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Abba Hillel Silver addressing the American Jewish Conference in 1943. This speech was the turning point of the Zionist movement. The titular heads of the Zionist movement refused to allow Silver to take the floor. The American Jewish Congress gave Silver their delegate's time. The Zionists did not want the Conference to adopt a platform for an independent Jewish State. Silver with one of his great orations convinced the delegates

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that they had no alternative but to come out strongly for an Independent Jewish State. This address again brought Silver to the head of the Zionist movement.

Left - Silver as he is today

This issue is dedicated to the great Zionist leader Abba Hillel Silver on his 60th Birthday. May he be long with us.

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A Journalist Appraises Silver: States Mapai Sent Unsuccessful Mission To Get Silver To Assume Leadership After Break BY M. Z. FRANK

Like everybody else in this world, I consider my own judgment as the least biased of all. But in the case of Abba Hillel Silver, I don't always trust my own objectivity. Now and then I catch myself going off the deep end either for Silver or against him. I either feel called upon to remind Silver's admirers that Zionism did not begin with Silver, or when I find how little is known and appreciated of what Silver has done for the cause, I take up the cudgels for him.

Of two points, however, I have been quite certain: one is, Silver's pre-emiment part in the successful political struggle for the creation of the State of Israel; the other, that it was a grave error on the part of Ben-Gurion and some of his colleagues not to have ensured Silver's continued activity as a Zionist leader after the State was proclaimed.

The second point is not as simple as the first one. There were certain difficulties in Silver's personality, outlook and habits as a leader, and certain complications in the general situation which required a great deal of tact, patience and other qualities on the part of Israel's leaders.

Silver often acts in a manner so different from other leaders that his conduct puzzles them.

I often found Silver more difficult to understand than men I knew much less. Why has a man of such talent, energy and personality shown so little urge for leadership?

Silver's qualities and talents were not born eight years ago, when he first became a world figure in Jewry. And yet, until then he seemed content to be a successful rabbi who is also active in the Zionist movement. He did not assume leadership until Weizmann practically appointed him as leader. He relinquished leadership in 1949, as soon as he became convinced that Ben-Gurion, and the rest of the Israel Government did not want him. He seems to be determined not to resume office unless and until Ben-Gurion, or whoever may be the official head of Israel, will tell him expressly: There is a job to be done, and you are the one to do it.

No other leader, certainly no other leader in the Zionist movement, has behaved that way. Too, this unusual humility is not in keeping with Silver's temperament generally. And yet, when Silver does occupy a post, he insists on running things his way. I am not going to try to explain this apparent contradiction. But one thing I know from ample experience and observation: Since 1949, Silver has consistently refused to engage in any sustained activity which might lead him to assume a position of leadership against the express wishes of the Israel Government. Whatever attempt he made during this period to strengthen his position or to exert control over the ZOA, were half-hearted and spasmodic. Moreover, I know of . several opportunities he had for leadership in the cultural field, for which, by the way, he is amply qualified, but which he passed up.

SILVER UNDERMINED

It was at that time that I entered the service of the ZOA, as a part time employee in the publicity department. One of my assignments was to translate into Yiddish the blasts against Silver written in English by some of the top leaders. (Editor's note:- The ZOA at that time was headed by men in opposition to Silver). Occasionally I felt that the tone was unduly acrimonious, but otherwise I did not at first question the accuracy of the charges. (I was then a comparative newcomer from Canada). If now and then I had my doubts, they were allayed for me by some leaders from Israel and in New York in whom I had confidence. I noticed, however, that the Jewish newspapermen were almost all solidly for Silver. I knew some of them well enough to be sure of their sincerity, and, what is more, their intelligence. I wanted to find out for myself. As the New York correspondent of the Tel Aviv Haaretz, I had a duty to my readers in Israel. When "the Political Actions Committee had a dinner in Silver's honor, I attended. The dinner converted me to Silver's side.

The dinner showed that the overwhelming majority of the rankand-file in American Zionism wre behind Silver, and that the leaders who opposed him had lost touch with the public they were supposed to represent. At the dinner were present both A.ben Barkley and Robert Taft, top leaders, each of the Democratic and Republican parties respectively. In Silver's address there was not only oratory, but a very clear, consistent and comprehensive idea of the policy he was advocating. To top it all, the affair was organized with consummate skill. Everything I observed at that dinner made all the charges of Silver's opponents seem ludicrous. I reported the dinner to Haaretz with my own interpreta-tion. It was the first favorable comment that Silver was given in the Tel Aviv press.

Soon after the dinner. I interviewed Silver for Harretz. The paper printed the interview, but had an editorial severely criticizing Silver. This went on for several years, the New York correspondent of Haaretz, that is, myself, praising Silver and defending his policies, while the same paper in its editorials took an anti-Silver line. As I found out on my first trip to Palestine in 1948, my articles had more effect than the editorials. Incidentally, my articles in Haaretz were, for a long time, the only ones in the whole Hebrew press, which were favorable to Silver.

. THE OWNER of Haaretz did not object until after the Zionist Congress in Basle in 1946. After the Congress, Mr. Schocken, (publisher of Haaretz and son of the head of Schocken books in this country) took the trouble to write me, calling my attention to the official line of the paper which is, as he termed it, "the Weizmann-Goldmann line," as opposed to "the Ben-Gurion-Silver line," which, he explained, "brought about a state of paralysis" in the Congress. I was requested in that letter not to mention Silver in my dispatches any more than absolutely necessary from the point of view of news. I replied that I could write only as I thought and felt, but that the editor was always free to discard what he did not wish to print. And so I went on boosting Silver in Tel-Aviv's leading newspaper, and, so far as I would tell, very little of it was censored out. I suppose it was because the readers liked it

apologist for Silver? On the one hand, as I watched him, I admired his work more and more. On the other hand, the unfairness of the criticism against him - at least, I thought it unfair - made me defiant and perhaps a little overenthusiastic. The dinner was only the start. Soon after that affair, after Roosevelt returned from Yalta and spoke in a way that made even a blind man see that Silver had been right in refusing to depend on his promise, Silver was reinstated as the head of the Emergency Council. I maintained close contact with the Council and watched it in operation. In all my experience with Jewish organizations in Canada, the United States and Israel, I have not seen any body function as well as the Emergency Council under Silver. One of Silver's outstanding qualities is his remarkable administrative ability. He knows how to delegate authority, how to encourage initiative, how to make any worker feel that the work he does is important. Silver may be a difficult person to work with his equals, but he is a most gracious one with his subordinates. Under Silver, in the Emergency Council, there was teamwork, there was harmony, there was an inspiring atmosphere. There was, perhaps, a tendency on the part of the people who worked under Silver to exaggerate the importance of their own work and to minimize the work done by others. But maybe this is the only way to do a good job.

The office of the American Zionist Emergency Council was the headquarters, the nerve-centre, for activating the political influence of American - which responded very readily Jewry and had confidence in the direction given it - in favor of the cause of a Jewish State.

CRIMINAL FOLLY

When I think how little of that administrative talent is to be found in the Zionist movement generally, and in Israel, in particular, I cannot help feeling that it was criminal folly not to make it possible for Silver to continue making his contribution to the movement. It is all the more irksome when one considers that Silver's bitterest opponents, the leaders of the Jewish Agency, are veritable geniuses of chaos, waste and mismanagement.

IF SILVER was drawn or driven into a position of taking sides in Israel's internal policies, there are legitimate reasons for it. But I still cannot see why he did not trouble to explain. It is the only question I asked him which he never answered.

Silver is a man who seems to find it almost impossible to admit a change of opinion, to admit a mistake, or to admit some measure of guilt. Some people take it as some sinister element in his nature. My personal experience with, Silver has not given me any such reasons. I take it merely as an individual peculiarity. It is just a form of shyness

The difficulty with individual peculiarities is that people on the other side have them, too, and the foibles of Ben-Gurion and his colleagues have been given fantastically sinister interpretations by some of Silver's adherents.

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sibility of an armed struggle for Jewe ish statehood. After the conference 1 walked over to him and told him that the kind of militant Zionism he was advocating was the one Silver stood for in America. He became angry and shouted at me: "Leave me alone, I am not a Silver man and not a Wise-man."

BUT SILVER was re-instated. Now that I know a little about Ben-Gurion's foibles. I am sure that his outburst was due to his unwillingness to expose his design to restore Silver in the leadership.

BEN GURION APPROVED

In 1946, before the Zionist Congress in Basle, Ben-Gurion visited New York again. This time he granted me an inserview. During the full hour we spent at his hotel room, he was relaxed and friendly and quite frank. He asked me more questions than I asked him, but I add gather a few points from him. One was that he approved of the Silver-Neuman team and of their policies. Silver, he told me, was valuable for his qualities of leadership, his drive and his Zionist fervor. Neumann he admired for his analytical mind and political judgment.

But he found fault with the way they ran conventions, which looked to him more like grand spectacles than constructive assemblies; he was critical of the lack of cultural and educational content in the ZOA; and he saw in Silver and Neumann a design to gain control of the Zionist movement, which he was evidently determined to fight.

CORDIALITY CHILLS

At the Congress, Silver and Bene Gurion combined against Weizmann, but there did not seem to be much cordiality in the alliance. The cordiality grew progressively less. When a delegation was sent from

Palestine to co-operate with Silver and Neumann in presenting the case before the United Nations, most of them were rather favorably impressed. But when Silver presented the Jewish case before the UN, the bitterness reached the explosive stage. It was Ben-Gurion, as Chairman of the Executive, who was scheduled to appear. But his plane was, delayed, and Silver took his place. I didn't think anybody in the world could have made as good a presentation of the Jewish, case as Silver did. But the Palestinians saw in Silver's action a usurpation of authority. From then on relations grew worse and worse, and I am afraid, nothing could have stopped the final break: if it was not one side, it was the other.

LABORITES WORRIED

During my second visit to Israel, in January and February 1949, I saw that many Laborites viewed the break with Silver as a misfortune and would have liked to avoid it or to mend it after it happened. At the urging of one bright young fellow, a Mapai journalist, who was quite concerned about the matter, I wrote a letter to Ben-Gurlon, but received no reply. One of the ver teran top leaders whose name is known all over the world, even took the troue ble to seek me out and to ask me to try to influence Silver against withdrawing from Zionist activity. "We cannot afford to dispense with men like Silver and Neumann," he said to me, "they don't come a dime a dozen."

SOON AFTER the Second World War broke out, a Zionist Emergency Committee was organized in New York. The Committee carried on a drab existence, spending much of its time in arguments, until it was reorganized as the American Zionist Emergency Council, with Stephen S. Wise and Abba Hillel Silver in charge.

SILVER RESIGNS

Before the Emergency Council proceeded very far, a serious rift developed between Rabbi Silver and most Zionist leaders. Silver then resigned and a Zionist Political Actions Committee was formed to advance Silver's point of view and his recall to leadership.

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SILVER'S ADMINISTRATIVE ABILITY What made me such an enthusiastic I at senior th

In 1944, when Silver was forced to resign from the Emergency Council, the Jerusalem Executive of the Jewish Agency had a hand in it. But it seems to me that when Silver was reinstated, in 1944, a very important member of the Jerusalem had a hand in the reinstatment. That man was David Ben-Gurion, Chairman of the Executive.

Ben-Gurion visited this country while Silver was out and the fight was raging between him and Stephen Wise. At a press conference with representatives of the Jewish press, Ben-Gurion gave the first public intimation of the pos-

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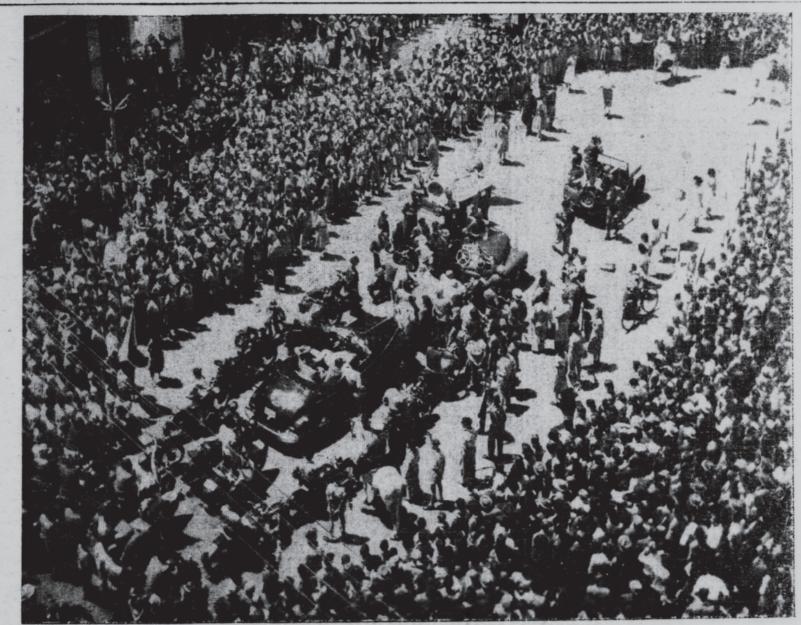
UNSUCCESSFUL MISSION

In a conversation with Eliezer Livneh, one of the ablest intellectuals in the Labor party, I said: "The Zionism of the American Zionists is not as full of content as that of the European Zione ist. It is too thin to subsist without strong leadership."

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Silver being welcomed in Israel in 1951 at the Lydda Airport. Silver is at the microphone behind the first jeep.

JEWS OF NATION PAY TRIBUTE TO DR. ABBA HILLEL SILVER ON HIS 60th BIRTHDAY

The celebration of the 60th birthday of Dr. Abba Hillel Silver coincides with the signal honor, which focussed natlanal as well as Jewish attention on him his participation in the inauguration of President Eisenhower.

Inevitably the mind recurs to another ay, another President — and another abbi who has left his imprint on history. The time of the inauguration of the first President of the republic, leorge Washington and the rabbi was he Rev. Gershom Seixas of the Spanish Portugese congregation. Seixas was ne of fourteen clergyment officially nvited to participate in Washington's naugural.

The whole population of the United states at the time of President Washington's inauguration was less by a ouple of millions to the present Jewish opulation of the United States alone. was little more than double the resent population of the new state of srael. The history of countries interwine and no two countries, no two ivilizations more fuse and intertwine in their roots than that of America and incient Israel. It is trite to say that the Puritan fathers built on the Hebew Scriptures. The Liberty Bell which n 1776 rang out proclaiming "liberty to all the land all the people thereof" roclaimed by this Hebraic phrase the kinship of Israel and the United States. I think the perception of this serves to explain a life such as Rabbi Silver's it aids us in understanding the devout Jew and fervent American oined in Rabbi Seixas. His synagogue night have remained open and his life undisturbed had Seixas joined the appeasers and been willing to accept the British when they occupied New York. Many did just that. But Rabbi seixas gathered the Holy Scrolls and leparted - a fugitive for his country's ake. Because American democracy has ts basis in Hebraic ideals, the good ew is always the better American patriot for his Jewishness.

By DAVID SCHWARTZ

being able not only to draw the Jews to his temple, but a goodly number of MINYANS of non-Jews come to hear his sermons. It is significant that this is so despite the fact that the Cleveland rabbi is not one of those who underplays the specific Jewish integument. When Rabbi Silver first came to his present pulpit, he found that his predecessor had gone to the extreme of assimilation of eliminating even the Sefer Torah from the Ark. Rabbi Silver had it reinstated. The Jewish uniqueness was precious to him. Jewish symbolism had a value for him and he knew that the orchestra of American life as a whole, would be all the richer for the variety of instruments producing the music. We need harmony. We need Unity. Who are the believers in the Unity more than the Jew ?- but is not to be confused with Uniformity. Uniformity is depressing and sterile.

BEFORE THE U.N.

There is a kinship between Silver putting back the Torah in his temple and Silver rising before the United Nations to plead for Israel, Had he not done the one, he could not do the other. "Zionism" said Theodore Herzl, " is a return to Judaism before it is a return to Zion." I think the delegates to the United Nations generally felt something of this too as Silver presented his plea. I think there was something religious in their decision to recognize Israel. Abraham Lincoln spoke of "the mystic chords of memory". Rabbi Silver speaking before the United Nations evoked some of those "mystic chords" of History's memory. They could not completely forget the Israel of old, the Israel of the Torah. They too in their fashion were putting the Torah back into the Ark. Rabbi Silvers appearance before the United Nations was a climactic event. "Who can forget some of the high points of his speech. How he turned, for instance to the Arab slander that the present day Jews were not the descendants of the Israelites of old, "History,"

sald Silver" is not an exact science, but neither is it a story from the Arabian Nights."

Dramatic and significant as was Silvers appearance before the United Nations, perhaps the future historians of these times will dwell in greater detail on an earlier and it seems to me, more important phase of his contribution to the creation of the Jewish State. So many things have been happening these years that already to many of us who have been witnesses of the period, certain very important facts, seems to have faded from our memories.

The great achievement of Rabbi Silver, it seems to me was the fact that to put it very bluntly, he made the establishment of Israel, a political issue.

We are all proud of the fact that America was the first to recognize the independence of the New Israel and we are grateful for the continuing friendliness which the United States is showing. America has been generous to Israel. But let us go back not so many years ago. What was the situation during the time of Sturm and Drang — of Hitler and the war period?

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Franklin Delano Roosevelt was a giant challenging and finally overcoming the Hitler ogre. Jews by and large gave him the warmest support, but nevertheless, it must be frankly said, Mr. Roosevelt never showed any particular support for Zionist aims at least as practical action is concerned. When refugees from Nazi lands knocked at the door of Palestine, they were turned back only to drown in the high seas without official protest. Mr. Churchill, the British Prime Minister, very close to Roosevelt who had many times avowed his friendship for Dr. Weizmann and his support of Zionism, remained equally aloof. The British Labor party which had time after time given verbally the warmest assurance of its support for a Jewish homeland turned into an outright fce. All of our friends were against us, to

say nothing of our enemies! In that contingency, Rabbi Silver was the American Jewish leader who came out firmly for making uor political friends toe the line.

MILITANT STAND

As an orator, Rabbi Silver is foremost. The late Newton D. Baker, who was Secretary of War in President Wilson's cabine once remarked that he was envious of Silvers "silver tongue" but now Rabbi Silver was not elequent. He said simply, "We Jews are going to take the matter to the polls. We are going to vote for those who support our aims. That's what democracy means, that you vote to support what you believe to be right".

In reality, what he urged, is elementary. But first there was a peculiar reaction to his call. Some of the "hushhush" Jewish leaders were howrified." It's un-American, they shouted. It was they who were un-Americans. It was because Rabbi Silver felt so completely American that he dared in fact to make his appeal.

The other group which had the shivers were the politicians. If its going to mean votes, they finally concluded, we had better do something about it. And it was then that policies began to change, that the state department began to mend its ways and the Jew began to be reckoned with. The democratic process had been tested and proven to have great strength. FOR ABBA HILLEL SILVER is a fundamental democrat - a democrat with a little d. Make no mistake about that. There are people who are misled by names and labels. The great American, Henry George, was once asked whether he was a conservative or radical, "I am a conservative," he replied, "because I wish to conserve what is best in the past and I am a radical because radical means going to the roots and I believe in going to the roots of things."

RESTORES SEFER TORAH Rabbi Silver has the reputation for

EARLY BACKGROUND The word and the deed are closely (Continued on Page 10)

ABBA HILLEL SILVER HISTORY MAKER

(Reprinted By Permission from The American Zionist of February 1953)

By EMANUEL NEUMANN

The sixtieth Anniversary of a great leader is a festive occasion but not necessarily the most appropriate for a definitive appraisal of his life-work. In the case of Dr. Silver it is obviously too early —and too hazardous. Dr. Silver is in his prime, at the height of our generation; and experience has taught that any period of relative calm in his life may be but a hull in an eventful and often stormy career.

Moreover, a truly objective evaluation could only come from someone less involved and more detached than myself. My association with Dr. Silver goes back to childhood days and I could hardly escape a subjective tone or resist the lure of personal reminiscence.

Reviewing it in its entirety, I am struck by a certain wholeness or intergrity about Silver's Zionist career. It began in the Herzl Zion Club, one of the earliest boys groups in the history of American Zionism, formed in 1904, the year of Herzl's death. It met on the East Side and the meetings at least its "literary programs" - were conducted in Hebrew. I joined a few years later, on a wintry Saturday evening, when the club was celebrating the Bar Mitzvah of the president. Its president then and its natural leader for years thereafter was Abba Silver. His was a firm rule, tempered always with a saving sense of humor. He was loved, admired and obeyed. His word at the end of a long debate had the ring of finality and was accepted without demur. The very quality of his voice brought conviction.

IT WAS as a delegate of the Herzl Club that Silver, still a boy, attended his first convention of the Federation of American Zionists. Without precocity but with mature self-confidence, he addressed the convention, demanding greater financial suport for the Zionist youth movement. He got little or no money but his appearance was a harbinger of a new and younger generation who were soon to claim their place in the movement and its leadership.

Then came an interruption — or what seemed like one — in Silver's Zionist life. He went to Cincinnati to study at the University and train for the rabbinate of Hebrew Union College. With him went several other alumni of the Herzl Club. Many of us had unhappy forebodings about this move; for Hebrew Union College was reputed to be not only a nursery of Reformed Judaism, but a stronghold of anti-Zionism. To those who remonstrated with Silver, he replied somewhat jauntily that if Cincinnati was an anti-Zionist fortress, he and his friends would capture it from within.

The years passed and a new Silver emerged, whom we did not easily identify with the boy we had known. Elegant in dress, polished in manner, faultless in speech, he appeared to have undergone a transformation. He had shed the habits and manners, the accents of his earlier environment. He seemed "goyish." It all smacked of "assimilation."

But it soon became evident that the changes were external: they had not touched the core of the man — his inner spirit. The fires, kindled at the parental hearth and in the company of his youthful comrades, were not smothered but had been banked against the time when they were to burst into ardent flame. Before long he found his place in the galaxy of distinguished personalities gathered about Louis D. Brandeis, and he began to appear on Zionist platforms in many cities. His reputation as an orator grew, but his role in the councils of the movement were still modest. He was a loyal and disciplined follower of Brandeis. Balfour and Weizmann, Max Nordau and Lord Cecil. He also addressed the closing session of the Conference, as spokesman for the American delegation pledging the continued support of American Zionism.

In the succeeding years of controversy between Brandeis and Weizmann, originally over the Keren Hayesod, Silver eventually found his way back to participation in the mass movement. He accepted Weizmann's leadership though he differed with him strongly from time to time on important questions of policy.

In 1939 Silver assumed the leadership of the United Palestine Appeal and of the United Jewish Appeal as well. In the same year he attended the Zionist Congress in Geneva when Europe and the world stood on the brink of the Second World War. It was shortly after the publication of the White Paper — the last and most deadly of a long series of policy pronouncements by the British Government. In Palestine the Yishuv was seething with indignation and the first stirrings of active rebellion and even the official leadership of the Yishuv had begun to promote illegal immigration.

IT WAS NOT, however, until the war had run half its course, and the ghastly rumors of the mass slaughter of European Jews had become accepted fact, that Silver's career entered upon its historic and heroic phase. During the first three years of the war he took no prominent part in Zionist political affairs, devoting himself assiduously and with success to the great fund-raising campaigns which were his immediate responsibility. But he could not suppress the authentic Zionists note and the Herzlian heritage which were part of his innermost self. Essentially he was concerned not with philanthropy but with statemanship. He gradually converted the platform of the Appeal into a political forum, giving incisive and compelling expression to the Jewish demands for national freedom and a secure national existence on the ancestral soil; he grew increasingly outspoken and critical both of the statesmen of the world and of sundry Jewish organizations concerned with Jewish rights, but too weak and ineffective to influence the mighty forces at play.

ZIONIST COUNCIL

Meanwhile, the Zionist movement had a greater awareness of its role than any other Jewish organization. With the approval of the World Executive, the American Zionist Emergency Council, representing all of the major parties, was established in New York in 1940 to undertake whatever steps appeared necessary, in view of the crisis. Slowly the Council got under way and initiated a number of activities - notably, the formation of the American Palestine Committee, numbering hundreds of United States senators, representatives, cabinet members, governors of States and influential personalities in all walks of life. Regular official contact was established with the State Department. Public meetings were organized and the first steps taken to secure the ear of the American press. It was a brave beginning but far from that all-out effort some of us had hoped for and anticipated. Above all we had made no dent, not the slightest, upon the State Department and the White House. Roosevelt was at the height of his power and popularity. His sympathy and friendliness toward the Jews was beyond dispute; but for the Zionist cause he had little thought and less time. Actually we were moving

delivered before the National Conference of the United Palestine Appeal in Philadelphia. It was a turning point in the evolution of American Zionist policy. For the first time a leader of commanding importance dared to challenge not only the State Department but the attitude of President Roosevelt himself. Dr. Silver's speech was a mercilessly frank and honest analysis of our own weakness and the unfriendliness of the American Government, however veiled in polite and meaningless gestures. It was a clarion call for a new approach based upon political realism and militant action. It was a full-scale programmatic speech and stirred thoughtful Zionists who sensed in it something new — a revolutionary note!

They began to rally about him. Within a few weeks a self-constituted delegation called upon Dr. Silver and urged him to assume the direction of American Zionism. As a result of the steps initiated by his friends, he was invited to become the active head of the Zionist Emergency Council that summer, thus ushering in a new era of American Zionism — the era of political "activism."

A decisive test came within a few weeks, as the first session of the American Jewish Conference convened at the Hotel Waldorf-Astoria in New York. The principal and dramatic issue was a resolution endorsing the Zionist demand for a Jewish Commonwealth. Virtually all American Zionist groups had conducted their election campaign for delegates to the Conference on the basis of this program. Yet, when confronted with the intransigent attitude of a small non-Zionist minority, some of the most promiaent Zionist leaders wavered and sought a way out. On the plea of "unity." a compromise was in the making by which reference to Jewish statehood was to be eliminated from the resolution. Silver was incensed by what he regarded as an unwarranted retreat. Behind closed doors there was a brief but violent scene between him and some of his colleagues. He went before the Conference and delivered one of the most masterly addresses of his career. When the vote was taken, it resulted in an overwhelming victory. The Jewish Commonwealth resolution was carried with but four dissenting votes out of a total of the 502 delegates assembled.

Silver is a born orator - one of the greatest of our generation - with all of the orator's gifts and techinques at his command. There are few in our time who can stir mass emotion so deeply, when he chooses to do so. But it has been one of Silver's minor misfortunes that his remarkable oratorical talents have tended to overshadow his higher qualities and superior gifts; his powers of analysis, political insight and statesmanship. If he had chosen a legal career he would easily have been one of the most brilliant advocates of the American Bar. When he took over the political leadership of the movement, however, he abandoned more and more the rabbinical manner and the emotional stimulus, in favor of closely woven argumentation and cogent appeals to reason.

If Dr. Silver neglected his personal affairs at the call of Zionism, he brought an even greater sacrifice by interrupting his scholarly pursuits. He was devoted to the world of letters and ideas and in his earlier years loved to immerse himself in research and philosophical speculation. He had produced important works distinguished by sound scholarship and yearned for the peace and quiet of his library, for his books and his unfinished manuscripts. This deprivation was perhaps the hardest to bear.

IN 1920, the war against Germany having been won, a large delegation of American Zionist went to London, to the first international Zionist Conference in seven years. There a rift developed between the Weizmann and Brandeis forces. Our American delegation was divided, Silver standing firmly behind Brandeis. At this Conference Silver first attained international prominence. Though one of the youngest delegates — still in his twenties he was called upon to address a great public meeting at the Royal Albert Hall, where he shared the platform with such established celebrities as in circles and getting - no where.

During Weizmann's second wartime visit to America in 1942, he suggested a reorganization of the Emergency Council and the drafting of Silver to its leadership. The latter had just returned from a successful tour in England and had won Weizmann's admiration both by his platform appearances and his dealings with British statesmen — and a warmer relationship developed between the two. However, Weizmann's plan met with resistance and nothing came of it at the time.

But the stage was being set for Silver's emergence into leadership. The necessary and inevitable political struggle preoccupied his mind and invested his speeches with increasing dignity and importance. The orator was ripening into the statesman. The climax of this development came on May 2, 1943 in a memorable address which he

A Revolution In Policy

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The story of the great mobilization of American Jewry which followed, the prodigious effort to win American public opinion, the dramatic struggle to secure passage of a pro-Zionist resolution in the Congress of the United States, the conflict between Dr. Silver and President Roosevelt, and the pitched battle between the "Silver militants" and the "Wise moderates" — all that is a chapter too recent and familiar to be detailed here. Dr. Silver

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PAGE FIVE



HISTORY MAKER

(Continued from Page 4)

had not underestimated the magnitude of the task he had undertaken or the strength of the powerful forces arrayed agaist him: the Arabs, the British, the U. S. State Department, the missionary circles, the oil interests and others. What he had underrated was the power of inertia within the Jewish camp and the iron grip which conventional ideas and established political traditions held upon the Zionist movement. He found that no revolutionary change could be brought on the internal front. He had to undergo profound changes of outlook himself and destroy many cherished illusions among his followers before he could strike out on new paths and in new directions.

Such radical revision of long-accepted viewpoints and habits of mind is a painful process, irritating and upsetting. And, it must be admitted that Silver was none too gentle with his critics and opponents. He was impatient. He could flay with his tongue and bear down opposition with crushing effect. He did not do this deliberately, out of any desire to hurt, but behaved like a general leading his army in desperate battle, with too much at stake to brook disobedience or insubordination. He acted impulsively at times, in disregard of the "human equation" — and repeatedly the "human equation" rebelled and backfired. IT HAD LONG been an accepted orthodox doctrine that Zionist policy must continue to be based on British orientation. But as time passed Silver was forced to the conclusion that this was an Illusion: Britain would not return to her original pro-Zionist line in the face of Arab opposition unless she was compelled to do so by a force greater than Arab pressure.

AMERICA - SUPERIOR FORCE

This superior force was America! Here again Silver realized earlier and more clearly than other the extent to which Britain was growing

(Continued on Page 12)

Herzl died in 1904, and in that year three youngsters, Maxwell and Abba Hillel Silver and Israel S. Chipkin were all students at the Yeshivah Volozhin of New York. They decided to form a Herzl Zion club to disseminate the "Zionist ideal and self-cultivation in Hebrew among the Jewish youth."

They addressed and convinced a group of youngsters to associate together. Rabbi Moses Silver, the father of the two Silver boys was the director for the first two vears. Maxwell, the oldest of the two Silver boys was the club's first president. He was 13 and his brother Abba was 11. After Maxwell's presidency, for a number of years, Abba was the president.

To Jews in America today, who talk Hebrew and whose children study Hebrew in high schools, it will seem odd that in 1904 educators were dead set against Hebrew. After the club got well under way, in order to raise funds and also to publicize its activities, it produced a Hebrew play which the noted playwright Abraham Goldfaden wrote especially for the club. But the youngsters had much difficulty with the powers that be '(read David Schwarticle this issue) because of Hebrew.

Indeed, later on, after the club stopped meeting in the living room of the Silvers and got meeting quarters at the Educational Alliance, the directors of the Alliance wanted the club to stop using the words "Herzl" and "Zion" in their name.

For ten years the club gave performances of plays from time to time. Dramatic critics from the big papers, Hebrew, Yiddish and daily English attended the performances. When Dr. Maxwell Silver was recently asked how the critics could understand the play because of the Hebrew, he replied they were able to get at the meaning of it through the characterization of the actors, and even the magazine "Theatre" reviewed the plays.

It is strange that from all the talented youngsters of the club, who have become eminent in so many walks of life, none have

gone on either to Broadway or Hollywood,

The club met once a week on Saturday nights. Some of the members couldn't even pay the 5c a month dues, and had to be carried on the cuff for a long time. Some never paid up.

The meetings were busy with discussions of Zionism, Jewish history and literature. There were debates and hot arguments.

The club branched out in five vears after its formation into Junior and Senior branches, a Girl's branch, a branch in Harlem and one in Jersey City. Abba Hillel Silver headed the propaganda committee of the new set up.

The older members of the club at this time were the "prime movers in the organization of Young Judea." They saw to it that the new Young Judea became a Zionist organization, as there were those who wanted it to be another ordinary Jewish social group.

The club discontinued in 1917. Its members had become scattered throughout the country and many were in the service.

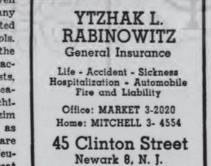
In 1929 at the 25th anniversary reunion of the club, a booklet was printed which reviews the history of the club. The booklet lists about 140 members. and gives short biographies of around 50 of them.

In this roster you will find the names of many who are today eminent in many walks of life. There are some outstanding medical men such as Dr. E. M. Bluestone, the director of the Montefiore Hospital, who has been the Hadassah Medical Director. There are besides the six Reformed Rabbis (see Maxwell Silver article, this issue) many other Rabbis who graduated from other theological shcools. There are educators such as the renowned Israel Chipkin, accountants, writers, journalists, communal leaders, bankers, teachers merchandise men, architects, some became Chalutzim and went to Palestine such as Samuel Lieben, and there are scientists such as Benjamin Neuhasen who died before his great talents could fully develop. It is one of the unique phenomenas of the East Side that out of this little group such tremendous forces were nurtured and matured - forces that were to be felt locally, nationally and internationally. The answer as to the why might well be due to the fact that it was the moral and spiritual forces and ideals that gave the club its reason for existence in the first place.

The 1929 booklet which reviewed the history of the Club on which we have heavily drawn for material, was gotten up, in part, by Sol Cohn. Cohn also wrote an article on the Herzl Club which appeared in the Jewish Tribune of 1929, entitled "The Romance of a Youth Movement." Cohn pointed out in 1929 that the Herzl club was the first junior Zionist Club in the country, Young Judea,, Junior Hadassah, the Menorah Movement, the Hillel Foundation the Avukah, Young Israel, Council of Jewish Juniors, Young People's League, Mizrachi Hatzoir all came after the Herzl Club, and were either founded because of the Herzl group or influenced by it.

Cohn concludes his article of 24 years ago with a disturbing question. These are his words: "But I have said that the story of this club would point a moral, and if it has not already done so I ask you to remember the fact that the early Zionists were indifferent to its success - were indifferent to what a youth's organization might bring forth. I ask of you: Are we, the youth of those days, now wiser than those elders? Answer this question and you will have the moral."

In 1953, we can ask the same question Cohn asked in 1929.





Silver addressing Centenial Banquet of the Temple, 1950, in Cleveland.



Silver with his room-mate at the Hebrew Union College.



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Rabbi in 1915. He graduated that year at the Hebrew Union College, completing a nine year *course in four years. He also graduated that same year from the University of Cincinnati.

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Silver before the United Nations in 1949, Dr. Emanuel Neumann at the left, Behind Silver are Moshe Sharets (them Moshe Shertok) and Rabbi Wolf Gold.

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SILVER COMMEMORATIVE ISSUE - JEWISH LEDGER

PAGE SEVEN

SILVER'S 60TH BIRTHDAY

(Continued from Page 1)

give their homage to this modern Titan who has inherited the mantle of Herzl in our contemporary life. The heritage that men accumulate gives them a definite aura on their 60th birthday. They cannot escape the identity which six decades has fastened upon them. Some have dedicated their lives to Zionism. And at the top of that list is the name of Abba Hillel Silver.

At the dias were seated ambassadors, diplomats, bankers, a governor, national and international figures, clergymen, outstanding Zionist leaders, the guest of honor, his wife and their youngest son. Jammed to its utmost capacity was the famed star-light room of the Waldorf and disappointed were hundreds upon hundreds of people who clamored to be at the celebration dinner. Some of these hundreds later were given the privilege of hearing Silver in his talk and they packed the doorways and piled thick one upon another.

SIMCHA

It was an evening for "simcha" as Rabbi Irving Miller, the President of the ZOA and the ovening's chairman said. The only disrupting harmony that chaked the audience was when the speakers of the evening told of Arab jet planes, Egyptian threats and Communist madness. It was an "evening to remember" as the guest of honor himself and later after everyone got up and sang "Happy Birthday" to their illustrious brother Zionist.

Felicitations poured in from all over the world from individuals, heads of countries, and Zionist organizations of different nations. The chairman took time out to read but a few, from President Eisenhower and President Ben-Zvi. Secretary of State Dulles' message was read by his personal friend Bernard Katzen, and Ben Gurion sent his best wishes hoping that Silver would once again lead the forces of Zionism. As that message was read I asked myself was that a mile playing around the lips of Bilver?

There was a message from the co-chairman of the Jewish Agency Nachum Goldman. As the various messages were read the audience applauded, and the applause at the Goldman congratulations was of a puny rattle compared to the hearty roar of decibels of the others.

As the speakers strode to the dias each one in his own way gave out some sort of witticism on the subject of 60th birthdays. Silver also joined in, in that, when his turn came. The Talmud and the Bible were quoted and the huge audience liked it.

The speakers paid their respects to Silver for his birthday, and than each one, with the exception of Emanuel Neumann, soon went on to tell of the present dangers Jewry and the State of Israel was in. Abba Eban as the Ambassador from Israel, Dewey as New York's Governor, and then Silver himself. Neumann in his address gave an appraisal of Silver, the man and his accomplishments. (Neumann's comments are printed separately.)

The dangers facing Jewry from Russia were pointed out in extraordinarily undiplomatic words by Dewey and Eban. Only Silver in part tried to pour some oil on the Communist waters by stating that perhaps someone in position of authority in Russia might yet come to their senses.

"Totalitarian dictatorship in the vast Communist empire assaults the dignity of the Jewish people by the most grotesque and malicious libels which anti-Semitic mania has ever devised. The half forgotten voices of Goebbels and Streicher have secured a sounding board in the odious endictment formulated at Prage and Moscow," said Eban.

DEWEY INDICTS

Practically the whole address of Dewey with the exception of his warm congratulations to Silver was a powerful indictment of the Soviet madness. We quote significant parts:

"Contrary to popular impression, naked Communist anti-Semitism is not new. As early as the 1920's the Soviet Union outlawed the Zionist movement, as well as other expressions of Jewish culture and faith.

"In the 1930's a 'dollar inquisition' was instigated with the arrest of thousands of Jews in the Soviet in order to extort



Picture taken in 1911 of the Silver family. Seated are father and mother, Standing, left to right, Bessie, Abba, Max, and Pearl, Little Rose is at school, Taken just before Abba was leaving for college.

moneys from their relatives else where in the world.

Dewey then reviewed step by step the yearly descent by Russia into the hell of all the devils of Satan. "It was easy and natural for Stalin to form the evil parnership in 1939, which enabled Hitler to launch World War II. It is equally natural that Communism. which first uses those whom it would later destroy, launched its full fledged campaign of terror against Judalsm . . . It was in September 1948 that Ehrenburg's article in Pravda gave the official signal . . . But just as too few had believed the full horror of Hitler's threat in Mein Kampf, too few were willing to believe that Stalin had swallowed the last bitter drop of Hitler's poison ...

"Zionism as such has now become a crime and merely being a Jew is now cause for hanging," said the Governor.

SILVER ON RUSSIA

Silver gave a great deal of his talk over to Russia also. The following are some of the quotations:

"The Soviet Union has turned violently anti-Israel and anti-Zionist. From Moscow, Warsaw, Prague, Bucharest and Kaunas, a chorus of charges and anathemas has been sounding off against our Movement and the government of Israel, identical with the unbridled denunciatons which have been visited upon American imperialism, Titoism, Trotskyism and all forms of deviationism ...

"The kettle of a Communist mass trial usually boils more than one fish, but what a fantastic stew of juridicial rigmarole is this, by which lifelong professional anti-Zionists are hanged because they are Zion-Ists. and Zionists are charged with fostering anti-Semitism, and the American Joint Distribution Committee is charged with being an international Jewish burgeois nationalist organization, set up by the A. merican Intelligence Service to exterminate the top-ranking of ficials of the U.S.S.R.!

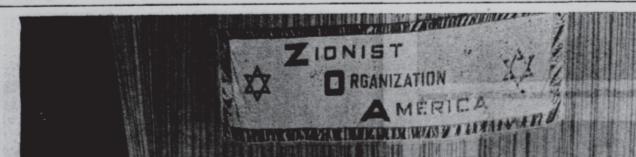
"There may be even more serious overtones to this anti-Zionist anti-Israel campaign launched by the Communist states. It may carry over into an all-out campaign against the Jews of those countries who number some twoand-a-half million souls . . . I am frank to acknowledge that it is difficult to understand what is going on, as do many other men of good will every where ... (Continued on Page 11)

ABBA, ISRAEL HATH NEED OF THEE

One of the high points of the 60th birthday celebration of Silver at the Waldorf was the touching appeal of Dr. Emanuel Neumann, lifelong friend of Silver.

Neumann finished his talk, speaking as an alumnus of the boyhood club (see article this issue on Herzl Zion club). There have been those not as fortunate as Silver, in their autumn, he reminisced. "We feel the wind and stubble. Your life's work has not been completed," he said turning to Silver. "You found the community in America a sleeping giant. You taught us to stand on our feet and fight without a feeling of inferiority. You left us infinitely stronger. We cannot face the storms of the future without you. We need you. I say to you Abba, Israel hath need of thee. Rise Abba, Israel hath need of thee." he concluded in tones of pathos.

Neumann who followed Silver as President of the ZOA and who is an international figure himself in the Zionist world. made an address that was unusual in that it was extemporaneous though he had a prepared speech in front of him. He quoted from it at times, but he departed much more from the speech than he read of it. The prepared speech in turn. drew some of its matter from his brilliant analyticial article on Silver which appeared in the February American Zionist, and which this newspaper has secured special permission to reprint in this is-





Three things specially stood out in Neumann's talk. The "turning point of our movement," he said was the address Silver made in the 1943 Conference meeting. (for picture of Silver at that meeting see front page.)

Neumann compared Silver's fighting attitude to that of Foch's who when the Frenchwere being beaten everywhere, issued his celebrated order to advance on all fronts.

Neumann recalled the poet David Fishman's lines about Herzl — that a kindly fairy had stood at his cradle and showered him with gifts. Such an endowment was surely also made at Silver's cradle, he said. SILVER COMMEMORATIVE ISSUE - JEWISH LEDGER

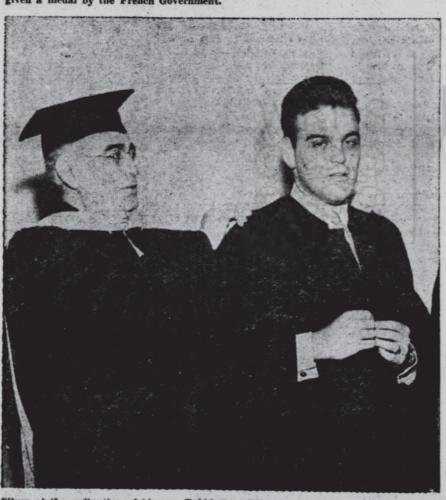
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Picture of the Herzl Zion Club at a picnic outing. Silver is the youngster sitting right | or twelve.



Silver at the ordination of his son, Rabbi Daniel Jeremy Silver, June 1952. The young Rabbi is now a chaplain.







At the Cleveland 60th Birthday Celebration, Mrs. Silver and the Rabbi are shown with A. M. Luntz, president of the Temple congregation, who was toastmaster.

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SILVER COMMEMORATIVE ISSUE - JEWISH LEDGER





1.

Silver at hearings before the Foreign Affairs Committee of the House of Representatives in February 1944. Silver worked hars moniously with both the Republicans and the Democrats. Left to right, majority leader, John McCormack; Silver, Sol Bloom, chairman; and minority leader Joseph W. Martin.

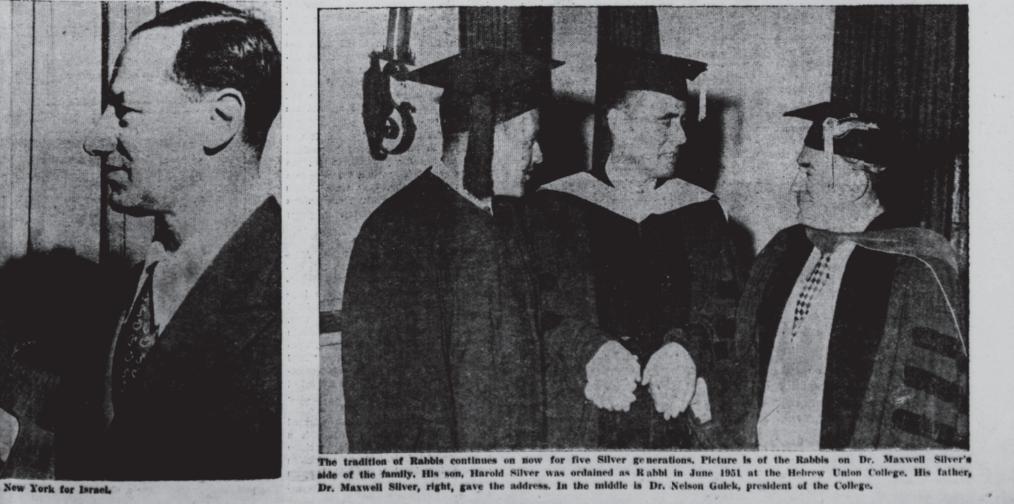
right in front of the flag. He was then about eleven

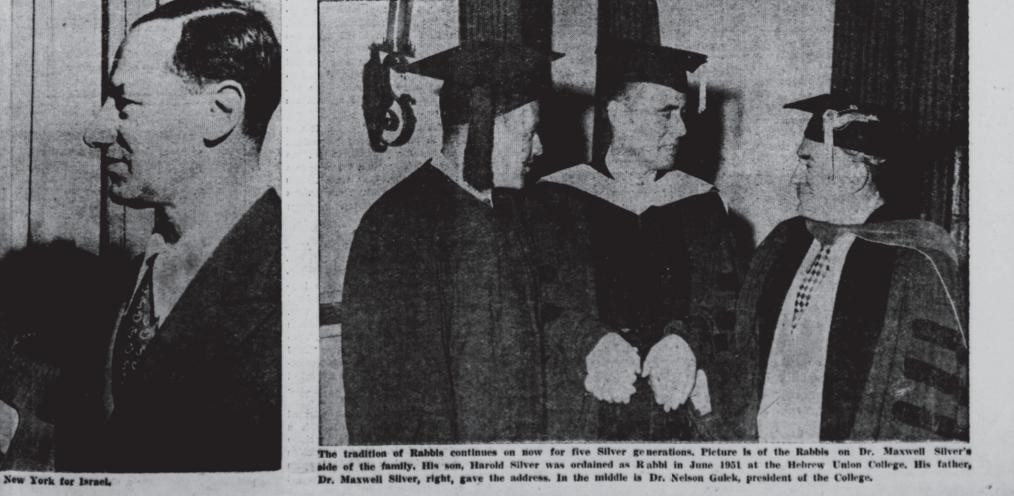


Silver addressing the United Nations Security Council in 1948. Behind Silver are seen Goldie Myerson, Emanuel Neumann and Moshe Sharett.

> Silver at Zionist Conference in London in 1945.







PAGE NIN

Journalist Appraises Silver

(Continued from Page 3)

STIRS MASSES

Administration is, of course, not the only talent Silver possesses, but the others — such as his ability to stir the masses — are well known and admitted even by his critics. Three is still some controversy about his political acument, but this is not the place to go into that. Personally I still hold that his mistakes and his faults during the years of his leadership were insignificant compared with his achievements. I am convinced that without Silver we should not have had the United Nations resolution of November 29, 1947.

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My personal experiences with Silver have been quite pleasant. I found him gracious, open and, contrary to general view, tolerant of criticism. From what I observed in his conduct with others, I think he becomes intolerant only when he suspects impure motives. He respects character, intelligence and achievement.

ADMIRES PIONEERS

From what I observed, he has a strong admiration for Israel's pioneers and leaders. He does not always understand the workings of their typically European mentality, just as they are bewildered by his essentially American habit and reactions. But he admires them to such an extent, that he will rather not fight them even when he thinks they are wrong or unfair to him.

As I said, Silver was tolerant towards my criticism. This I expressed sometimes in personal letters or conversations, which he never dodged, and, sometimes, towards the end, in articles, especially in the National Jewish Post. I criticized the low tone of the ZOA propaganda and the neglect of cultural work, the lack of preparation for a Zionist program after the Jewish State came into existence, the unnecessarily acrimonious attitude towards opponents and a violation of pledge of non-interference in internal Israel affairs.

As far as a future program for the Zionist movement, I found Silver singularly unconcerned about it. Least of all, was he concerned about his role in Zionism after the political aim was attained. He was there to do a certain specific job — to get a Jewish State — and after that, he was ready to go back to his Temple. He not only spoke that way, but he acted that way. If later he perhaps changed his attitude, he certainly has not been very vigorous about his desire to return to leadership.

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Now as to the violation of the pledge for non-interference, thereby hangs a tale.

In 1945, in London, the first international Zionist conference took place after the War. At that assembly, the General Zionists began to organize as a party to challenge Labor and Histadruth. Silver naturally took a prominent part in the meetings. When I asked him, on his return, about the reports of a brewing "Tory counterrevolution." he assured me he was interested only in the political aspect of the struggle for a Jewish State. "The political status of Palestine," he said emphatically, "concerns all the Jews. The social and economic structure of the country concerns only the Yishuv (Jewish Community in Palestine)" And he proceeded to explain: "Whether or not there is a Jewish State in Palestine. is my business. How they run it, is their business." I immediately cabled this statement to Haaretz, and published it in this country as well - in Yiddish, in the Jewish Daily Forward, and in English, in the National Jewish Post. I knew at the time that this was not the view of Emanuel Neumann. But for a time Silver acted as if that was the principle on which he would proceed, and I pasmonately defended the sincerity of his stand against those who doubted it.

RIOT ACT

Today, eight years after that statement was made and published, I am no longer sure it can work as well as it reads. It is too simple a maxim for such a highly complex situation as the relationship between Israel and the Jews of other countries. It is impossible to continue active in behalf of Israel and follow that principle of non-interference without modifying it somewhat. I have seen men who bitterly fought Silver and Neumann on that issue ending up by reading the riot act to the Israel leadership.

I have also noticed this: the Israeli Government and the Jewish Agency (which is more or less under the thumb of the Government) are administering large sums of money obtained from Jews outside; for that money they are not fully held to account by the Israel citizenry, since it comes from other sources, nor to the donors, because that would mean outside interference. Under the circumstances, it is a miracle that there is so little corruption in Israel. But, believe me, there is plenty of waste and inefficiency.

It is natural for Israel to seek from American Jews the maximum of assist ance with the minimum of interference. But I am convinced that if Israel's leaders were better at understanding other people, at long-range planning and at public relations (in other words, if they were what they are not), they could have gotten the same results at less cost to the Zionist movement.

SECRET DENIED

About a year after this conversation in TelAviv, Livneh came to New York. During his first meeting with me, he asked me how he could meet Silver. I arranged the meeting. Livneh had unofficial authorization from the Mapai (Labor Party) Executive, with the knowledge of Ben-Gurion, to explore the possibilities of bringing Silver back to a position of leadership, but Livneh kept his mission secret and denied it even when speaking with me. I got my information from other sources, which are quite reliable. Negotiations were carried on for several months, but in the end, the Livneh mission failed.

Two Mapai leaders on a visit to New York in 1950, told me their position in the following carefully weighed words: "If Silver should manage to secure a position of leadership in American Zionism, we would view such a position with some of the leaders in America, to run for office, and, if we won, he could count on the co-operation of Israel's leaders. Silver's position, on the other hand, was this: he was ready to retire from his Temple, to devote the rest of his life to Zionist work, but only if he is sure the Israel leadership wanted him. Before he would make an important step, he must have some express sign from Israel. Merely a personal invitation from Ben-Gurion to talk over things would be enough without any commitment.

LIKE CHESS MOVES

Nothing happened. When the Zionist Actions Committee met Silver's opponents from New York remonstrated with Ben-Gurion for having sent Livneh, and Ben-Gurion denied having authorized Livneh to negotiate. That was the end of the Livneh Mission. Personally, I don't see much sense in the position of either side. I can't see why Silver should insist on a gesture, and I don't see why Ben-Gurion should insist on refusing it. But there you are. Time, however, may evolve a solution even to the foibles of two such stubborn men. Things are different in 1953 than they were in 1950, and where Livneh failed then, it is beginning to look as if Emanuel Neumann and Irving Miller are succeeding now.

Jews of Nation Pay Tribute

(Continued from Page 2)

linked in the Silver family. In 1904, the world of Jewry was thrown into grief over the death of Theodore Herzl. The Silver boys Abba Hillel and Maxwell responded by something more than lamentations. They organized a junior Zionist club. Maxwell who later also became a rabbi but finally abandoned it for banking became the first president of the boys' organization. (Though a banker, Dr. Maxwell Silver has not abandoned scholarly pursuits. One of his recent books is "The way to God"),

The Zionist club formed by the Silver boys was constituted mainly of boys attending the VOL-OSHINER YESHIVA on the East Side. It was called the Dr. Herzl Zionist Club. A roster of its membership presents a very impressive roll of present day celebrities, including Emanel Neumann, now with the Jewish Agency, Sol Cohen, Zionist leader of Long Island, Rabbi Barnett Brickner, George Sokolsky, well known columnist, Israel Chipkin, Jewish educator, Dr. Reuben J. Holland, prominent New Jersey physician.

THE ORGANIZATION met at the Educational Alliance and got into hot water almost immediately when Dr. Henry W. Fleischmann, superintendent of the Educational Alliance discovered that the boys spoke in Hebrew at their meetings. Luckily, there was no F.B.I. at the time or the superintendent might have reported them as a subversive group. But the club, refused to be moved by the superintendent and it is of record that it was Abba Hillel Silver who arose and flatly told Dr. Fleischmann that the members would continue at their meetings to use the language of the Bible.

Later, they were to have however more troubles of a similar kind, when they announced the production of a play in Hebrew especially written for them by the noted Jewish playwright, Abraham Goldfadden. Dr. Fleischmann here put his foot down more adamantly. This thing, he said, was going entirely too far. They certainly would not permit the presentation of a play in Hebrew.

. . .

At that time, the great bugaboo were the anarchists, Sometimes these anarchists would throw bombs, and everytime someone said "Shalom" it seemed to the superintendent like "bomb". But again the boys were not to be downed. The boys got in touch with the publisher of the Jewish Morning Journal, who in turn got in touch with the Superintendent of the Educational Alliance. Dr. Fleischmann was warned that if the auditorium was denied to the boys, the paper would come out with a blistering editorial against the Educational Alliance.

But there was more trouble. It was all right to have a great playwright write a play for you and to get the play produced. There is a material side to the theatre too. How were tickets to be sold. There were not many Jews who could follow a Hebrew language play.

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REB. MOSHE SILVER

To Reb Moshe Silver, his father a sage Jew, author of a Biblical commentary which has received high praise, Abba Hillel owed a good Hebraic preparation. Rabbi Silver came to the fore as a leader of the pulpit at a time when Hebrew scholarship was at a nadir. Book reviews had come to take the place of sermons in a great many pulpits. If Rabbi Silver wants to review a book in his pupit, at least it may be said for him, he knows how to review a Hebrew book as well. He can review volume of Bialik as well as any of those best sellers later to be condensed in the Readers Digest.

Probably if Dr. Silver were to write his autobiography, he would devote no little space to the East Side where he spent his youth. The East Side of his childhood was a section of squalor and poverty in a hundred different shades, but life was vivid there. There was idealism also and there was thinking. It was a good section to nurture a leader. Some day the saga of the tenement houses will be shown to have been as fruitful as the log cabins in the moulding of the countries dealings. From the East Side came political leaders like Al Smith, labor leaders like Sidney Hillman, artists like Jacob Epstein, song writers like Irving Berlin, industrial Titans like David Sarnoff.

Silver belongs to a handful of rabbis who have earned an immortal niche in American history. Leaders like Isaac Leeser and Isaac M. Wise, David Einhorn and Stephen Wise. Not all that each stood for has become permanent in American Jewish life, but American Jewish life of today has been enriched in some ways by all. Silver has lived in times more crucial than any of the past two thousand years and it is a tribute to him that he has measured up to the crisis.

But the time has not yet arrived to talk of Silvers place in history. He is too young yet for that. He is sixty years old. Schmaryahu Levin once spoke of a certain rich Jew as having become "bar mitzvah" at 60. That is a tragedy. But Rabbi Silver was bar mitzvah at 13. His long background of achievement and knowledge are prophecy of many more years of noteworthy achievement.

Kfar Silver

A youth village and agricultural college which will be located at Migdal Ashkalon, on the road between Tel-Aviv and Jerusalem, has been established

by the ZOA as a tribute to Sil-

Announcement of the village was made at the 60th birthday celebration.



I note that in his cable to Miller, Ben-Gurion stressed the desirability of Silver's return to active Zionist leadership. An amusing story is told how Abba Hillel then met and overcame this difficulty. He would go around to organizations and make appeals for the buying of blocks of tickets. It was hard business but Abba Hillel found a way. Abba, it is related, would concentrate on one individual in the audience. Eyeing this man, he would say "YOU understand the importance of promoting Hebrew culture. YOU are a man of culture yourself and see the significance of the Hebrew drama."

The man on whom Abba concentrated his fire generally responded with a motion that the organization purchase a number of tickets. This concentration on one individual is an old lawyers trick in addressing juries, but Abba had hit upon it himself early in his teens.

The young Rabbi holding his first offopring.





Notables at the Silver celebration in Cleveland. Left to right, Mayor Thomas A. Burke, Silver, Senator Robert A. Taft, who was the featured speaker and Gov. Frank J. Lausche.

KEEPSAKE

(Some biographical material on Abba Hillel Silver and the Silver family).

In 1951, Bessie R. Liebow, the oldest of the three Silver girls, wrote an autobiography of her life, and she called it Keepsake. Much of the data listed here has been secured from that book.

"The grand old man," Moses Silver, as his son Dr. Maxwell Silver spoke of him, was born in 1861. The girl, Dinah Seaman who was to become his wife, was born the same year, in Nienstadt, Lithuania.

Moses was the son of a Rabbi and he met Dinah when he stopped off in Neinstadt on his way to study at a theological school to become a Rabbi himself.

Dinah was unusually well educated and spoke Russian, German, Polish and Hebrew. After Moses graduated from theological school, they married but the town of Neinstadt was too small to be able to use another Rabbi besides the one already there. So Moses became a business man. He became a soap manufacturer.

If Moses and his wife Dinah had started their career in America instead of Neinstadt, they might have become big soap magnates. For business was good for awhile, and then Dinah went out on the road to sell soap, manage and train salesmen. But the raw materials to make the soap became hard to get, and it was decided the best thing to do was to sell the soap business. There is some reason to think that the people that acquired it were of the Rokeach family.

Moses emigrated to America in 1899. He had brothers who helped him get a job as a teacher in a Hebrew School on East Broadway, in New York City.

The family of four children and the mother were brought over by Moses in 1902. Bessie, the oldest who was born in 1887, had come over to New York even before her father and had been staying with relatives. The other children were Pearl born in 1889, Maxwell born 1891, Abba born 1893 and Rose born 1896.

The two boys, according to Bessie, helped earn their keep by teaching Hebrew.

Bessie married Samuel Ely Liebow of Jersey City in 1912. Liebow is a prominent and leading Zionist of the state.

Pearl married Jacob Michelon in 1917. She died in 1931.

Rose married Jacob Matlow in 1920, and now lives in Long Island, N. Y.

Maxwell married Miss Baratz of New London in 1919. Abba married Virginia Horkheimer, in 1923. She was the daughter of the president of the congregation in Wheeling, West Virginia which was his first pulpit. They married five

years after he had become Rabbi of the Temple in Cleveland. Moses and Dinah left New York to live in Rahavia, a

60TH BIRTHDAY

(Continued from Page 7) the anti-Jewish nuances of the Prague trial and the violent references to the menace of Jewish nationalism in the Soviet press are unmistakable . . ."

Silver then pointed out that the Soviet Union had once before burned its fingers in a similar manner. "The Soviet Union," he said, "as a matter of expediency, once made a pact with Hitler. That blunder had to be atoned for by ten million Russian lives. If now again, as a matter of expediency, it is making a spiritual pact with Hitlerism, in the hope of wooing neo-Nazis or neo-Fascists or Arab irreconcilables, or for whatever the reason, it will be committing a second and much more fatal blunder."

Like Eban who had appealed for stronger support from American Jewry for Israel, so did Silver. "Israel," said Silver "needs the red blood of fresh capital and private investment ... American Jews will be performing a patriotic duty as well as strongly buttressing the new state of Israel by the investment of their capital and their experience ... Let's talk about it less and do more. A blueprint is not yet a building and a map is not yet the country itself."

He appealed for a few thousand young American Jews to go to Israel annually for a year, or two, after they have completed their army service.

And towards the conclusion of his talk he appealed to Israel itself to have greater unity, to eliminate its "excessive party fragmentization," and to establish a national system of education.

As he came to the end of his address, the Rabbi took off his glasses, closed his eyes, and though my eyes thought they saw the gleam of a tear on Silver's face, my mind thought of a verse of Bialiak. In a poem he had written after the Kishinef pogrom when Jews everywhere were praying, Biliak heard the Lord say "Why stretch they out hands to me? Has none a fist ... " The Rabbi with the tear had also that fist. He had shown glimpses of it in his talk. But now at the end of his address although his words were directed to his contemporary American Jews and to Israel, to me it also seemed as if he was mystically groping for the right hand of God. Rabbi Miller had eloquently portrayed Silver as having had during his life and at the times of greatest stress, the right hand of God in Silver's right hand,

Children Not Allowed Kishinef Protest Parade

(A Chapter Of The Dr. Herzl Zion Club)

By BEN M. FRIEDMAN

I was one of the less articulate members of the Herzl Club and although I was always connected with the movement, my real activity did not begin until 1928 when we organized the Richmond Hill Zionist District, of which I have been President for five years. Later on I was Vice President and then President for two years of the Long Island Zionist Region. My Presidency was during the period 1947 to 1949, the most crucial period in our movement. At present I am, of course, active in the Region and also a member of the National Executive Committee.

I joined the Dr. Herzl Zionist Club in the early months of 1905 in response to a Hebrew notice in the Yiddish Press that this Hebrew-speaking Youth Group was meeting regularly every Saturday evening. The meetings were held at the office of the United Hebrew Charities on East Broadway, which consisted of two large rooms, an anteroom were sat the parents, relatives and other visitors, and then a broad door leading into a larger room where at an oblong table sat around thirty boys from 12 to 14 years of age.

Maxwell Silver was then the President, but the dominating and dynamic figure was Abba Silver. He lead in the discussions as well as in the singing of Hebrew and Yiddish Zionist songs. Once in a while he would deliver a Yiddish oration, emulating the flowery style and the familiar nuances of his great teacher, Zvi Hirsch Maslinsky.

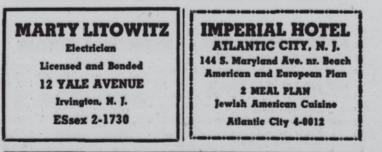
In the spring of 1906, a great demonstration was staged on the east side in protest against the waves of massacres which then swept Czarist Russia, and the Herzl Club was asked to mobilize the Jewish children of public schools. I shall always remember the fiery anger and indignation displayed by Abba Hillel Silver when I reported that a principal o fa school on Rivington Street, which I attended, refused to permit the children of his school to participate in the parade.

I never learned who really secured the consent from the obdurate official, but it may well have been the same ifery youth and the precursor of the future Rabbi and leader in Israel, who was destined one day to lead his people to its greatest triumph in the most crucial period of its history.

Silver closed his eyes, his voice became turgid and then husky with emotion. Standing in glory before the acclaim of his fellow Jews, perhaps he was thinking of Herzl, of his beloved mother Dinah, of his reveared father Moses, perhaps he was lonely and was reliving scenes with them, or perhaps it was another Moses that he was thinking of, the Moses of the Exodus, As the Rabbi lifted his arms and held them out as to clasp all Jewry to his bosom, I thought to myself again, as I have oft expressed myself in this paper, that he was Rabbi of Kahal Yisroael seeking peace and comfort and dignity for his people and an end to the constant turmoll which the world has thrown

the Jew into.

All the speakers of the evening had refused to make a final evaluation of the man, Silver, Being but a reporter. I am not bound by their sub strata of unconscious fear to make an appraisal. Though it will take a greater reporter than I to adequately sum up just the evening alone, let alone the man and his life, My last thoughts as I left the hall were these: From Moses to Herzl to Silver. It took some thousands of years from the time of Moses the first liberator until the next liberator, Herzl appeared. And then when Herzl left, there was no void, there appeared Silver in the very next generation. Jewry was indeed fortunate above measure!



This newspaper is dedicated to the American principal of fair play; to combat the forces which weaken democracy; to the eradication of

suburb of Jerusalem, in 1926. They built their own home there, and their two sons saw to it that they never wanted anything.

In 1936 Moses started writing a two volume commentary in Hebrew on the Pentateuch. In 1941, he published the last of the two volumes. It is called "Fringes Of Silver." When it was published on his 80th birthday, a grand turnout and celebration of his friends and admirers took place in Jerusalem. It was similar to the tremendous gala affairs, his son Abba, had on his 60th birthday in New York and Cleveland, this year.

Dinah died in Rahavia in 1948 at the age of 87 and Moses died the next year at the age of 88.

Abba Hillel Silver is the author of five books: Messianic Speculation in Israel; The Democratic Impulse in Jewish History; Religion in a Changing World: The World Crisis and Jewish Survival; Vision and Victory.

The books of Maxwell are noted in the article about him. (Note. "Keepsake" was privately printed, but the author who lives in Jersey City may have a few copies of the book available for distribution.). anti-Semitism; to the cause of Zionism and to the support of Israel.

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HISTORY MAKER

Continued from Page 5)

dependent upon American strength. He was therefore convinced that the key to Palestine's future lay in Washington, that this was the point upon which to concentrate all the strength, the influence, the pressure, we could master.

But he also had no illusion about the difficulty and the dimensions of the task. Britain was America's closest ally. For many decades the policy makers of the State Department had regarded the Near East as a British sphere. They were prepared to extend and consolidate Britain's influence in the region even at the expense of France. They were certainly not prepared to override British policy in favor of the "vociferous Zionists" and their "quixotic plans" for a Jewish State.

MOREOVER, as we have seen, Silver was the first of the Zionist leaders to shed his illusions about Roosevelt's demeanor toward the Zionist idea. With keen insight he came to realize sooner than others, that behind Roosevelt's suavity and charm and despite his humanitarian friendliness for the Jews as people, there lay a deep-seated skepticism about Jewish Palestine and a cool indifference, which Silver described as an attitude of "univolved benignancy." Roosevelt was ready to listen but unwilling to act and firmly opposed any step which might involve him in difficulties with the Arab rulers. But to the Jewish masses of America and throughout the world, Roosevelt loomed as the great friend and champion of their people. How could such a friend oppose or ignore Jewish national aspriations? Not only was it difficult to accept such a painful thought - there was a strong psychological need to reject it. In a tragic hour and a hostile world there simply had to be a champion and protector. If it was not Stalin or Churchill, it had to be Roosevelt, This emotional dependence on Roosevelt was reinforced by eminently practical considerations. He might be re-elected, and he was re-elected for a fourth term. His would be the power to shape the postwar settlement. To cross him, to offend him, to . alienate his affection, was to court disaster for the Zionist cause.

When Silver persisted in his attempt to force the passage of the Palestine Resolution through Congress after Roosevelt's re-election in 1944, he was forced to resign as Chairman of the Emergency Council. He and his friends carried the issue to the American Jewish community; but it was not until Roosevelt's death in the Spring of the following year, and the revelation of his secret correspondence with Ibn Saud, that the tide turned and Silver was recalled to leadership through the pressure of public opinion. His judgement had been vindicated and his leadership more firmly established than before.

The struggle in Washington went on during the early part of the Truman Administration, but the going became easier as Truman gradually became convinced that the overwhelming majority of the Jewish citizens were now solidly behind the Zionist program. Truman was moreover a far less complex personality than his illustrious predecessor - less adroit and sophisticated, simpler and more straightorward. He accepted the Zionist line reluctantly and under pressure, at first, but having accepted it, he followed through honestly and firmly. In the end he found himself in direct conflict with Britain's Bevin. He did not shrink from the encounter, but supported by popular opinion, he stuck to his guns and forced the State Department acquiesce in his pro-Zionist policy.

BY THIS time Silver's sagacious policy of building up support in Republican as well as Democratic circles and his skillful bi-partisan strategy was earning its reward. Taft and Dewcy were equally outspoken and unhesitant in their backing of Zionist aspirations. The Republican Party as a whole was openly competing for Jewish support; and the attitude of millions of American citizens, roused and vocal, proved more potent than the prejudices and maneuvers of career diplomats and oil magnates.

Ш

The Political Offensive

The whole procedure represented a revolutionary change in Zionist policy and political technique. From Herzl's earliest diplomatic explorations down to the days of the Balfour Declaration and the Mandate, and Weizmann's latest efforts, political Zionism was political mostly in the sense that it pursued political objectives. It sought to achieve these objectives largely by diplomacy; and considering how few and doubtful were the cards in their hands, Zionist diplomats had played them skillfully and at times brilliantly. But in the final analysis, diplomacy, to be successful, must be backed by something more concrete and substantial than ideas, sentiments and remote potentialities. It is a game of give and take, and the would-be diplomat must have something of value to offer or withhold. He must be in a position to benefit his friends and inflict injury on his adversaries. Herzl had grasped this principal firmly, but lacked the counters with which to negotiate. The greatest diplomat our people had produced since Disraeli died of a broken heart - for lack of bargaining power.

Weizmann was more successful in the circumstances of the first World War. For all his personal charm, persuasiveness and skill, he would have failed like Herzl — but for the fact that Britain, hard-pressed in the struggle with Germany, was anxious to gain the wholehearted support of the Jewish people: in Russia on the one hand, and in America, on the other. The non-Jewish world regarded the Jews as a power to reckon with, and even exaggerated Jewish influence and Jewish unity. Britain's need of Jewish support furnished Zionist diplomacy the element of strength and bargaining power which it required to back moral appeal.

THE CIRCUMSTANCES of World War II were radically different. Jewry was destroyed in Central Europe and politically immobilized in Soviet Russia. Hitler carried out his program of extermination without effective opposition from any quarter. In the eyes of practical politicians he had demonstrated that Jewish power and influence were a myth. What was really crucial in the new circumstances was the fact that the Jews of the world were now perforce solidly arrayed with Britain as the leader of the democratic world in the war against Hitler. There was no need to woo the Jews, for they had no alternative. On the contrary, it was the Arabs who had to be wooed, for they could flirt with the Axis - as they did. Disaffected, they had to be appeased; loyal, they had to be rewarded. So overwhelmingly were the British convinced of the reality of Arab power and the complete loss of our bargaining position, that our cause in England became hopeless.

Next Balfour Declaration

The official Zionist leadership realized the position and sought anxiously for new political leverage — but found none. The one hope was, of course, America. And Wiezmann once went so far as to say — in a closed circle — that "the next Balfour Declaration" had to come from the United States.

But Weizmann's error, shared by a large part of the movement and most of the American Zionist leaders at the time, was to hope that effective American intervention for the solution of the Palestine problem could be brought about by nothing more compelling than a somewhat diffuse humanitarian sympathy for the Jewish plight.

The essence of Silver's revolutionary approach lay in the new realism which he introduced. He came to perceive that diplomacy, uns ported by some form of power, degenerated in more shtadlanut - backstairs intercession humilitating and futile. There was no other way but to recreate for Zionism the bargaining position it had lost, building it up out of such elements of strength as the Jewish people still possessed. Virtue did not suffice and weakness was no virtue. The chief positive elements in our position were two: first, the growing strength of the Yishuv, its ability to resist and Its offensive power to strike; secondly, the potential power of five-million American Jews, if porperly organized and led and if their collective strength was fearlessly employed. Activism - here and in Palestine!

a factor, Jewish rebelliousness could be no less a factor, even more embarrassing to Britain in her international relations. Activism and resistance in Palestine had to be matched an supported by an equally aggressive and relentless policy in America — on the political plane. It meant abandonment of apologetic and defensive attitudes in favor of an "offensive spirit" sustained by striking power. The political offensive was to be directed in the first place against the British Government, but also aganst anti-Zionist influence entrenched in Washington. Both the British and American governents were to feel the full impact of an aroused and militant body of opinion comprised of millions of American citizens, Jews and Christians alike.

A CLASSICAL example of this aggressive policy was the stand Silver took on the first postwar loan to Britain, about to be voted by the Congress of the United States. Inter-governmental loans, he argued, were not mere commercial tranactions, but political measures to achieve political ends; and it was common practice for the lending power to exact political conditions. Should the representatives of the American taxpayer vote millions to be used by Britain in repressing the Yishuv and hunting down Jewish refugees in the Mediterranean? Shrewdly, he did not propose to defeat the loan but to delay its passage - which seemed a feasible objective. No more brilliant or effective stroke could have been devised. Had we pressed the issue with full force, it might have brought Bevin to his knees. But even after years of political education, not all American Zionists were ready for so drastic a step. It was one of many opportunities we lost.

ANGLO-AMERICAN COMMITTEE

In the same vein Silver opposed any cooperation with the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry. He correctly appraised it as but another delaying tactic designed to relieve the British and American governments from relentless pressure in Palestine and the United States, and personally he refused to testify before the Committee. After months of hearings, investigations, and more hearings the Committee produced a report containing some positive recommendations, which Truman promptly approved. But Bevin raged and fumed. The American Government, he telt, was subservient to "New York Jews." More specifically, he meant - a rabbi from Cleveland. Unceremoniously he rejected the report. The outcome of this affair again vindicated Silver's judgement. The Anglo-American Committee was a fiasco. If it had served any purpose, it was to point up the paramount issue: could or could not a satisfactory settlement be achieved by diplomatic negotiation with the British?

THAT SUMMER. 1946 saw the arrest of many leaders of the Yishuv in Palestine. including members of the Jewish Agency - and shortly thereafter a fresh attempt at diplomatic negotiation. A group of Agency members met in Paris, Silver being absent. Behind-the-scenes conversations were going on with Bevin in London. The British Government was proposing a round-table conference with Jews and Arabs. The bait for Jewish participation was alleged willingness on the part of the British to entertain proposals for the partition of Palestine emanating from the Jewish Agency. Silver was furious over what he regarded as a political and tactical blunder - an untimely and futile gesture, undermining our own position. In protest he resigned from the Executive and prepared for a showdown at the forthcoming Zionist Congress.

BEVIN

As it happened, Foreign Secretary Bevin visited America that fall and Silver saw him on two occasions: the first, on his own initiative; the second, on the invitation of Mr. Bevin. The effect of these conversations was to convince Silver, more fully than before, that Bevin had no intention whatsoever of assenting to a Jewish State even in a minor part of Palestine and that the proposed round-table conference was another British maneuver. The coming Congress, he felt, would be decisive. Zionism was at the crossroads; it would either go on fighting or negotiate itself into defeat and surrender.

Making the fullest allowance for Truman's gradual but genuine conversion to the Zionist cause, as well as the beneficient influence of some of his personal friends and supporters, the record leaves no room for doubt that he would never have gone as far as he did were it not for the constant pressure exerted upon his Administration and the prospect of wholesale defection from the Democratic Party.

The moment the war was won in Europe Silver favored full support for the resistance movement in Patestine. If the rebolliousness of the Arabs was

1946 CONGRESS

It was indeed a fateful Congress, that winter of 1946, painful and dramatic. On one side were ranged the Weizmann forces, clinging to the hope of a negotiated settlement with Bevin on the basis of partition; on the other, the "activist" forces led by Silver and in part by Ben-Gurion. The Socialist Zionist, torn between their conflicting loyalties to Weizmann and their own leader, Ben-Gurion, divided and split. Silver was named to the key position of Chairman of the Political Committee, on which he had a bare majority. It was a touch and go. The (Contnued on Page 15) 12/12

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HISTORY MAKER

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outcome of the Congress was in doubt until the very last session. When the vote on the resolutions was taken in the small hours of the morning, the atmosphere was tense and bitter. As usual, personal lovalties and antagonism came into play, as well as party rivalries and factual disputes. But the main issue remained clear; confidence or lack of confidence in the British and in the leadership which stood for continued cooperation with them. We were warned that failing a negotiated settlement with the British, the question would be thrown into the United Nations where we risked final and irretrievable defeat. The Congress took its courage in its hand, decided to disregard the waring and accept the challenge. Silver's policy won out; the die was cast.

IV

The United Nations And After

Silver's victory at the Congress of 1946 imposed upon him new tasks and burdens of unprecendentedgravity. As head of the American Section of the Jewish Agency, he was now charged with the duty of organizing and directing the defense of the Zion1 ist position in the forum of the United Nations. Bevn had made good his threat to refer the issue to the community of nations. In the spring of 1947 and again in the fall, the "Palestine Question" came before the General Assembly. Politically and internationally this was the court of last resort.

THE RESPONSIBILITY for handling the Jewish case was a crushing one. But Silver rose to the new challenge. Without abandoning the technique of mass action and public pressure, he also resorted to the arts of the accomplished diplomat. Skillfully and sagaciously he sought to isolate Britain and the Arabs by building up a majority for Jewish independence out of widely desperate elements: the United States, the Soviet Bloc, the Catholic countries of Latin America, the British Dominions, and Western Europe. Silver's colleagues on the Agency Executive worked feverishly as a team at his side and under his direction. Every avenue of support was thoroughly explored. Every clue, was meticulously checked and pursued. Not the smallest or the remotest of nations, but was contacted and wooed. Nothing was left to chance.

Even so, it was once more touch and go. Three days before the final vote in the Assembly of the United Nations we were just short of the required two-thirds majority to carry the Partition Resolution. Providentially Thanksgiving Day intervened, giving us a respite of twentyfour hours for the last supreme effort to corral the additional votes. By Saturday, the 29th of November, we had succeeded. For the first time in history the nations of the world, in council assembled, gave moral and legal sanction to the re-establishment of a Jewish State in Palestine. One by one we left the hall and drifted into the lobby. We were all overcome by emotion. I glanced at Silver and saw what I had never seen before - he wept!

The menace of Arab invasion and Britain sabotage threatened the implementation of the United Nations decision, which was to take final effect on the termination of the British Mandate, May 14, 1948. In March the American Government suddenly reversed its position and declared for an international trusteeship over Palestine in place of partition. Silver threw himself into the struggle all over egain, summoned a nationwide conference for political action in Washington, and resumed public pressure upon the President and the State Department. There followed a perilous period of behind-thescenes negotiations. Silver, drawing courage from his unshakeable resolution. The offer of the State Department, reputed to have come also from the President himself, was rejected —thought the course smacked of defiance. To be more precise, we informed Ben-Gurion of our vote in favor of rejection, leaving the ultimate decision, as we felt we must, to the Yishuv itself.

THE STATE was duly proclaimed; and for the moment, politics and diplomacy gave way to the test of war. The ultimately decisive victory of the cause was won on the field of battle, by the valor of the Yishuv and the sacrifice of its heroic youth. Without the War of Independence the Jewish State would not have arisen. But without the political victory at Flushing Meadow and the international sanction it conferred the War of Independence might have never been fought. On this point there can be no doubt about the verdict of history. Silver's resolute leadership his vision and statesmanship, his militant and audacious policy, his overall strategy and brilliantly executed tactics and the prodigious activity he unfolded - these were largely responsible for the triumphant outcome. That this victory was snatched from impending defeat, enhanced the magnitude of the historic achievement. He had moved and acted in the great tradition of Herzl and Weizmann: the achievement was perhaps greater than they had dared to hope for.

INTERNAL CONFLICT

It is one of the tragic ironies of Zionist history that immediately following the greatest triumph of his career, another internal conflict forced Silver to resign his position of leadership. Its overt and surface cause was disagreement with the leadership of Israel over fund-raising activities in the United States. The real and deeper issue was the attitude of that leadership toward the Zionist movement in general and American lonism in particular. Silver realized that the establishment of the State had by no means secured its future existence, and he insisted upon a strong Zionist movement as its chief bulwark in the difficult years which he foresaw. Unless the State of Israel and its Government, created by the Zionist movement, reciprocated by placing their full strength and prestige behind the movement, both the movement and the State would suffer. And though the matter was belittled at the time, as of minor consequence, it became a burning issue which agitated the Zionist and Jewish world during the past few years.

In this too, Silver's judgement has been vindicated by the events. A change of heart has been taking place in Israel. Only a few months ago, the Knesset finally enacted a measure which, though not in the precise terms unanimously requested by the last Zionist Congress, granted official status to the organization. But more important, a significant change has been taking place in the personal attitude of leading members of the Israel Government — one expressive of a renewed desire to strengthen the Zionist movement and retrieve its commanding position in Jewish life.

As clouds gather again on Israel's horizon and as the international situation grows more tense and menacing than ever, one can only hope that Silver will not remain for long on the margin, but will be drawn back into the full tide of affairs. He has steadly refused and will perhaps continue to refuse to seek leadership once more. But neither Israel nor Zionism can afford to be deprived of his galvanizing force. His place in Jewish history is already secure — but another chapter is still to be written.

Whatever the future may have in store for him personally, there is a postscript to be added. The g and often fierce struggle waged under his leadership for the Zionst cause has yielded a byproduct of inestimable value in itself - its permanent and tonic effect upon the Jewish community in this country. Silver had found American Jewry a slumbering giant: he roused the giant from his lethargy, made him consious of his strength. To that extent the Jewish scene has been transformed. He taught us to stand up like men, to fight on our feet in the tradition of American freedom, without the paralyzing inhibitions of fear and inferiority. We dared. We risked open conflict with powerful forces and with men in the highest authority. We gained not .only victory, but self-respect, a new awareness of our worth. If ever the time should come - and it may come soon - when we shall have to gird ourselves once more in defense of the Jewish position, we shall be more courageous, more confident and effective, and the better perpared, because of the lessons we have learned under Abba Hillel Silver.

Abba Hillel Silver

By GEORGE E. SOKOLSKY

When we were children, on the East Side of New York, our problem was not how to remain Jews in a changing environment. Our environment was Jewish and we were conscious of being Jews. Therefore, we faced no religious or racial conflicts. Those were to come later.

As we formed into clubs, it was only natural that they were clubs of Jews. I belonged to three clubs as a boy, the Dr. Herzl Zion Club, the Camp Club in the Educational Alliance and the City History Club. The Camp Club consisted of Jewish boys who had been sent to the Educational Alliance Camp at Surprise Lake in New York State, but who had no other club affiliations. Our leader was Bernard M. L. Ernst, a lawyer. The attitude was secular; the tendency was what in those days was called "Americanism." The influence was splendid. Probably the most important member was Eddie Cantor who has throughout his life devoted himself to Americanism, to charity, and to the Jews. Eddie was so poor and lived in such dread circumstances, that the influence of this club an of the Educational Alliance in building character and personality is traceable.

The Dr. Herzl Zion Club was altogether a different grouping. Although for a time, it too met in the Educational Alliance, no "outside" influences were felt at all — it was Jewish; it was Zionist; it was in the cultural tradition of the Jewish people. Most of the boys spoke and wrote a fluent Hebrew, which 40 years ago was perhaps not as unusual as it is today. Many meetings were conducted exclusively in Hebrew. All the boys spoke Yiddish fluently. Although some of them were immigrants, most were either American born or were brought over as babies. They came generally from Jewish homes whose orthodoxy was not diluted by compromises to make it more palatable. They were completely devoted to Jewish ideals.

Before one speaks of Abba Hillel Silver, it is necessary to recall his father, Moses, a learned man, a teacher, devoted to the boys, guiding them through the years by a humility and an avoidance of obvious leadership that has left an impression upon me which has remained all these years. Zvei Hirsh Masliansky and Abraham Goldfaden were among the elders who were keenly interested in our work and often joined in our activities.

From the very start, when we were boys of 12 or 13, Abba Hillel Silver assumed leadership and was respected by the other boys. He was not only Jewish in his person; he seemed already to have found inspiration in the religious as well as secular literature of our people. Few of us had his training, his knowledge, his capacity for scholarship.

Boys recognize a leader and although they like to project themselves, Abba Hillel Silver was so definitely the leader that no one contested the fact.

Zionism in those days was not a reflex to anti-Semitism or to Hitler. To us, such a reaction would have been false. We were Zionists because we were Jews. We rejected the idea that one had to have a reason for honoring his own past. We loved our mothers; we loved the memory of the land of our religious and traditional origin. Among us debates occurred between those who believed in the political Zionism of Theodore Herzl, which was then a comparatively new ideal, and the cultural Zionism of Ahad Ha-am which sent out perhaps deeper roots.

In our young minds there was never a conflict between Zionism and America. It seemed to us that nationalism in every form was wholesome and noble. Our conflict was with assimilationism in its varieties of expression, and in those days there were many expressions — the American assimilationist who hoped for an elimination of the Jews by intermarriage and adsorption; the Bundists who preferred a Polish socialism to a Jewish culture while utilizing Yiddish as a language; the Social Democrats who were atheists in those days an dregarded Judaism as a superstition and Hebrew as a dead language; the Anarchists who regards us all as reactionaries, etc., etc.

Abba Hillel Silver had a thousand arguments and a brilliance

of presentation in his fight for Jewish traditions, for a love of Zion, for a devotion to everything Jewish. I do not wish to say, even on his sixtieth birthday, that he stood alone. An examination of the alumni of the Dr. Herzl Zion Club discloses, even today, a startling number of eminent rabbis and teachers. Most of our boys continued to devote themselves to the influences which surrounded them in this club.

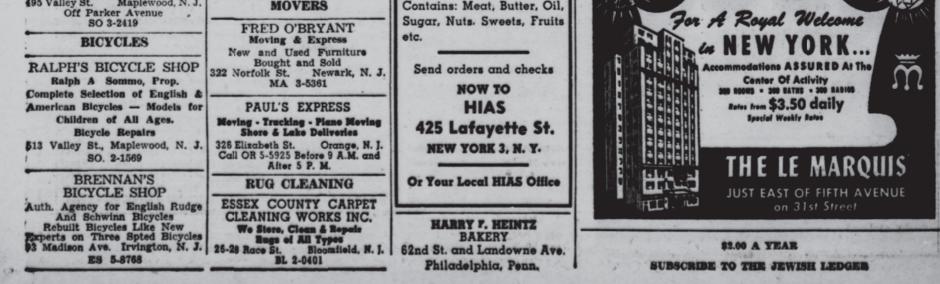
Representatives of the State Department offered a new plan of mediation if the proclamation of the Jewish State would be postponed. The offer of the State Department was coupled with dire threats if it was rejected. We believe that Ben-Gurion had every intention of proceeding with the proclamation of the State but we also knew that the leadership of the Yishuv and his own party divided. What we did in New York would either strengthen his hands or weaken them. The Agency Executive in New York was similarly divided but we rallied behind There were offshoots of some importance. For instance, I became interested in a broader base and helped to organize Young Judea with David Schneeberg. I was its first President. Young Judea was devoted to the same ideals as the Dr. Herzl Zion Club except that it was an English language organization, for girls as well as boys, with many branches outside New York.

Not altogether without Dr. Herzl Club influence is the great movement for Hebrew education in which Dr. Israel S. Chipkin played so important a role. He was one of our boys.

Adult men disagree on many issues, but none of us is without pride in the career and personality of Abba Hillel Silver. As a boy, he bespoke the man; as a man, he has not disappointed his colleagues. He stands monumental in American Jewish life a figure in the tradition of his saintly father, of Masliansky, of Rabbi Judah Magnes,

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LOOK UP, BROTHERS! EDOM FROM

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CLEVELAND CALLS SILVER CITIZEN OF THE WORLD

A civic testimonial banquet was given to Silver in Cleveland on his 60th birthday. The governor of the state of Ohio, notables from Washington, and over 1000 members of the Temple congregation and civic leaders were present.

Robert A. Taft, life long friend of the Rabbi who offered the inaugural prayer for President Elsenhower, was the chief speaker at the festive turnout.

The Church editor of the Cleveland Plain Dealer, states that Silver was heaped with tributes, showered with words of praise and affection, and hailed as "moral and spiritual leader of Cleveland, champion of the Zionist cause and citizen of the world.'

Louis B. Seltzer, editor of the Cleveland Press who interviewed Silver 35 years ago, and who has throughout the years recorded his rise to world wide stature, wrote a brilliant and masterly editorial paying tribute to Silver.

Silver came to Cleveland in 1917, and the celebration also was in honor of his and his wife's wedding anniversary, and the 35th year he was a Rabbi for the Temple.

At the banquet, as a surprise to Silver, the Abba Hillel Silver Charitable and Educational Foundation was set up by friends of his, to promote religious, social and civic projects in Cleveland. A check of \$40,000



Silver and his wife and two children on an ocean voyage.

PICTURE CREDITS:

Page 1. Upper picture, Alexander Archer. Lower picture, Dr. Silver private collection. Page 3. Dr. Silver collection

Page 5. Alexander Archer. Page 6. All from Dr. Silver collection except lower right



PHILADELPHIA - CAMDEN

PHILADELPHIA, PENN-

ice the fund wa presented to Silver.

At the banquet announcement was made that Silver had been named "Rabbi for Life," of the Congregation .

In Cleveland and Ohio, besides being known as the great Zionist leader of world Jewry, Silver is also known as a charter member and leader of many civic and state organisations in whose work he has pioneered.

The Ledger thanks all its contributors of special articles, and all those who gave their help in getting gether the material for this issue. It regrets that because of lack of space some pictures and articles had to be omitted. 22 45 -

HARDINGS TO STREET STREET

2 Ost E

from Zionist Archives.

Page 7. Upper, from Bessie R. Liebow private collection. Lower, Zionist Archives.

Page 8-9. First picture upper left and then continuing: Dr. Silver collection, Sol Cohen collection, Dr. Silver, Dr. Silver, Zionist Archives, Cleveland Plain Dealer, Zionist Archives, Dr. Maxwell Silver private collection. Page 10. Dr. Silver collection. Page 11. Cleveland Plain Dealer.

Page 15. Upper picture, Bessie R. Liebow collection. Lower, Zionist Archives.

Page 16. Zionist Archives.

Silver at a MaHabarrah - one of the temporary housing projects for new comers - on his trip to Israel in 1951, 1010-2 .02 204 8.2733

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SILVER COMMEMORATIVE ISSUE - JEWISH LEDGER

FEBRUARY 26, 1953

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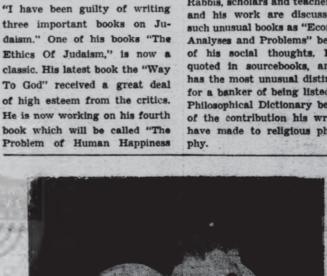
and The Great Pessimist Of The Bible."

How does a busy banker get time to write such books is the natural question. He allows himself but little social life, he economizes on his time, and he has to renounce many things so he can get the opportunity for reflection and writing.

He is called upon to make many public addresses every year, most of which he has to forego. Only upon rare exceptions will he appear, such as the time when there was an all day seminar in his brother's Temple in Cleveland on his book the "Way To God" and he was one of the speakers.

His books do not make the Rabbi-Banker any money. His livelihood comes from his work as a banker. It was the old idea that a Rabbi should not make his living from his work as a Rabbi. The great Maimonides did many types of work, apart from his Rabbinate, to make his living. That is Maxwell's idea also, and that is why he did not continue as an active Rabbi.

But in his own way, through his writings, he is influencing the conduct of individuals, other Rabbis, scholars and teachers. He and his work are discussed in such unusual books as "Economic Analyses and Problems" because of his social thoughts. He is quoted in sourcebooks, and he has the most unusual distinction for a banker of being listed in a Philosophical Dictionary because of the contribution his writings have made to religious philoso-



ORTHODOX PARENTS

Rabbi Moses Silver and his wife were devoutly orthodox. There was the warmest bond of affection, love and admiration between the two boys, Maxwell and Abba, and their father and mother. They wanted their boys to become Rabbis. Indeed the mother dreamed that her two sons would become famous Rabbis, a touching story which Bessie, one of the sisters of the boys, tells beautifully in her book "Keepsake." Yet when these boys grew up and finished their secular schooling, they went to the Reformed Hebrew Union College of Cincinnatti to become Rabbis. The college was located in a part of the country where some of the bitterest anti-Zionist feeling was prevalent, and the college itself was hostile to Zionism.

Why did they pick that type

He looked at me benignly. At that time Hebrew Union College wae very anxious to get students as he recalled. And one of the main reasons they chose that college was because of the fact that it had the reputation of being anti-Zionist.

Behind the desk of the vice president of the Public National the college prides itself on the Bank sits a banker whose job Zionist background of its gradit is to weigh the financial probuates, and when they ordain lems of one of the biggest banks their Rabbis, they tell in the press releases of the Zionist of the city of New York and of posts that the new Rabbis have

SIX REFORMED RABBIS

club went to Cincinnatti to be-

come Rabbis. They were Samuel

J. Abrams, Benjamin Friedman,

Abraham J. Feldman, Barnett

R. Brickner, and Maxwell and

Mixwell Silver was an active

Rabbi for six years, two years

of which he was a chaplain. Then

he became associated with the

Public Bank of New York and

he has had an uninterrupted 30

EMINENT AUTHOR

nent author. In his own words,

Dr. Maxwell Silver is an emi-

years of service with the bank.

Abba Hillel Silver.

Six youngsters from the Herzl

held.

Behind the facade of the banker is a fascinating story. for this is no ordinary banker. The man who talks to you in a quiet, gentle voice is also a Rabbi, he is a profound scholar of the Bible, an author, he is an authority on religious philosophy, he is a renowned public speaker who in his younger days won medals for oratory, and he was the first president of the Dr. Herzl Zion Club, that unique club which suckled some of our eminent Jews of today. (see other stories this issue on the club.)

the country.

The extraordinary individual who is the banker is Dr. Maxwell Silver, famed in his own right, and brother of the illustrious Abba Hillel Silver. Dr. Maxwell Silver graciously gave this newspaper an interview when we were accumulating data on the Herzl Club and on the two famed brothers.

Rabbi Moses Silver, the father of Maxwell and Abba was a Zionist. Not all Rabbis in the days of Moses Silver were Zionists, and not all Rabbis are Zionists today either. I asked Maxwell if he could recollect back to those days, as to why his father was a Zionist. Moses Silver, he said, was a Maskillim. And Moses was a Litvak, born in that section of Lithuania were the original Zionist stronghold was developed before the rise of Herzl.

of college, I asked Maxwell?

A well wisher hugging Silver after the Partition declaration, November 29, 1947. It was Silver who spoke as the representative of world Jewry before the U. N.



Rabbi Silver's Supreme Oration

By SIMON BLOOM

(Dr. Neumann in his article in this issue has indicated that Silver's oratorical gift has caused the world to give insufficient thought to his other magnificent powers. Those who have never heard Silver deliver a great oration, can only wonder what the power of the man is. We are reproducing here our comments on Silver as an orator which we printed in our issue of July 15, 1947. Your reporter has heard Silver many times before and after 1947, and he still feels that of all the times he has heard Silver, the 1947 delivery at Manhattan Center was the greatest of them all.)

To this reporter the greatest of all the addresses of 50 years of Zionism (although he hasn't heard them through the whole 50 years) was the oration delivered by Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver at Manhattan Center in New York, Sunday, July 6, the closing day of the 50th Convention.

Rabbi Silver who by them had passed the reins of authority to Dr. Neumann, gave a different sort of talk than his opening address of four days previous. His opening address was the factual story of the movement, but his exhortation Sunday night was of the glory of the work, of the vastnesses of the accomplishments, of the benefits derived and of the glorious future ahead.

Though he spoke to his listeners on the parquet floor and to those rising in tiers of seats to the roof his audience was of the world and for those of decades and centuries to come. He spoke as if a vision had been placed before his eyes by the Almighty, he spoke as if he were placed on the vantagepoint where God told Moses "get thee up into the top of Pisgah and lift up thine eyes westward and northward and southward and eastward.'

Rabbi Silver who as a youngster attended Zionist conventions in knee pants, who thought he did a grand days work when he used to collect 60c as a boy for selling blue and white Zionist stamps, who was so imbued with his zeal for "Zionism" that he used to address audiences as a youth in a Hebrew that neither he nor his listeners fully understood. Sunday evening poured forth a glorious torrent of golden eloquence that swept his audience into the empyrean with a feeling of being bodily transported to the land of Palestine. When he described the untrained Chalutzim taking the salt saturated soil of Palestine and washing each precious handful you could almost see the young people stooping and cleansing the earth, fistful by fistful.

He raised his massive head, looked from one side of the enrapt audience to the other and in his organ tones told them that their labors in Zionist movement had been manyfold, but that they had been repaid still more manyfold. "Our identification with this movement of the Renaissance did something to us. Zionism to our people in this world for the last 50 years was as a song in the night, a light in the darkness. During these five decades Zionism has been the staff of life for our people as we walked through the Valley of the Shadow of Death. Zionism gave us life, it fed us, healed our wounds, it gave us direction."

Mournfully he told of the days when Herzl was derided as "King of the Jews, a madman." Then in wonderfully jubilant ringing tones he told not merely the few thousands of his listeners but the whole world that "within 25 years, 52 nations set their seal of approval upon Herzel's idea of a Jewish homeland."

As I heard Abba Hillel Silver portray the miracles that had taken place in Palestine, I thought also of the personal miracle of Silver. Could any people, either in the days of antiquity or of just yesterday, boast of such an orator? Neither Cicero in the Roman Senate informing of the plot of Cataline to overthrow the Republic, nor Burke pleading in the House of Lords for Conciliation with America, nor Daniel Webster with Majestic eloquence praying for an indissoluble Union in the Senate swayed their listeners as did this man who had been a shock fighter for 43 years in the heart-breaking grueling, inching along slow progress on the path to Palestine. Here was a leader who had crossed the barrier of frustration and he was leading his people on, up to the Promised Land.

"Something of the spirit of Isaiah, of Jeremiah, of Micah," you proclaimed, venerable sir. And with kinship to them you brought forth one by one, a precious and splendid treasure of the great social and moral values of the Zionist movement. This was the movement as you said "which had within the short space of 25 years taken barren wastes and built them into a coun-

Banker, 1st President Dr. Herzl Zion Club

try, the most promising of the Middle East."

He raised his hands. He seemed to encompass the Yishuv, all the broken old people in the D.P. camps, the hungry, the oppressed, the heart sore orphans, he embraced them and took them to his bosom. What you have already done, has not been enough, he wanted to tell us. "As we enter on the next half century, and as we keep in mind the historic ideals of our people, Zionism asks in the days to come ten fold more measure from us."

He stood for a moment silent lost in the contemplation of his thoughts, I imagined I saw a nimbus, a halo surrounding his head. Surely, that might rightfully be part of the reward for one who had performed such Herculean labors. I could see Herzl's sad eyes break into a gleam and a smile play upon his lips, happy in his vindication. As a powerful symphony comes to a thrilling end, the orator raised his hands piercing the vast spaces of the heavens ringing with hallelujahs. And I was one with the August Rabbi as he stood, much as Moses did upon Mt. Nebo seeing the panorama of the greatness of his people passing before him. And for a fleeting fragment of eternity, I was not of this world.

They dreamed, both of them, of capturing the citadel of anti-Zionism.

"We did not attempt to make everyone there Zionists," said Maxwell Silver. "If we did and had made nuisances of ourselves, we would have been thrown out." Their thought was that in the years to come, they would trumpet forth that they were from the Hebrew Union College and eventually the college itself would feel the influence. Did that come about? Today