

Daniel Jeremy Silver Collection Digitization Project

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Israel Faces an Election, 1981.

Israel Faces An Election Daniel Jeremy Silver February 15, 1981

In May of 1977 when the present Kennesset was elected, the present government of Israel, nearly eighty percent of the registered voters went to the polls and cast their ballot. The actual figure was 79.3 percent, and this number compares favorably to the 52.3 percent of the American people that exercised their franchise in November of 1980. These figures are interesting not simply because of what they tell about the level of political interest in Israel but because they suggest that so much of the punditing about why Americans don't vote may in fact be misguided, misdirected. Americans who have written about our campaigns and our political activities have suggested that more Americans are not voting each year in part because we no longer feel bound up to one or another of the political parties; and in part because we are increasingly dismayed by the world of politics and we increasingly despair of politicians. But when you look at Israel you find the same tendencies at work. Thirty percent of the electorate paid nominal dues to one or another of the political parties of Israel in 1970, and by 1980 that number was halved, less than fifteen percent of the population declared themselves to be a member of one or another party. And every one of the public opinion polls which have been taken in recent months in Israel suggest that the degree of disenchantment in politics and politicians is at least as great, if not greater, than the spirit, the attitudes, of the American people. What then explains this difference in the franchise?

Well, I would suggest that voting is a habit. It's a habit that the American people have really never exercised in national elections. In Israel there has never been an election in the nine which have been held since the state was established when less than seventy-eight percent of the population that could go to the polls went to the polls. In the United States in the last century and a half there has never been an election when as many as seventy percent of the voters went to the polls. In part it has to do with the meaning of a vote. Americans have always had the vote. We tend to take it for granted. Most Israelis have never had the vote,

at least never until they came to Israel. The first time most Israelis could vote was during the late nineteenth century when they could buy a shekhl and vote in campaigns to elect representatives to the World Zionist Congress, and Israelis got into the habit of thinking of a vote as a statement of national affirmation. It was a way of saying we're going to take the future into our own hands, we're going to have something to say about our destiny. And I suspect that deep down in the Israeli soul the voting still has that psychological and emotional impact. It's a way of expressing one's faith in one's ability to control one's destiny.

Attitudes in Israel towards politics and politicians are very similar to those in the United States. The magazine, Dyohakanot, about two months ago took a poll, and unlike the polls that were taken during the summer when Mr. Reagan and Mr. Carter had become the presidential candidates for the fall, and it was discovered that if one separated out Mr. Perez and Mr. Begin and asked the Israeli electorate to choose between them, just as in September and October, neither of the above won most of those public relations polls; neither of the above is Israel's favorite candidate.

Now when the Israelis go to the polls in June of this year, on June 30 of this year, they will be exercising their national franchise for the tenth time in their history. As you know, they elect not a president, not a prime minister, but a kennesset, the 120 members of the Unicameral Israeli Parliament, and then the party which wins a majority of the seats in the Kennesset or the party which is the major party in the coalition which can organize the majority of the members of the Kennesset nominates as Prime Minister and a set of Ministers and these form the government.

Israel's errument follows largely on the British Parliamentary model. So that when the Israel go to the polls in June they will enter a polling booth which is quite different from the one with which we are familiar. When we go behind the little curtain we find ourselves facing a machine with long rows of tape which indicate the various offices which are being contested. And below, next to levers, there are the names of the candidates for these offices and we press one of these levers to indi-

cate our choice of individual for that particular office.

When the Israelis enter their polls they register and they are given an envelope, and they walk into a polling booth which is really simply a shelf with little pigeon holes. And on that shelf there are bundles of ballots, they're little three by five cards, really, different colors, each imprinted with the motto and the name of one of the twenty or so national parties which are contesting the election; and the Israeli will simply select a ballot from one of those twenty or so bundles, place the ballot in his envelope, seal the envelope, and drop the envelope in the election box. And then the envelopes are opened, the ballots are counted, the total number of votes cast are divided by 120, and each party receives the number of seats in the Kennesset, or is allotted a number of seats in the Kennesset, equal to the percentage of vote that it receives nationally. And the parties indicate the man or woman they will select as Prime Minister by nominating that person as number one on their list of candidates. And they will have 20 or 120 candidates listed by number, and the election officials will certify the number of candidates, not the individuals, and they will then draw a line at 19 or 23 or 34 and all those who qualify in that list are members of the Parliament. The Israelis vote for a party rather than as we do for an individual, for people. And this, of course, is a product of their history.

In the Middle East the government has largely been by millet communities, tribes, extended families, selected a member and he would have some representation at the court, and he would be at the court as representative of his particular group. And when Britain ruled Palestine during the mandatory period, Britain allowed the pioneers, the yishut, to organize themselves by ideological community, and so there was a socialist ideological community which had its own settlements, which had its own school system, which had its own court system, which even had its own army. And there was an urban, more liberal, economically liberal community which had its own communities, which had its own representatives, which had its

own school system. There was a religious community which had its own settlements and its own courts and its own school system, and these ideologically based parties became the basis of the political system of Israel when the state emerged from the pioneering community. And until quite recently these ideologically based parties contested the elections and arrangements were always very difficult in Israel because no party was ever able to command an absolute majority of the seats in the Kennesset, and so there always had to be a coalition and the coalition was of the major party which until 1977 was always labor, mapai, and the religious bloc, the national religious party in the agudah were almost always enough to give labor the sixty-one seats it required and a few more, and the religious parties were therefore, though they are small in number they never have been able to command more than ten percent of the national vote, were always able to secure for themselves that control over the laws of personal status, over the lives of individuals as far as marriage, divorce, adoption, inheritance, kashrut in restaurants and hotels and the like which they insisted upon. So Israel has had coalition governments. It has had ideologically based governments, and it has had a free democratic elected government.

Whenever we think of elections it is well to remind ourselves that the vote, an election does not by itself prove that a country is democratic. The Soviet Union has elections. There are elections and there are plebiscites. There are elections and then there are referendums of the bureaucracy's power. There are countries like Israel in which twenty-two parties can contest the election in which there are no limits as to which parties can stand for election. The Arabs can be in the Parliament, the Druses can be in the Parliament, the Communist Party can have members of the Kenneset. The only requirement in Israel for the right to stand for election is that you have \$250 for a deposit and that you can gain the signatures of 750 qualified voters. That's not hard. They're trying this year to raise the number of signatures required to 1500, but when you consider the fact that to be elected a municipal judge in one of our local communities you really need almost

that number of signatures to recognize that there are really no limits on those small groups who would like to have representation in Israel's society. If an election does not by itself establish the democratic nature of a society what does? There are several elements which comprise a democracy: freedom of speech, freedom to assume responsibility, the ability of the society to transfer power peacefully without revolution, and most of all, a recognition that those in power do not have untrammeled, unlimited authority, that there is a constitution, there is a basic law, there is a compact voluntarily entered into by the community which limits the powers of the king and of the shiek, of the president, of the prime minister, of the administrative branch of the government.

And here it's interesting when we look back into our history to recognize that Biblical Jewry, ancient Israel, was in fact the first Constitutional state ever devised by man. Before the children of Israel entered into the Promised Land, according to the founding history, at Mt. Sinai they entered into a covenant, a covenant not unlike the Mayflower compact, not unlike our own Constitution, a basic law which we know was affirmed and amended from time to time by covenant renewal ceremonies among the several tribes who were called Kol Israel, the Assembly of the Tribes, which no one had the right to amend except God Himself in consonance with the tribes of these assemblies, and no individual had the right to transgress or to violate that law.

I read to you this morning from the seventeenth chapter of Deuteronomy, from the shtar ha malhut, from the Magna Carta of ancient Israel. If you must have a king, have a king for the king has no divine rights. He may not legislate basic constitutional law. He may not amend the Torah. He may not multiply his taxes or his harem or sell Israelis as slaves to Egypt in order to get the money to buy armaments. And more than that, as a symbolic act, he is to write out by hand his cwn sefer Torah, his own constitution, the basic law, and to keep it beside him and to have it read to him from time to time as a reminder that he is the administrator of

this law but not its maker. If you look at the ancient stele of Hummarapi and some of the other great emperors of the Middle East you will find the great figure of the seated king announcing the law on his own. The king establishes by fiat the fundamental law of the state. In Israel it's always God establishes the law and no king, no priest, no theocrat, no one has the right to establish that law once it is in being to create other law or to violate the law. And when a king violated the law one of the prophets of God would come and symbolically point the finger at him and accuse him of that violation. The theory of the divine right of kings, which was so important in medieval Europe, has no basis in Torah, in our Judaic tradition. Judaism breathes a democratic spirit, and it's interesting to see that almost all of the democracies of the world as they have emerged have followed this prototype from Biblical days, a fundamental constitution entered into voluntarily by the community, Israel says at Sinai we will listen and we will obey, affirmed by the community, and then no one within the community has the right to violate, to go beyond, to exceed its terms.

And so when the Israelis in June for the tenth time go to the polls in a national election they are participating in something which is fundamentally very Jewish, the franchise, and those whom they elect will be limited by the basic law of Israel, limited by constitutional provision. They will not have the authority to do whatever it is they feel right to do, proper to do, desiring to do, simply because they find it desirable, propitious, advantageous to do so. Israel is the only democracy in the Middle East, not because it's the only country in the Middle East which has elections. Egypt has elections. Lebanon has elections. Syria has elections. Iraq has elections. But because in Israel any group can stand in the elections, people of any persuasion can be elected and take their seats in the Parliament, and once elected no one may exceed the constitutional authority represented by his or her office.

Now, what will happen when Israel goes to the polls in June of this year?

I am not a prophet, but I would suggest that very much that happened in November of 1980 in the United States will happen in June of 1981 in Israel. Social scientists describe elections under three categories. They say that there are some elections which are simply maintaining elections, that is, elections where the party in power receives a mandate to continue in power. For eight successive elections in Israel the Labor Party received a mandate to continue in office. Was in 1977 that Menachem Begin and Lecoud overthrew this long familiar pattern of labor rule. That's a maintaining election when a president succeeds himself and when after two terms in office a member of his own party, representing the same essential political views, rises to that office.

And then the social scientists say there is a second kind of election which is a deviating election. They will describe the election in which Senator McGovern ran for office as a deviating election, the one when Senator Goldwater ran for office as a deviating election. These are elections where because of some single issue the traditional voting patterns are askew, they're not followed that particular time, but once that issue is resolved, once someone who is feared because of his extreme aggressiveness or extreme pacifism is no longer the candidate for office, the familiar party realignments reassert themselves and the country goes on much as it has been before.

And the third kind of election which the social scientists describe is what they call a realigning election. This is an election like 1932 in the United States, an election in which there is an almost irreversible change in the political order of things. A new majority coalition emerges and what has been before no longer has relevance. After twelve years of Republican rule a new democratic coalition emerges which will essentially govern the United States for almost three decades.

In 1977 in Israel represented, I believe, a realigning election. It was an election which repudiated the old labor governing coalition. If you can recall the events which led to the election in 1977 you recall that Israel went through its own Watergate, that is, in the Labor Party the man who was being nominated for head

of the bank of Israel was being convicted of accepting bribes; the man who was the minister of housing and contracts committed suicide while he was in office; the man who was standing for prime minister of the Labor Party, Mr. Rabin, was found that he and his wife had illegal bank accounts outside of Israel. Aba Iban who was standforeign minister was found not to have gotten certain kinds of authorization to receive monies outside of Tsrael. There were a series of scandals. was a growing sense that labor had been in power so long that the pakidim, officialdom, was no longer responsive to the community, that there was a set of bureaucrats who established their own reasons for being, their own sense of authority, and they were increasingly distant from the community. There was an inflation running at about thirty percent at the time which labor seemed to be unable or unwilling to confront. There was a feeling that labor's ideology was standing in the way of the introduction of foreign investment in Israel which the economy desperately needed. And there was also the feeling that the relationship between labor and the army which had led to the uncertain victory of 1973, that the state of preparedness was not what it should be, that a new broom, a new form of leadership was needed. And if you remember that election, the old herut party, the old expansionist party of the yurgund days of Menachem Begin, put together a coalition which spoke to a number of groups which had heretofore been part of the labor alignment. The Oriental Jews of the city, particularly the poor Jews whom the Socialist Party in a sense was designed to, should have been designed to support, and the intellectual, the academic, the cultural leadership of Israel who became coalesced in what was called the movement for democratic change, a party led by Yigal Yadim, the famous archeologist and teacher, a movement which brought together the best of the intellectual elite of the country, these groups which had up to that time supported the labor alignment moved away from it and joined into Licud, into the coalition which Begin put together and which ruled Israel since 1977.

And those who have studied the election in 1977 point to the fact that cer-

tain fundamental changes are apparent in the community which will, they believe, forever after, at least for the forseeable future, have an important impact on Israeli elections.

The first is the end of ideology, the end of party. That sounds like the United States and so be it. The old ideological systems no longer seem relevant to the problems of the state which are concrete, which are real, massive inflation, a terrible defense budget, the inability to come to agreement with one's neighbors, the uncertainty about one's relationships to an oil-dependent world, the importance of increasing exports to a world which is increasingly uncertain of the basis of its relationships with Israel, the importance of dealing with the problem of yeridah, of brain drain, of the increasing number of Israelis who find greater opportunities outside the state than within.

Now. 1977, for the first time in Israel's history, Licur put together a coalition whose ministers were comprised largely of native-born and of oriental-born. All other parliaments and governments had included a majority of those who had been born in Europe or in America, who had born in the west. In other words, one of the major shifts which was taking place in Israel signaled by the 1977 election was the emergence of a new majority in Israel, the oriental majority, and the increasing emergence of the youth in Israel, the native-born, the dominance of those whom we in the west have the closest affiliation, who speak our language because they come from us, they are of us, those people are increasingly a minority in the community. Mr. Begin's government, for the first time in the history of Israeli politics, included a majority of those who were native-born or oriental, not a majority of European-born or western culture.

The second thing that emerged was a growing importance of the city. Eighty percent of Israel's voters now live in urban environments: the kibbutz, moshav, those agricultural settlements which are heavily ideological, where people live closely together, where the sense of party cohesion is the strongest, represent an increas-

ingly small minority of the Israeli community. The city is like our city. It's a place of meeting. It's a place of rubbing of shoulders. It's a place where we get along together, where we may have our private feelings about things but where the old sense of a community, a community bound together by shared commitment to a religion or an ideology or some economic theory, these are no longer the dominant ties of an urban society. So the ideological base of the political order has diminished, and the city has become the increasingly dominant element in the Israeli electoral system.

Now, according to Israeli law, a campaign must run for at least a hundred days, and that's why once Yigar Herwitz, the Finance Minister, resigned and took out from the coalition his Rafi Party members and Mr. Begin no longer had a majority of the seats in the Kenesset in his coalition it was necessary to call an election some time after the fifteenth of May and before the end of July. The date of June 30 was a compromise date. Mr. Begin wanted to be able to say that his government had stayed in office one day longer than any other government in the history of the state, and so June 30 rather than June 29 or June 28.

It's a long election. Like all elections today it's a terribly costly undertaking, but unlike the American election there's a sense of community to it, of naturalness to it, and I suspect this goes back to the question which I raised at the beginning, why so many Israelis who vote command to the number of Americans who vote. For us presidential candidates are, for the largest part, figures which we see on a television screen. They are like actors hidden behind phalanxes of deep speech writers and secret service personnel. We're really not interested in them. We can't touch them, we can't feel them, we can't sense them as human beings and, therefore, we're not that caught up in their private concerns, their private ambitions or even their private programs. Almost all Israelis, after all it's a small society, there are two and a quarter million potential voters in Israel, have been in the same room with all of the major candidates for office They've listened to them speak as we're speaking together today. They've sensed them as human beings

and so they are caught up, to a certain degree, with their fate, their future and their personalities. They do care. There is that sense to Israel but, unfortunately, one of the things that Israel seems to be borrowing from the west is the use of the media, television blitzes, canned speeches professional speech writers, all those other artificial phenomenon by which we create our artificial candidates and then vote for candidates who seem to reflect what we know are our opinions in the first place. And that, too, is going to create a greater sense of distance, but I think in Israel today, given the fact that they had a realignment election four years ago, what you're going to see is an election which repudiates Mr. Begin. Mr. Begin stands to Israel the way Mr. Carter stood to these United States. He's respected as a human being. He's accepted as a fine religious man. It's, however, felt that he is incapable, unable to administer a government effectively, that he changes his mind quite often, that he has surrounded himself with a small coterie of yes people and has walled himself away from the powers in the Kenesset and from others who are important in the government. And there's one element in the Israeli relationship to Mr. Begin which was not in our relationship to Mr. Carter in that he is old and he is sick and he has had several minor attacks while he has been in office and there's a great fear that he lacks the energy, the psychic energy, to concentrate on the problems of government.

But, of course, all elections are ultimately decided on the pocketbook, and in Israel the problem is inflation and he came to office when inflation was running in the thirty percent range and he's leaving office with inflation running in the one hundred and thirty percent range. No one who stands on such a record can ultimately be re-elected, but Mr. Begin will be re-elected. He will be number one on the list of his party and his party will receive twenty or twenty-five seats in the new Kenesset. The public opinion poll which had been taken recently in Israel suggests that there will be a great victory for labor. What they're really measuring is that there's a great antipathy to the continuance in office of the

Lecud, Mr. Begin's government. And I am not at all convinced as we follow this election we're going to see any great groundswell of feeling in Israel that labor deserves to come into office, that it has a mandate, that it has answers to the problems which face the nation. After all, labor was voted out four years ago precisely because it didn't have answers, and the same people who led labor four years ago are leading labor today and they have not essentially changed their position in their inability to relate to the sephardic community, their inability to relate to the problem of uridad, their inability to have a program which could really deal with inflation – all of these things are evident to the Israeli electorate. It's really that despite the twenty—two or more groups who will contest the election there is really no one who has come up with a program which can galvanize the nation.

What I suspect you are likely to see in the ensuing months is not so much the great outpouring for labor, some are even saying that for the first time in Israel's history one party, labor in this case, will receive an absolute majority of the parliament. I doubt that. I think what you're going to see in the next months is the emergence of a number of parties which you haven't heard of before. The intellectual leadership of Israel who formed the movement for democratic change were disappointed by those who led the movement for democratic change. They're still there and they still want electoral reform and they still want more democracy and they still want a greater sensitivity to the problem of the Arab in Israel. They want more concern for the quality of life in Israel. They'll form some kind of party around some kind of new leadership.

And those who have gone out into the West Bank, the gushunim, those we've heard about so much as the band of the faithful, those who represent a kind of cld-line nationalism, convinced that the days of the messiah are at hand, that Israel must make no compromises with the Arab world. They, too, will form some kind of party. It will have deep roots in the religious community. It will have deep roots in the religious community. It will appeal to many who are frustrated by Israel's position

in the world and the oily conscience of the world, and they, too, will form some kind of coalition and they, too, will get a sizable number of votes in the national election.

It's going to be a bitterly contested election. It's going to be an election where there will be, as in the last election here in the United States, no real issues. It will be more a matter of approach. Foreign policy will be much debated, but I want you to recognize as you read the papers that there is very little difference between the foreign policy of Mr. Begin's government and the foreign policy of a labor government. Neither will move an inch on Jerusalem. Neither is willing to give absolute sovereignty to an Arab state, a PLO state, in the West Bank and Gaza. The labor party speaks of what they call a Jordanian option which is simply the idea that Jordan should have some kind of hogem over the West Bank but not troops in the West Bank. They would rather see Jordan than the PLO. But Israeli troops will still occupy the strategic centers of the West Bank and Israeli settlements will still be on the West Bank. There's really very little difference between that and the so-called autonomy which Mr. Begin has proposed. And no government in Israel can budge an inch on Jerusalem, so there's really very little difference. There will be different actors, but the sense of the community will not change a great deal in that area. will it really change a great deal in the area of economics because inflation, we're discovering in the United States, is not an easily curable problem. Mr. Reagan promised us a quick fix and he was going to balance the budget when in June in 1982 and in December of 1983 and now in February of 1984 and by June it will be 1985 and by the time he runs for re-election it will be 1990. Inflation is endemic in the economies of the west. Israel has indexed its economy so that some of the burden of inflation we might feel has not been felt as brutally. The problems of Israel are the problems of defense connected intimately to the questions of foreign policy so that no government is really going to able to solve in a major way this basic problem of the social order.

Now, the Israelis will go to the polls and exercise their democratic fran-

chise and when they do they'll be the one country in the Middle East which continues in a democratic tradition. And when they do they will be voting for as system and as part of a system which is a system in transition from ideological politics to party politics or personality-based politics, the kind of politics we're more used to in these United States.

I think it would be well for all of us to recognize that just as most elections in this country do not really change the basic way in which the society is organized or administered, the same will happen in Israel. I'm concerned by the fact that I hear people who say they expect great changes. They're dissatisfied with Mr. Begin and they think of the labor party of Mr. Perez or any others as people who will do what they think ought to be done. No politician can do more than what the society which elects him permits him to do. He can't get that far beyond the popular will. And the popular will in Israel, and I close with this, is not peace at any price but it's peace, responsible peace within secure borders. It's peace which includes Jerusalem as the capital of the state. It's peace which includes the proposition that the West Bank, Juda and Samaria cannot be judenrein, cannot be the only place on the face of this earth where Jews are not allowed to settle.

These are basic fundamental positions, agreed upon by the majority of the Israeli population. No government that comes into power will be able to go beyond those basic statements and those of, in America, and Jews and otherwise who would like to see for American reasons or their own reasons some change in this basic position are going to be disappointed. Israel will choose those people and those parties which will meet the needs of their population. Their needs are housing, economic welfare and defense. That's the basis of any election. It was the basis of ours. And we can only hope that the people whom they elect will be responsible. We can only agree that in our understanding of Israel it is broad enough to include the right of the Israelis to select those leaders who support the needs and goals and aspirations of their people.

The ultimate test of the community of Israel is the recognition that Israel's decisions must, in the first instance, be Israel's and not the public relation
needs of the diaspora communities.



Kaddish

Friday

Sunday

FEB 15

Those who passed away this week

IDA K.UNGER DR. MYRON A. WEITZ

Yahrzeits

AARON HENRY HARRY YETRA ADOLPH E.KOBLITZ MAMIE A.SALEN HENRY R.FISHEL ARTHUR C. HOFFMAN BERT SAMPLINER ANNE L.LEVY (LEE-VY) HELEN R.GERWIN DR. SYDNEY LEVIN (LE-VIN) WILLIAM M.NEYE GOLD IE MARKS BARRY BURNLEY MONTE J.FINE NORMA L.ARSHAM SIDNEY H. HORWITZ ALFRED M. BONHARD CARRIE HEITLER FREEDHEIM JAY KARL SILVERBERG KATIE MANDELKORN DR. SIDNEY D.WE ISMAN ROSE BUBIS ROSKOPH

FRANK WULIGER HYMAN H. HILL CHARLES A. MELSHER

From the desk of-

RABBI DANIEL JEREMY SILVER

- 1) MOUNTAINS
 - 2) DEVIATOS -SINCLO IFSUL
 - 3) nomicons -



SUN	MON	TUES	WED	THURS	FRI	SAT
SERVICES 10:30 a.m. The Temple Branch THE TEMPLE WOMEN'S ASSOCIATION SERVICE THE SYNAGOGUE: A SYMBOL FOR ETERNITY	9	TWA Activities 10:00 a.m. · Branch Fellowship & Study Group Rabbi Stephen Klein 10:30 a.m. · Branch Temple Board Meeting 8:00 p.m. · Branch	"WHAT'S LEFT? THE LIBERAL RESPONSES" Dr. Werner Dannhauser 8:15 p.m Branch	12	Services - 5:30 p.m. The Temple Chapel	Shabbat Services 11:15 a.m. Branch Bar Mitzvah MARK GOODMAN 11:00 a.m. The Temple Chapel THE TEMPLE SENIOR YOUTH GROUP THEATRE PARTY
SERVICES 10:30 a.m. The Temple Branch Rabbi Daniel Jeremy Silver will speak on ISRAEL FACES AN ELECTION	16	TWA Activities 10:00 a.m. · Branch Fellowship & Study Group Rabbi Stephen Klein 10:30 a.m. · Branch Religious School Board 7:45 p.m. · Study Group 8:15 p.m. · Meeting Branch	TWA Board Meeting 9:30 a.m Branch "THE RIGHT RELIGION: TO WHAT ARE CHRISTIANS RESPONDING?" Fr. John Palikowski 8:15 p.m Branch	TMC Board Meeting 8:00 p.m Branch	Services - 5:30 p.m. The Temple Chapel SEVENTH SABBATH 8:00 p.m Branch	Shabbat Services 11:15 a.m. · Branch Bar Mitzvah SCOTT POLISH 11:00 a.m. The Temple Chapel MR. & MRS. CLUB TENNIS AND RACQUETBALL PARTY
SERVICES 10:30 a.m. The Temple Branch Rabbi Daniel Jeremy Silver will speak ALLA MA AN-	23	TWA Activities 10:00 a.m Branch Fellowship & Study Group Rabbi Stephen Klein 10:30 a.m Branch	"WHAT'S LEFT OF ANTI-SEMITISM?" Rabbi Daniel Jeremy Silver 8:15 p.m Branch	Do Resser	27 The Temple Chapel	Shabbat Services 11:15 a.m. · Branch Bat Mitzvah JULIE MANN 11:00 a.m. The Temple Chapel
MARCH SERVICES 10:30 a.m. The Temple Branch Rabbi Daniel Jeremy Silver will speak	2	TWA FIRST TUESDAY 11:00 a.m. · Shop & Socialize 12:00 noon · Lunch 1:00 p.m. · Dick Dugan Fellowship & Study Group Rabbi Stephen Klein 10:30 a.m. · Branch Mr. & Mrs. Club Board Meeting 8:00 p.m.	4	5	Services - 5:30 p.m. The Temple Chapel FIRST FRIDAY 8:15 p.m Branch	Shabbat Services 11:15 a.m. · Branch Bar Mitzvah JONATHAN GILL 11:00 a.m. The Temple Chapel

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of fear of being torn away. This desire also embraces the people in the country, the people living here. Once Jewish sovereignty was gained, once it became clear that this was the home of the whole Jewish people, that it was their shelter, the home of their dreams, their creative spirit, then we were left with another great dream, one no less fantastic, perhaps, than the vision of the establishment of the State: that we should be able to take root not only on the mountains, in the soil, but also in the human scene—among the Arabs.

What we do is more important than what we dream, but there are dreams which cannot be forgotten. . . .

Muki Tzur

RETURN

No matter where I go, it is always to Israel.

Nachman of Bratzlav

The Land of Israel will be small . . . but the people of Israel will make it great . . . not in opulence but in eminence will their destiny be fulfilled, and the elixir of their pride will be distilled not out of dominion or far-flung borders, but out of the faithful and skilful building of the good society.

Abba Hillel Silver

The State of Israel will prove itself not by material wealth, not by military might or technical achievement, but by its moral character and human values.

David Ben Gurion

'Gather in the exiles' is the messianic prayer for integration of all nations into one mankind under the kingship of God. Men in fear of men, men lacking freedom are the exiles who turn to God with the prayer for the ingathering of the exiles. The exiles crave to return to God's peace, to shalom. The Jewish people with its messianic prayer for the redemption of the exiles is like the priest who prays for mankind. In the diaspora we are without the protection of the nation state, we are entirely thrown upon God. He is our shield, or we are lost. This is the prophetic situation of every Jew, be he a simple small shopkeeper or a luminary of science or art. The diaspora makes the Iew. This is how the election of God works.

Ignaz Maybaum

Said the Ropshitzer: By our service to God we build Jerusalem daily. One of us adds a row, another only a brick. When Jerusalem is completed, the Redemption will come.

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Abba Hillel Silver

elf not by material wealth, not by ment, but by its moral character

David Ben Gurion ianic prayer for integration of all kingship of God. Men in fear of exiles who turn to God with the iles. The exiles crave to return to people with its messianic prayer s like the priest who prays for hout the protection of the nation God. He is our shield, or we are of every Jew, be he a simple small or art. The diaspora makes the d works.

Ignaz Maybaum vice to God we build Jerusalem r only a brick. When Jerusalem come.

problem. It is part of the Jewish destiny to face this problem and make it mean something of good for mankind. Judah Leon Magnes

Ishmael, my brother, How long shall we fight each other? My brother from times bygone, My brother-Hagar's son, My brother, the wandering one. One angel was sent to us both, One angel watched over our growth-There in the wilderness, death threatening through thirst, I a sacrifice on the altar, Sarah's first. Ishmael, my brother, hear my plea: It was the angel who tied thee to me. . . . Time is running out, put hatred to sleep. Shoulder to shoulder, let's water our sheep.

Shin Shalom

For a Jew, the word nationalism should mean freedom. A Jew who today may declare: 'I am a nationalist', will not be saying in any special, precise, or clear-cut way: 'I am a man who seeks to rebuild a Jewish state in Palestine and who dreams of conquering Jerusalem.' He will be saying: 'I want to be a man fully free, I want to enjoy the sunshine, I want to escape the oppression, to escape the outrage, to escape the scorn with which men seek to overwhelm me.' At certain moments in history, nationalism is for human groups the manifestation of the spirit of freedom. Bernard Lazare

The future is full of the gravest responsibilities. We are promised a place in the sun-not to ravage and dominate, but to serve our people, ourselves, the world. Standing in the sun we shall be seen clearly as never before. Our abilities will be on trial before a world full of nations, who will judge us in the light of a glorious past of ideal service to mankind. For Israel, election has never meant anything but obligation. Clearly, rehabilitating a nation is not a pastime. It is a task, a heavy task, a holy task.

Our attitude to the country is complex, one of longing and attachment, starting with the dreams of our childhood and involving a deep desire to take root, a desire which is sometimes the expression 10 20 of Sound's elegan water - a long 79,270 - what is to know on the to 94 k your upe - a from season water control of the season water and one for party on for party to the season to the season of the season to the season of the season o

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