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Brandeis award, 1963.

AMERICAN ZIONIST COUNCIL
New York City - April 28, 1963

I RECALL A DAY MANY YEARS AGO, WHEN I ADDRESSED A MEETING ON A VERY CONTROVERSIAL SUBJECT. MY FATHER, OF BLESSED MEMORY, WAS IN THE AUDIENCE. ON OUR WAY HOME I ASKED HIM HOW HE LIKED MY SPEECH. HE THOUGHT THAT IT WAS VERY GOOD, BUT HE SAID: "A GOOD SPEECH AT THE WRONG TIME IS NOT AS GOOD AS NO SPEECH AT ALL AT THE RIGHT TIME."

I BELIEVE THAT FOR ME TONIGHT IS THE RIGHT TIME FOR NO SPEECH AT ALL.

FOR WHAT COULD I SAY IN RESPONSE TO SUCH WARM AND GENEROUS PRAISE? TO SAY THAT I DO NOT LIKE THE TRIBUTES WOULD BE MOST UNGRACIOUS; TO TELL YOU THE TRUTH, THAT I DO LIKE THEM, WOULD BE MOST INDELICATE. TO ATTEMPT TO DISPARAGE MYSELF WOULD BE A NEEDLESS WORK OF SUPEREROGATION. OTHER PEOPLE CAN DO THAT FOR ME BETTER THAN I CAN.

SOMEONE ONCE SAID THAT A LITTLE FLATTERY DOES NOT HARM A MAN, PROVIDED HE DOES NOT INHALE IT. I AM AFRAID THAT I HAVE BEEN INHALING MUCH OF WHAT HAS BEEN SAID THIS EVENING. IT TASTES SO GOOD, LIKE A CIGARETTE SHOULD...

I AM HONORED TO BE THE RECIPIENT OF THE BRANDEIS AWARD. JUSTICE BRANDEIS' NAME WILL FOREVER BE ASSOCIATED WITH THE RISE TO PRESTIGE AND INFLUENCE OF AMERICAN ZIONISM. HE ~~NOT ONLY~~ BROUGHT THE AUTHORITY OF A GREAT NAME TO OUR MOVEMENT ~~TO~~

TO REFUTE EFFECTIVELY THOSE WHO SOUGHT TO BRAND IT AS UN-AMERICAN. HIS APPROACH TO ZIONISM, HE HIMSELF DECLARED, WAS THROUGH AMERICANISM.. HIS PROUD JEWISH LOYALTY, HIS STATESMANSHIP AND THE SPIRITUAL QUALITIES OF HIS LIFE INSPIRED A GENERATION OF AMERICAN JEWS AND PROMPTED MANY TO JOIN OUR RANKS. HE WAS AN IDEALIST WHO UNDERSTOOD ALSO WHAT HE CALLED " THE POLITICS OF ACTION".

WE CELEBRATE TONIGHT THE FIFTEENTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE STATE OF ISRAEL. THE OCCASION BRINGS BACK MANY MEMORIES TO ME, ESPECIALLY OF THE DAYS OF STRUGGLE WHICH PRECEDED THE PROCLAMATION OF THE STATE, DAYS WHICH SHOULD BE REMEMBERED FOR THEY HAVE MUCH TO TEACH. I SHOULD LIKE TO SPEAK THIS EVENING PARTICULARLY OF THOSE DAYS, SINCE THE AMERICAN ZIONIST COUNCIL WHICH IS BESTOWING THIS HONOR UPON ME IS THE DIRECT SUCCESSOR OF THE AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL WHICH CARRIED ON THE HISTORIC STRUGGLE DURING THESE CRITICAL YEARS.

I SHALL NOT DWELL LONG THIS EVENING ON WHAT THE STATE HAS ACHIEVED SINCE ITS ESTABLISHMENT OR WHAT IT HAS MEANT TO OUR PEOPLE THE WORLD OVER. THE RECORD IS CLEAR, AND HE WHO RUNS MAY READ IT.

WHAT TOOK PLACE FIFTEEN YEARS AGO MARKED A DECISIVE TURNING POINT IN JEWISH HISTORY -- A BREAKTHROUGH -- THE TREMENDOUS CONSEQUENCES OF WHICH ONLY THE FUTURE WILL FULLY REVEAL. BUT IT IS CLEAR, EVEN NOW, THAT A NEW DAY HAS BEGUN FOR OUR PEOPLE. THE GALUT HAS COME TO AN END AND WITH IT MUCH OF THE SPIRITUAL

AND PSYCHIC EVILS WHICH ATTENDED IT. AN INNER REVOLUTION HAS TAKEN PLACE IN THE LIVES OF OUR PEOPLE EVERYWHERE -- A NEW OUTLOOK, NEW ATTITUDES, A RE-DISCOVERED DIGNITY, A RE-BORN PRIDE.

THESE FIFTEEN YEARS HAVE BEEN TREMENDOUS YEARS FOR OUR PEOPLE IN ISRAEL, GLORIOUS IN PLANNING, GLORIOUS IN ACHIEVEMENT, GLORIOUS IN DEFENSE. NO AGE IN JEWISH HISTORY IS QUITE COMPARABLE TO IT. SO MANY FEARS HAVE BEEN PROVED GROUND-LESS, SO MANY HOPES HAVE BEEN EXCEEDED, SO MANY MYTHS HAVE BEEN EXPLODED.



THESE FIFTEEN YEARS HAVE BEEN YEARS OF TESTING. WE HAD
WRESTED FROM A RELUCTANT WORLD THE RIGHT TO BECOME ONCE
AGAIN A FREE AND SOVEREIGN PEOPLE IN ITS OWN HOME. NOW IT WAS
UP TO US TO DEMONSTRATE ^{whether we possessed the} ~~OUR~~ ENDOWMENTS FOR THE NEW ROLE IN
WHICH WE WERE NOW CAST. THE WORLD AND WE, OURSELVES, WAITED
TO SEE WHETHER THE JEWISH PEOPLE POSSESSED THE CAPACITY, THE
COURAGE, THE PERSEVERANCE WHICH ARE REQUISITE FOR THE BUILDING
OF A STATE. THROUGH THESE FIFTEEN YEARS, THE WORLD AND WE,
OURSELVES, WITNESSED WITH MOUNTING WONDER AND ADMIRATION THE
UNFOLDING DRAMA OF A PEOPLE'S INGATHERING AND OF A NATIONAL
RECONSTRUCTION SUCH AS MANKIND HAD SELDOM, IF EVER, WITNESSED.

DURING THESE YEARS ISRAEL MADE GOOD, AND IN A BREATH-
TAKING WAY, ON LAND, ON SEA AND IN THE AIR, IN CITY, TOWN AND
VILLAGE, IN SWAMP AND WILDERNESS, IN SCHOOLS AND ACADEMIES,
IN SOCIAL SERVICES, IN THE REVIVAL OF A LANGUAGE AND A LITERATURE.
ISRAEL ALSO MADE GOOD ON THE BATTLE-FIELD, TO THE AMAZAMENT
OF ITS FRIENDS AND THE CONFOUNDING OF ITS ENEMIES.

THE YOUNG STATE, BY ITS FAITHFUL ALLEGIANCE TO THE FREE
WORLD, THE DEVELOPMENT OF ITS EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM AND ITS
INSTITUTIONS OF HIGHER LEARNING, ITS ADVANCED SOCIAL LEGISLATION,
THE AID WHICH IT HAS EXTENDED TO THE EMERGENT STATES OF AFRICA
AND ASIA, HAS REVEALED TO THE WORLD THE GROUND-TONE OF ITS
CHOSEN WAY OF LIFE, ITS FUNDAMENTAL PURPOSES AND DOMINANT
INTERESTS AS A NATION. ALL THIS HAS FILLED US WITH INESTIMABLE
PRIDE. IT HAS BEEN FOR US A RARE ^R GIFT ~~THAN~~ THE GOLD WHICH WE

HAVE GIVEN TO MAKE ITS FOUNDATIONS STRONG.

BUT THIS EVENING I SHOULD LIKE TO RECALL THE EVENTS WHICH LED UP TO THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE STATE, FROM THE TIME THAT IT BECAME CLEAR THAT GREAT BRITAIN WOULD NEVER CONSENT TO A JEWISH STATE IN PALESTINE, THAT IT WAS NO LONGER POSSIBLE TO PUT OUR TRUST IN A GOVERNMENT WHICH FOR YEARS ON END HAD BEEN UNWILLING OR UNABLE TO CARRY OUT THE CLEAR INTENT OF THE MANDATE UNDER WHICH IT GOVERNED THE COUNTRY, THAT IT WAS HOPELESS TO CONTINUE ON THAT WEARY, UNAVAILING DIPLOMATIC TREAD-MILL AND THAT THE POLITICAL BATTLE-GROUND HAD DEFINITELY SHIFTED FROM LONDON TO WASHINGTON AND LAKE SUCCESS.

IT BECAME CLEAR TO THE ZIONISTS OF AMERICA THAT THE LARGE AND INFULENTIAL AMERICAN JEWISH COMMUNITY WOULD NOW HAVE TO ASSUME THE MAJOR RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE CONDUCT OF OUR MOVEMENT, THAT IT WOULD HAVE TO BE ALERTED AND MOBILIZED FOR THE CULMINATING POLITICAL EFFORT NOW THAT THE END OF THE WAS WAS APPROACHING. IF WE FAILED NOW, THEN THE BATTLE WOULD BE LOST -- AND WHO KNOWS FOR HOW LONG?

WE PROCEEDED TO WORK ON THREE FUNDAMENTAL PREMISES. FIRST, THAT OUR CAUSE WAS JUST, INCONTESTABLY JUST AND MORAL. WE COULD, THEREFORE, TELL OUR STORY FRANKLY AND HOPEFULLY TO ALL MEN OF GOOD WILL IN OUR COUNTRY -- REGARDLESS OF CLASS, POLITICAL PARTY OR RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION. WE COULD APPEAL TO

THEIR SENSE OF JUSTICE AND THEIR HUMANITY. IT SHOULD NOT BE TOO DIFFICULT TO TELL OUR STORY TO THE AMERICAN PEOPLE AT A TIME WHEN AMERICA WAS WAGING A WAR IN BEHALF OF HUMAN RIGHTS AGAINST THE VERY NAZIS WHO WERE SEEKING TO EXTERMINATE OUR PEOPLE AND WERE DRIVING HUNDREDS OF THOUSANDS OF THEM OUT UPON THE BROKEN HIGHWAYS OF WANDERING AND HOMELESSNESS. IT WAS CLEAR THAT WE MUST FIRST WIN THE ACTIVE SUPPORT AND SYMPATHY OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE FOR OUR CAUSE. IF WE COULD PERSUADE THE AMERICAN PEOPLE OF THE JUSTICE OF OUR CLAIM, WE COULD THEN PERSUADE ^{OUR} ~~THE AMERICAN~~ GOVERNMENT WHERE WE WERE CONFRONTED WITH A STATE DEPARTMENT WHICH HARBORED A HARD CORE OF ANTI-ZIONIST OFFICIALS, AND WITH A PRESIDENT WHOSE ATTITUDE REMAINED ^{Continuously} SHROUDED IN AN IMPENETRABLE CHARM. IN OUR STRUGGLE WE MUST FIRST WIN OVER THE AMERICAN PEOPLE. ~~THE~~ ITS ^{should} VOICE BE HEARD. THIS IS THE DEMOCRATIC PROCESS BY WHICH A ^{always} FREE PEOPLE OPERATES. AND IT WAS CLEAR, TOO, THAT THE VOICE OF THE UNITED STATES WOULD BE DECISIVE AFTER THE WAR.

THE SECOND PREMISE UPON WHICH WE PROCEEDED WAS THAT IT WAS EITHER NOW OR NEVER. THE HOUR OF DECISION WAS RAPIDLY APPROACHING. WE HAD REACHED THE CRITICAL CROSS-ROADS IN OUR HISTORY AS A PEOPLE. WE, THEREFORE, HAD TO THROW IN EVERYTHING WE HAD, ALL OUR POWER, ALL OUR RESERVES. THIS WAS TO BE THE CRUCIAL BATTLE. THERE WAS NOTHING TO LOSE NOW BUT OUR ILLUSIONS. HITLER WAS BRUTALLY AND SYSTEMATICALLY DESTROYING EUROPEAN JEWRY.

ENGLAND WAS WAGING WAR UPON OUR DEFENSELESS REFUGEES WHO WERE BEING TURNED AWAY FROM THE ^{very} SHORES OF PALESTINE TO PERISH IN THE STRUMAS, OR TO LANGUISH ON THE "EXODUSES". IN THIS CHAOS OF TERROR AND INHUMANITY, OF CONCENTRATION CAMPS AND GAS CHAMBERS, THERE WAS BUT ONE HOPE LEFT FOR OUR DISTRAUGHT PEOPLE -- AND THAT WAS AN OPEN DOOR TO PALESTINE WHICH ^{must} ~~WOULD~~ BECOME THE FREE AND INDEPENDENT HOMELAND FOR OUR PEOPLE, FOR NOW, FOR TOMORROW, FOR ALL THE DAYS TO COME. AN ELEMENT OF IMMEDIACY AND OF DRIVING URGENCY MUST, THEREFORE, INFORM ALL OUR ACTIVITIES. WE SIMPLY MUST NOT LOSE THE HISTORIC MOVEMENT.

AND THE THIRD PREMISE UPON WHICH WE PROCEEDED WAS THAT THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMUNITY ^{itself} HAD TO BE AROUSED TO EXERT ITSELF TO THE UTMOST AND TO WORK IN EVERY DIRECTION NOT FOR AN INCREASED NUMBER OF CERTIFICATES FOR REFUGEES WHO WOULD BE ADMITTED INTO PALESTINE, BUT FOR A JEWISH STATE. THE ROOT OF OUR MILLENIAL TRAGEDY WAS OUR NATIONAL HOMELESSNESS. THERE IS BUT ONE SOLUTION FOR NATIONAL HOMELESSNESS. THAT IS A NATIONAL HOME. OUR PEOPLE MUST NOT BE DEFLECTED FROM THIS MAIN OBJECTIVE. IT MUST NOT CONSENT TO MAKE-SHIFT COMPROMISES UNDER THE SPURIOUS APPEAL NOT TO DIVIDE THE HOUSEHOLD OF ISRAEL OVER THE ISSUE OF A SOVEREIGN JEWISH STATE.

THE MAJOR BATTLE OVER THIS ISSUE TOOK PLACE AT THE AMERICAN JEWISH CONFERENCE, WHICH MET IN THE SUMMER OF 1943. IT WAS THE

FIRST DEMOCRATICALLY ELECTED BODY, WHICH IN ITS COMPOSITION REPRESENTED THE TOTALITY OF AMERICAN JEWRY --ZIONIST AND NON-ZIONIST ALIKE. THE PRINCIPLE ISSUE AT THIS CONFERENCE WAS WHETHER TO ADOPT OR REJECT A RESOLUTION FAVORING THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A JEWISH COMMONWEALTH IN PALESTINE. AFTER PROLONGED AND UNREPRESSED DEBATE, THE DELEGATES VOTED ALMOST UNANIMOUSLY -- IN FAVOR OF THE JEWISH COMMONWEALTH RESOLUTION. THERE WERE ONLY FOUR DISSENTING VOTES OUT OF A TOTAL OF MORE THAN FIVE HUNDRED. THE ZIONIST MOVEMENT COULD NOW SPEAK WITH AUTHORITY TO THE AMERICAN PEOPLE AND GOVERNMENT IN THE NAME OF THE ENTIRE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMUNITY.

TO WIN THE SUPPORT OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE AND GOVERNMENT, THE AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL, WHICH REPRESENTED ALL ZIONIST BODIES IN THE UNITED STATES, THEN LAUNCHED A NATION-WIDE PUBLIC RELATIONS PROGRAM. ABLE AND DEDICATED MEN, SOME OF THEM EXCEPTIONALLY GIFTED IN THEIR SEVERAL FIELDS, WERE QUICKLY MARSHALLED INTO SERVICE. HEADQUARTERS WERE ESTABLISHED IN NEW YORK AND WASHINGTON. EFFECTIVE UNITS WERE ORGANIZED IN EVERY PRINCIPLE CITY IN THE UNITED STATES. A SPECIAL CHRISTIAN PRO-PALESTINE COMMITTEE OF OUTSTANDING CHRISTIAN CLERGY AND LAYMEN WAS FORMED. A NATION-WIDE CAMPAIGN OF EDUCATION THROUGH BOOKS, LECTURES, MAGAZINES AND RADIO BROADCASTS WAS INAUGURATED. NUMEROUS CONFERENCES AND LITERALLY THOUSANDS OF MEETINGS WERE HELD IN ALL PARTS OF THE COUNTRY. MASS DEMONSTRATIONS AND OPEN-AIR RALLIES ATTENDED BY TENS OF THOUSANDS OF PEOPLE WERE ADDRESSED BY LEADING AMERICAN PERSONALITIES.

IN A CRITICAL MOMENT, A MARCH OF THOUSANDS OF WAR VETERANS, JEWISH AND NON-JEWISH, CONVERGED ON WASHINGTON.

NUMEROUS LOCAL DELEGATIONS CONTACTED THEIR PUBLIC OFFICIALS, THEIR GOVERNORS, CONGRESSMEN AND SENATORS. MANY STATE LEGISLATURES WERE INDUCED TO ADOPT PRO-PALESTINE RESOLUTIONS AND TO FORWARD THEM TO WASHINGTON. WE KNOCKED AT EVERY DOOR -- THE CONVENTIONS OF BOTH POLITICAL PARTIES WHICH WERE MOVED TO INCLUDE A PRO-PALESTINE RESOLUTION IN THEIR PARTY PLATFORMS; THE HALLS OF CONGRESS WHERE A PRO-PALESTINE RESOLUTION WAS INTRODUCED AND FINALLY ADOPTED. WE KNOCKED ON THE DOORS OF THE STATE DEPARTMENT AND OF THE WHITE HOUSE. WE ENLISTED THE ACTIVE SUPPORT OF KEY PEOPLE IN EVERY WALK OF LIFE, AUTHORS, JOURNALISTS, EDUCATORS, CLERGY -- PEOPLE WHO HERETOFORE HAD BEEN INDIFFERENT TO OUR CAUSE. WE SPENT ENDLESS HOURS WITH MINISTERS AND AMBASSADORS OF FOREIGN STATES WHO WERE MEMBERS OF THE UNITED NATIONS AND ARRANGED FOR IMPORTANT CONTACTS TO BE MADE WITH THEIR GOVERNMENTS BACK HOME.

IF WE FINALLY SUCCEEDED IN PERSUADING OUR GOVERNMENT TO ENDORSE THE 1947 RESOLUTION ^{OF} ~~ON~~ THE UNITED NATIONS WHICH FAVORED THE ESTABLISHMENT OF AN INDEPENDENT JEWISH STATE IN A PART OF PALESTINE -- IT WAS THE RESULT OF THIS MASSIVE AND SUSTAINED EFFORT ON THE PART OF THOUSANDS UPON THOUSANDS OF DEDICATED MEN AND WOMEN, WORKING UNDER THE GUIDANCE AND LEADERSHIP

OF THE AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL. IT WAS THE RESULT
^{the}
OF ~~A~~ FRIENDLY AND SYMPATHETIC AMERICAN PUBLIC OPINION WHICH
WAS AROUSED AND MADE VOCAL.

WHEN FOUR MONTHS LATER, AND AS A RESULT OF PRESSURE FROM
THE OIL INTERESTS AND OTHER BODIES HOSTILE TO OUR CAUSE, AN
ATTEMPT WAS MADE TO SCRAP THE UNITED NATIONS NOVEMBER
^{Favored}
RESOLUTION WHICH ~~FORMED~~ THE CREATION OF A JEWISH STATE AND
TO REPLACE IT WITH A NEW TRUSTEESHIP OVER PALESTINE, WHEN OUR
ADMINISTRATION REVERSED ITSELF AND ACTUALLY REQUESTED THE
SUMMONING OF A SPECIAL SESSION OF THE ASSEMBLY OF THE UNITED
NATIONS TO DO JUST THAT -- AND WHEN OUR WORK HAD TO BE BEGUN
ALL OVER AGAIN -- IT WAS THESE SAME WORKERS, USING THE SAME
TECHNIQUES OF EDUCATION, APPEAL AND PERSUASION, WHO RETURNED
TO THEIR TASKS WITH UNDIMINISHED VIGOR AND DETERMINATION, WHO
FINALLY SUCCEEDED IN INDUCING OUR GOVERNMENT TO RETURN TO
ITS NOVEMBER POSITION AND TO RECOGNIZE THE STATE OF ISRAEL WHEN
THE ISRAELI PROCLAIMED IT ON MAY 15, 1948.

IT SHOULD NEVER BE FORGOTTEN THAT IT WAS AMERICAN JEWRY,
RISING SO MAGNIFICENTLY TO THE CHALLENGE OF THE HOUR, WHICH
WAS RESPONSIBLE FOR THE VICTORIES IN WASHINGTON AND IN LAKE SUCCESS,
NOT THE INTERVENTION OF SOME ^{single individual} ~~ONE~~ WHO WAS SMUGGLED IN ONE DAY
INTO THE WHITE HOUSE THROUGH A BACK DOOR, AND WHO BY THE MAGIC
OF HIS PERSONALITY WON OVER THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES
TO OUR CAUSE. THIS IS A NAIVE AND FANCIFUL RECONSTRUCTION OF
HISTORY.

THE VALIDATING SEAL UPON THESE POLITICAL VICTORIES WAS SET BY THE MAGNIFICENT MILITARY VICTORIES OF THE GREATLY OUT-NUMBERED AND POORLY EQUIPPED FIGHTING FORCES OF THE ISRAELI THEMSELVES -- THE TZ'VA HAGANAH LE-YISRAEL. WITHOUT THESE VICTORIES, OUR POLITICAL VICTORIES WOULD HAVE BEEN IN VAIN. WITHOUT OUR VICTORIES THEIR MILITARY VICTORIES WOULD HAVE BEEN IN VAIN.

ALL THIS SHOULD BE REMEMBERED AS WE FACE THE FUTURE. FOR WHILE THE ZIONIST OBJECTIVE HAS BEEN ACHIEVED AND THE STATE OF ISRAEL IS AN ACCOMPLISHED FACT, THE NEED FOR DEFENDING IT POLITICALLY AND MILITARILY WILL NEVER DISAPPEAR, AT LEAST NOT IN OUR GENERATION. ISRAEL WILL NOT BE ABLE TO ESCAPE THE POLITICAL TENSIONS AND PRESSURES OF THE REGION OF THE WORLD WHICH IT IS A PART. DANGER LURKS UPON ITS BORDERS, AMONG ITS TURBULENT NEIGHBORS. OUR WORK IS NOT OVER BY ANY MEANS AND THOSE WHO WOULD RELY IN ALL FUTURE EMERGENCIES ON THE INSTANT RESPONSE OF UNORGANIZED FRIENDS OF ISRAEL, WHOSE COMMITMENTS ARE VAGUE AND WHOSE STAYING-POWER UNCERTAIN, ARE NOT WISE GUARDIANS OF THE BEST INTERESTS OF THE STATE OF ISRAEL.

I HAVE RECENTLY RETURNED FROM A VISIT TO ISRAEL. I FOUND THE COUNTRY PROSPEROUS AND THE PEOPLE BUSILY AT WORK BUILDING THEIR HOMELAND. THEY FACE, OF COURSE, MANY PROBLEMS. ISRAEL IS STILL A PIONEER COUNTRY. THE ONE PROBLEM WHICH MOST DEEPLY TROUBLES THEM IS THAT OF NATIONAL SECURITY.

TWO EVENTS HAVE PARTICULARLY DISTURBED THEM RECENTLY. FIRST, THE KNOWLEDGE WHICH WAS FINALLY BROUGHT INTO THE OPEN -- THAT EGYPT IS EMPLOYING MANY GERMAN SCIENTISTS TO BUILD JET-FIGHTERS AND TO DEVELOP GROUND-TO-GROUND MISSILES WHICH ARE INTENDED, OF COURSE, TO BE USED AT THE OPPORTUNE MOMENT AGAINST ISRAEL. SECONDLY, THE NEWEST ATTEMPT TO UNITE THE ARAB WORLD AND THE QUESTION WHICH IT RAISES WHETHER THE NEW FEDERATION OF ARAB STATES AIMS TO INAUGURATE AN ERA OF STABILITY IN THE MIDDLE EAST OR ONE OF MILITARY ADVENTURE AND AGGRESSION. PREVIOUS ATTEMPTS TO UNITE THE ARAB WORLD FAILED. WHETHER THE ARAB STATES WILL NOW OVERCOME THEIR NATIONAL, PERSONAL AND CLASS RIVALRIES AND FACTIONALISM REMAINS TO BE SEEN. WHAT GIVES CONCERN TO ISRAEL IN THIS NEW EFFORT TO FEDERATE THE ARAB WORLD IS THE FACT THAT ITS PROPONENTS AND CHIEF ARCHITECTS HAVE, TIME AND AGAIN, AVOWED THEIR INTENTION TO DESTROY ISRAEL. HATRED OF ISRAEL IS THE CEMENT WHICH THEY ARE EMPLOYING TO ACHIEVE THEIR UNITY.

THE ARAB STATES ARE EVIDENTLY NOT INTERESTED IN SOLVING THE REFUGEE PROBLEM, EXCEPT ON THE PRIOR CONDITION OF THE LIQUIDATION OF THE STATE OF ISRAEL.

WATCHING THE DESPERATE GAME WHICH NASSER IS PLAYING, OUR OWN GOVERNMENT SEEMS TO BE STRANGELY UNPERTURBED. IT IS SATISFIED THAT A BALANCE OF POWER NOW EXISTS IN THE MIDDLE EAST AND THAT THEREFORE THE SECURITY OF ISRAEL IS NOT THREATENED.

ONE FINDS IT DIFFICULT TO FOLLOW THE REASONING OF UNDER-SECRETARY-OF-STATE, W. AVERELL HARRIMAN, WHO DOES NOT SEEM TO BE VERY CRITICAL OF THE POTENTIALLY DANGEROUS WORK WHICH THE GERMAN SCIENTISTS ARE DOING IN EGYPT. IF IT WERE NOT GERMAN SCIENTISTS WHO WERE DOING IT, HE ARGUES, THEN SOVIET SCIENTISTS WOULD BE THERE DOING THE SAME WORK. WE WONDER WHETHER THIS IS ALL THE WISDOM AND STATESMANSHIP WHICH OUR STATE DEPARTMENT CAN BRING TO BEAR UPON THE VERY PERILOUS SITUATION WHICH IS FAST DEVELOPING IN THE MIDDLE EAST. DOES NOT THE SITUATION CALL FOR A CLEAR-CUT STATEMENT ON THE PART OF OUR GOVERNMENT REGARDING ITS DEEP CONCERN FOR THE CONTINUED SECURITY OF ISRAEL? SHOULD NOT A WORD OF REBUKE BE SPOKEN TO THE ARAB GOVERNMENTS WHO ARE SO SHAMELESSLY THREATENING TO DESTROY A PEACEFUL AND SOVEREIGN STATE WHICH THE AMERICAN GOVERNMENT HAS RECOGNIZED, WHICH, IN POINT OF FACT, IT HELPED TO BRING INTO EXISTENCE AND WHICH IS A MEMBER OF THE UNITED NATIONS WHOSE CHARTER CERTAINLY DOES NOT COUNTENANCE THREATS OF WAR ON THE PART OF ITS MEMBERS.

MR. HARRIMAN MAINTAINS THAT THE UNITED STATES HAS TO DEAL "EVEN-HANDIDLY WITH ALL THE STATES CONCERNED AND FOR PROTECTING AND ADVANCING UNITED STATES INTERESTS". CERTAINLY! BUT IS ISRAEL DOING WHAT ITS NEIGHBORS ARE DOING? IS ISRAEL CALLING FOR THE DESTRUCTION OF ANY ARAB STATE? THE PEOPLE OF ISRAEL ARE DEEPLY CONCERNED AND TROUBLED BY THIS COOL, FORMAL, STAND-~~off~~

OFFISH ATTITUDE OF OUR STATE DEPARTMENT IN A SITUATION WHICH CALLS FOR STRONG MORAL LEADERSHIP.

THE MOUNTING TENSIONS IN THE MIDDLE EAST ARE A THREAT TO THE PEACE OF THE WHOLE WORLD. IT MUST BE CLEAR TO EVERYONE THAT AN ATTACK UPON ISRAEL IS NOT LIKELY TO REMAIN AN ISOLATED EVENT, ONE WHICH WILL BE REGIONALLY CONTAINED. IT IS MORE LIKELY TO SPREAD INTO THE KIND OF A CONFLICT WHICH NEITHER THE EAST NOR THE WEST DESIRES.

SURELY OUR GOVERNMENT CAN DO MORE IN THE PRESENT SITUATION THAN MERELY SELL COSTLY DEFENSIVE WEAPONS TO ISRAEL IN THE HOPE OF CHECK-MATING NASSER AND HIS BULGING ARSENALS OF ROCKETS, BOMBERS, TANKS AND WHATEVER OTHER CONVENTIONAL OR UNCONVENTIONAL ARMS HIS NAZI SCIENTISTS ARE FASHIONING!

THUS, MY FRIENDS, FIFTEEN YEARS AFTER THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE STATE OF ISRAEL, ZIONISTS MUST AGAIN BE ALERTED FOR THERE MAY BE NEED AGAIN TO AROUSE AMERICAN PUBLIC OPINION TO THE DANGERS WHICH THREATEN THE SECURITY OF ISRAEL AND THE PEACE OF THE WORLD.

FORTUNATELY, WE CAN WORK TODAY WITH GREATER ASSURANCE; FOR WHILE FIFTEEN YEARS AGO THERE WAS ONLY THE DESPERATE HOPE AND NEED OF A JEWISH STATE, TODAY THERE IS THE GLORIOUS REALITY OF THE STATE OF ISRAEL, WHOSE PEOPLE ARE NOT ALTOGETHER DEFENSELESS, NOR WITHOUT FRIENDS IN THE WORLD, AND WHOSE ENEMIES KNOW

FULL WELL THAT ISRAEL CAN GIVE AS WELL AS RECEIVE. I

I LEFT FOR HOME AND SPENT A FEW DAYS IN ROME. WE VISITED AGAIN THE FORUM AND ITS STATELY RUINS AND WE STOOD AGAIN BEFORE THE IMPOSING ARCH OF TITUS WHICH WAS BUILT TO CELEBRATE THE TRIUMPH OF TITUS OVER THE JUDAEAN STATE IN 70 A.D. WE SAW AGAIN THE BAS-RELIEF UNDER THE ARCADE WHICH SHOWS THE PROCESSION OF JEWISH CAPTIVES CARRYING THE SPOILS OF THE TEMPLE WHICH TITUS HAD LAID WASTE, THE GOLDEN TABLE, THE SEVEN- BRANCHED MENORAH AND THE SILVER TRUMPETS. ALL ABOUT US WERE RUINS -- ALL THAT WAS LEFT OF THE GRANDEUR OF IMPERIAL ROME, THE PROUD CONQUEROR OF ANCIENT JUDEA. I HAD JUST COME FROM THAT ULTIMATELY UNCONQUERED LAND OF JUDEA, AND WITH MY OWN EYES I HAD SEEN THE ULTIMATELY UN-DEFEATED CHILDREN OF THE 20th CENTURY JUDEA PLANTING THE SEEDS OF A NEW LIFE AMIDST THE ANCIENT RUINS. I HAD SEEN LEGIONS OF HALUTZIM REBUILDING WHAT THE LEGIONS OF ANCIENT ROME HAD DESTROYED. WHAT A STRANGE AND BAFFLING PEOPLE THESE JEWS WERE -- CONQUERED, TIME AND AGAIN, BUT OUT-LIVING ALL THEIR CONQUERORS!

SO IN ROME I THOUGHT AGAIN OF JERUSALEM --

--

JERUSALEM WHICH I SAW RISING FROM ITS RUINS, AND OF THE MOUNTAINS WHICH SURROUNDED IT, EVEN AS THE LORD HAS SURROUNDED AND SHELTERED HIS PEOPLE THROUGH ALL THE GRIM AND DOLOROUS CENTURIES.

AND THE WORDS OF THE PROPHET KEPT RINGING IN MY EARS:
"WHEN THOU PASSEST THROUGH THE WATERS, I WILL BE WITH THEE,
AND THROUGH THE RIVERS, THEY SHALL NOT OVERFLOW THEE; WHEN
THOU WALKEST THROUGH THE FIRE, THOU SHALT NOT BE BURNED,
NEITHER SHALL THE FLAME KINDLE UPON THEE... FEAR NOT. I WILL
BRING THY SEED FROM THE EAST AND GATHER THEM FROM THE WEST...
I WILL RAISE UP THE WASTE PLACES, AND THE CITIES OF JUDAH THEY
SHALL BE REBUILT. "



THE HERZL INSTITUTE

joins the Jewish community of New York in the

GALA CELEBRATION

by the

AMERICAN ZIONIST COUNCIL

of the



Fifteenth Anniversary of the State of Israel

Sunday, April 28, 1963, 8 p. m.

Philharmonic Hall — Lincoln Center

Broadway and 65th Street, New York City

In the Program :

members of

The New York Philharmonic Orchestra

under the direction of the distinguished Israeli conductor

Elyakum Shapira

soloists

Erick Friedman, violinist

Netania Davrath, soprano

presentation of the

Louis D. Brandeis Award

to

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver

world Zionist leader and one of the

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PROGRAM

THEODOR HERZL INSTITUTE
515 PARK AVE. (Cor. 60 St.), N.Y.C.

PREVIEW

Monday

APRIL 29

6:30 P.M.

THE OPPOSITION
TO MAIMONIDES*

XXV. Views on Death,
Resurrection and
the World to Come (continued)

Rabbi Isaac L. Swift

8:15 P.M.

THE UNKNOWN ISRAEL

Illustrated Lecture

III. The Galilee
The River Jordan
Lake Kinnereth

Dahlia Shalev
Israeli Photographer



Tuesday

APRIL 30

8:15 P.M.

JEWISH FOLKLORE
FROM
EASTERN EUROPE

III. The Yiddish Folk Song in America

Ruth Rubin
Author,
"History of
Yiddish Folk
Songs"



Coming Up in May:
TWO SPECIAL TUESDAY LECTURES

on
JEWISH EMANCIPATION:
RETROSPECTS and PROSPECTS

May 14, at 8:15 P.M.

IDEOLOGICAL ISSUES OF
THE EMANCIPATION

Dr. David Sidorsky
Asst. Prof. of Philosophy,
Columbia University

May 21, at 8:15 P.M.

THE GLORY AND FAILURE
OF THE EMANCIPATION

Dr. Joachim Prinz
President,
American Jewish Congress

Wednesday

MAY 1

6:30 P.M.

LABOR RELATIONS IN JEWISH LAW*
Wage Disputes

Rabbi E. W. Kirzner

8:15 P.M.

THE CONCEPT OF JEWISHNESS
IN THE TEACHINGS OF RABBI KOOK*

Rabbi Judah Gershuni

8:15 P.M.

MIDWEEK
FORUM



AMERICAN JEWISH
ARCHIVES

JEWISH
AND SOCIAL PROBLEMS

The Juvenile Delinquency
Pattern of American Jews

Mark McCloskey
Former Chairman,
N.Y. State Youth Commission

and panel

Bernard M. Rifkin
Bernard Greenspan
Marvyn Berrin

Members of
National Young Zionists, ZOA

Thursday

MAY 2

11:00 A.M.

"THE MIDRASH--1963" *

XII. The Hebrew Language -
Sacred or Secular?

Rabbi Kurt Klappholz

8:15 P.M.

IN THE SERVICE
OF THE
JEWISH FAMILY



Rachel L. Rustow, M.S.S.
Family Counselor,
The Jewish Family Service

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SUNDAY, APRIL 28

3:15 P.M.

THE JEWS OF SPAIN

II. Four Great Hebrew Poets

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(Hanagid)

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Judah Halevi

Moshe Ibn Ezra

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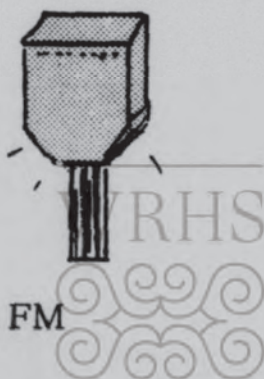
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Topic:

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PROGRAM PREVIEW

No. 31 APRIL 28-MAY 4, 1963

FIFTEENTH ANNIVERSARY OF
THE STATE OF ISRAEL

(see inside)

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The Struggle for the State

by Abba Hillel Silver

[From an address at the celebration of Israel's 15th Anniversary by the American Zionist Council at New York on April 28, 1963, when Dr. Silver was presented the Louis D. Brandeis award of the Council.]

I AM HONORED to be the recipient of the Louis D. Brandeis Award. Justice Brandeis' name will forever be associated with the rise to prestige and influence of American Zionism. He brought the authority of a great American name to our movement which helped us to refute effectively those who sought to brand it as un-American. His approach to Zionism, he himself had declared, was through Americanism. His proud Jewish loyalty, his statesmanship and the rare spiritual qualities of his personality inspired a generation of American Jews and prompted many to join our ranks. Justice Brandeis was an idealist who understood also what he called "The politics of action." In numerous practical ways we were guided by the wisdom and judgment and insights of this great jurist, great American and great Jew. To receive an award which bears his name is an honor indeed.

We celebrate tonight the fifteenth anniversary of the establishment of the State of Israel. The occasion brings back many memories to me, especially of the days of struggle which preceded the proclamation of the State, days which should be remembered for they have much to teach. I should like to speak this evening particularly of those days, since the American Zionist Council which is bestowing this honor upon me tonight is the direct descendant of the American Zionist Emergency Council which carried on the historic struggle during those critical days.

I shall not dwell long this evening on what the State of Israel has achieved since its establishment or what it has meant to our people the world over. The record is clear, and he who runs may read it.

What took place fifteen years ago marked a decisive turning point in Jewish history — a breakthrough — the tremendous consequences of which only the future will fully reveal. But it is clear, even now, that a new day has begun for our people. The *Gaht* has come to an end and with it much of the spiritual and psychic evils which attended it. An inner revolution has taken place in the lives of our people everywhere — a new outlook, new attitudes, a re-discovered dignity, a reborn pride.

These fifteen years have been tremendous years for our people in Israel, glorious in planning, glorious in achievement, glorious in defense. No age in Jewish history is quite comparable to it. So many fears have been proved groundless, so many hopes have been exceeded, so many myths have been exploded.

These fifteen years have been years of testing. We had wrested from a reluctant world the right to become once again a free and sovereign people in its own home. Now it was up to us to demonstrate whether we possessed the endowments for the new role in which we were now cast. The world, and we, ourselves, waited to see whether the Jewish people possessed the capacity, the courage, the perseverance which are requisite for the building of a State. Through these fifteen years, the world and we, ourselves, witnessed with mounting wonder and admiration the unfolding drama of a people's ingathering and of a national reconstruction such as mankind had seldom, if ever, witnessed.

DURING THESE YEARS Israel made good, and in a breathtaking way, on land, on sea and in the air, in city, town and village, in swamp and wilderness, in schools and academies, in social services, in the revival of a language and a literature. Israel also made good on the battle-

field, to the amazement of its friends and the confounding of its enemies.

All this has filled us with inestimable pride. It has been for us a rarer gift than the gold which we have given to make its foundations strong.

But this evening I should like to recall the events which led up to the establishment of the State, from the time that it became clear that Great Britain would never consent to a Jewish State in Palestine, that it was no longer possible to put our trust in a Government which for years on end had been unwilling or unable to carry out the clear intent of the mandate under which it governed the country, that it was hopeless to continue to walk on that weary, unavailing diplomatic treadmill, and that the political battleground had definitely shifted from London to Washington and Lake Success.

It became clear to the Zionists of America that the large and influential American Jewish community would now have to assume the major responsibility for the conduct of our movement, that it would have to be alerted and mobilized for the culminating political efforts now that the end of the war was approaching. If we failed now, then the battle would be lost — and who knew for how long?

WE PROCEEDED to work on three fundamental premises. First, that our cause was just, incontestably just and moral. We could, therefore, tell our story frankly and hopefully to all men of good will in our country — regardless of class, political party or religious affiliation. We could appeal to their sense of justice and their humanity. It should not be too difficult to tell our story to the American people at a time when America was waging a war in behalf of human rights against the very Nazis who were seeking to exterminate our people and were driving hundreds of thousands of them out upon the broken highways of wandering and homelessness. It was clear that we must first win the active support and sympathy of the American people. If we could persuade the American people of the justice of our cause, we might then also persuade our government, where we were confronted with a State Department which harbored a sizeable core of anti-Zionist officials, and with a President whose attitude remained continually shrouded in an impenetrable charm. In our struggle we must first win over the American people. Its voice should be heard in Washington. This is the democratic process by which a free people always operates. And it was clear, too, that the voice of the United States would be decisive after the war.

The second premise upon which we proceeded was that it was either now or never. The hour of decision was rapidly approaching. We had reached the critical crossroads in our history. We, therefore, had to throw in everything we had, all our power, all our resources, all our reserves. This was to be the crucial battle. There was nothing to lose now but our illusions. Hitler was brutally and systematically destroying European Jewry. England was waging war upon our defenseless refugees who were being turned away from the very shores of Palestine to perish in the "Strumas," or to languish on the "Exodus." In this chaos of terror and inhumanity, of concentration camps and gas chambers, there was but one hope left for our distraught people — and that was a free and independent Homeland for our people, for now, for tomorrow, for all the days to come. An element of immediacy and of driving urgency must, therefore, inform all our activities. We simply must not lose the historic movement.

And the third premise upon which we proceeded was that the American Jewish community itself had to be aroused to exert itself to the utmost and to work in

every direction, but not merely for an increased number of certificates for refugees who would be admitted into Palestine, but for a Jewish State. The root of our millennial tragedy was our national homelessness. There is but one solution for national homelessness. That is a national home. Our people must not be deflected from this main objective. It must not accept makeshift compromises under the spurious appeal not to divide the household of Israel over the issue of a sovereign Jewish State.

THE MAJOR BATTLE over this issue took place at the American Jewish Conference, which met in the summer of 1943. It was the first democratically elected body which in its composition represented the totality of American Jewry — Zionist and non-Zionist alike. The principal issue at this conference was whether to adopt or reject a resolution favoring the establishment of a Jewish commonwealth in Palestine. After prolonged and unrepresented debate, the delegates voted almost unanimously in favor of the Jewish Commonwealth resolution. There were only four dissenting votes out of a total of more than five hundred. The Zionist movement could now speak with authority to the American people and Government in the name of the entire American Jewish community.

To win the support of the American people and Government, the American Zionist Emergency Council, which represented all Zionist bodies in the United States, then launched a nation-wide public relations program. Able and dedicated men, some of them exceptionally gifted in their several fields, were quickly marshalled into service. Headquarters were established in New York and Washington. Effective units were organized in every principal city in United States. A special Christian Pro-Palestine Committee of outstanding Christian clergy and laymen was formed. A nationwide campaign of education through books, lectures, magazines and radio broadcasts was inaugurated. Numerous conferences, and literally thousands of meetings were held in all parts of the country. Mass demonstrations and open-air rallies attended by tens of thousands of people were addressed by leading American personalities. In a critical moment, a march of thousands of war veterans, Jewish and non-Jewish, converged on Washington.

Numerous local delegations contacted their public officials, their Governors, Congressmen and Senators in their several States. Many State legislatures were induced to adopt pro-Palestine resolutions and to forward them to Washington. We simply knocked at every door — the conventions of both political parties which were moved to include a pro-Palestine resolution in their national platforms; the halls of Congress where a pro-Palestine resolution was introduced and finally adopted. We knocked on the doors of the State Department and of the White House. We enlisted the active support of key people in every walk of life, authors, journalists, columnists, educators, clergy, political leaders — people who heretofore had been indifferent to our cause. We spent endless hours with Ministers and Ambassadors of foreign states who were members of the United Nations and arranged for important contacts to be made with their governments back home.

IF WE FINALLY SUCCEEDED in persuading our Government to endorse the 1947 resolution of the United Nations which favored the establishment of an independent Jewish State in a part of Palestine — it was the result of this massive and sustained effort on the part of thousands upon thousands of dedicated men and women, working under the guidance

and leadership of the American Zionist Emergency Council. It was the result of the friendly and sympathetic American public opinion which was finally aroused and made vocal.

When four months later, and as a result of pressure from the oil interests and other bodies hostile to our cause, an attempt was made to scrap the United Nations' November resolution which favored the creation of a Jewish State, and to replace it with a new trusteeship over Palestine, when our administration sharply reversed itself and actually requested the summoning of a special session of the Assembly of the United Nations to do just that — and when our work had to be begun all over again — it was again these same workers, using the same techniques of education, appeal and persuasion, who returned to their tasks with redoubled energy and determination and finally succeeded in inducing our government to return to its November position and to recognize the State of Israel when the Israelis proclaimed it on May 15, 1948.

It should, therefore, never be forgotten that it was American Jewry, rising magnificently to the challenge of the hour, which was responsible for the victories in Washington and in Lake Success, — not the intervention of someone who was smuggled in one day into the White House through a back door, and who by the magic of his personality won over the President of the United States, and presto, it was all done. This and similar legends are a naive and fanciful reconstruction of history.

The final validating seal upon these political victories which were won here was set by the military victories of the greatly outnumbered and poorly equipped fighting forces of the Israelis themselves — the Tz'va Haganah le-Yisrael. Without their victories, our political victories would have been in vain. Without our victories their military victories would probably have been in vain.

All this should be remembered as we face the future. For while the Zionist primary objective has been achieved, and the State of Israel is an accomplished fact, the need for defending it politically and militarily will never disappear, at least not in our generation. Israel will not be able to escape the political tensions and pressures of the region of the world of which it is a part. Danger lurks upon its borders, among its turbulent Arab neighbors. Our work is not over by any means, and those who would rely in all future emergencies on the instant response of unorganized so-called friends of Israel, whose commitments are so vague and whose staying-power so uncertain, are not wise guardians, I am afraid, of the best interests of the State of Israel.

I HAVE recently returned from a visit to Israel. I found the Israelis busily at work building their homeland. They are making good progress but they face, of course, many problems. Israel is still a pioneering country; they need more people, more industry, more capital investments. The one problem which most deeply troubles them is that of national security.

Two events have particularly disturbed them recently. First, the fact, which was finally brought into the open — that Egypt is employing many German scientists to build jet-fighters and to develop ground-to-ground missiles which are intended, of course, to be used, at the opportune moment, against Israel. Secondly, the renewed and partially successful attempt to unite the Arab world, and the question which it raises whether the new federation of Arab states intends to inaugurate an era of stability in the Middle East or one of military adventure and aggression. Previous attempts to unite

(Continued on Page 6)

Zionism and the Hebrew Renaissance

by Rabbi Joseph S. Shubow

Rabbi Joseph S. Shubow, of Brookline, Mass., a ZOA administrative vice-president, has been prominent for many years in Zionist and communal activity.

WE have constantly heard it said that Zionism has already fulfilled its mission in the creation of *Medinat Israel* and can now be regarded as a movement that has reached its goal. But this concept is difficult to comprehend. I often visit my Alma Mater, Harvard University, and nearly every day there is a scaffolding before some building or other. The University is over three hundred and twenty-five years old, but no one would say that the University has been completed.

So it is with the whole world. God created the world and took in man as a partner, and as long as man lives, the world is incomplete because we are far from having reached perfection. Only if the H-Bombs come will man and the world of man be finished! In Spinoza we find a distinction between *natura naturata*, created nature, and *natura naturans*, creative nature. That is, aside from the phenomena of life already created, there is life that is constantly creating; life is never static, it always keeps developing and moves on to nobler ideals and finer realities.

The Zionist movement is an eternal ideal; our cherished concept goes *mikayil el hayil*, from strength to strength. As long as our people lives Zionism will live, for Zionism is essentially the will of the Jewish people to live and to create a nobler, happier and more God-like life for itself and for the rest of humanity; as the psalmist said: "I shall not die but live and declare the deeds of the Lord."

This eternal concept runs through our golden chain of Hebrew literature from

the Bible, through the Talmud, Midrash, medieval Hebrew philosophy and poetry, and the Golden Age of Spanish Hebrew letters, and is magnificently seen in the efflorescence of Hebrew literature in modern times. It can be shown that the Hebrew Renaissance since the early 18th century has been the harbinger of the revival of the Hebrew spirit by glorifying the ideal and reality of *Shivath Zion*, *Tehiyath HaRuach*, "Return to Zion, Resurrection of the Spirit."

Modern Hebrew literature begins with the period of the Enlightenment, the *Haskalah* or *Aufklarungs-periode* in Germany, Austria and later in Russia, Poland and Lithuania. For centuries Jews lived locked up in grotesque ghettos; maladorous communities which were the shame of Christian Europe and many of the Moslem lands. But when the French Revolution became the clarion call for liberty which caused the collapse of the ghetto walls, many Jews ran from the Ghetto as from a lepers' colony and were dazzled by the new light; many were blinded and lost their way never to return; many came back as prodigal sons seeking the old well-springs of salvation.

Many of the *Haskalah* movement began to imitate the surrounding nations and to ape their cultures; a new wind was blowing, but also an *aish zarah*, (a strange fire) threatened to consume the people and its faith and culture. Some Jews sought adjustment to the new environment and yearned for a blend with their neighbors.

IT ALL BEGAN with the innocent translation of the Bible, the Pentateuch, into German by the pious and gifted Moses Mendelssohn (1729-86); German classic literature soon was introduced to Ger-

man Jewish circles, and the great historian Graetz tells how German Jewry was nearly annihilated spiritually and morally long before the murderous Nazis destroyed them physically. The masters of the *Haskalah* fell in love with humanity and soon began to hate the very Rock whence they were hewn.

There were, however, other Jews who sought world culture, science and civilization such as were inspired by Elijah, the Gaon of Vilna, but with the protection of the Torah as a defense against excessive worldly wisdom. There was a love for poetry, music, art and literature in general which often alienated Jews from themselves and gave them an inferiority complex as to their own traditions and values. The Hebrew language then began to experience a new strength, and a new potency. Writers began to appeal to Jews to return to nature, to manual labor, agriculture, trades and crafts.

As soon as Jews found they had access to worldly learning and secular knowledge, some began to apply scientific standards to a study of Judaism and thus there emerged *die Jüdische Wissenschaft*, the science of Judaism, surveying the entire world. The Jew began to examine his own small world; many Jews, still faithful and loyal, began to examine themselves critically, their past, their literature, their religion, and their institutions; and there appeared intellectual giants like Shlomo Judah Leib Rapoport (1790-1867), Nachman Krochmal (1785-1840), Shmuel David Luzzatto (1800-1865), Leopold Zunz (1794-1886) and Solomon Munk (1803-1867).

The wisdom of the Middle Ages and of antiquity was explored by daring and resourceful minds. Judaism appeared factually as a great, civilizing influence

ago there was only the desperate hope and need of a Jewish State, today there is the glorious reality of a State of Israel, whose people are not altogether defenseless, nor without friends in the world, and whose enemies know full well that Israel can give as well as receive.

On my return home I spent a few days in Rome. I visited again the Forum and its stately ruins, and I stood again before the imposing Arch of Titus which was built to celebrate the triumph of Titus over the Judaeans in 70 A.D. I saw the bas-relief under the arcade which shows the procession of Jewish captives carrying the spoils of the Temple which Titus had laid waste, the golden table, the seven-branched menorah and the silver trumpets. All about us were ruins — all that was left of the grandeur of imperial Rome, the proud conqueror of ancient Judaea. I had just come from that ultimately unconquered land of Judaea, and with my own eyes I had seen the ultimately undefeated children of Judaea twenty centuries later planting the seeds of a new life amidst the ancient ruins. I had seen legions of *Halutzim* rebuilding what the legions of ancient Rome had destroyed. What a strange and baffling people these Jews were — conquered, time and again, but outliving all their conquerors!

So in Rome I thought again of Jerusalem — Jerusalem rising from its ruins, and of the mountains which surrounded it, even as the Lord surrounded and sheltered His people through all the grim and dolorous centuries.

And the words of the prophet kept ringing in my ears: "When thou passest through the waters, I will be with thee, and through the rivers, they shall not overflow thee; when thou walkest through the fire, thou shalt not be burned, neither shall the flame kindle upon thee . . . Fear not. I will bring thy seed from the East and gather them from the West . . . I will raise up the waste places, and the cities of Judah they shall be rebuilt."

and the Hebrew language and national Jewish spirit received a new creative joy. The powerful spiritual values of Judaism were revealed; faith and reason, religion and philosophy, knowledge and devotion were blended to counteract skepticism and fanaticism. The world of ideas of Maimonides, Solomon Ibn Gabirol, Jehudah Halevi, Bachya Ibn Pakudah came to life again to inspire and enlighten a modern Jewish world.

AN amazing spiritual culture and revival was in the making. The Hebrew muse of poetry sang again with the powerfully enriching verses of Moshe Hayyim Luzzatto (1707-1747) of Padua, Italy. His *Migdal Oz* (Tower of Strength) and *Laisharim Tehilah* (Praise to the Righteous) manifested an originality and Hebrew classicism which helped herald the Hebrew Renaissance. The Bible style and ideals were resurrected.

The superb novelist Abraham Mapu (1808-67) a Lithuanian Hebraist made classical Biblical Eretz Israel live for the European Hebrew reading public by means of his stirring romantic novels, *Ahavath Zion* (Love of Zion) and *Ashmath Shomron* (The Guilt of Samaria). Europe's abysmally unhappy Ghetto Jews were able to envision an ancient valor reborn as well as a rich, classic Hebrew tongue made eloquent again. It is as if the many centuries between the Biblical period and the world of Mapu had never been.

But as well as idealizing the Bible past the Jews of the latter part of the 19th century became subjected to severe scrutiny and harsh criticism, necessitating a greater national and cultural alertness. A powerful poetic voice in this regard was Jehudah Leib Gordon (1830-92) of Vilna. His poetry is epic, lyrical, satirical and critical. He is fearless in focussing upon the coarse and cruel aspects of Ghetto life as well as its stagnant and other worldly aspects. His great epic *Bain Shinei Arrayoth* (Between the Lion's Teeth) stirred the pride of his generation and of later generations as they read of the heroic spirit of the valiant defenders of Jerusalem and its saintly martyrs, despite the loss of the State at the hands of all-engulfing Roman brutality. Yet sharp criticism is voiced against the leaders of the ancient days because of their weakness and other worldliness, and the lesson was not lost on the leaders of his own day. Similarly, *Zedekiah in Prison* is a protest against the excessive spirituality, so-called, of Jeremiah in the name of labor, agriculture and liberalism! Gordon sought to arouse Jews to a more positive creativity and a fuller awareness of the land, the world and Israel's destiny.

Moshe Leib Lilienblum (1840-1910) sought social and religious improvements; he described the low state of Ghetto life in his dramatic portrayals *Hattai Neirim* (Sins of Youth); he condemns the static nature of fanatical Ghetto life and of rabbinic austerity, and thunders against ignorance of the modern world.

A MOST ELOQUENT and devastating but also constructive force was Peretz Smolenskin (1842-85) who lived only forty-three years but left behind an amazing literary heritage; he came from White Russia but lived his most creative years as editor of the dynamic *Hashahar* in Vienna. Smolenskin employed a titanic canvas on which there appeared hundreds of characters of the Jewish community of all strata of Jewish society and all basic ideas of Judaism as had never been undertaken previously in Hebrew literature. He reveals in masterly style a great gallery of uprooted intellectuals torn from their traditions and passing through life as broken, shattered

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THE STRUGGLE FOR THE STATE

(Continued from Page 5)

the Arab world failed. Whether the Arab states will now overcome their nationalism remains to be seen.

What gives concern to Israel in this new effort to federate the Arab world is the fact that its chief architects have, time and again, avowed their intention to destroy Israel. Hatred of Israel is the cement which they are employing to achieve their unity. The Arab states are evidently not interested in solving the refugee problem, except on the prior condition of the liquidation of the State of Israel.

Watching the desperate game which Nasser is playing, our own government seems to be strangely unperturbed. It is satisfied that a balance of power now exists in the Middle East and that therefore the security of Israel is not threatened. One finds it difficult to follow the reasoning of Under-Secretary of State W. Averell Harriman, who does not seem to be very critical of the potentially dangerous work which the German scientists are doing in Egypt. If it were not German scientists who were doing it, he argues, then Soviet scientists would be there doing the same work. We wonder whether this is all the wisdom and statesmanship which our State Department can bring to bear upon the very perilous situation which is fast developing in the Middle East.

Does not the situation call for a clear-cut statement on the part of our government regarding its deep concern for the continued security of Israel? Should not a word of rebuke be spoken to the Arab governments who are so shamelessly threatening to destroy a peaceful and sovereign state which the American government has recognized, which, in point of fact, it helped to bring into existence and which is a member of the United Nations whose charter certainly does not

countenance threats of war on the part of its members? Is Israel of less concern to the U.S. than Laos? If so, why? Is Laos more pro-American, more democratic, more dependable as a member of the free world, than Israel? Or is Israel regarded as more dispensable?

Mr. Harriman maintains that the United States has to deal "even-handedly with all the States concerned and for protecting and advancing United States interests." Certainly! But is Israel doing what its neighbors are doing? Has Israel called for the destruction of any Arab State? The people of Israel are deeply concerned and troubled by this cool, formal, standoffish attitude of our State Department in a situation which calls for strong moral leadership and statesmanship. Is our diplomacy to mark time until the brink is reached?

The mounting tensions in the Middle East are a threat to the peace of the whole world. It must be clear to everyone that an attack upon Israel is not likely to remain an isolated event, one which will be regionally contained. It is more likely to spread into the kind of a conflict which neither the East nor the West desires.

Surely our government can do more in the present situation than merely sell costly defensive weapons to Israel in the hope of check-mating Nasser and his bulging arsenals of rockets, bombers, tanks and whatever other conventional or unconventional arms his Nazi scientists are fashioning!

THUS, my friends fifteen years after the establishment of the State of Israel, Zionists should again be alerted for there may be need again to arouse American public opinion to the dangers which threaten the security of Israel and the peace of the world.

Fortunately, we can work today with greater assurance; for while fifteen years

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Dr. Abba Hillel Silver of Cleveland, Ohio, world Zionist leader, has been selected to receive this year's Louis D. Brandeis Award of the American Zionist Council, coordinating body of all Zionist organizations in this country, in recognition of his outstanding services to Israel, Zionism and the welfare of Jewry.

Dr. Silver, whose 70th birthday is now being marked by American Zionists, was one of the leading figures who presented the case of Jewish Statehood before the United Nations in 1947 as head of the delegation of the Jewish Agency Executive. Dr. Silver is Honorary Chairman of the American Zionist Council.