.

This is not the time or the place to enter into the details of that discussion, which is still in progress. But neither can we ignore the momentous issues which face us at this critical moment. Our people are deeply troubled and perplexed. It is hard to penetrate the thick veil

which still envelopes Palestine and its political future. At a moment like this, there is need for critical appraisal and analysis, for clarifying our thought and crystallizing our opinions. It is a moment when American Zionists and American Israel are desperately anxious to hear from one whom they not only admire but whom they have come to revere and to trust, one whose singleness of purpose, clarity of thought and capacity for action have given them so much faith and confidence in the past.

His address tonight will be his first public utterance in our great metropolis since he retired from active political leadership just three months ago. It has been eagerly awaited and will be listened to throughout the country and throughout the Jewish world.

It is a high honor to preside over these proceedings. To what do I owe this privilege? Perhaps to the fact that my personal association with our guest of honor extends over four decades. Dr. Silver's Zionist career began forty years ago in the city of New York when as a child he was President of the first Hebrew speaking society of Zionist youth on American soil - the Dr. Herzl Zion Club. He presided over our grave deliberations conducted in Hebrew, and already then gave promise of those remarkable talents and qualities which flowered early in his youth. I recall him as a young man at the International Zionist Conference in London in 1920. There, at a historic meeting in the Royal Albert Hall, Dr. Silver, as spokesman for American Zionism, shared the platform with Arthur James Balfour, Lord Robert Cecil, *Nordau* Weizmann and Sokolow. I recall his appearance throughout the length and breadth of this country, carrying the message of classic Zionism, pure and unadulterated, to his fellow Jews. I recall his visits to Palestine, his journeys into the remoter parts of the country, and the visit we paid together to the land across the Jordan. I recall his later visit to Palestine during the Arab disturbances and his sturdy reaction to Arab terror. I see him mount the rostrum of the Zionist Congress, uttering his flaming protest against the proposed partitioning of Palestine. I recall him as the inde-

fatigable President of the United Palestine Appeal and the most distinguished personality in the leadership of the United Jewish Appeal. And I recall also the history of his association with the American Zionist Emergency Council.

Time does not permit an adequate review or appraisal of Dr. Silver's services as the leader of our political effort or of the circumstances under which he assumed that leadership. But I will summarize it in a word. Never has such a startling transformation been brought about through the sheer weight and strength of a personality as the transformation which took place when Dr. Silver assumed the reins of office and stepped into the political arena. Groping and vacillation and self-imposed inhibition gave way to the sure touch, the strong hand and the firm step. A small and pitifully inadequate organization was converted overnight into a powerful instrument of political action. A listless following was transformed into an army on the march, confident and eager for battle. Thanks largely to him, a cause which seemed to concern but a section of our people was embraced by the overwhelming majority of American Jewry at the sessions of the American Jewish Conference and was then projected powerfully and dramatically as one of the great international issues confronting the American people as a whole.

It has become trite and commonplace to refer to Dr. Silver's extraordinary and irresistible eloquence. His strongest opponents preface their bitterest attacks upon him by paying a tribute to his eloquence, acknowledging him to be our foremost orator. I do not object, of course, to this characterization; but I do object to the false emphasis which results in a distortion of the portrait. It is not his scholarship or his piety or his eloquence which has made Dr. Silver the leader that he is. Other gifts and qualities are required for leadership, qualities which he has in such abundance: First and foremost - courage - moral courage and intellectual courage, the courage which knows no fear but grows stronger with adversity; strength of will and tenacity of purpose; singleness of mind and a magnificent concentration upon the great task in hand; resourcefulness; clarity of

AMERICAN ZIONIST POLICY COMMITTEE
55 West 42nd Street, New York 18, N.Y.
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M E M O R A N D U M

March 23, 1945

FROM: Harry L. Shapiro

On Wednesday of this week, New York Zionists tendered a Testimonial Dinner to Dr. Abba Hillel Silver. An enthusiastic capacity-crowd of 1600 attended the event held at the Commodore Hotel in New York City.

A number of splendid addresses were made in tribute to Dr. Silver by Senator Alben W. Barkley, Majority Leader of the Senate; Senator Robert A. Taft of Ohio; Dr. Reinhold Niebuhr, of Union Theological Seminary; David Pinski, prominent Labor Zionist leader; Rabbi Wolf Gold, one of the World Mizrahi leaders; and Dr. Emanuel Neumann, prominent American Zionist authority and leader.

Dr. Silver delivered, in the opinion of many members of his audience, an historic address. It is one of the most significant Zionist political analyses made in recent years. It deals with current happenings and recommends a program for the immediate future. I am sending you an advance copy of this talk so that you may use it as a basis for discussion with your Zionist associates. The speech will be reproduced in printed form shortly, and it will be made available to the members of your community. If you wish copies of the printed speech, please inform me of the number you desire and as soon as it is off the press, these will be sent to you.

I would appreciate any comment you might care to make on Dr. Silver's statement.

Address Delivered by Dr. Abba Hillel Silver at the Testimonial Dinner in his honor, Wednesday, March 21st, 1945, in the Grand Ballroom of the Hotel Commodore, New York City

This great outpouring of men and women is not a personal tribute to me. I interpret it rather as a strong and eager reaffirmation of faith in the basic ideals of our Movement and in men who remain loyal to them and in methods which you believe are likely to lead to success. You are resolved that the choicest vine which our people planted shall not bring forth wild grapes and that the little foxes shall not be allowed to spoil the vineyard.

What our people have sought to establish through the long and weary years of our dispersion is a Jewish State. It is a Jewish State that Zionism was created to achieve. It is that which Herzl and Nordau and Pinsker and Hess and the myriads of Jews of our generation and of the unnumbered generations before them worked and prayed for. This is the realistic solution of the diaspora problem. Comfortable Jews in comfortable lands may prefer the other solutions and the soothing refrains of pleasant lullabies. Sooner or later they are awakened, like the Jews of Germany in our day and like so many Jewish communities before them, to the shock and horror of an unanticipated and unprepared for reality. All Jews share a common destiny. How brief the intervals of our tranquility, how frequent and prolonged the years of our disquietude! There is a definite pattern to our experience in every land. There is no solution to the Jewish problem custom-tailored to each individual country, each community or each class of Jews. More than sixty years ago, Leo Pinsker, shaken out of his assimilationist dream by the Russian pogroms of his day declared: "Our future will remain insecure and precarious so long as a radical change in our position is not made. This change cannot be brought about by the civil emancipation of the Jews in this or that state, but only by the auto-emancipation of the Jewish people as a nation, the foundation of a colonial community belonging to the Jews, which is some day to become our inalienable home, our fatherland". All that has happened to the Jewish people in the last 60 years, and more, especially all that has happened in the last 10 years, only serve to underscore the inevitability of Pinsker's conclusions.

It is of a Jewish State that we must speak today, with clear and unmistakable speech, even trumpet-tongued, lest in this strident, clamorous day our voice and the precise intent of our urgent cause be drowned out.

It is not helpful at this moment to dilate on how long it will take to set up such a Jewish State in actual running order. We need the political decision now!! It is quite self-evident and elementary that a transitional period will be required and a Jewish majority before the full apparatus of a free and democratic Jewish State can be brought into operation. But all such reasonable exposition of self-evident truths at this time only serves the purpose of our adversaries who seize upon it as proof that Zionist leaders themselves favor delay and do not really expect a Jewish Commonwealth and may be satisfied with much less. These leaders are roundly praised for their statesmanlike forbearance, patience and tact, and from underneath this elegant cloak of praise often dart the deadly rapier thrusts at the heart of our movement. That is how we have been imposed upon time and again!!!

If we succeed in obtaining a declaration now from the proper authorities that it is proposed to set up Palestine as a Jewish State, then, whether it takes three or five years to complete its implementation is of secondary importance. If we do not obtain such a positive declaration now, then the time element is altogether irrelevant, and whatever concessions in terms of immigration schedules are made, are politically speaking, of little moment. They may be only indices of defeat, for such schedules will most probably be fixed to insure a permanent minority status for us in Palestine.

It is not for us at this time to stress Palestine as a place of refuge for homeless Jews and concentrate in this brief, tense hour of fugitive political opportunities, when the great bell of history is tolling for us the final summons, on immigration certificates for refugees - if what we have in mind is national restoration and a Jewish state. The Arabs are not deceived by such a maneuver. The world is not moved to greater exertions in our behalf when we speak of saving refugees instead of building a Jewish State. The world was not greatly moved by our desperate pleas in behalf of our millions of doomed fellow-Jews now lying dead in their nameless graves, many of whom might have been saved. The great democracies heard the tortured cry of a dying people. They wagged their heads in sympathy and then proceeded to speak in the barren legalism of constricted hearts of their inability to intervene in the domestic affairs of other nations and of their own inviolate immigration laws.

Those who tell us to forget or forego our national claims at this time so as to reenforce our refugee claims are talking sheer nonsense. Thus far the refusals have stood as adamant against their humanitarian pleas as against our national demands. Let it be remembered, too, that it was the national rather than the philanthropic appeal - the political necessity for normalizing the status of world Jewry once and for all by the establishment of a national home - which captured the imagination of the great statesmen of the first World War who were responsible for the Balfour Declaration and Mandate. Let it also be remembered that the classic text of Zionism is a book called "The Jewish State". In 1917, Dr. Chaim Weizmann declared: "We have never built our Zionist Movement on the sufferings of our people in Russia or elsewhere. These sufferings were never the cause of Zionism. The fundamental cause of Zionism was, and is, the ineradicable national striving of Jewry to have a home of its own - a national centre, a national home with a national life. And this remains now stronger than ever."

Refugeeism may yet defeat Zionism! Our undying sin will be, if we fail to understand the potentials of this great hour and if we sink our clear, resplendent political vision of national rebirth in the surging and engulfing waters of philanthropy.

It is not for us to talk of partition or bi-nationalism if we really mean a Jewish State. No one spoke of partition or bi-nationalism when there were only fifty-five thousand Jews in Palestine in 1917. Why should one speak of it today when there are over six hundred thousand Jews and the ratio of Jew to Arab is far greater than it was then? Neither the Declaration nor the Mandate contemplated the creation of an Arab State in Palestine or of an Arab National Home. Such Arab states were contemplated and have in fact been established by the Allied Nations elsewhere in the Near East. It was the clear intention, and the Royal Commission Report of 1937 confirms it, to convert the Jewish National Home into a Jewish State as soon as the conditions for a Jewish State actually existed. Such conditions would undoubtedly be in existence today if it were not for the legally and morally unjustifiable policy of the MacDonald White Paper which arbitrarily restricted Jewish immigration during recent years when hundreds of thousands of our people were clamoring for admission into Palestine, and when many of them were forced to the indignity of smuggling themselves into their own national homeland as thieves in the night, and boatloads of them perished miserably within sight of the land of Israel, having been denied the right to land on its shores.

We would be a majority in Palestine today were it not for the interference of the Mandatory power. The creation of a Jewish State would by now be a matter of course. Therefore we must now ask that the primary and original purpose of the Mandate be reaffirmed forthwith, that it be implemented, and that its implementation be assured by giving the Jewish people control over immigration. Moreover, the country should at once be placed under a special administration, on which the Jewish people shall have preponderant representation corresponding to its overwhelming stake in the country, to insure its

economic development and the rapid absorption of new settlers, and the establishment of the Jewish State. This is the only kind of "transitional period" which can lead to a Jewish State. The Jewish Agency must be vested forthwith with governmental powers to plan and to set up the appropriate apparatus for mass immigration which must follow immediately after the war. Appropriate policies, economic, fiscal, industrial, agrarian, must be studied and devised. The postponement of a decision as to the status of Palestine until after the end of hostilities is thus a severe blow to all this essential preliminary planning and organization and it may seriously affect the flow of immigration after the war, and the country's ability, through unpreparedness, to absorb it.

The call for "a decision now" which we made last year and which now seems to be muted, was thus dictated by sound judgment and practical intelligence. It was not due to the impatience of impractical political extremists. To postpone the decision is to prolong the crisis, to permit the Arab opposition, now rapidly organizing, to consolidate itself still further, and to defeat all efforts at intelligent planning for a difficult post-war reconstruction.

We may not succeed in our objectives. "I am not bound to succeed", declared Abraham Lincoln, "but I am bound to live up to what light I have. I am not bound to win, but I am bound to be free". Ours is the duty to live up to what light we have, to the guidance of our history and the great lessons of our experience and to give to the statesmen of the world our best judgment as to how our problem, which is also a world problem, can best be solved, to the hurt of none and the blessing of all.

It is not our duty to propose partial solutions. The statesmen of the world may prefer partial solutions in the hope of insuring peace. This, you will recall, was the Munich complex. Lack of vision and courage may again postpone the just and definitive decision. This will undoubtedly acerbate the political conditions in Palestine and in the Near East. But this is beyond our control. What is within our control is the resolve to make known our cause to the world, and to demand justice at the bar of history. We must ask nothing that is unjust and unreasonable. We must accept nothing that is unjust and unreasonable. We have no right to renounce our historic and religious hope which has fed and sustained the spirit of our people through all these long and weary centuries. No Jewish leader has been given or will be given the mandate to make such a renunciation. The messianic hope of Israel cannot be bartered away for an immigration quota, desperately as refugee Jews need the haven of Palestine and desperately as we want them to go there.

It has been rumored that the Arabs are about to make a generous gesture and consent to additional Jewish immigrants on condition that they, Moslem and Christian Arabs, shall remain in the majority. I am not inclined to credit this rumor, for such generosity is in violent contrast to their customary intransigence. But whether the rumor has substance or not, from the point of view of our national rebirth what matters is not whether we have 600,000 Jews or a million Jews in Palestine, but whether we have a majority. If with a million Jews we still remain a minority, our primary objective is not obtained. There is no national Jewish State. There is no internationally recognized Jewish nation. We remain as we have through all these two thousand years, minority everywhere, and our universal minority status has been at the root of our universal insecurity. Minority rights, even under international guarantees, are of little value, as the experience of our people in Eastern Europe, between the two world wars, amply demonstrated. We are different from all other minorities in the world. Each of the other minority groups has a fatherland somewhere where the main body of its people lives in its own home. The Jewish minorities have no homeland anywhere. Thus when minorities are hard-pressed, arrangements can be made for their transference back to their original homes. Transference of a Jewish minority can only mean consignment to

exile, or to extermination camps. The founders of our movement, time and again warned, as did Nordau, that "we must at any price become a majority in Palestine". Their kingly dream was at all times that of a Jewish state made possible in a democratic world by the achievement of a Jewish majority. British and American statesmen, too, thought in terms of a Jewish National Home and a Jewish State. Lloyd George, who was Prime Minister of Great Britain at the time of the Declaration, testified that "the idea was and this was the interpretation put on it (the Declaration) that a Jewish State would be established as soon as the Jews had responded to the opportunity afforded them by the idea of a national home and had become a definite majority of the inhabitants." Mr. Winston Churchill, who was Secretary of State in 1920 exultingly visioned "on the banks of the Jordan a Jewish State which might comprise three to four million Jews".

The very essence of the millennial hope of our people would be denied and rejected by any formula which would make unattainable a Jewish State in Palestine. It would also be a disastrous retreat. The peace conference at the conclusion of this war, far from consummating, would actually be nullifying the political gains which the Jewish people achieved at the close of the last war. What may be contemplated, if these or similar rumors have any substance, is, I am afraid, another White Paper -- a final payoff, and liquidation of the Zionist Movement.

The real purpose of the MacDonald White Paper, you will recall, was not the restrictive figure of 75,000 additional Jewish immigrants, but as it clearly and specifically states: "His Majesty's Government now declares unequivocally that it is not part of their policy that Palestine should become a Jewish State." This is the lethal dose of the White Paper and a revision of the quota figure upward from 75,000 to 375,000 is not its antidote. The MacDonald White Paper was a product of that disastrous Munich era when the rights of other smaller nations were also sacrificed and other solemn international commitments were scrapped. Munich led to the Second World War. It has been the high hope of all that a victory of the United Nations will undo the mischief of Munich and will rectify the wrongs which were there and since perpetrated. What was ruthlessly taken away will be rightfully restored. Will this principle of reparation and restoration be applied to all peoples, except the Jews? Are the promises to the Jewish people alone to be ignored and dishonored? Is our loyalty alone to go unrequited, our sacrifices unrewarded and our dead forgotten?

One wonders whether these reported proposals are the result of the conference which Mr. Churchill and Mr. Roosevelt had with Ibn Saud and the other Arab Chiefs-of-States a few weeks ago. One wonders why Arab states were consulted in the first place about the fate of the Jewish National Home. Was the Jewish people consulted about the Fate of Iraq, or Syria or Saudi-Arabia? Were these states originally responsible for bringing the Jewish National Home into existence? Have they been asked to contribute a farthing to it, or to defend it? Have these Arab states fought so valiantly in this war that they have earned the right to determine the political destiny of a people which did fully assume its war responsibilities and did fight valiantly in defense of its national homeland and the ideals of the democratic world? Not a single Arab state gave active support to the Allied cause! Some actually played treasonable roles during the war and others flirted with the Axis.

Are Jewish rights to be made dependent on Arab consent? The Mandate recognized the historic connection of the Jewish people with Palestine - a fact strangely enough already recognized in Biblical times - but it remained for the Allied leaders to recognize the historic connection of Ibn Saud with Palestine! It was MacDonald, you will recall, when he planned repudiation, in 1939, who hit upon the idea of bringing in the leaders of the neighboring Arab countries to weight the scale against the Jewish National Home. He convoked the ill-fated Round Table Conference between Jews and Arabs in 1939.

This Conference eventuated in the notorious White Paper of May, 1939 which was a complete surrender to Arab demands and a burnt-offering of all the national aspirations of the Jewish people. This occurred on the eve of the war, under pressure presumably of the approaching world crisis when British imperial interests needed the good will and cooperation of the Arab world - a cooperation, by the way, which was never forthcoming. But this is 1945! We are on the eve of an Allied victory. The need for appeasement no longer exists. Nevertheless the Arab states are again brought into the picture, and one is forced to ask with real apprehension whether another White Paper is not in the making. It would seem that Ibn Saud is now the chief figure consulted by Great Britain and the United States about the future of the Jewish National Home. It is the same Ibn Saud, who, two years ago declared "I know of nothing that justifies the Jewish claim in Palestine...I am not afraid of the Jews or of the possibility of their ever having a state or power either in the land of the Arabs or elsewhere. This is in accordance with what God has revealed unto us through the mouth of His Prophet in His Holy Book. Thus I hold the demands of the Jews upon this land in error...If the Jews are impelled to seek a place to live, Europe and America are larger and more fertile than Palestine".

Is this man to be the arbiter of our destinies? Now that Ibn Saud has reiterated his unyielding opposition to the Jewish National Home and this time to the President of the U. S. and the Prime Minister of Great Britain, now that the long cherished and fostered Ibn Saud upon whom so much had been staked, has proved a dismal failure, will the democratic leaders still persist in trying to find an Arab solution for the Jewish problem? Valuable years and precious human lives have already been lost in this sad and futile endeavor. The Jewish problem is a world problem, not an Arabian problem. Its solution must come at the hands of the great democracies of the world, who have assumed the grave responsibility for rebuilding our world upon new and lasting foundations of justice in which all peoples will share.

A new world order is in the making. A system of security is being devised to protect the rights of all nations, their independence and survival. An important conference of the United Nations will be held in San Francisco in a few weeks to carry the work of world organization a step further. All the nations who fought on the side of the United Nations, even those who declared war only a few days ago pro forma, in order to be included in the invitation, will be represented there. Iraq will be there, and Luxembourg and Saudi-Arabia and Guatamala. But Israel is not to be there! The Jewish people against whom the Axis had decreed a war of extermination, and singled it out as its chief enemy, the Jewish people whose civilian casualties running into the millions far outnumber those of any other nation, and whose sons by the hundreds of thousands are fighting on every battle front on the side of the United Nations, the Jewish people and the Yishuv of Palestine, which sent its sons in the tens of thousands to fight for the cause of freedom and democracy - they will not be represented at San Francisco. We are not to be included as a people in the planned international order of tomorrow. Seemingly as a nation, we do not exist, except for persecution and calumny and sacrifices. Rumor has it that something may be done about it; some back door may be opened for the presentation of our case to some subsidiary body at the Conference. Let us hope that even this shred of comfort will not be taken away.

The road ahead is hard. The odds are against us. The odds were always against us. They were strongly against the Maccabees, against our ancestors at the Red Sea striking out for freedom, against the scattered and struggling Jewish communities fighting for survival in the dark ages. The odds were against the first Jewish pioneers who broke ground for the first Jewish colony and against those who first drained the malarial marshes and swamps of the Emek. But they all had the courage of their dreams and therein lay their invincible strength.

Our strength today, as of old, lies in our dream, in the urgency of our national need, in knowing our own minds and in unrelenting effort

directed towards an undeflected purpose. We may not succeed even then, but our faith and courage will then inspire generations yet unborn to complete the task which we were prevented from completing. Ours is the responsibility of presenting our case fully, clearly, forcibly, to the world. Once we know our own minds and have the courage to pursue our objectives to the end, we shall have no difficulty in finding the proper methods for presenting our case. It is the vague objective which leads to the uncertain course. The difficulty arises when there are basic and frequently unconscious differences as to objectives which, to the outsider, appear as a conflict only of strategy or of personalities. But, if you penetrate all the circles of rationalization, you come at last upon the timid soul, and the heart that lacks faith. Not all who talk about a Jewish Commonwealth really have faith in it. Time and again, in negotiations with opposing groups, or facing official opposition in government circles, they buckle under. The Jewish Commonwealth suddenly becomes nebulous, a far-off "End-ziel" to which one pays ritual lip-service, but which for all practical purposes is brushed aside. Only zealots and extremists keep pressing for it, even when important people are annoyed by it...

It is of course clear that two men will have much to do with the final settlement of the Palestine issue - Churchill and Roosevelt. They are great and good men and they are well intentioned towards us. In the present political conjuncture of the world, they possess enormous power. Their sympathy and cooperation are most vital to the success of our movement. It would be a mistake, however, to leave the entire fate of our movement in the hands of these two statesmen. Both of these statesmen are working under terrific pressure. From all sides powerful pressure groups converge on them, and some of these powerful groups are working against our movement. Political leaders, engrossed in many tasks, sometimes accept for the solution of what they regard as minor issues, formulas which appear expedient, and compromises which only aggravate the situation.

Take the case of Mr. Churchill. He has always been a friend of Zionism. He is today. Only recently he spoke of himself as "the architect of the Jewish future". In 1921, on the occasion of his planting a tree in the garden of the Hebrew University on Mt. Scopus, he declared: "Personally my heart is full of sympathy with Zionism. This sympathy has existed in me for a long time...I believe that the building of a Jewish National Home in Palestine will be a blessing to the whole world, a blessing to the Jewish race scattered all over the world, a blessing to Great Britain. I firmly believe that it will be a blessing also to all the inhabitants of the country without distinction of race and religion."

Nevertheless this same Churchill, only a year later, was responsible for the White Paper of 1922, the first of a series of reinterpretations, which among other things declared that the terms of the Balfour Declaration did not contemplate that Palestine as a whole should be converted into a Jewish National Home, but that such a home should be found in Palestine.

Prime Minister Churchill vigorously denounced the MacDonald White Paper of May 1939. He called it "a breach, a violation of the pledge, the abandonment of the Balfour Declaration, the end of the vision, of the hope, of the dream." And yet, a year later, when he became Prime Minister, in 1940, he permitted that policy to stand, and it stands to this day, a policy which has resulted in incalculable tragedies to myriads of our people in Europe who might have found a haven of refuge in Palestine during these years of slaughter and annihilation.

We do not judge. We do not point to any moral contradictions. But surely these repeated instances of profession lagging behind performance, should caution us against exclusive reliance upon the good intentions of one or two great men, however unquestionably sincere their intentions are.

Mr. Roosevelt has frequently evidenced his interest in the Jewish National Home, and more than once during the past year, and as recently as last Friday, has expressed himself in clear and forthright endorsement of Zionism. And yet, though frequently solicited, the government of the United States did nothing to undo the mischief of the White

Paper which was in clear violation of agreements between our Government and the Mandatory power. Mr. Roosevelt has declared himself publicly in favor of a free and democratic Jewish Commonwealth, but twice during 1944, the executive branch of our government was responsible for the shelving of the Jewish Commonwealth Resolution in the Congress of the United States, where both the House and the Senate were prepared and eager to vote for it overwhelmingly. Since then, months have elapsed, the Yalta Conference has been held, but nothing has been forthcoming from this Administration to compensate for this deferred action, or even to explain it.

We were asked to wait a little longer. Congress was energetically pressed not to pass the Palestine Resolution. Zionist leaders rushed pell mell to Washington to collaborate with the State Department in its effort to keep the Congress of the U. S. from expressing itself in favor of the Jewish Commonwealth. We waited. The result - Ibn Saud said "No". The entire Palestine subject has been postponed to the end of the war and there is no Palestine Resolution.

When we mention these facts, it is not that we are hostile to Mr. Churchill or to President Roosevelt. These men are too big and politically too experienced to interpret honest differences of opinion and the cry of a sorely pressed people for action, as personal hostility. Only little souls stoop to such conclusions...

Political exigencies frequently deflect the clear purposes even of our best friends and we must do our utmost to reinforce their good will and intent so that they will not yield to pressures at our expense. Their political strategy pursued in our behalf may also be mistaken, as the case of Ibn Saud, upon whom both Roosevelt and Churchill placed such high hopes, amply demonstrates.

It is important to continue to make the most friendly and effective representation to the great leaders of the democracies, but the most effective representation in a democracy is through organized public opinion. In political life today great political issues which affect the destinies of nations are not decided by the charm, winsomeness or eloquence exercised by an individual, or on the basis of a quid pro quo for political support given by an individual during a political campaign. Personal intercession of this sort is an anachronism in the world today. It is too late for Court Jews. If our cause is just, let the American people speak up - its ministers and educators, its writers and journalists, its leaders of capital and labor, its state legislators, its congressmen and senators, of both political parties, Republicans and Democrats alike. Our movement is not wedded to any one political party. We have strong and warm friends in both. Let them make known their will to our government and to our Chief Executive. Let the people of England of all political parties make their will known to their Colonial Office and to their Cabinet. Let us rally all men of good will everywhere in the world who would like to see justice done, an ancient wrong righted and a present day world need met. Let a mighty chorus of voices rise to the ears of the men whom destiny has chosen for great decisions. Let these men become aware and be guided and sustained in their own purpose by this awareness that our cause is overwhelmingly approved by the people of America and of Great Britain, and that it is one of the great and urgent causes of our day in which mankind as a whole is deeply concerned. 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!!!

We believe that the solution of the problem of Jewish national homelessness is imperative for the sake of the peace of the world. Any historic people which will be denied a minimum of national security and

independence after the war will endanger the success of the international order which will be set up. In the delicately-poised international order of tomorrow, the Jewish people must not remain a people without status and without a national home. Against its own will and without any deliberate action on its part, it will become a focus of political tension, conflict and distress which may endanger the peace of the whole Middle East.

We, too, possess inalienable rights as a people, the right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. We have not yielded on these rights for two thousand years, although the world chose to ignore and to deny them. The Jewish people, for its own salvation and for the peace of the world, now asks that no obstacle be put in its way to repossess itself of these rights, to reconstruct its national life in its historic home and to quicken to new life an ancient and honorable people.



[March 7, 1945]

ABBA HILLEL SILVER TESTIMONIAL DINNER COMMITTEE
ROOM 704
55 WEST 42 STREET
NEW YORK 18, N. Y.

For Immediate Release

EINSTEIN HEADS LIST OF CO-CHAIRMEN FOR TESTIMONIAL TO DR. SILVER
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MANY PROMINENT FIGURES JOIN TO HONOR ZIONIST LEADER

New York -- Professor Albert Einstein heads the list of prominent leaders from all walks of life who are acting as co-chairmen of the testimonial dinner being tendered to Dr. Abba Hillel Silver, of Cleveland, on March 21st in the Grand Ballroom of the Hotel Commodore, New York City.

The dinner, plans for which were initiated by the Zionists of New York, will pay tribute to Dr. Silver for his outstanding leadership of American Jewry over many years and for his great contributions to American thought and public welfare. Dr. Silver served as national chairman of the United Palestine Appeal for seven years. His vigorous leadership of the American Zionist Emergency Council throughout the past year is generally regarded as his most notable accomplishment.

In addition to Professor Einstein, the co-chairmen include Hon. M. Maldwin Fertig, prominent New York attorney and President of the Bronx Zionist Region; Rabbi Wolf Gold, leader of World Mizrachi; Hon. Nathaniel L. Goldstein, Attorney-General of New York State; Professor Horace M. Kallen, of the New School for Social Research; Professor Mordecai M. Kaplan, of the Jewish Theological Seminary; Emanuel Neumann, Zionist leader and former member of the Jewish Agency Executive; David Pinski, poet-playwright and leader of Labor Zionism; Charles J. Rosenbloom, Treasurer of the United Palestine Appeal; Hon. Carl Sherman, former Attorney-General of New York State; Supreme Court Justice Meier Steinbrink, and Pierre van Paassen, noted author.

Mark Sugarman is treasurer and Abraham Goodman, Treasurer of the Zionist Organization of America, is secretary of the dinner committee, which is still in formation.