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United Jewish Appeal, 1951.

ADDRESS OF DR. ABBA HILLEL SILVER
BEFORE THE NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF THE UNITED JEWISH APPEAL
SATURDAY, DECEMBER 15, 1951
ATLANTIC CITY, NEW JERSEY

I should like to address myself this evening to a few questions. Why are we here? Why are we raising money for Israel? How long will we have to continue to do it? What do we hope to accomplish by it? These are fair questions, and fair and frank answers are called for. The answers are not all new, but they bear repeating. Events today move so rapidly and the climate of events changes so rapidly and new interests break in upon us with such clamorous insistence that we are prone to forget what was so clear and luminous to us only a short while ago, and what was to us then of such vast, urgent and cardinal importance.

We are here through no compulsion. The summons to which we responded appealed to us. We have been coming to similar convocations for some time now. We are aware that there is a momentous task which must be completed in behalf of our people and that the crisis which alerted our generation and requisitioned our leaders and their faithful followers for urgent service is not yet over.

Much has been accomplished - extraordinary, stirring and memorable. Much yet remains to be accomplished - and the permanence and enduring success of what has been done depends inexorably upon what is yet to be done. To stop mid-way is to fail all the way. We shall have solved some problems only to have created others and more serious ones.

Thus, for example, we have emptied the detention camps of Europe and other danger zones in Moslem lands. We transported our refugees to Israel. That is an enormous and praise-worthy achievement. But it is only a partial achievement. Unless these refugees are permanently settled and established, housed, fed, clothed, healed and integrated as productive citizens in their new home, we shall have done little more than prolong their abnormal existence, sharpen their unhappiness into resentment and turbulence, and create grievous and dangerous problems for the infant State of Israel. We shall have succeeded only in transferring the problem from alien

soil to the soil of Israel where we alone, in the sight of the world, will be held responsible for all that transpires.

We builded a State - we and our brothers in Israel; we with our resources, they with their resources and blood. That is the most magnificent achievement in our history. We are as yet too near the event properly to appraise it. To see big things in their true perspective, one must see them from a distance. Few events in the whole story of mankind have such breath-taking glory about them, but there is the danger that in the common air and through the traffic of everyday usage, that glory may soon be tarnished. Where in the whole world today can one see a more colorful and inspiring pageant of a people's redemption, of building and ingathering, of social vision and prophetic design, of the reclamation of man, of soul and of soil than one sees today in Israel?

Quite unconsciously we of this generation proved ourselves to be of an heroic mold. This is our great age. We shall long be remembered in times that we shall not see for what we wrought in our day. We did something which in the long and weary centuries our forefathers did not or could not do. We stopped putting patches on old gaberdines, patches of relief, of charity, of intercession, of protest, of illusions. The Jewish people of our generation broke its chains and fought its way to freedom. It set about building a new life for itself, and hewed out of the stubborn rock of circumstances a new world for itself - free, proud, strong with the inner strength of self-reliance and self-esteem. There is epic grandeur to what we have builded after two thousand years. There is no glory comparable to that of the people of Israel now risen from its immemorial crucifixion.

But what we have builded with zeal and vision, and with true line and plummet is not yet finished. It is far from finished. Even the foundations have not yet all been securely laid. Neither politically nor economically nor socially has

the State been durably established. A day and a year are sufficient in which to destroy a state. A generation and a century are not too long a time in which to establish it. The builders in Israel have been like the builders of the walls of Jerusalem in the days of Ezra and Nehemiah; "everyone had his sword girded by his side and so builded." There is no peace as yet on the borders of Israel. The political tensions are mounting. The Middle East is in ferment. The drain of the military budget upon the resources of the new state, the burden of absorbing annually myriads of impoverished immigrants, added to the unfavorable balance of trade which is characteristic of any pioneering country of limited natural resources and of incipient industrial development, are seriously threatening the economic stability of the State. Nor are the solutions of these problems made any easier by the inner conflicts and maladjustments within the State, the clash of cultures and backgrounds, the political dogmatism and fragmentization which, unfortunately, are the inevitable by-products of a new world in the making out of the human material which the Galut deposited upon the shores of Israel.

The enemy is waiting for a collapse of this structure. Because he believes in the imminence of such a collapse, he has been deliberately maneuvering against every attempt to conclude peace. If now we stop half-way in the work of completing and strengthening this edifice which we have so nobly begun, we shall be blindly playing the enemy's game. We shall be letting down disastrously the gallant builders in Israel, they who do the actual work - "the carpenters and builders, the masons and the hewers of stone", they who relied so much on our steadfastness and our loyal supply and provision. We shall be betraying ourselves into the world's scorn and contempt, which attitude could prove dangerous to our statusⁱⁿ/the world tomorrow.

When we pleaded through the years with the conscience of the world for the right to rebuild our national home, we presented not only valid arguments for the justice of our claim, but we also asserted our full confidence in our ability and

in our capacity to build a state. The nations of the world were skeptical. Jews are not state-builders. They are not pioneers. They are very skillful and resourceful in other peoples' homes. In their own they will have neither the physical stamina to do the spade-work, to dig the ditches, to clear the wilderness, nor the skill to set up a government of their own, nor the courage to defend it, nor the statesmanship to preserve it, nor the spiritual hardihood to persevere. We undertook to reason with them against their pre-judgments and disparagements. Give us the chance, and we will make good! To some of their strictures we were able to reply at once by pointing to the quality, skill and efficiency of our pioneering work already done in Palestine by Jewish labor of hand and mind and spirit. The War of Liberation which was fought by the poorly equipped and vastly out-numbered army of Israel against the armies of five aggressor nations who invaded Palestine simultaneously, demonstrated to an astonished world the unsuspected and unsurpassed fighting prowess and sacrificial valor of the men and women of Israel. Israel was also not found wanting in skill to set up a functioning government in the midst of war and economic dislocation and to undertake along with it the colossal task of absorbing hundreds of thousands of immigrants streaming in from all parts of the world.

What remains to be demonstrated is whether we possess the statesmanship to preserve the State, and whether the Jews of the world possess the spiritual hardihood to persevere in the long, hard pull ahead. This is the severest test of all. It is our strength which is being tested, our wisdom and our staying power. We who were long-suffering in exile and servitude must learn to be long-enduring for freedom. We who were patient with oppression and degradation for so long, and paid such a frightful price in substance and in blood, must be patient with the needs and requirements of a free, sovereign Jewish State, only three years old. If we fail in this, we fail in all, ^{and} we shall then stand condemned in the scornful eyes of the world, as pretentious braggarts, who imposed upon the credulity of the world, who

were never really competent to build and maintain a land of their own and who are fated to national homelessness. It does not require great imagination to realize what this conclusion once reached would do the dignity and the status of the Jews everywhere in the world, and to future generations of Jews who will pity and condemn our blindness and obtuseness.

Why are we here? To see that this does not happen! While we did not build the State of Israel to win the world's approbation, we will not permit it to go under to justify the world's disapprobation. What we set our hands to do in love and faith and high enthusiasm, we shall complete in self-respect and loyalty and honor.

We shall stand by the State of Israel through its present trials and difficulties, because, in helping to create it, we assumed tremendous commitments which will not be fully discharged until the State of Israel is strong and secure and safely launched upon its historic career.

We shall stand by the State of Israel because many of its present crushing burdens are these which we ourselves placed upon its shoulders. It is we and Diaspora Jewry generally who sent 600,000, mostly penniless immigrants, many of them aged and many more dependent, in three short years, to the shores of Israel, and asked the government of Israel to receive them, care for them, rehabilitate them and give them permanent homes and opportunities for livelihood. The State of Israel eagerly welcomed them, but at what staggering cost to itself in terms of lowering the standard of living for its people, in terms of austerities, of shortages of food and the necessities of life, of rationing, of inflation, of overcrowding, of tensions and strains, the ever-present menace of economic disaster. Economically, they found themselves in a grim Valley Forge. Are we really free to disengage ourselves of responsibility for the burden which we placed upon the State? Would our sense of Jewish solidarity and the high ethical mandates of our history permit it?

We shall stand by the State of Israel, for its role as an immediately available sanctuary and refuge for the presently homeless and menaced of our people is still greatly in demand. And who is bold enough to predict the future? The overwhelming testimony of our history derived from all climes, all ages, all peoples, and all cultures warrants no dogmatic optimism. A careful look around our world to-day will persuade no one that we are on the threshold of the millenium.

We shall stand by the State of Israel for it will welcome in the future as in the past some, perhaps many of our people, who will go there out of choice in quest of complete fulfillment and integration, peace of soul and warm fellowship in the congenial environment of their kith and kin. That land of enchantment has always drawn to it sons and daughters of our people from the East and from the West, and the pilgrim and the spiritual wayfarer, as with a powerful magnet.

We shall stand by the State of Israel, for we are allied to our people there in destiny for all time. We were one people before the State was created; we remain one people now and forever. The mystic cord has not been parted. The establishment of the center of its national life in Israel can only serve to strengthen the age-old bond of unity. Why should timorous Jews wish to weaken that bond, re-introduce Babel into our lives, mix and bewilder our common loyalties and disunite and scatter us as unrelated pockets and fragments over the face of the earth? Who will profit from such dismemberment? Why should our clearly defined, readily accepted and acknowledged, different but not contrary and opposing political allegiances estrange us? On the contrary. We share with the Jews of Israel such correspondence of spiritual outlook, of democratic ideals, of fundamental conceptions of the sacredness of human personality and the unalienable rights of man, which are all derived from our common religious traditions as to make us natural allies, as well as strong and dependable allies of the rest of the free world.

Our own beloved country, the United States of America, has industriously sought out allies in every part of the world and has poured out vast substance to strengthen them in order to cement a firm union with them for a common defense. As taxpayers, we American Jews have contributed out of our resources not insignificantly to the billions which our government has paid out in aid, grants and subsidies to buttress the economies of many nations, large and small. If, in addition, the Jews of America contribute out of their substance and generosity to the economic strengthening of the State of Israel, the most progressive and dependable democratic state in the most critical strategic area in the world today, - if they reenforce a State whose survival is vital to the cause of the free world and, is at the same time indispensable to the security of the Jewish people, are we to be blamed for it or acclaimed? Can anyone deny that we share with our people in Israel a common defense against evil forces which would destroy us as Jews - as they have attempted so often in the past and at times with such terrible success? Has Israel not already demonstrated its great service to our people in one of its darkest hours when it offered asylum to hundreds of thousands of our people who otherwise would have been doomed? Need we apologize for wishing to strengthen that State and cement our union with our people there? Why, then, do some Jews and their readily available non-Jewish mouthpieces distort and misrepresent our motives, bear false witness against the honor and loyalty of our citizenship, and charge us with irresponsible pressure upon our government to cause it to act against its own best interests in giving assistance to the State of Israel? What is their purpose? Is it to cause the hands of Moses to fall while his people are engaged in the battle with Amalek, and so cause them to suffer defeat at their hands?

What stronger friend has our country in that part of the world? Shall America repeat the tragic blunder of Great Britain which for years sacrificed the legitimate rights of the Jewish people in Palestine and dishonored her pledges and commitments in order to woo and appease the Arab world, only to find herself in the

end hated and betrayed by the whole Arab world? The White Paper of '39 which was intended to put an end for all time to the hope of a Jewish State in Palestine, only served to usher in the rapid and fateful disintegration of British influence in the entire Middle East. The influence of the free world in that area of fateful political arbitrament in the coming years will likewise not be achieved through any program of appeasement at the expense of Israel. What is indicated is not small-time political juggling and boundary gerrymandering, but large-visioned statesmanship which will give maximum support to the hard-pressed but intrinsically sound and dependable State of Israel, as well as maximum support to the backward Arab states to improve the lot of their people, raise their standard of living, health and education, and so revive the whole Near East and usher in an era of great development and prosperity for all. The Arab world, once convinced by the affirmative attitude and cooperation of the Great Powers that the State of Israel is there to stay, strong and defended, will make peace - a peace which will be a boon to Israel and the Arab world as well. Together they will possess the resources, the manpower, the technical skill and the enterprise to revolutionize that vast, rich, but neglected section of the earth. Together, in cooperation, they will achieve what in hostility and conflict they can only forfeit.

Why are we here? To see that all this comes about, and until all this does come about, to insure that our own help and support, which we ourselves control, will continue uninterruptedly. We cannot control or direct the world's support, and from experience we have learned that its understanding of a situation is frequently tardy and insufficient.

Herein lies the answer to the second question: why are we raising money for Israel? At the moment money is the life-blood of the whole enterprise. It should not be overlooked that in its present financial straits, Israel is no different from other nations, some of them much greater, older and richer - Great Britain, for example, and France and Italy. They all find themselves in grave economic distress,

and they have turned for help not once but many times in recent years, and again this year, to the United States. In the five-year period between 1945-1950, our government extended to foreign countries nearly 19 billion dollars in grants and 10½ billions more in credits.

Nor is the economic history of Israel different from the history of our own country at the time of its founding. Commenting on the financial difficulties which confronted the American Colonies before the Revolution, the Beards write in "The Rise of American Civilization":

For goods bought in English markets, the colonists had no large supply of precious metals with which to pay; they were always heavily in debt for commodities purchased and capital borrowed. Efforts to secure specie, bills of exchange, and acceptable materials by means of which to discharge their obligations in London kept them at their wits' ends. . . . Turn and twist as they might, the colonist continually labored under the disabilities of chronic debtors.

Of their difficulties during the Revolution, they write:

Between 1775 and 1779, the Congress issued about two hundred and forty million dollars in bills to be redeemed by the states on a quota basis, a huge total almost equalled by the emissions of the local legislatures, making in the end over four hundred and fifty millions in such notes.

The next resort was domestic and foreign loans. Certificates, similar to modern bonds, were sold in the home market through loan offices set up in the states. . . . To this unstable pyramid was attached a mass of certificates issued by military officers and by supply agents to pay for food, clothing, and other goods impressed for the use of the army. After the conflict was advanced a little way, help was obtained from abroad. Small subsidies, in the form of gifts, were secured from France and Spain. These were followed by regular loans. . . . It is difficult to believe that the Congress could have staggered through the Revolution if it had not procured such generous financial assistance from the government at Paris. . . . The confusion that reigned in the operations of this fiscal system defies description. As paper money was poured out by the Congress, it fell rapidly in value; in 1779 one paper dollar was worth only two or three cents in specie. Attempts to stabilize it were futile; it slipped almost steadily downward into the abyss, until at length there was no term of contempt so expressive as "not worth a continental". . . .

Of the period after the Revolution, the Beards write:

Seven years of war, waged by an improvised Continental Congress without traditions, authority or strength, had thrown all economic functions into confusion and disorganized society in every direction. . . .

In an equally chaotic condition were the current finances. The Congress in due course made requisitions on the states to pay its bills, but it was fortunate if it received in any year one-fourth of the amount demanded, and during the last 14 months of its life, less than half a million in paper money was paid into the treasury - not enough to meet the interest on the foreign debt alone.

Such is the history of all countries who had to pass through the rugged stages of pioneering days or the upheavals of wars and revolutions. Why some of us expected that the new State of Israel would be spared these inevitable experiences has always been a mystery to me.

The answer to our third question: how long will we have to continue to do it? does not entirely rest with us. Assuredly as long as we shall ask of Israel to accept and harbor homeless or endangered fellow-Jews from this or that part of the world - and as long as those whom we have already sent there are still a financial burden upon the State - so long will we have to give our support. As long as the war danger exists on the borders of Israel and there is need for costly defense measures to insure survival, so long will we want to assist in ways which will lighten the burden.

As rapidly, however, as the country, through its expanding industry, trade, commerce and agriculture, reaches a point of economic safety and balance, just so rapidly will the need of outside aid in the form of campaigns subside. The citizens of Israel and their government are straining their every nerve, working with heart and brain under a nigh intolerable strain and stress to set their house in order, and to make their country self-sustaining as quickly as possible. They make mistakes, to be sure. How could it be otherwise? And we have a right to insist

that they learn from their mistakes and abandon methods which retard the country's progress. We must not hesitate to offer honest criticism even when some of their leaders do not like it. There is no immunity from criticism in a free world by citizens of one's own country or by those of another, especially when large-scale and continuing support is solicited from citizens of another country, and their favorable opinion and good will are vital to its progress and stability. Such friendly criticism which is involved in the very nature of any covenant of cooperation should be welcomed and carefully weighed. The Israeli are anxious to become self-dependent and not rely indefinitely upon assistance from without even if it is given willingly by their fellow-Jews. When that time arrives, there will be no further need for campaigns to assist the Israeli economy. Jews may then wish to continue to invest private capital in Israel which form of useful and profitable investment we hope will continue indefinitely.

And as to what we hope to accomplish by it all; why, nothing more or less than the survival of our people in freedom, in security and in dignity in the world. We wish to remain on the stage of history as a great and significant people. What moves us today is the same vision which, like a pillar of fire, guided our forefathers through the wilderness to the Promised Land in the days of Moses and Joshua, and in the battle-days of the Judges and the wars of Saul and David - the vision which remained undimmed in exile and was redeemed with the return from captivity, the vision which was defended by the Maccabees and consecrated in the heroic deaths of those who defied the might of Rome, the vision which burnt athwart the darkness of two thousand years of exile, and in our day, shone over the nameless graves of six million of our martyred dead only to blaze forth finally in full resplendent glory, and came to rest in Israel rebuilt.

We want to build in Israel a society and a way of life which will match the grandeur of that vision and give meaning to our constancy and point to our millennial sacrifices.

The creation of the State of Israel has already accomplished much for us. It has given sanctuary to hundreds of thousands of our people for whom the great world, with its vast, empty spaces, crying for human settlement and development, could find no room. It has infused the sorely tried and languishing spirit of our people with a new hope, a new dignity and a new zest for life. We are rediscovering the essential Jew, the Jew of history who could hurl thunderbolts of revelation across the world, defy empires and mold the civilization of mankind. Our children are growing up in a new atmosphere of respect for the Jew, and therefore, with a new sense of respect for themselves. The psychic curse of the Galut is being exorcized.

This is being accomplished. Much else will yet come to be. Much else will yet flow out of this historic act, but we are not qualified to prophesy. It would be strange, however, if the Jews in Israel, reacting to the impact of their historic surroundings and the example and promptings all about them of greatness and excellence of former generations of ancestors, challenged by their own good fortune in escaping from slavery to freedom and being reborn, as it were, into a new life, and eager to vindicate themselves and their people in the eyes of the whole world - it will be strange, indeed, if they would not in time produce incomparable precious values which will, again as in the early days, enrich and bless mankind.



THE OFFICERS OF THE UNITED JEWISH APPEAL CORDIALLY INVITE YOU TO ATTEND THE

National Conference of the United Jewish Appeal

AND ARE HAPPY TO ANNOUNCE THAT

THE HON. WILLIAM O. DOUGLAS

Associate Justice, United States Supreme Court

H. E. DAVID ZVI PINKAS

Minister of Communications of the State of Israel

H. E. ABBA S. EBAN

Ambassador of Israel to the United States

BERL LOCKER

Chairman, Jewish Agency for Palestine, Jerusalem

DR. ABBA HILLEL SILVER

DR. NAHUM GOLDMANN

Chairman, Jewish Agency for Palestine, New York

THE HON. JOHN GIBSON

Chairman, U.S. Displaced Persons Commission

EDWARD M. M. WARBURG

General Chairman, United Jewish Appeal

WILL BE AMONG THOSE WHO WILL ADDRESS THE VARIOUS SESSIONS

FRIDAY, DECEMBER 14 • SATURDAY EVENING, DECEMBER 15 • SUNDAY, DECEMBER 16, 1951

TRAYMORE HOTEL

ATLANTIC CITY, N. J.

Please respond on enclosed card

What we set
our hands
to do, we shall
complete



An address by
Dr. Abba Hillel Silver



DR. ABBA HILLEL SILVER

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What We Set Our Hands to Do We Shall Complete

Address by Dr. Abba Hillel Silver

*National Conference, United Jewish Appeal
Atlantic City, N. J., December 18, 1951*

I SHOULD LIKE TO ADDRESS myself this evening to a few questions. Why are we here? Why are we raising money for Israel? How long will we have to continue to do it? What do we hope to accomplish by it? These are fair questions, and fair and frank answers are called for. The answers are not all new, but they bear repeating. Events today move so rapidly and the climate of events changes so rapidly and new interests break in upon us with such clamorous insistence that we are prone to forget what was so clear and luminous to us only a short while ago, and what was to us then of such vast, urgent and cardinal importance.

WE FACE A MOMENTOUS TASK

We are here through no compulsion. The summons to which we responded appealed to us. We have been coming to similar convocations for some time now. We are aware that there is a momentous task which must be completed in behalf of our people and that the crisis which alerted our generation and requisitioned our leaders and their faithful followers for urgent service is not yet over.

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been done depends inexorably upon what is yet to be done. To stop mid-way is to fail all the way. We shall have solved some problems only to have created other and more serious ones.

OUR WORK IS ONLY HALF DONE

Thus, for example, we have emptied the detention camps of Europe and other danger zones in Moslem lands. We transported our refugees to Israel. That is an enormous and praiseworthy achievement. But it is only a partial achievement. *Unless these refugees are permanently settled and established, housed, fed, clothed, healed and integrated as productive citizens in their new home, we shall have done little more than prolong their abnormal existence, sharpen their unhappiness into resentment and turbulence, and create grievous and dangerous problems for the infant State of Israel. We shall have succeeded only in transferring the problem from alien soil to the soil of Israel where we alone, in the sight of the world, will be held responsible for all that transpires.*

We builded a State—we and our brothers in Israel; we with our resources, they with their resources and blood. That is the most magnificent achievement in our history. We are as yet too near the event properly to appraise it. To see big things in their true perspective, one must see them from a distance. Few events in the whole story of mankind have such breath-taking glory about them, but there is the danger that in the common air and through the traffic of everyday usage, that glory may soon be tarnished. *Where in the whole world today can one see a more colorful and inspiring pageant of a people's redemption, of building and in-gathering, of social vision and prophetic design, of the*

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ISRAEL IS NOT YET SECURE

But what we have builded with zeal and vision, and with true line and plummet is not yet finished. It is far from finished. Even the foundations have not yet all been securely laid. Neither politically nor economically nor socially has the State been durably established. A day and a year are sufficient in which to destroy a state. A generation and a century are not too long a time in which to establish it. The builders in Israel have been like the builders of the walls of Jerusalem in the days of Ezra and Nehemiah: *"Everyone had his sword girded by his side and so builded."* There is no peace as yet on the

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WE MUST NOT LET ISRAEL DOWN

The enemy is waiting for a collapse of this structure. Because he believes in the imminence of such a collapse, he has been maneuvering against every attempt to conclude peace. If now we stop half-way in the work of completing and strengthening this edifice which we have so nobly begun, we shall be blindly playing the enemy's game. We shall be letting down disastrously the gallant builders in Israel, they who do the actual work—*"the carpenters and builders, the masons and the hewers of stone"* — they who rely so much on our steadfastness and our loyal supply and provision. We shall also be betraying ourselves into the world's scorn and contempt, which attitude could prove dangerous to our status in the world tomorrow.

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only valid arguments for the justice of our claim, but we also asserted our full confidence in our ability and in our capacity to build a state. The nations of the world were skeptical. They said: "Jews are not state-builders. They are not pioneers. They are very skillful and resourceful in other peoples' homes. In their own they will have neither the physical stamina to do the spadework, to dig the ditches, to clear the wilderness, nor the skill to set up a government of their own, nor the courage to defend it, nor the statesmanship to preserve it, nor the spiritual hardihood to persevere."

A LABOR OF HAND, MIND, SPIRIT

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fully discharged until the State of Israel is strong and secure and safely launched upon its historic career.

A SANCTUARY FOR THE HOMELESS

We shall stand by the State of Israel because many of its present crushing burdens are those which we ourselves placed upon its shoulders. It is we and Diaspora Jewry generally who sent nearly 700,000 mostly penniless immigrants, many of them aged and many more dependent, in three-and-a-half short years to the shores of Israel, and asked the Government of Israel to receive them, care for them, rehabilitate them and give them permanent homes and opportunities for livelihood. *The State of Israel eagerly welcomed them, but at what staggering cost to itself in terms of lowering the standard of living for its people, in terms of austerities, of shortages of food and the necessities of life, of rationing, of inflation, of overcrowding, of tensions and strains, and the ever-present menace of economic disaster. Economically, Israel's people now find themselves in a grim Valley Forge. Are we really free to disengage ourselves of responsibility for the burden which we placed upon the State? Would our sense of Jewish solidarity and the high ethical mandates of our history permit it?*

We shall stand by the State of Israel, for its role as an immediately available sanctuary and refuge for the presently homeless and menaced of our people is still greatly in demand. And who is bold enough to predict the future? The overwhelming testimony of our history derived from all climes, all ages, all people, and all cultures warrants no dogmatic optimism. A careful look around our world today will persuade no one that we

are on the threshold of the millenium.

We shall stand by the State of Israel for it will welcome in the future as in the past some, perhaps many, of our people who will go there out of choice, in quest of complete fulfillment and integration, peace of soul and warm fellowship in the congenial environment of their kith and kin. That land of enchantment has always drawn to it sons and daughters of our people from the East and from the West, and the pilgrim and the spiritual wayfarer, as with a powerful magnet.

WE SHARE DEMOCRATIC IDEALS

We shall stand by the State of Israel, for we are allied to our people there in destiny for all time. We were one people before the State was created; we remain one people now and forever. The mystic cord has not been parted. The establishment of the center of its national life in Israel can only serve to strengthen the age-old bond of unity. Why should timorous Jews wish to weaken that bond, reintroduce Babel into our lives, mix and bewilder our common loyalties and disunite and scatter us as unrelated pockets and fragments over the face of the earth? Who will profit from such dismemberment? Why should our clearly defined, readily accepted and acknowledged, different but not contrary and opposing political allegiances estrange us? On the contrary. *We share with the Jews of Israel such correspondence of spiritual outlook, of democratic ideals, of fundamental conceptions of the sacredness of human personality and the unalienable rights of man, which are all derived from our common religious traditions as to make us natural allies, as well as strong and dependable allies of the rest of the free world.*

Our own beloved country, the United

States of America, has industriously sought out allies in every part of the world and has poured out vast substance to strengthen them in order to cement a firm union with them for a common defense. As taxpayers, we American Jews have contributed out of our resources not insignificantly to the billions which our government has paid out in aid, grants and subsidies to buttress the economies of many nations, large and small.

HELP FOR ISRAEL HELPS FREEDOM

If, in addition, the Jews of America contribute out of their substance and generosity to the economic strengthening of the State of Israel, the most progressive and dependable democratic state in the most critical strategic area in the world today—if we reenforce a State whose survival is vital to the cause of the free world and is at the same time indispensable to the security of the Jewish people, are we to be blamed for it or acclaimed? *Can anyone deny that we share with our people in Israel a common defense against evil forces which would destroy us as Jews—as they have attempted so often in the past and at times with such terrible success? Has Israel not already demonstrated its great service to our people in one of its darkest hours when it offered asylum to hundreds of thousands of our people who otherwise would have been doomed? Need we apologize for wishing to strengthen that State and cement our union with our people there? Why, then, do some Jews and their readily available non-Jewish mouthpieces distort and misrepresent our motives, bear false witness against the honor and loyalty of our citizenship, and charge us with irresponsible pressure upon our government to cause it to act against its own best interests in giving assistance to the State of*

Israel? What is their purpose? Is it to cause the hands of Moses to fall while his people are engaged in the battle with Amalek, and so cause them to suffer defeat at their hands?

NO APPEASEMENT AT ISRAEL'S EXPENSE

What stronger friend has our country in that part of the world? Shall America repeat the tragic blunder of Great Britain which for years sacrificed the legitimate rights of the Jewish people in Palestine and dishonored her pledges and commitments in order to woo and appease the Arab world, only to find herself in the end hated and betrayed by the whole Arab world? The White Paper of 1939, which was intended to put an end for all time to the hope of a Jewish State in Palestine, only served to usher in the rapid and fateful disintegration of British influence in the entire Middle East. *The influence of the free world in that area of fateful political arbitrament in the coming years will likewise not be achieved through any program of appeasement at the expense of Israel.* What is indicated is not small-time political juggling and boundary gerrymandering, but large-visioned statesmanship which will give maximum support to the hard-pressed but intrinsically sound and dependable State of Israel, as well as maximum support to the backward Arab states to improve the lot of their people, raise their standard of living, health and education, and so revive the whole Near East and usher in an era of great development and prosperity for all. The Arab world, once convinced by the affirmative attitude and cooperation of the Great Powers that the State of Israel is there to stay, strong and defended, will make peace—a peace which will be a boon to them as well as to Israel.

Together they will command the resources, the man-power, the technical skill and the enterprise to revolutionize that vast, rich, but neglected section of the earth. Together, in cooperation, they will achieve what in hostility and conflict they can only forfeit.

Why are we here? To see that all this comes about! And until all this does come about, to insure that our own help and support, which we ourselves control, will continue uninterrupted. We cannot control or direct the world's support, and from experience we have learned that its understanding of a situation is frequently tardy and insufficient.

MONEY IS THE LIFE-BLOOD

Herein lies the answer to the second question; why are we raising money for Israel? *At the moment, money is the life-blood of the whole enterprise.* It should not be overlooked that in its present financial straits, Israel is no different from other nations, some of them much greater, older and richer—Great Britain, for example, and France and Italy. They all find themselves in grave economic distress and they have turned for help not once but many times in recent years, and again this year, to the United States. In the five-year period between 1945 and 1950, our government extended to foreign countries nearly nineteen billion dollars in grants, and ten and one-half billions more in credits.

HOW LONG MUST WE HELP?

Nor is the economic history of Israel different from the history of our country at the time of its founding. All countries which had to pass through the rugged stages of pioneering days or the upheavals of wars and revo-

lutions have faced the same problems that face Israel today.*

The answer to our third question—how long will we have to continue to do it?—does not entirely rest with us. Assuredly as long as we shall ask of Israel to accept and harbor homeless or endangered fellow-Jews from this or that part of the world—and as long as those whom we have already sent there are still a financial burden upon the State — so long will we have to give our support.

THEY STRAIN EVERY NERVE

As rapidly, however, as the country, through its expanding industry, trade, commerce and agriculture, reaches a point of economic safety and balance, just so rapidly will the need of outside aid in the form of campaigns subside. *The citizens of Israel and their government are straining their every nerve, working with heart and brain under a nigh-intolerable strain and stress to set their house in order and to make their country self-sustaining as quickly as possible.* They make mistakes, to be sure. How could it be otherwise? And we have a right to insist that they learn from their mistakes and abandon methods which retard the country's progress. We must not hesitate to offer honest criticism even when some of their leaders do not like it. There is no immunity from criticism in a free world by citizens of one's own country or by those of another, especially when large-scale and continuing support is solicited from citizens of another country, and their favorable opinion and good will are vital to its progress and stability. Such friendly criticism

* Following these remarks, Dr. Silver quoted from "The Rise of American Civilization" by Charles and Mary Beard.

which is involved in the very nature of any covenant of cooperation should be welcomed and carefully weighed. The Israeli are anxious to become self-dependent and not rely indefinitely upon assistance from without, even if it is given willingly by their fellow-Jews. When that time arrives, there will be no further need for campaigns to assist the Israel economy. Jews may then wish to continue to invest private capital in Israel, which form of useful and profitable investment we hope will continue indefinitely.

TO CONTINUE AS A GREAT PEOPLE

And as to what we hope to accomplish by it all: why, nothing more or less than the survival of our people in freedom, in security and in dignity in the world. *We wish to remain on the stage of history as a great and significant people.* What moves us today is the same vision which, like a pillar of fire, guided our forefathers through the wilderness to the Promised Land in the days of Moses and Joshua and in the battle days of the Judges and the wars of Saul and David—the vision which remained undimmed in the Babylonian exile and was redeemed with the return from captivity, the vision which was defended by the Maccabees and consecrated in the heroic deaths of those who defied the might of Rome, the vision which burnt athwart the darkness of two thousand years in exile, and in our day shone over the nameless graves of six million of our martyred dead only to blaze forth finally in full resplendent glory, and come to rest in Israel rebuilt.

We want to build in Israel a society and a way of life which will match the grandeur of that vision and give meaning to our constancy, and point to our millennial sacrifices.

WE HAVE ACHIEVED A NEW DIGNITY

The creation of the State of Israel has already accomplished much for us. It has given sanctuary to hundreds of thousands of our people for whom the great world, with its vast, empty spaces crying for human settlement and development, could find no room. It has infused the sorely tried and languishing spirit of our people with a new hope, a new dignity and a new zest for life. We are rediscovering the essential Jew, the Jew of history who could hurl thunderbolts of revelation across the world, defy empires and mold the civilization of mankind. Our children are growing up in a new atmosphere of respect for the Jew.

MUCH WILL YET COME TO BE

This is being accomplished. Much else will yet come to be. Much else will yet flow out of this historic act, but we are not qualified to prophesy. It would be strange, however, if the Jews in Israel, reacting to the impact of their historic surroundings and the example and prompting all about them of greatness and excellence of former generations of ancestors, challenged by their own good fortune in escaping from slavery to freedom and being reborn, as it were, into a new life, and eager to vindicate themselves and their people in the eyes of the whole world—*it will be strange, indeed, if they would not in time produce incomparable precious values which will, again as in the early days, enrich and bless mankind.*

Issued by UNITED JEWISH APPEAL
165 W. 46th St., New York 36, N. Y.



PROGRAM

National Conference *United Jewish Appeal*

on behalf of

United Palestine Appeal

Joint Distribution Committee

United Service for New Americans

FRIDAY, DECEMBER 14

SATURDAY, DECEMBER 15

SUNDAY, DECEMBER 16, 1951

TRAYMORE HOTEL



ATLANTIC CITY, N. J.

FRIDAY, DECEMBER 14

12:15 P.M.

LUNCHEON

ROSE ROOM

*

Plenary Session

*

EDWARD M. M. WARBURG

General Chairman, United Jewish Appeal

OPENING STATEMENT

RUDOLF G. SONNEBORN

National Chairman, United Palestine Appeal

PRESIDING

SAMUEL BACKER

President, Atlantic City Federation of Jewish Charities

GREETINGS

The Needs in 1952

WALTER BIERINGER

President, United Service for New Americans

MOSES W. BECKELMAN

Director-General, Joint Distribution Committee

ELLIS RADINSKY

Executive Director, United Palestine Appeal

General Discussion

For purposes of this discussion, the following panel of experts will be present to elaborate and supplement the presentations of the needs and budgets of the UJA constituent agencies: Louis L. Bennett, Executive Director, New York Association for New Americans; Arthur Greenleigh, Executive Director, United Service for New Americans; Gottlieb Hammer, Executive Director, Jewish Agency for Palestine; Moses A. Leavitt, Executive Vice-Chairman, Joint Distribution Committee, and Ann S. Petluck, Assistant Executive Director, United Service for New Americans.

FRIDAY EVENING, DECEMBER 14

There is no general session scheduled for Friday evening. There will be, however, an Oneg Shabbat for the National Women's Division, as listed below.

7:00 P.M.

ROSE ROOM

ONEG SHABBAT

NATIONAL WOMEN'S DIVISION

DINNER



SATURDAY, DECEMBER 15

The Conference will not meet in general session until 6:30 P.M. However, the following informal meeting will be held during the day.

2:00 P.M.

ROSE ROOM

*

Steering Committee

*

MILTON KAHN

Member, Executive Committee, Combined Jewish Appeal
of Boston

PRESIDING

THE HONORABLE DAVID HCROWITZ

Director-General, Ministry of Finance, State of Israel

JULIAN FREEMAN

President, Council of Jewish Federations and Welfare Funds

JACK D. WEILER

Chairman, United Jewish Appeal of Greater New York

THE STEERING COMMITTEE

Members of the Steering Committee have been designated in advance by the communities. All members will have special cards, which they are asked to bring with them. The selection of members was based on this formula:

Communities with Jewish populations of from 2,000 to 15,000 were asked to designate one delegate; communities with Jewish populations between 15,000 and 40,000 were invited to name two delegates; communities with Jewish populations in excess of 40,000 were asked to designate three delegates; New York City has 15 delegates in view of its large Jewish population. The eight regions of the Council of Jewish Federations and Welfare Funds were asked to designate two delegates each, and 25 individuals have been chosen from the country at large. In addition, the Committee includes seven national officers of the UJA.

This is the principal committee of the Conference. Its business is three-fold: To chart American Jewry's responsibility in 1952; to map the aims and the objectives of the United Jewish Appeal; and to consider campaign problems in relation to the UJA in 1952. Attendance by members is vital to assure the broadest possible representation and expression of the views of American Jewry.

Arrangements have been made to accommodate a limited number of delegates who may wish to attend. The resolutions that emerge from this committee will be presented for amendment and action at the Plenary Session, Sunday morning in the American Room.

SATURDAY EVENING, DECEMBER 15

6:30 P.M.

DINNER

AMERICAN ROOM

*

Plenary Session

*

RABBI JONAH B. WISE

National Chairman, United Jewish Appeal

PRESIDING

BERL LOCKER

Chairman, Jewish Agency for Palestine, Jerusalem

RABBI ABBA HILLEL SILVER

H. E. DAVID ZVI PINKAS

Minister of Communications of the State of Israel

THE HONORABLE WILLIAM O. DOUGLAS

Associate Justice, United States Supreme Court

SUNDAY, DECEMBER 16

10:00 A.M.

AMERICAN ROOM

✱

Plenary Session and Resolutions

✱

MORRIS W. BERINSTEIN

Chairman, National Campaign Cabinet, UJA

PRESIDING

MRS. S. ALEXANDER BRAILOVE

Chairman, National Women's Division, UJA

DR. JOSEPH J. SCHWARTZ

Executive Vice-Chairman, United Jewish Appeal

Report of Steering Committee

General Discussion

Adoption of Resolutions

H. E. ABBA S. EBAN

Ambassador of Israel to the United States

12:30 P.M.

LUNCHEON

AMERICAN ROOM

※

Plenary Session

※

WILLIAM ROSENWALD

National Chairman, United Jewish Appeal

PRESIDING

Presentation of Checks

THE HONORABLE JOHN GIBSON

Chairman, U. S. Displaced Persons Commission

DR. NAHUM GOLDMANN

Chairman, Jewish Agency for Palestine, New York

EDWARD M. M. WARBURG

Chairman, Joint Distribution Committee
General Chairman, United Jewish Appeal

SERVICE GUIDE FOR DELEGATES

For the convenience of delegates, representatives of the various departments of the national office of the United Jewish Appeal are available for consultation regarding any aspect of local or national campaign activity.

FIELD SERVICE PINE ROOM
Sholem Sontup, Director

SPEAKERS' BUREAU PINE ROOM
Arthur Fishzohn, Director

TRADE AND INDUSTRY DIVISION PINE ROOM
Peter B. Colwin, Director

NATIONAL WOMEN'S DIVISION PINE ROOM
Mrs. Marvin Stang, Director

PUBLICITY ROOM 125
Raphael Levy, Director

TRANSPORTATION SERVICE
FOR DELEGATES ROOM 129
John J. Merva, Director

REGISTRATION MAIN LOBBY

NATIONAL CAMPAIGN CABINET

MORRIS W. BERINSTEIN

Chairman

Trade and Industry Division

HERBERT R. ABELES

Chairman

Regional Division

MORITZ M. GOTTLIEB

Chairman

Speakers' Division

ALEX LOWENTHAL

Chairman

MAURICE BERNON

LOUIS BERRY

BENJAMIN G. BROWDY

CHARLES BROWN

EDDIE CANTOR

JOSEPH CHERNER

SAMUEL H. DAROFF

LLOYD W. DINKELSPIEL

HENRY FEFERMAN

NOLAN GLAZER

HAROLD A. GOLDMAN

ISRAEL GOLDSTEIN

E. N. GRUESKIN

JOSEPH HOLTZMAN

I. S. JOSEPH

MILTON KAHN

STANLEY J. KANN

A. S. KAY

HYMEN LEFCOWITZ

JULIUS LIVINGSTON

PHIL W. LOWN

SOL LUCKMAN

JOSEPH MAZER

BARNEY MEDINTZ

JOSEPH MEYERHOFF

IRVING S. NORRY

CHARLES J. ROSENBLOOM

SAMUEL ROTHBERG

JOSEPH SHULMAN

DEWEY D. STONE

JULIAN B. VENEZKY

JACK D. WEILER

OFFICERS OF THE 1951 UNITED JEWISH APPEAL

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HENRY MORGENTHAU, JR.

General Chairman
EDWARD M. M. WARBURG

National Chairmen
WILLIAM ROSENWALD RUDOLF G. SONNEBORN
JONAH B. WISE

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Assistant Executive Vice-Chairman
MICHAEL M. NISSELSOHN

National Women's Division
MRS. HERBERT H. LEHMAN MRS. DAVID M. LEVY
MRS. FELIX M. WARBURG

Honorary Chairmen
MRS. S. A. BRAILOVE
Chairman

National Field Director
SHOLEM SONTUP

The Temple Bulletin

Published Weekly by
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Cleveland, Ohio



Vol. XXXVIII

JANUARY 20, 1952

No. 12

Sunday Morning Service

10:30 o'clock

RABBI SILVER

will speak on:

The Importance of My World

Concluding lecture in series, "An Album of Importance"

Friday Evening Service
5:30 to 6:10

Saturday Morning Service
11:15 to 12:00

ARMED SERVICES COMMITTEE FORMED

Because of the increasing number of men and women entering the armed services of our country, The Temple has organized a committee to solicit the names and addresses of all Temple members or children of Temple members who are in the armed forces. We should like to send The Temple Bulletin regularly to all such persons, and from time to time on the occasion of certain holidays, The Temple plans to send small remembrances.

Mrs. Maurice S. Miller is Chairman of the committee. Serving with her are

Mrs. J. B. Bloomfield and Mrs. I. B. Silber representing The Temple Women's Association, Leon H. Henry representing the Men's Club, Mr. and Mrs. Joel I. Bennett representing the Mr. and Mrs. Club, and Harry Koppel representing the Alumni Association. Ex-officio members are Mrs. Irwin Yoelson and Rabbi Earl S. Stone.

Plans for the work of the Committee will be made at its first meeting, Monday evening, January 21st. In the meantime information concerning service men and women may be sent

to Mrs. Maurice S. Miller, 2872 Washington Blvd., YE 2-0436.

THANK YOU!

The flowers which will grace the altar on Sunday morning, January 20th are the gift of Mrs. Bert Keller in memory of her mother, Mrs. Pauline Rose.

The Temple Bulletin

The Temple

Congregation Tifereth Israel
(Founded 1850)

Rabbis:

Abba Hillel Silver, D.D., Litt.D., D.H.L., D.HUM.

Earl Stanley Stone, M.H.L.

Assistant Rabbi
Director of Religious Education

Ass't. Director of Religious Education
MILDRED B. EISENBERG

Executive Secretary
LEO S. BAMBERGER

Librarian
MIRIAM LEIKIND

Organist and Choir Director
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A. M. Luntz.....President
L. W. Neumark.....Vice-President
A. B. Efroymson.....Treasurer

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SWEETBRIAR 1-7755

RABBI SILVER CONCLUDES SERIES

On Sunday morning Rabbi Silver will deliver the final address in the series, "An Album of Importance", speaking on the subject, "The Importance of My World".

Beginning December 2nd, the series included discussions on "The Importance of My Self", "The Importance of My Family", "The Importance of My Neighbor", and "The Importance of My Country". The concluding address on January 20th brings to a close this stimulating discussion of the individual's relationships to all facets of society.

MUSIC FOR SUNDAY

Organ	<i>Toccata in D minor</i>	Nevin
	<i>Pastorale</i>	Matthews
	<i>Solitude</i>	Lemare
	Mr. Willard	
Opening Psalm		
	<i>Ma Tovu</i>	Grim
The Service		Thatcher
	<i>Bor'chu - Sh'ma -</i>	
	<i>Michomocho - Kedusha</i>	
Silent Devotion		Thatcher
	<i>May the Words</i>	
	The Choir	
Before the Address		
	<i>"Cry aloud - spare not" -</i>	Patton
	<i>from Isaiah</i>	
	Mrs. Babb	

JUNIOR HIGH DEPARTMENT PARENT-TEACHER MEETING

Wednesday, January 23rd, 8:15 P.M.

Program

8:15 - 9:00	Classroom Meeting with Teachers
9:00 - 9:45	General Assembly, Mahler Hall
	Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver
	Rabbi Earl S. Stone
9:45	Music by Junior High School Children
	(in honor of Jewish Music Month)

Refreshments

ALUMNI PLANS WINTER SPORTS AFFAIRS

The Temple Alumni Association announces that they are beginning the New Year with an informal affair at Sleepy Hollow. A winter picnic is planned for Sunday, January 27th, at 3:30 p.m. Winter sports, including hiking, ice skating, etc., have been arranged. Additional games will be held indoors. Supper will be prepared at an open barbecue pit. Community singing and dancing will follow.

Chairman for the program is Sylvia Weiss. Assisting her are Jordan Perlman, Sheldon Gerson, Doris Goldberg, Sheldon Katz, Yetta Zwelling, and Aileen Biales. Miss Biales is President of the Senior Class of The Temple High School, and the class has been invited to participate with the Alumni Association in this affair.

For transportation arrangements and other information, get in touch with Sylvia Weiss, FA 1-4024.

HIGH SCHOOL PARENTS' DISCUSSION GROUP

The High School Parents' Discussion Group, originally scheduled for December 18th, will be held on Tuesday, January 29th, at 8:15 p.m. at the home of Mr. and Mrs. Harry Bassichis, 2988 Scarborough Road.

Rabbi Stone will discuss the influence of Rabbi Hillel on Jewish history and thinking. The discussion will be based on the recent book, "Hillel", by Rabbi Ely Pilchek which was recently reviewed in The Temple Bulletin.

Co-Chairmen of the High School Religious School Committee are Mrs. Charles Estrin and Mrs. Harry Bassichis.

ACKNOWLEDGMENT

Mr. B. D. Zevin, president of The World Publishing Company, has presented to the Library of The Temple a copy of the Bruce Rogers World Bible which the company published in 1949 and of which a limited edition of 975 copies has been issued. This folio Bible is of noble proportions and is in the great Bible tradition in composition, type face, quality of paper and binding. It was magnificently conceived and executed. It is a rare and beautiful example of American book-making craftsmanship. The Temple is very grateful to Mr. Zevin for this Bible which now takes its place alongside of other copies of important Bibles in the Library of The Temple.

MR. AND MRS. CLUB

Monday, January 28, 8:15 P.M.

MAHLER HALL

Speaker:

LOUIS B. SELTZER
Editor, Cleveland Press

Open to Members and Their Parents

TEMPLE MEN'S CLUB

Comparative Religions Course

"PROTESTANTISM"

Speaker:

REVEREND HARRY B. TAYLOR
Minister of Church of the Covenant

Friday Evening, January 25th
8:15 p.m., Gries Memorial Chapel

**ADDRESS OF DR. ABBA HILLEL SILVER
BEFORE THE NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF
THE UNITED JEWISH APPEAL**

Saturday, December 15, 1951 — Atlantic City, New Jersey

I should like to address myself this evening to a few questions. Why are we here? Why are we raising money for Israel? How long will we have to continue to do it? What do we hope to accomplish by it? These are fair questions, and fair and frank answers are called for. The answers are not all new, but they bear repeating. Events today move so rapidly and the climate of events changes so rapidly and new interests break in upon us with such clamorous insistence that we are prone to forget what was so clear and luminous to us only a short while ago, and what was to us then of such vast, urgent and cardinal importance.

We are here through no compulsion. The summons to which we responded appealed to us. We have been coming to similar convocations for some time now. We are aware that there is a momentous task which must be completed in behalf of our people and that the crisis which alerted our generation and requisitioned our leaders and their faithful followers for urgent service is not yet over.

Much has been accomplished—extraordinary, stirring and memorable. Much yet remains to be accomplished—and the permanence and enduring success of what has been done depends inexorably upon what is yet to be done. To stop mid-way is to fail all the way. We shall have solved some problems only to have created others and more serious ones.

Thus, for example, we have emptied the detention camps of Europe and other danger zones in Moslem lands. We transported our refugees to Israel. That is an enormous and praise-worthy achievement. But it is only a partial achievement. Unless these refugees are permanently settled and established, housed, fed, clothed, healed and integrated as productive citizens in their new home, we shall have done little more than prolong their abnormal existence, sharpen their unhappiness into resentment and turbulence, and created grievous and dangerous problems for the infant State of Israel. We shall have succeeded only in transferring the problem from alien soil to the soil of Israel where we alone, in the sight of the world, will be held responsible for all that transpires.

We builded a State—we and our brothers in Israel; we with our resources, they with their resources and blood. That is the most magnificent achievement in our history. We are as yet too near the event properly to appraise it. To see big things in their true perspective, one must see them from a distance. Few events in the whole story of mankind have such breathtaking glory about them, but there is the danger that in the common air and through the traffic of everyday usage, that glory may soon be tarnished. Where in the whole world today can one see a more colorful and inspiring pageant of a people's redemption, of building and ingathering, of social vision and prophetic design, of the reclamation of man, of soul and of soil than one sees today in Israel?

Quite unconsciously we of this generation proved ourselves to be of an heroic mold. This is our great age. We shall long be remembered in times that we shall not see for what we wrought in our day. We did something which in the long and weary centuries our forefathers did not or could not do. We stopped putting patches on an old gabardine, patches of relief, of charity, of intercession, of protest, of illusions. The Jewish people of our generation broke its chains and fought its way to freedom. It set about building a new life for itself, and hewed out of the stubborn rock of circumstances a new world for itself—free, proud, strong with the inner strength of self-reliance and self-esteem. There is epic grandeur to what we have builded after two thousand years. There is no splendor comparable to that of the people of Israel now risen from its immemorial crucifixion.

But what we have builded with zeal and vision, and with true line and plummet is not yet finished. It is far from finished. Even the foundations have not yet all been securely laid. Neither politically nor economically nor socially has the State been durably established. A day and a year are sufficient in which to destroy a state. A generation and a century are not too long a time in which to establish it. The builders in Israel have been like the builders of the walls of Jerusalem in the day of Ezra and Nehemiah; "everyone had his sword girded by his

side and so builded." There is no peace as yet on the borders of Israel. The political tensions are mounting. The Middle East is in ferment. The drain of the military budget upon the resources of the new state, the burden of absorbing annually myriads of impoverished immigrants, added to the unfavorable balance of trade which is characteristic of any pioneering country of limited natural resources and of incipient industrial development, are seriously threatening the economic stability of the State. Nor are the solutions of these problems made any easier by the inner conflicts and maladjustments within the State, the clash of cultures and backgrounds, the political dogmatism and fragmentation which, unfortunately, are the inevitable by-products of a new world in the making out of the human material which the Galut deposited upon the shores of Israel.

The enemy is waiting for a collapse of this structure. Because he believes in the imminence of such a collapse, he has been maneuvering against every attempt to conclude peace. If now we stop half-way in the work of completing and strengthening this edifice which we have so nobly begun, we shall be blindly playing the enemy's game. We shall be letting down disastrously the gallant builders in Israel, they who do the actual work—"the carpenters and builders, the masons and the hewers of stone", they who relied so much on our steadfastness and our loyal supply and provision. We shall also be betraying ourselves into the world's scorn and contempt, which attitude could prove dangerous to our status in the world tomorrow.

When we pleaded through the years with the conscience of the world for the right to rebuild our national home, we presented not only valid arguments for the justice of our claim, but we also asserted our full confidence in our ability and in our capacity to build a state. The nations of the world were skeptical. Jews are not state-builders. They are very skillful and resourceful in other people's homes. In their own they will have neither the physical stamina to do the spade-work, to dig the ditches, to clear the wilderness, nor the skill to set up a government of their own, nor the courage to defend it, nor the statesmanship to preserve it, nor the spiritual hardihood to persevere. We undertook to reason with them against their pre-judgments and disparagements. Give us the chance, and we will demonstrate! Give us the chance and we will make good! To some of their strictures we were able to reply at once by pointing to the quality, skill and efficiency of our pioneering work already done in Palestine by

Jewish labor of hand and mind and spirit. The War of Liberation which was fought by the poorly equipped and vastly out-numbered army of Israel against the armies of five aggressor nations who invaded Palestine simultaneously, demonstrated to an astonished world the unsuspected and unsurpassed fighting prowess and sacrificial valor of the men and women of Israel. Israel was also not found wanting in skill to set up a functioning government in the midst of war and economic dislocation and to undertake along with it the colossal task of absorbing hundreds of thousands of immigrants streaming in from all parts of the world.

What remains to be demonstrated is whether we possess the statesmanship to preserve the State, and whether the Jews of the world possess the spiritual hardihood to persevere in the long, hard pull ahead. This is the severest test of all. It is our strength which is being tested, our wisdom and our staying power. We who were long-suffering in exile and servitude must learn to be long-enduring for freedom. We who were patient with oppression and degradation for so long, and paid such a frightful price in substance and in blood, must be patient with the needs and requirements of a free, sovereign Jewish State, only three years old. If we fail in this, we fail in all, and we shall then stand condemned in the scornful eyes of the world, as pretentious braggarts, who imposed upon the credulity of the world, who were never really competent to build and maintain a land of their own and who are justly fated to national homelessness. It does not require great imagination to realize what this conclusion once reached would do to the dignity and the status of the Jews everywhere in the world, and to future generations of Jews who will pity and condemn our blindness and obtuseness. We have reached the point of no return!

Why are we here? To see that this does not happen! While we did not build the State of Israel to win the world's approbation, we will not permit it to go under to justify the world's disapprobation. What we set our hands to do in love and faith and high enthusiasm, we shall complete in self-respect and loyalty and honor.

We shall stand by the State of Israel through its present trials and difficulties, because, in helping to create it, we assumed tremendous commitments which will not be fully discharged until the State of Israel is strong and secure and safely launched upon its historic career.

We shall stand by the State of Israel because many of its present crushing burdens are those which we ourselves placed upon its shoulders. It is we and Diaspora Jewry generally who sent 600,000, mostly penniless immigrants, many of them aged and many more dependent, in three short years, to the shores of Israel, and asked the government of Israel to receive them, care for them, rehabilitate them and give them permanent homes and opportunities for livelihood. The State of Israel eagerly welcomed them, but at what staggering cost to itself in terms of lowering the standard of living for its people, in terms of austerities, of shortages of food and the necessities of life, of rationing, of inflation, of overcrowding, of tensions and strains and the ever-present menace of economic disaster. Economically, they now find themselves in a grim Valley Forge. Are we really free to disengage ourselves of responsibility for the burden which we placed upon the State? Would our sense of Jewish solidarity and the high ethical mandates of our history permit it?

We shall stand by the State of Israel, for its role as an immediately available sanctuary and refuge for the presently homeless and menaced of our people is still greatly in demand. And who is bold enough to predict the future? The overwhelming testimony of our history derived from all climes, all ages, all peoples, and all cultures warrants no dogmatic optimism. A careful look around our world today will persuade no one that we are on the threshold of the millennium.

We shall stand by the State of Israel for it will welcome in the future as in the past some, perhaps many of our people, who will go there out of choice in quest of complete fulfillment and integration, peace of soul and warm fellowship in the congenial environment of their own kith and kin. That land of enchantment has always drawn to it sons and daughters of our people from the East and from the West, and the pilgrim and the spiritual wayfarer, as with a powerful magnet.

We shall stand by the State of Israel, for we are allied to our people there in destiny for all time. We were one people before the State was created; we remain one people now and forever. The mystic cord has not been parted. The re-establishment of the center of its national life in Israel can only serve to strengthen the age-old bond of unity. Why should timorous Jews now wish to weaken that bond, confound our ancient loyalties, and reduce an organic

Jewish community into a wreckage of disjected members? Who will profit from such dismemberment? Why should our clearly defined, accepted and acknowledged, different but not opposing political allegiances estrange us? On the contrary. We share with the Jews of Israel such correspondence of spiritual outlook, of democratic ideals, of fundamental conceptions of the sacredness of human personality and the unalienable rights of man, which are all derived from our common religious traditions as to make us natural allies, as well as strong and dependable allies of the rest of the free world.

Our own beloved country, the United States of America, has industriously sought out allies in every part of the world and has poured out vast substance to strengthen them in order to cement a firm union with them for a common defense. As taxpayers, we American Jews have contributed out of our resources not insignificantly to the billions which our government has paid out in aid, grants and subsidies to buttress the economies of many nations, large and small. If, in addition, the Jews of America contribute out of their substance and generosity additionally to the economic strengthening of the State of Israel, the most progressive and dependable democratic state in the most critical strategic area in the world today,—if they reinforce a State whose survival is vital to the cause of the free world and, is at the same time indispensable to the security of the Jewish people, are we to be blamed for it or acclaimed? Can anyone deny that we share with our people in Israel a common defense against evil forces which would destroy us as Jews—as they have attempted so often in the past and at times with such terrible success? Has Israel not already demonstrated its great service to our people in one of its darkest hours when it offered asylum to hundreds of thousands of our people who otherwise would have been doomed? Need we apologize for wishing to strengthen that State and cement our union with our people there? Why, then, do some Jews and their readily available non-Jewish mouthpieces distort and misrepresent our motives, bear false witness against the honor and loyalty of our citizenship, and charge us with irresponsible pressure upon our government to cause it to act against its own best interests in giving assistance to the State of Israel? What is their purpose? Is it to cause the hands of Moses to fall while his people are engaged in the battle with Amalek, and so cause them to suffer defeat at their hands?

What stronger friend has our country in that part of the world? Shall America repeat the tragic blunder of Great Britain which for years sacrificed the legitimate rights of the Jewish people in Palestine and dishonored her pledges and commitments in order to woo and appease the Arab world, only to find herself in the end hated and betrayed by the whole Arab world? The White Paper of '39 which was intended to put an end for all time to the hope of a Jewish State in Palestine, only served to usher in the rapid and fateful disintegration of British influence in the entire Middle East. The influence of the free world in that area of fateful political arbitrament in the coming years will likewise not be achieved through any program of appeasement at the expense of Israel. What is indicated is not small-time political juggling and boundary gerrymandering, but large-visioned statesmanship which will give maximum support to the hard-pressed but intrinsically sound and dependable State of Israel, as well as maximum support to the backward Arab states to improve the lot of their people, raise their standard of living, health and education, and so revive the whole Near East and usher in an era of great development and prosperity for all. The Arab world, once convinced by the affirmative attitude and co-operation of the Great Powers that the State of Israel is there to stay, strong and defended, will make peace—a peace which will be a boon to them as well as to Israel. Together they will command the resources, the manpower, the technical skill and the enterprise to revolutionize that vast, rich, but neglected section of the earth. Together, in cooperation, they will achieve what in hostility and conflict they can only forfeit.

Why are we here? To see that all this comes about! And until all this does come about, to insure that our own help and support, which we ourselves control, will continue uninterrupted. We cannot control or direct the world's support, and from experience we have learned that its understanding of a situation is frequently tardy and insufficient.

Herein lies the answer to the second question: why are we raising money for Israel? At the moment money is the life-blood of the whole enterprise. It should not be overlooked that in its present financial straits, Israel is no different from other nations, some of them much greater, older and richer—Great Britain, for example, and France and Italy. They all find themselves in grave economic distress, and they have turned for help not once but many

times in recent years, and again this year, to the United States. In the five-year period between 1945-1950, our government extended to foreign countries nearly 19 billion dollars in grants and 10½ billions more in credits.

Nor is the economic history of Israel different from the history of our own country at the time of its founding. Commenting on the financial difficulties which confronted the American Colonies before the Revolution, the Beards write in "The Rise of American Civilization":

For goods bought in English markets, the colonists had no large supply of precious metals with which to pay; they were always heavily in debt for commodities purchased and capital borrowed. Efforts to secure specie, bills of exchange, and acceptable materials by means of which to discharge their obligations in London kept them at their wits' ends . . . Turn and twist as they might, the colonist continually labored under the disabilities of chronic debtors.

Of their difficulties during the Revolution, they write:

Between 1775 and 1779, the Congress issued about two hundred and forty million dollars in bills to be redeemed by the states on a quota basis, a huge total almost equalled by the emissions of the local legislatures, making in the end over four hundred and fifty millions in such notes.

The next resort was domestic and foreign loans. Certificates, similar to modern bonds, were sold in the home market through loan offices set up in the states . . . To this unstable pyramid was attached a mass of certificates issued by military officers and by supply agents to pay for food, clothing, and other goods impressed for the use of the army. After the conflict was advanced a little way, help was obtained from abroad. Small subsidies, in the form of gifts, were secured from France and Spain. These were followed by regular loans . . . It is difficult to believe that the Congress could have staggered through the Revolution if it had not procured such generous financial assistance from the government at Paris . . . The confusion that reigned in the operations of this fiscal system defies description. As paper money was poured out by the Congress, it fell rapidly in value: in 1779 one paper dollar was worth only two or three cents in specie. Attempts to stabilize it were futile; it slipped almost steadily downward into the abyss, until at length there was no term of contempt so expressive as "not worth a continental" . . .

Of the period after the Revolution, the Beards write:

Seven years of war, waged by an improvised Continental Congress without traditions, authority or strength, had thrown all economic functions into confusion and disorganized society in every direction . . .

In an equally chaotic condition were the current finances. The Congress in due course made requisitions on the states to pay its bills, but it was fortunate if it

received in any year one-fourth of the amount demanded, and during the last 14 months of its life, less than half a million in paper money was paid into the treasury—not enough to meet the interest on the foreign debt alone.

Such is the history of all countries who had to pass through the rugged stages of pioneering days or the upheavals of wars and revolutions. Why some of us expected that the new State of Israel would be spared these inevitable experiences has always been a mystery to me.

The answer to our third question: how long will we have to continue to do it? does not entirely rest with us. Assuredly as long as we shall ask of Israel to accept and harbor homeless or endangered fellow-Jews from this or that part of the world—and as long as those whom we have already sent there are still a financial burden upon the State—so long will we have to give our support. As long as the war danger exists on the borders of Israel and there is need for costly defense measures to insure survival, so long will we want to assist in ways which will lighten the burden.

As rapidly, however, as the country, through its expanding industry, trade, commerce and agriculture, reaches a point of economic safety and balance, just so rapidly will the need of outside aid in the form of campaigns subside. The citizens of Israel and their government are straining their every nerve, working with heart and brain under a high intolerable strain and stress to set their house in order, and to make their country self-sustaining as quickly as possible. They make mistakes, to be sure. How could it be otherwise? And we have a right to insist that they learn from their mistakes and abandon methods which retard the country's progress. We must not hesitate to offer honest criticism even when some of their leaders do not like it—and in their pique make foolish and mischievous statements. There is no immunity from criticism in a free world by citizens of one's own country or by those of another, especially when large-scale and continuing support is solicited from citizens of another country, and their favorable opinion and good will are vital to its progress and stability. Friendly criticism which is involved in the very nature of any covenant of cooperation should be welcomed and carefully weighed by both sides. The Israeli are anxious to become self-dependent and not rely indefinitely upon assistance from without even if it is given willingly by their fellow-Jews. When that time arrives, there will be no further need for campaigns to assist the Israeli economy. Jews may then

wish to continue to invest private capital in Israel which form of useful and profitable investment we hope will continue indefinitely. But all this has to do with fruit-time; ours is still seed-time.

And as to what we hope to accomplish by it all: why, nothing more or less than the survival of our people in freedom, in security and in dignity in the world. We wish to remain on the stage of history as a great and significant people. What moves us today is the same vision which, like a pillar of fire, guided our forefathers through the wilderness to the Promised Land in the days of Moses and Joshua, and in the battle-days of the Judges and the wars of Saul and David—the vision which remained undimmed in the Babylonian exile and was redeemed with the return from captivity, the vision which was defended by the Maccabees and consecrated in the heroic deaths of those who defied the might of Rome, the vision which burnt athwart the darkness of two thousand years of exile, and in our day, shone over the nameless graves of six million of our martyred dead only to blaze forth in full resplendent glory, and come to rest at last in Israel redeemed and rebuilt.

We want to build in Israel a society and a way of life which will match the grandeur of that vision and give meaning to our constancy and point to our millennial sacrifices.

The creation of the State of Israel has already accomplished much for us. It has given sanctuary to hundreds of

thousands of our people for whom the great world, with its vast, empty spaces, crying for human settlement and development, could find no room. It has infused the sorely tried and languishing spirit of our people with a new hope, a new dignity and a new zest for life. We are rediscovering the essential Jew, the Jew of history who could hurl thunderbolts of revelation across the world, defy empires and mold the civilization of mankind. Our children are growing up in a new atmosphere of respect for the Jew, and therefore, with a new sense of respect for themselves. The psychic curse of the Galut is being exorcized.

This is being accomplished. Much else will yet come to be. Much else will yet flow out of this historic act, but we are not qualified to prophesy. A great past does not always mean a great future, but a great past plus a great present offer a reasonable prospect for a great future. It would be strange indeed if the Jews in Israel, reacting to the impact of their historic surroundings invested with prophesy and the example and promptings all about them of greatness and excellence of former generations of ancestors, challenged by their own good fortune in escaping from slavery to freedom and being reborn, as it were, into a new life, and eager to vindicate themselves and their people in the eyes of the whole world—it would be strange indeed, if they would not in time produce incomparably precious values which will, again as in the early days, enrich and bless mankind.

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