



Abba Hillel Silver Collection Digitization Project

Featuring collections from the Western Reserve Historical Society and
The Jacob Rader Marcus Center of the American Jewish Archives

MS-4787: Abba Hillel Silver Papers, 1902-1989.

Series IV: Sermons, 1914-1963, undated.

Reel
152

Box
54

Folder
347

The present situation in Palestine, 1929.

.....
"THE PRESENT SITUATION IN PALESTINE."

RABBI ABBA HILLEL SILVER.

THE TEMPLE, SUNDAY MORNING,

NOVEMBER 3, 1929, CLEVELAND, O.
.....



My friends, I shall not discuss this morning the riots which took place in Palestine in the early fall. The fullest publicity was given to them, and nothing can be gained by recounting them. I believe it would be much more helpful if we studied the meaning of those disturbances, the lessons which we may learn from them, the possible ways of averting a repetition of them in the future.

Both the Arabs and the Jews in Palestine learned some lesson as a result of the sad things which took place there. The first lesson, I believe, which the Arabs learned is that the Jews of Palestine cannot be intimidated by pogroms, bloodsheds. They are resolved, grimly resolved, to defend with their very lives the things which they have builded there with their sweat and their sacrifices. They will not be terrorized by the sight even of 130 of their own slain and double that number wounded. Wherever they had a chance the Jews of Palestine defended themselves bravely as befits free men, and made the attacking mob pay very dearly. The memory of the magnificent defense of Rehavia and Talipot and other settlements, will, I believe, long act as a deterrent upon the ardor and the lust of the attacking hordes, even as they will long remain a shining testimonial to the courage and intrepidity of the Jewish settlements in

Palestine.

The second lesson which I believe the Arabs will learn from the recent occurrences is that the Jews of the world will not be deterred from their fixed purpose to upbuild the Jewish national home by any display of force or terror. Great historical forces are driving the Jews of the world to this task, and opposition can make the task more difficult and not less compelling. To the wild outbursts of fanatic hordes, determined to destroy what the Jews have built there, the Jews of the world have given, I believe, a firm, dignified and determined reply: "We shall carry on."

Shortly after the outbreaks I was asked to give what I regarded as the Jewish answer, and I wrote down the following: "We shall carry on. We are an ancient race, long acquainted with suffering. Our lone and weary way has been strewn with our martyred dead, but we were never deterred. New graves now mark our course; we shall not now be deterred. We shall carry on. Had we feared death, we should not now be alive; had the dread of sacrifice and the fury of maddened hordes affrighted us, we should now be mingled dust with the mighty nations of yesterday who sought refuge in armies and perished in their victory. But our strength is the irrevocable strength of the spirit. So we carry on. We are a patient race. At the feet of stern masters we learned the wisdom and courage of patience. We can

wait; we have waited. While time rushed by us, while nations raged and empires crumbled we waited. We covenanted with eternity never to forget Jerusalem. Through twenty centuries we have not forgotten; we shall not now forget. What we have builded others are now turning into ruins. We shall build again upon the ruins patiently; we know how to build upon ruins. We shall carry on.

"We are a proud race,--too proud to hate. We have felt the keen edge of treachery before, of broken pledges and unrequited trusts. We have been admonished not to place our trust in priests or ruling powers. They befriend us when they need us and betray us in the end. Our trust is in God and in our own unconquerable will. Only the defeated take refuge in hate. We are the undefeated. We carry on. Hebron, Safed and Jerusalem, our holy cities, they are holier now and more precious to us because of the fresh blood which has sanctified them. That blood shall be the blood of our rebirth. Our hearts ache for these dear dead, but there is vast comfort in that their martyrdom is unlike the martyrdom of their brothers slain in the Ukraine, vain and wasted sacrifices on alien soil. These died in the land of Israel and for the land of Israel. Great is the sacrifice, but greater still is the glory. They have taught us how to carry on.

"We sent to the Holy Land emissaries of peace,

builders and planters, toilers of the soil, and teachers of men, not soldiers; not a bayonet among the hosts of our people who went forth out of slavery to the land of their promise. They cleared the wilderness, they brought fruitfulness to the waste places; they reclaimed the desert highway for human progress; they brought light and healing ^{and} to the sacred arts of peace. They have now been met with the sword. So be it. We shall carry on."

For the Jewish people, my friends, cannot be defeated. Not alone is its honor at stake, but those conditions and forces which kept the hope of the rebuilding of its national home alive in the life of the Jewish people for two thousand years are still present, are still present and operative today. In many parts of the world the Jews still suffer disabilities, if not political, then certainly economic and educational. In many parts of the world they are still hemmed in by restrictions, formal or tacit; in many parts of the world, even in those countries where they enjoy political citizenship, they are made to feel their homelessness. Every great historic group today prides itself upon its cultural development and upon the nurturing of its own spiritual creativeness. The Jewish group, the most alert and sensitive, perhaps, of all great historic groups, because it lacks a national center, is denied this privilege and this opportunity.

So that the Jews of the world cannot be

expected to forego this great opportunity which destiny has brought to it with the Balfour Declaration and the mandate over Palestine. The Jews were justified in proceeding with their program of expansion and restriction in Palestine, because their claims received recognition not alone at the hands of Great Britain, not alone at the hands of the successive governments of Great Britain, but their historic claims received approval at the hands of almost every civilized government in the world, including our own; and it was on the strength of this high universal sanction that the Jews went into Palestine within the last ten years, a hundred thousand of its picked men, and poured into Palestine fifty millions of dollars to help in the rehabilitation of that country. How can, therefore, a few riots, however bloody they may be, force the Jews to retreat? And how can a few riots make Great Britain, pledged as it is, solemnly pledged, publicly pledged, break its pledge?

Fortunately, there is no danger that Great Britain will change its policy. Its sense of fairness, its honor, its sober-judgment, will not permit it.

A recent editorial in the Manchester Guardian, by Mr. Davis, spokesman of the Labor party in control of labor, and which paper is also the spokesman of all the labor forces of England, has this to say: "The Palestinian mandate was undertaken as a solemn duty. Government

has succeeded government but there has been no hesitation about the task we then accepted. We accepted it not in the belief that creation of a home for the Jewish people was an experiment to be tried today and thrown over tomorrow, but in the sense that British statesmanship could lay the foundation of a stable, tolerant and progressive state. Has anything happened to discredit that view? The Jewish emigrates have done their part, giving freely of their energy and self for the development of the land and the creation of civilizing institutions. The task of the British Government, acting as the trustee of the League of Nations, is to see that this state is governed justly and wisely, that life and property are safe, that all races receive justice, and that the traditions and memories of their religion and their customs are not wounded. This is the kind of task in which we have achieved some success in other parts of the world. These demand qualities some of which, at any rate, the British people have proved themselves to possess. As a governing people the government has made it clear that our policy remains fixed and unchanged. It is indeed difficult to understand how anybody could suggest that the recent disturbance should shake our determination to succeed in that task. We stand before the world pledged to do. We hold a commission from the League of Nations; we have given our word to the Jews. It is not always wrong and always

undignified for a nation to step back. On the contrary, it is right that it is dignified to step back when our duty to others demands it, but to step back from a task such as this because we find it difficult and think it may be expensive, on the ground that it is demanded by our duty to ourselves, would be an act of cowardice, bringing upon us lasting shame."

So that I believe the Arabs in Palestine will learn before long that neither the Jews nor Great Britain will yield to pressure. The drastic punishment which is today being meted out to the perpetrators of the recent riots in Palestine by British justice is already having a sobering effect upon the Arab agitators. They had hoped to be regarded as revolutionists; they are being treated as they deserved to be treated--as brigands, looters and assassins.

But the Jews in Palestine, too, have learned some lessons from the recent disturbances. The most important is this: that the problem of Arab-Jewish relationships has not yet been solved, and that it is the most vital problem confronting the Jewish settlers in Palestine. Heretofore many Palestinian Jews were inclined to ignore the whole problem. They treated it, if at all, in a passing way, as if there were no Arabs in Palestine, as if they did not constitute the majority in Palestine, and as if they were not becoming year by year politically more self-conscious. Even the Zionists

treated the Arab problem as of secondary importance, when in reality it is of the foremost importance. While it is true that these last disturbances did not constitute an Arab uprising; while it is true that not at all all the Arabs participated in these riots, that perhaps no more than five percent of them were guilty of participation; while it is true, undoubtedly true, that these riots were instigated by Arab political careerists and adventurers, like the Mufti himself, a political adventurer who eight years ago was sentenced to a long term of imprisonment because of his complicity in the riots in Palestine in 1920,--while all this is true, it nevertheless remains true also that these agitators found ready ears in Palestine, that the soil was not unresponsive to their plantings of hate, that the Arabs in Palestine are not friendly to the Jew, even in those cases where they are not openly hostile.

They are suspicious, they mistrust, and nothing of a constructive nature has been done in recent years by the Jews of Palestine to persuade the Arabs that they are not coming there to do them harm but to join with them in the common task of building up a common homeland. For the Arab, too, looks upon Palestine as his homeland. He has lived there for centuries; it is his fatherland, and the realities of the situation compel us to recognize this fact.

Now the Balfour Declaration can be easily

misunderstood by such people. It certainly can be easily misinterpreted and distorted by clever politicians bent upon misinterpreting; so that it was not a difficult task for them to persuade the naive and simple, and in many instances illiterate, Arabs, that the Balfour Declaration means to deprive them of their home. Now the Jews have done little to dissipate these fears of the Arabs; in fact, in some instances, a few irresponsible zealots among them, through ill considered statements, writings and demonstrations, actually fed these fears of the Arabs. Certainly no thoughtful and constructive program for a Jewish-Arab concord has been worked out, and the Arabs were left to the propaganda of their own shameless political agitators.

Now while it is not an easy task, I know, to persuade the Arabs, it is, to my mind, not an impossible task to persuade them that the Jews are coming to Palestine not to exploit them but to work with them in the common task of building up a common fatherland; for it is quite possible and feasible to develop the Jewish national homeland in Palestine in such a political form as would take cognizance of the fact that there are two nations within that one territory. It is quite possible for the Arabs to develop their national homeland side by side with the Jewish national homeland. Switzerland is a case in point; Canada is another case in point. The fact that one people is free to develop its own cultural,

religious and economic life and to enjoy the fullest measure of political freedom, does not mean that another people or group or race living in that self-same territory is thereby deprived of that right. And surely it would not be difficult to disabuse the minds of the Arabs of any fears on the ground of religion which they may have. The fear that the Jews have come to Palestine to deprive them of their holy places is the most fantastic and unreal of fears. The Jews have always revered the sacred places of other peoples; they have respected them. All they have asked for is that a similar respect be granted to their sanctities. As for example, the Jews have had an immemorial right to worship at the Western Wall. That right was not denied them even under the old Turkish regime. They claim no more than that very right today.

The whole matter of the Western Wall has been over-emphasized. It should be borne in mind that in the eyes of the Jews the Western Wall (Kotel Maaravi) does not at all occupy the same position as the Mosque of Omar does in the eyes of the Mohammedans, or the Church of the Holy Sepulcher in the eyes of the Christians. The Kotel Maaravi is not a holy shrine. We have no holy shrines in Judaism; and it is only the insolent interference at the Western Wall on the part of some fanatic Arabs, bent upon making disturbance, that the whole matter assumed importance in Arabic-Jewish

relationships which it has.

The Jews and Arabs need never fight in Palestine over religion. They are the two religions which perhaps most closely approximate one another, because they are both monotheistic religions. The Jew knows what it means to be persecuted on the ground of religion, just as he knows the tragedy of homelessness, and he would be the last one to seek to interfere with the religious freedom of another one, or to deprive another man or another people of their home.

The Arab can be persuaded by a systematic campaign of education on the basis of facts and actualities that the coming of the Jews to Palestine has benefitted him. Any measure of prosperity which the Jews brought there the Arabs shared in fully.

Winston Churchill, who was once upon a time Secretary of State for the Colonies of Great Britain, recently said of the Jewish achievements in Palestine: "The Jews have brought to the Arabs nothing but good gifts, more wealth, more trade, more civilization, new sources of revenue, more employment, a higher rate of wages, larger cultivated areas, a better water supply, in a world of fruits of ^{reason} and modern science. Anyone who has seen, as I have, the beautiful garden township of Tel-Aviv, or the fruitful groves of will need no further convincing. Here out of the blistering desert patience, industry and civilizing intelligence

have created green, smiling fields and vineyards and delicious, shady groves, the home of thriving, happy, simple communities, who, even if there had been no Balfour Declaration, will deserve the strong protection and sympathy of free and enlightened people in every quarter of the globe."

When the Jews stamped malaria out in Palestine, the Arab benefitted from it; when the Jews reduced trachoma in Palestine, the Arab and their children benefitted from it; when the Jews built hospitals and clinics in Palestine, their doors were opened to Arab, Jew and Christian alike, and when the Jews raised the standard of living wages and conditions of employment in Palestine, the Arab workingman benefitted from those gifts; and it is perhaps this economic fact which is largely responsible for the hostility of the Arab effendis to the Zionist achievements in Palestine, for up to now the Arab effendi was free to exploit shamefully the Arab workingman, to pay him a few miserable piasters a day, and work him as he worked the camel and the horse.

The coming of the Jew revolutionized the economic life of the country and broke the exploitive power of the effendi over the Arab worker. The Jew in Palestine possesses today no rights which the Arab does not, and the Arab today enjoys more freedom and more opportunity under the mandatary than he ever did under the old Turkish regime. Please bear in mind that not one

Arab has been compelled to emigrate from Palestine because of the incoming of new Jewish immigrants. Palestine is to this day still a sparsely settled country. There is no iota of reason in the statement that you frequently hear, that the Jews have been crowding the Arabs out. The Jews have crowded not a single Arab out of Palestine, and the government of Palestine has certainly not favored the Jews as against the Arabs; in fact, we have continuously had our grievances against the Palestinian government. We have always felt that the Jews in Palestine were being disfavored.

Recently these grievances were summarized in an article which appeared in the Nation, written by an Anglo-Jewish journalist of repute, William Zuckerman, and the summarized these grievances as follows: First, the British land policy in Palestine. The policy has been to distribute whatever free crown land there was in Palestine to the Arab only. The Jews have not received one inch of free land for colonization purposes. They have had to buy and pay dearly for every acre that they are cultivating. Even if Palestine was not to be a Jewish national homeland, the Palestinian Jews were entitled to one-fifth of the free land on the basis of their population. They received nothing.

"At a meeting of the agency in Zurich, Mr. Wasserman, of the German Bank of Germany, made this very pointed comment: 'England gave us Eretz Yisroel without

the Eretz.' The second grievance was the immigration policy. Jewish immigration into Palestine is restricted more than into the United States under the quota. Not only are Jews kept out of their national home, but they are being deported just as other aliens whose political behavior or opinions do not happen to be approved by the administration. Third, the system upon equal taxation, under which the Jews pay practically all the taxes of the country. Fourth, the failure of the administration to employ Jews on public works in Palestine. Fifth, the failure of the Palestinian administration to subsidize sufficiently the Jewish educational and health institutions. Although the Jews are the heaviest tax payers in Palestine, they are in addition called upon to support largely their own schools, hospitals and clinics. Sixth, the failure to engage Jews proportionately in the police and in the military defense of the country. Thus, for example, in Jerusalem, where the Jews constitute 60% of the population, there are all together less than a dozen Jewish policemen. In the entire trans-Jordanian frontier force, that body of soldiers which is to protect the frontiers of Palestine, there are all together twenty-seven Jews, and the absence of Jews in the constabulary of Palestine was, during the recent riots, in many ways responsible for the many Jewish casualties. And, lastly, above all, the supercilious, snobbish and even downright anti-Semitic treatment which

the Jewish population receives from the British administration officials. In their national home the Jews are being treated as if they were natives of some East African colony, a treatment to which the Jews are not at all accustomed, for even in the lands of their worst persecutions the Jews were only hated; they were seldom looked down upon."

So that you see the Jews, in spite of the Balfour Declaration, have not fared, to say the least, better than the Arabs. They too have their grievances.

What does the present situation in Palestine demand? Taking cognizance of the realities of the situation that the Jews are there and will not retreat, that the Arabs are there and will not retire, that the British mandatory government is there to stay, what do the realities of the situation demand? Well, in the first place, they demand deliberate action on the part of the leaders, the most sober minded and the most far visioned leaders among the Jews and the Arabs,--action to find a way of reconciliation, a way out of the problem, a way which will enable both peoples to work cooperatively in Palestine; and this can be done only on the basis of a clear cut political agreement between the two peoples in Palestine, and until this political agreement has been entered into and perfected, which will give the Jew the conviction that he will not be interfered with in the upbuilding of his national home, and at the same time will

✓
give the Arabs the conviction that their national aspirations will not be interfered with, until that agreement is reached by the Jews and the Arabs in Palestine, there will always be a menace lurking in the offing, disturbances and riots.

Secondly, the emergencies of the situation demand that the Palestine government shall take the initiative in helping these two groups to find the way out, the way of reconciliation. Heretofore the Palestinian government had built its policy of administration on the traditional colonial policy of Great Britain to hold a balance of power, as it were, between contending groups; to be the referee, the arbiter between two opposing camps. That has been fatal to amicable Arabic-Jewish relationships in Palestine; for that attitude of the government of a referee meant that both Jews and Arabs were almost always suspicious of the government and of each other. They were deliberately put by the attitude of the British government in the emotional frame of mind, if you will, of two groups who must of necessity be opposed to one another.

Now it is the business of the administration in Palestine to end that reprehensible policy which has led to anarchy and to bloodshed. It must do something very constructive, very concrete, first, to persuade the Jews that it is in earnest in carrying out the implications of the mandate in building up the Jewish national homeland;

and in the second place, it must convince the Arabs that it is in earnest about giving full scope to the political aspirations of the Arabs. A new type of administrator, in other words, is demanded in Palestine today. The present administrators of Palestine come from other British colonies where their task has been to suppress national aspirations, just to administer the country as a subject country, as practically and as equitably as they could; but in Palestine the problem is diametrically different. In Palestine the task of these administrators is to encourage the national aspirations of these people and realize them, and consequently a new type of administrator is demanded in Palestine, if Palestine is not to continue to go the way of anarchy and disorder.

What does the present situation demand of us Jews outside of Palestine? Clearly action, increased action. We must show our strength by sending more men into the country and more money, by accelerating the tempo of our activities in Palestine. I believe that the Jews of the world will do that. The formation of the Jewish Agency last summer in Zurich was, to me, a pledge on the part of universal Israel to upbuild Palestine as quickly and as wisely as it is capable of.

I wish I had the time to tell more about this Jewish Agency, but time does not permit me. That gathering in Zurich, which brought together the choicest spirits of all people from all parts of the world, was the most

colorful, the most inspiring assembly which I ever attended, and one which will undoubtedly go down in Jewish history as marking a turning point in our people's career. You saw on the one platform men who represented not only different countries but different civilizations in different centuries. You saw at one corner Albert Einstein, and Lord Melcher, and Wassermann, and Leon Blum, and Herbert Samuels, and Louis Marshall; and on the other hand Rabbi Zoul of Jena, and some Chassidic rabbitz from the heart of Galicia,--scholars, artists, scientists, merchants, workingmen,--the whole of the Jewish world was reflected in that marvelous assembly; and out of it came the one determination and proclamation: that this great task in which we have entered shall be accomplished in such a way as will reflect glory and credit upon our people,--whether Zionist or non-Zionist, whether persuaded of the political program of Zionism or not, whether Western European or Eastern European, whether high in the councils of the mighty or humble, whether rich or poor, all Jews must unite, for their honor demands it, to see that this heroic experiment which has been undertaken to rebuild an ancient land, which has been neglected for centuries, to turn the wilderness into a garden, to build up upon our ancient hills of Judea vineyards, to plant schools and academies and a university, to revive an ancient civilization, to establish another storehouse of Jewish

spiritual and intellectual creativeness, that this magnificent experiment shall not fail.

My friends, the Jewish people has a long memory. It never forgets. It may forget and forgive its enemies; it never forgets its friends, and every son of Israel who will write himself down today as a lover of Eretz Yisroel, as a friend, as a loyal son of the covenant, the covenant which said, "If I forget thee, O Jerusalem, may my right hand forget its cunning," --anyone who will subscribe himself today a loyal son of Israel, will not be forgotten by Jewish history. It is the most momentous and the most challenging thing which is now going on in Jewish life.

Blessed is the man or woman who will not be found wanting.

--o--

AN ABSTRACT OF THE ADDRESS ON
"THE PRESENT SITUATION IN PALESTINE"
DELIVERED AT
THE TEMPLE,
Sunday, November 3d, 1929
By
RABBI ABBA HILLEL SILVER

The outstanding problem which the recent riots in Palestine present is that of the future relations between the Arabs and Jews. The riots must have convinced even the most fanatic of Arab propagandists that the Palestinian Jews can not be intimidated and that the Jews of the world will not retreat from the historic task of establishing the Jewish Homeland in Palestine by any display of force. It is also clear that the Arabs will not retire from Palestine, for it is their Homeland too. A way of reconciliation and peace must therefore be found which will make it possible for both Arabs and Jews to work together for their common homeland.

The Mandatory Government of Palestine should take the initiative in finding the way to a Jewish-Arab accord. In the past its policy was based on the old colonial tradition of maintaining a balance of power between two contending factions. This has proved fatal to Arab-Jewish relationships. The Palestinian Government has as yet done nothing of a constructive nature to persuade the Zionists that it is in earnest about assisting in the upbuilding of the Jewish Homeland or the Arabs, that it means fully to protect their national rights. With the result that both Jews and Arabs in Palestine are suspicious of the government and of each other.

It is possible and feasible to develop the Jewish National Homeland in Palestine in such a political form as will recognize the existence of two nations in the one territory. Switzerland and Canada are cases in point. The Arabs can develop their national life in Palestine side by side with the Jews.

Unfortunately the Arabs have been misled by political agitators to believe that the Jews wish to deprive them of their country. The Jewish people which for centuries has known the tragedy of national homelessness is the last to wish to deprive any people of its home. Certainly the religious fears which were incited among the Arabs that the Jews wished to possess themselves of the Moslem holy places are fantastically unreal. The Jews respect the religious sanctities of all peoples. They ask from others only the same respect for their sanctities. The Jews have had an immemorial right to worship undisturbed at the Western Wall. Even under the old Turkish regime this right was not denied them. They claim no more than this right today. It should be remembered that the Western Wall is not at all regarded by Jews in the same light as the Mosque of Omar is by Mohammedans or the Church of the Holy Sepulchre by Christians. It is not a holy shrine. Only the interference and the unpardonable insolence of certain Arab fanatics have made of the Western Wall the vital issue which it has become in Jewish-Arab relationships.

The Jews in Palestine today possess no rights which the Arabs do not. The Arab under the Mandate is free to develop his own cultural, religious and economic life equally with the Jew and he enjoys under the Mandatory Government a fuller measure of freedom and opportunity than ever before.

The Jews have received no grants of free land from the government. They have had to buy every foot of ground and pay well for it. Much of the land which was purchased and reclaimed had been unused for generations and centuries. No Arab has been compelled through the coming of new Jewish settlers to emigrate from Palestine. Palestine is still a sparsely settled country. The Jews have brought a large measure of prosperity to the country in which the Arab fully shares. The wages and standard of living of the Arab workmen have risen as a result of the

coming of new industry and of Jewish workmen. This economic fact, by the way, is perhaps the most important factor in the hostility of the Arab Effendis to Zionism. They had been free to exploit the workmen of their own race shamefully until the coming of the Zionists. The Jews have established hospitals and clinics throughout the country which, in every instance, are open to Arab, Christian, and Jew alike. They have introduced the standards of Western civilization in a backward and neglected land.

It is inconceivable that the sober judgment of the Arab people will not in the long run prevail. They must come to see in the advent of the Jews who go to Palestine not to exploit, but to rebuild, friends and co-workers eager to join hands with them in the great task of building up a common Fatherland.



overreached itself in threatening Anglo-Jewry with anti-Jewish feeling in Great Britain unless the policy embodied in the Balfour Declaration is withdrawn. Considering that these methods of intimidation have been tried so ruthlessly and so unsuccessfully by some of the Arab agitators, the *Daily Mail's* attempt in the same direction does not strike us as very resourceful. In any case, we can assure our contemporary that its threats will be as ineffective as they certainly are contemptible.

* * *

AN informed and authoritative view on the situation is contained in the article by Mr. Winston Churchill which appeared in the *Sunday Times*. As a former Secretary of State for the Colonies in 1921, Mr. Churchill has intimate knowledge of Palestine and Zionist affairs, a knowledge deepened through his visits to Palestine. And he tells the world in his characteristic, vivid and colourful language, that the Jews have done no harm to the Arabs in Palestine. On the contrary, he says:

"They have brought them nothing but good gifts, more wealth, more trade, more civilisation, new sources of revenue, more employment, a higher rate of wages, larger cultivated areas, a better water supply—in a word, the fruits of reason and modern science. . . . Anyone who has seen, as I have, the beautiful garden township of Tel-Aviv, or the fruitful groves of Rishon Le Zion, will need no further convincing. Here, out of the blistering desert, patience, industry and civilised intelligence have created green, smiling fields and vineyards and delicious shady groves, the home of thriving, happy, simple communities who, even if there had been no Balfour Declaration, would deserve the strong protection and the sympathies of free and enlightened people in every quarter of the globe."

* * *

MANY will not be disposed to agree with some of the conclusions arrived at by Mr. Churchill as to the immediate responsibility for the tragic events. If, as he eloquently says, "any appearance of lack of will-power on the part of the British Government or a lack of confidence in its mission, in those countries blows like a draught of air on the dull fierce embers," then the policy adopted by the Government of which he was a distinguished member, after the brutal attack on the Jews in 1921, was certainly a serious blunder. But all will readily agree with him that it is the future that must now be thought of, and that measures must be decided upon to prevent the recurrence of such sad events. It is encouraging, too, to hear from Mr. Churchill that the present Government is politically in a very strong position on the question of the Jewish National Home—the Labour Party being pledged of its own free will to make good the Balfour Declaration.

THE death of Mr. Louis Marshall is a disaster to world Jewry, as much as a blow to American Jewry. He was one of the few central figures in Jewish life. He was of the very limited number of Jews who commanded the respect of all sections of Jews in the United States, and who exercised an authoritative influence over Jews of all shades of opinion throughout the world. This respect and authority, not unmingled with deep affection, was due to qualities of distinction which easily made him a leader among men. A man of high intellectual attainments, an active personality in American life and politics, he was above all interested in raising the standard of Jewry and of Judaism. Though he belonged to a generation which looked upon Judaism as nothing more than a creed, and was surrounded by influences encouraging and emphasising that view, he was too big a man to accept such a narrow outlook. He visualised a Judaism of life as well as of creed, and he has himself set an example of how to live and work for Jews in all countries and for a Judaism which includes all Jewish ideas and ideals, every form of Jewish learning and culture. His breadth of view, his intense love for the Jewish people, his vigorous mind and amazing energy, made him one of the most outstanding personalities in modern Jewish life. That he was drawn in the last few years towards the aims of Zionism was but proof of the catholicity of his mind and of his courage in facing realities. He realised the force of Zionism in Jewry, and grasped the vital import of Palestine for the Jewish future, which was his great concern. His death at this critical juncture in our history is a great blow: it leaves a gap in Jewish life. There is something symbolic, beautifully so, that his last great act should have been the sealing of the pact of Jewish unity through the Jewish Agency. His co-operation with the Zionist movement was all too brief. But within that short time, the first Chairman of the Council of the enlarged Jewish Agency gained not only the confidence, but the love, of all Zionists. His memory will live among the active forces in Jewish history.

* * *

THE Jewish National Fund Commission in Great Britain is to be congratulated on the rapid progress of the Fund. The ambitious plans to further the development of the Keren Kayemeth in Great Britain, as foreshadowed the other day, at the Bi-ennial Conference, is very commendable. A striking manifestation of the enterprising spirit of those at the head of the Fund in Great Britain is the reception which the Lord Mayor and Lady Mayoress are giving at the Mansion House on October 16th, on behalf of the Jewish National Fund. The Lord Mayor will preside, and Lord Melchett will present Alderman Sir Charles A. Bathe, Lord Mayor for 1927-28, with a certificate inscribing the names of the Guildhall, the Lord

Mayor, and the Sheriffs of the City of London in the Golden Book of the Jewish National Fund in Palestine, to commemorate the historic occasion of the banquet held in the Guildhall, in July, 1928, in aid of the Balfour Forest. It was a unique occasion in Anglo-Jewry and deserves a lasting commemoration. A letter of congratulation to the Lord Mayor of London, from the Mayor of Tel-Aviv, the all-Jewish City in Palestine, which is to be presented by Major H. L. Nathan, M.P., is a fine gesture.

* * *

MANY happy returns to Dr. Victor Jacobson, who has just attained his sixtieth birthday. A former member of the Zionist Executive, Dr. Jacobson is now occupying the very responsible position of Zionist representative in Geneva. A man of wide culture, of polished manner and tact, he is a most likeable personality in Zionism. His eminent qualities were always at the disposal of the Zionist movement, of which he is a prominent figure and whose destinies he helped to guide. May his services to Zionism long continue.

* * *

THE extension of the Jewish Agency for Palestine to include non-Zionists, which was finally ratified by the 16th Zionist Congress, has been accepted by the vast majority of Zionists as something inevitable. It has been anticipated with mixed feelings, and has been represented on the one hand as a necessary evil, a *pis aller*, and on the other hand as an entirely natural and welcome development. These two points of view are only apparently contradictory. We should all have been better pleased if the Zionist idea had succeeded in gaining the unequivocal adherence of all sections of the Jewish people, in which case no question of a compact between Zionists and non-Zionists could have arisen. But we may legitimately congratulate ourselves on what was accomplished at Zürich, and allow ourselves to forget that in an ideal condition of things that accomplishment would have been superfluous. It is, indeed, of the greatest importance that we should enter on the new phase of work in the spirit of those who have achieved a great triumph, and not in the spirit of those who make a virtue of necessity.

* * *

OF the first meeting of the Council of the extended Jewish Agency, which took place at Zürich immediately after the Congress, it may be said at once that it has given us good reason to face the future in a mood of buoyant optimism. The meeting was signally successful so far as Zionists are concerned; it has allayed apprehensions and established confidence. The harmony and unanimity of the plenary sessions, over which the late Mr. Marshall presided with admirable address and good humour, were in themselves gratifying. But what is even more important is the fact that the proceedings of the various Committees in which the real work was done were conducted throughout in

a spirit of mutual good will and helpfulness, with the result that all difficulties were satisfactorily overcome. It might easily have been otherwise, particularly in the case of the Constitution Committee. As our readers are aware, the draft Constitution which was presented to the 16th Congress—itsself the fruit of minute consideration and protracted negotiations between the Zionist leaders and the Marshall group—was not found acceptable in every detail, and Congress demanded certain modifications as a condition of its agreement to the extension of the Agency. These modifications may not have touched anything vital in the draft; but if the non-Zionist representatives on the Constitution Committee had approached their work in an unaccommodating frame of mind the whole scheme might have been wrecked or further postponed. In fact, the non-Zionists showed the greatest possible readiness to meet reasonable Zionist requirements, and, after full and free discussion, the amendments demanded by Congress were all accepted. It was obvious throughout the four days of the meeting, from the memorable speeches of the brilliant opening session to the impressive ceremony of the signature of the agreement at the closing one, that our new partners were serious and wholehearted in their desire to share in the work of rebuilding the National Home.

* * *

SO far, then, the policy tenaciously pursued by the Zionist Executive for some years past, in the teeth of a vehement opposition, has been splendidly justified. Our new partners have come up to the expectations of the most sanguine among us. A good beginning has been made. Of course, it is only a beginning; the Agency Council was unable, in the time at its disposal, to go fully into the budget for the coming year, and accepted the budget of £750,000 which Congress had passed after much labour and discussion. There can be no doubt, however, that before long every department of our work will feel the influence of the new alliance. For the present the Zionist Organisation retains its separate identity, and its responsibilities—which are the responsibilities of each and every individual Zionist—are rather heightened than diminished by the acquisition of a partner who, while ready to contribute his own share, has every right to demand that there be no slackening of effort in our side. The need is now greater than ever for discipline within the Zionist ranks, for strenuous work on behalf of the Keren Hayesod and the Keren Kayemeth, and—last but by no means least—for unremitting activity in the fields of propaganda and education, which by common consent have received inadequate attention during recent years. The Zionist Organisation must still provide the driving force of the Palestinian movement; only on that condition can the Jewish people and Palestine reap the full benefit of the historic act which was consummated at Zürich.

* * *

SIR BOYD MERRIMAN, K.C., M.P., Viscount Erleigh, K.C., Mr. A. Davis, and Mr. S. A. Karminsky, instructed by Messrs. Oppenheimer, Nathan and Vandyk, left London for Palestine to represent the Jewish Agency before the Commission of Inquiry into the recent disturbances.

130 dead
wounded
with their
wounded

OCTOBER, 1929.

THE NEW JUDÆA

Heroism - the poem when we are all
defended 200
They cannot be
subject to such knowledge

but because they are deeply convinced of the significance and importance of the task and believe that its realisation will tend to promote the progress and the peace of mankind, and to right a great historic wrong. I cannot believe that the greatest colonial Power in the world will fail when it is faced with the task of placing its unique colonising experience at the service of the reconstruction of the ancient home of the People of the Bible. The task may not be an easy one for the Mandatory Power, but for the success it will attain it is assured of the undying gratitude not only of the Jews but of all that is noblest in mankind.—Yours, etc.,

A. EINSTEIN.

Berlin, October 7th.

THE TASK OF THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT.

"THE MANCHESTER GUARDIAN'S"
COMMENT ON THE LETTER.

THE following striking leading article, commenting on Professor Einstein's letter, appeared in the same issue of the *Manchester Guardian* :—

"Dr. Einstein has the kind of fame that makes men forget to which of the families of the human race he belongs. We do not think first of Newton as an Englishman, any more than we think first of Dante as an Italian or of Mozart as a German. We all know of Dr. Einstein, but he, like them, has served not one race or another but mankind. This gives a special power to the letter we print from him to-day pleading the cause of the people from whom, like so many of the thinkers and artists who have put the world in their debt, he takes his descent. It will be read with sympathy and deep feeling by all who have a natural inclination to understand the emotions he seeks to interpret. Over a great part of the world's surface the Jew is still a man under a cloud of contempt, suspicion, and dislike. The events in history that have brought about this calamity cannot be undone. The forces in social and national life that cause such unhappiness and tragedy cannot in all cases be controlled. The progress of civilisation has softened injustices and made the discords less cruel, but it has in its later development made the sense of homelessness perhaps even more acute by stressing the significance and the self-consciousness of the national State. To be homeless in the modern world means in this sense more than it meant in days when manners were more cruel but nations were defined less sharply.

"The Zionist movement offered to this sense of exile a new and comforting assurance. If it succeeded the Jew, wherever he lived, could think of his race as a race with a home, a home sacred for its memories and traditions, dignified by the spectacle that Jewish immigrants would give of energetic co-operation, of new efforts after culture, of the spirit of good and sober citizenship. Palestine would offer the Jews who went

there this inspiring opportunity. It would offer to those scattered over the world with a sense of living in the cold, to which the Jew in certain countries is still born, a new self-respect. This idea filled and excited the minds of Jews, but not of Jews only, for nobody of imagination could regard the history and the emotions of the Jewish people as something in which the rest of the world had no part. From George Eliot to Lord Balfour there have been Englishmen and Englishwomen who felt about this dream as passionately as any member of the Jewish race. The Palestine State was created by this sympathy, by English statesmen hoping for success, an aspiration which they believed to be noble in itself, full of promise and hope for the world.

"Dr. Einstein's letter should make the coldest reader understand that the future of the Palestine State is closely and inextricably associated with the happiness of the Jewish race. But it should make the coldest reader understand that it is also inextricably associated with the self-respect of the British people. Many of the arrangements into which we entered ten years ago at the peace may be blamed as selfish and grasping.

The Palestine mandate was undertaken as a solemn duty. Government has succeeded Government, but there has been no hesitation about the task we then accepted. We accepted it not in the belief that the creation of a home for the Jewish people was an experiment to be tried to-day and thrown over to-morrow, but in the sense that British statesmanship could lay the foundation of a stable, tolerant and progressive State. Has anything happened to discredit that view? The Jewish immigrants have done their part, as Dr. Einstein says, giving freely of their energy and wealth for the development of the land and the creation of civilising institutions. The task of the British Government, acting as the trustee of the League of Nations, is to see that this State is governed justly and wisely, that life and property are safe, that all races receive justice, and that the traditions and memories of their religions and their customs are not wounded. This is the kind of task in which we have achieved some successes in other parts of the world. It demands qualities some of which, at any rate, the British people have proved themselves to possess as a governing people. The Government have made it clear that our policy remains fixed and unchanged. It is, indeed, difficult to understand how anybody could suggest that the recent disturbances should shake our determination to succeed in this task. We stand before the world pledged to it, we hold a commission from the League of Nations, we have given our word to the Jews, and on the strength of it they have made the efforts described by Dr. Einstein. It is not always wrong or always undignified for a nation to step back. On the contrary, it is right and it is dignified to step back when our duty to others demands it. But to step back from a task such as this because we find it difficult and think it may be expensive, on the ground that it is demanded by our duty to ourselves, would be an act of cowardice bringing upon us lasting shame."

TO THE JEWISH PEOPLE

AT this grave and fateful moment, with our hearts more than ever at one with Erez Israel, all our thoughts go out to the land and its Jewish men and women.

Humbly we bow before our dead, before those who fell on the road of sacrifice that leads towards our salvation. Our deepest sympathy goes out to those whom blind lust of destruction has robbed of what the peaceful labour of years went to create. With our hearts filled with pride and gratitude, let us send a message of sympathy and encouragement to our brothers and sisters of the Yishuv. In the tragic days just experienced in Palestine, they bore the great and responsible burden of upholding the national home with courageous devotion and with a lofty and dignified fortitude that will never be forgotten.

Spurred on in face of the recent events by an overwhelming passion of pain, pity and indignation, the Jewish people the world over has been roused to common feeling and to determined action.

The response of the Yishuv in Erez Israel and of the Jewish world outside Palestine is not only a comfort and an inspiration. It also imposes upon us all a sacred obligation. Our work must go on. It rests, as ever, in the hands of our faithful pioneers, and is sustained by the love and devotion of the Jewish people. We shall restore what has been destroyed; we shall willingly assist those who have been driven from their homes and rendered destitute. We shall demand full reparation for what brute violence has destroyed. But this is not enough. Our duty is to push on forthwith with the building of the Jewish National Home with redoubled energy, with larger vision and with unswerving purpose.

We must prepare the way for a new and greater Jewish immigration. Many thousands of Haluzim and Haluzoth, ready for labour and for sacrifice on behalf of our people, wait impatiently in all the lands of the Galuth for the summons to the land of Israel. We must

work out and put into operation a great scheme of colonisation such as will strengthen the existing colonies, surround them with workers' settlements, and make it possible for thousands of Jewish workers to take root in the soil of Palestine.

Fellow Jews! Help Palestine Jewry by building the Jewish National Home! This is what the Yishuv demands of us. This is the call with which we turn to the whole Jewish people, and particularly to all those who are identified with the cause of Zion. A month ago, at Zurich, world Jewry was united for Erez Israel in a spirit of courageous hopefulness. This union must now be sealed by the realisation of these common hopes in a manner worthy of the great responsibility that rests upon us all.

Relief alone does not suffice. It is but a temporary measure. We must take up at once our work for the Keren Hayesod and the Keren Kayemeth, the foundations upon which we must build the Jewish National Home. No sacrifice must be spared, no time must be lost, in order that these two funds shall secure the means required for the new work.

Fellow Jews, the eyes of Erez Israel and of the whole world are upon us. Erez Israel looks to us to show the depth of our conviction in the historic union of the people of Israel with the land of Israel. The world looks to us to demonstrate that we know how to use the rights secured to us in the Mandate by the League of Nations, in order to achieve a work of historic magnitude. Let us devote our united energies to the Jewish national rebirth, a rebirth which will make for the peace and the progress of Jewry and of the whole of humanity.

The Jewish Agency for Palestine.

CHAIM WEIZMANN, President.

MELCHETT, Chairman of the Council.

London. September, 1929.

Ellul, 5689.

THE PALESTINE OUTBREAK AND JEWISH PSYCHOLOGY

By BEN MOWSHAY

A POST-MORTEM examination is always a gruesome task even to the accustomed physician and the hardened surgeon; it is rendered tolerable only because of the good which may be derived from it for the living. Even to "peep and botanise upon a mother's grave" may be a useful, if seemingly callous, proceeding—justified by the enlivening blooms which may be plucked even from the sorrows of death. It is in this spirit that we who lament with our weeping motherland for the grievous misfortune which lately overwhelmed her must ponder its several aspects. "How," let us ask ourselves, "did the Jewries of the world react to the shock of the tidings of the Palestine pogroms?"

The reverberating clash of the storm was everywhere accompanied by illuminating flashes lighting up at once the brightness of Jewish strength and the shadows of weakness, presenting to us vivid, stark pictures of contrast.

To those who have been in close contact with the concerns of the Agency or the cares of the Zionist Organisation the outbreak came as no surprise; painful though the actual realisation of tragic happenings long foreboded necessarily became, the blow proved not a shattering one; after the first reeling under its immensity the guardians of Israel were—let us be pro-

foundly and everlastingly grateful—seen to be neither slumbering nor sleeping. Scattered far and wide, dispersed for a well-earned rest after the gigantic labour of the birth of the Agency and the deliberations of Congress, not a moment was lost in re-assembling all those whose position in the Jewish communities or status in the world of non-Jewry entitled and obliged them to think deeply, speak firmly and act boldly. The crisis was surmounted by the Agency acting in the closest co-operation with the Zionist Organisation; its handling was the first great task to which the new order was called upon to apply itself. It seemed an omen of good cheer; for do not "they who sow in tears reap in joy"?

The imperative necessities of the present catastrophe were instantly recognised and the appropriate measures for the relief of the victims in Palestine inaugurated, meeting with a ready response in Europe, America and in all the far-flung communities of the globe. Rightly recognising that Providence helps those who help themselves, they did not pause to await possible aid from the British or Palestine Governments; the Jewish leaders shouldered without hesitation the burden of immediate financial relief on behalf of Jewry, confident that Jewry would not fail in its support. Jews who

Sermon 306

The TEMPLE BULLETIN



SUNDAY, NOVEMBER 3, 1929

The First Sunday Morning Service of the Season

RABBI SILVER

will speak on

"THE PRESENT SITUATION IN PALESTINE"

Rabbi Silver will also give his impressions of the Congresses of the World Zionist Organization and of the Jewish Agency which he attended in Zurich this summer.

PLEASE READ YOUR BULLETIN REGULARLY

The Temple Bulletin, published weekly from the middle of September to June, by Tifereth Israel Congregation, E. 105th Street at Ansel Road, Cleveland, Ohio. E. E. Wolf, Pres.; Emanuel Einstein, Treas.; Rabbi Leon I. Feuer, Editor. Subscription price, 50 cents per annum.

Entered as second-class matter, Dec. 11, 1925, at the Post office at Cleveland, Ohio, under the act of March 3, 1879.

Music for Sunday Morning, November 3rd

Organ

Prelude (10:15 A. M.)

Sonatina No. 2 in F Minor..

..... Rogers

I. Prelude

II. Pastorale

III. Finale

Postlude

Festal Postlude in C.....Harris

Paul Allen Beymer

Anthem

Sing Aloud Unto God....Van Rees

Soprano Solo

IsraelBrewer

Leona Brown Woodcock

Opening Service this Sunday

This Sunday marks the opening of the Sunday morning services of the season.

Rabbi Silver will utilize the occasion to make his first full statement on the disturbances which took place in Palestine this Fall, their meaning and their consequences. He will also give his impressions of the World Zionist Congress which he attended in Zurich and of which he was Vice-President, and of the meeting of the Council of the Jewish Agency of which he is a member.

Rabbi Silver urgently requests the members of the Congregation to assist him in preserving the traditional dignity of our services by coming early. Worshippers should be in their pews before 10:30 A. M.

The doors of the Temple open at

10:00 and will be closed promptly at 11:00.

Members of the Temple are requested to occupy their own pews and to bring their prayer books with them.

The 80th Year

This year our Congregation will celebrate its 80th birthday. A committee to plan this celebration will be appointed in the near future.

However, the most appropriate way of marking this anniversary is to make the coming year outstanding in the annals of our Congregation, in the quality of our work, in the eager response to all the cultural undertakings of our Temple and in loyalty and enthusiasm.

A rich and varied program of religious and cultural activities has been planned for the coming year. We urge upon our members and their families to avail themselves fully of these opportunities.

Rabbi Silver's Addresses

During the past few weeks Rabbi Silver addressed The Massachusetts State Conference of Social Workers; The Dedication of the Community House of Union Temple, Brooklyn, N. Y.; Louis Marshall Memorial Meetings in Cleveland and in Brooklyn, N. Y.; the Opening Meeting of the Ford Hall Forum and the Brotherhood of Temple Israel, Boston; the Jewish Community of Johnstown, Pa., and the Men's Club of Temple Beth-El, Detroit. During the next week he is scheduled to deliver an address at the Dedication Exercises of the Jewish Orphan Home, Cleveland, and the Convention of the Pennsylvania State Sisterhoods at York, Pa. He will also open the Community Chest Campaign at Richmond, Va.

Rabbi Silver has been asked to serve on the committee of five in charge of the Julius Rosenwald Ten Thousand Dollar Prize Essay Contest on "The Future of American Judaism."

OPENING OF LECTURE SERIES THIS MONDAY



PROF. E. A. BOTT

of the

UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO

Famous Psychologist and Author

will open the series of Monday Evening
Lectures at the Temple

on

**"INTRODUCTION TO
PSYCHOLOGY"**

**Monday Evening, November 4
8 P. M.**

This will be the first of a series of seven popular lectures to be given during the months of November and December on successive Monday evenings on the vital problems of psychology. Some of the greatest thinkers in this field in America will participate in this course.

This course will be followed by a second course of seven lectures on "Great Books which have Influenced Western Civilization".

Season Tickets	First Course Tickets	Single Admission
\$3.00	\$2.00	35 Cents

Temple Men's Club Opening Meeting of the Season **MAURICE SAMUEL**

who has just returned from Palestine where he was an eye-witness of the riots which took place will speak on

"WHAT HAPPENED IN PALESTINE"

Wednesday Evening, November 6th, 1929

Mr. Samuel is well known as novelist, publicist and orator of unusual ability.

This meeting will be Ladies' Night. Dinner will be served at 6:30 P. M. in Mahler Hall. The dinner is free to all paid up members of the Men's Club. Such members need purchase tickets only for the ladies whom they will bring. Members must advise the Temple office not later than Tuesday, November 5th, if they will attend.

The Temple Religious School

All the departments of the Temple Religious School, Elementary, Junior High, High School and College Department are in full session now. 1340 students are enrolled in these departments. The school celebrated appropriately the festival of Succoth with the special celebration in the Temple and the building of an outdoor Succah. Last Sunday fruits were distributed to all children of the Elementary Department in the Succah.

Temple Women's Association

3 P.M.
The first of a series of teas to be given by the Temple Women's Association in honor of its members, old and new, will be held in the Parlor of the Temple on Friday, November 8th, at 3:30 P. M.

The Tuesday Sewing Groups are now in session and a cordial invitation is extended to all the members of the T. W. A. to join the fine group

of women who are sewing at the Temple every Tuesday during the year for charitable institutions and for the Scholarship Fund.

Temple Alumni Association

The members of the Association are busily engaged in their membership drive now and hundreds of new members are joining on the new basis. The Association is now an adult group of young men and women. Membership dues are three dollars. The Alumni will sponsor four Sunday afternoon lectures for young men and women, two study groups and many other cultural activities.

New Books

During the summer months hundreds of new books were added to the Temple Library, fiction, biography, poetry and drama. The Temple Library acquires every book of Jewish interest published. The Library is free to all members of the Temple and their families. Use the Library!

The Temple Wishes to Acknowledge with Thanks the Following Contributions: To the Floral Fund

Mrs. Lizzie Rider
Mrs. Camillo Taussig and
Mrs. Sidney Davis
Mrs. Jay Goodman
Mr. and Mrs. Milton P. Alt-
schul

In memory of parents, Rosa and Joe Koblitz
In memory of parents, Rosa and Joe Koblitz
In memory of Mrs. William B. Fish
In memory of Helen Goodman Altman, Louis
Koblitz and Jerome Lichtig

To the Scholarship Fund

Mrs. Mandel
Mrs. Frances Strauss

Mrs. A. Felsenheld, Mrs. J.
M. Politzer and Mrs. L. I.
Feiga
Iris D. Neuman

In memory of brother, Nathan Kluger
In memory of Mrs. Rose Pachman, Mr. Magnus Shrier, Mr. A. F. Hartz and Mr. Sam Freedman

In memory of Mrs. Rosa Erlanger

In memory of Constance Fuldheim Kohn

In Memoriam

We record with deep sorrow the death of MR. JULIUS GUGGENHEIM during the past week and extend the condolences of the Congregation to the bereaved family.

1. Shall not discuss riots - Fullst. ^{sermon}
2. A lesson which Arab - grimly - terrorized - where-ever - memory -
3. Second lesson - Jews & world - Forces - opposition -
To wild, outburst (Inst)
4. J. People cannot retreat. Not alone Hitler - In many parts - suffers discrimination - Hermit - Made to feel - Every great list - cannot go -
- (1) Britain received world recog. in Bal. Dec.
 - (2) On strength - 100.000 - How can a few riots,
 - (3) How can great Britain - (Man. found. Inst) - not will learn - facile - disaster punishment
5. Jews & Bal. too, lessons - problems & Ar.-Jew. relat. - ignored - While it is true - 570 - Mufti - ready ears - not friendly - Jews failed -
- (1) For Arab, too, regard P. as most item - & Bal. lib.
 - (2) Jews have done little to dissuade - zealots - no thoughtful, del. program - Arabs left to their
6. Now, while it is not, say, it is not impossible to persuade - as friend
- (1) It is possible & feasible to dissuade J. Hitler, - Switzerland, Canada - Arab. can dissuade this - Travels & Humbersmen -

1. Shall not discuss the riots themselves. The fullest publicity was given to them and nothing can be gained by recounting them. It is much more helpful to study their meaning, the lessons we may learn from them, and the possible ways of averting them in the future.

2. A lesson which the Arab investigators of the riots must have learnt is that the Jews of P. cannot be intimidated by pogrom and blood-shed. The Jews of P. are grimly determined to defend that which they by their sweat have builded there. They cannot be terrorized by the sight of ~~the~~ even 7130 of their fellow-Jews slain and double that number wounded. Wherever they had a chance, they defended themselves bravely as free men would, and made the mob pay dearly. ^{The memory of the heroic defense} Beer Tuba and Hudda will long act as a deterrent upon the lust of marauding mobs, ~~as~~ as it will long remain as a magn. testimonial to the courage and intrepidity of the Jews of P.

3. The 2nd lesson which the Arabs must have learnt is that the Jews of the world will not retreat from their just purpose to rebuild a J. homeland in P. by means of any display of hostility towards them. Great historic forces are driving them to this task and opposition makes the task more difficult but not less compelling. To the wild, outburst of fanaticism, the Jews of the world have given a firm and determined reply: "We shall carry on!" (De 16)

4. The J. people cannot retreat. Not alone is its honor at stake but the ^{conditions} forces which kept the

hope of rebuilding its nat. home alive for 20 centuries
are still ^{present} ~~operative~~ to-day. In many parts, the
world the Jew suffers discrimination, if not pol. then
economic and educational. He is hemmed in by
restrictions, legal formal or tacit. He is made to
feel his homelessness even in countries where
he possesses pol. citizenship. ~~His~~ Every great hist.
group is free to develop its cultural life and
structure its sp. Qualities. The J. group, ^{the most advanced} ~~the~~ ^{has} ~~the~~
lacks a nat. center, is denied this privilege. ~~It~~
It cannot, therefore, grasp the historic opportunity
which destiny has put it, and retreat from P.

Its claims received world recognition in 1917
than the B.D. Great Br, and not only the govt. but the
people, welcomed the opport. to assist the Jews. Every
necessitous Br. govt. approved the B.D. Almost every
civilized govt. approved it. Our own govt. by act
act, Congress & Senate approved it. On the
day, the J. this universal endorsement & G. B.
pledge, the Jews, the world has in the last 10
years sent 100,000, other people men to settle
there and have poured 50 m. dollars to help
in the work of reconstruction. How can a few
nats, however bloody, deter them now? How can
G. B. contemplate reversing its proclaimed policy
bec. of Arab terrorism? Fortunately, there is
no danger, that. The moral judgment, the honor
and the sp. fairness of G. B. will not permit
it. (Manchester Guardian. Note) The Arab propo-
sander will, I am sure, learn before long that
they can count on no facile yielding to
pressure either on the part of G. B. or the Jews.
The drastic punishment which is being meted
out to the Arabs, the note by Mr. Justice in Pal.

will have a very sobering influence on them. They had hoped to be dealt with as revolutionists. They are being dealt with as brigands and assassins which they are.

5. The Jews of Pal., too, have learnt a few lessons. The most important one being, that the problem of Arab-Jew relationships has not yet been satisfactorily solved. Many of them were inclined to ignore this problem in the past - as if the Arabs did not exist, and were not in the majority, and were not becoming more & more pol. self-conscious - Even at 2 Congresses the subject was treated as of some importance, when in reality it was of present importance. While it is true that the recent disturbances were not in the nature of a pop. uprising, the Arab people of Pal. - only 5% - instigated by Mufti-young pol. adventurers - and others - bent upon looting & thieving them on fighting for a cause. It, nevertheless, remains true that these agitators found ready ears, that soil is not unresponsive to their ~~contumacious~~ plantings of hate. The Arabs are not friendly to the Jews. Regard them with mistrust. And Jews have failed to persuade them, through education, contact & association, that they mean no harm to them, & to their nat. home.

For the Arabs, too, regard Pal. as their nat. home. They have lived there for centuries. It is this fact alone. The B.D. could be easily misunderstood, & deliberately misinterpreted by clerical politicians, so as to ~~look~~ seem in the eyes of naive, in many instances illiterate people of Arab, a scheme to depopulate their homeland.

The Jews have done little to dispel

these fears. Some few misperceptive ^{young} zealots among them, ~~aroused~~ by their ill-considered ~~studies~~ words and writings, ~~even~~ ~~stimulate~~ these fears. Certainly no thoughtful and deliberate program of Arab-J. accord & cooperation was ever worked out. The Arabs were left to the hostile propaganda of their pol. currents and adventures.

6. Now, while it is not easy, it is also not impossible to persuade the Arab people that the Jews are coming to P. not to exploit them but together with them to build up a common ~~to the land~~ ^{new} ~~land~~.

① It is possible and feasible to develop the J. Nat. Home in Pal. in such a pol. form as will recognize the existence of 2 nations in the one territory.

Switzerland & Canada. The Arab people can develop their own nat. life side by side with the J. people. The J. people which for centuries has known the tragedy of homelessness is the last people to displace any people, let alone.

② Certainly, their rel. fears being utterly ungrounded and without any basis in fact, can be allayed by a nat. campaign of education. The fear that J. wish Holy Places - fantastically ancient Respect - Western Wall - Only intolerance -

③ Since coming new J. settlers, Arab has not suffered, but prospered. - whatsoever measure, help the J. but to P. Arab shared in it (Churchill Note). - Arabs have benefited Malania Trauma - Hospitals clinics - economic improvement -

④ The Jew in Pal. today possesses no rights which the Arab does not. He enjoys a fuller measure of freedom than even before under Turkish regime. Not one Arab has been compelled to emigrate because of J. manipulation of the country. The country still sparsely settled -

7. The govt. & Pol. has certainly not failed the
pers. frequently complained of unjust dis-
crimination. But, these grievances were
recently summarized in an article Nathan
Wilkinson. Zuckerman - (Note)

8. No, the Jews, ~~as~~ in spite, the B.D., have fared worse than the Arabs. What does the present situation demand?

First: - The Deliberate action on the part, leaders
of Jews & Arabs to get together, and print a way
out of the present impasse. The Jews will not
retreat. The Arabs will not retreat ^{themselves - really} or long &
accommodation must be found - based on
a clear cut pol. agreement.

Second! The Govt, Pol - must also take
 initiative in helping find the way. In part
 policy can be found — fatal — suspicious
 The Govt. must give evidence that it is in
 earnest about upholders of Nat. Hon - at
 same time - fulfil Am. Nat. claims -
 It can no longer remain neutral, ^{indifferent} it is essentially
hostile - This is the way ^{which leads to} Massacres - and
anarchy. New type slavery - not Nation - exploiters

9. What does present situation demand, from

1. Action. New Men. New Money.

2. Agency.

a great test moment - I read her long
memoir, will not forget.



Js. 49.7-21
51. 1-6.

The Jewish artist may be centuries old but he is creating consciously only in the last half century or less as a Jew. When he comes to depend upon his own background for his material he will assuredly make use of the inspiration the Bible and Jewish history afford him. Glicenstein is thus a pioneer in the field, a worthy pioneer, we need hardly add. He will have his followers.

MYTHS IN PALESTINE

Writing in the Nation of Oct. 16th, 1929, under the title "Myths in Palestine," William Zukerman, a well known newspaper man in both continents who is familiar with the situation in Palestine and with the policies of the English government in the Holy Land has many interesting things to say about Jew, Arab and Englishman and their mutual relations. Mr. Zukerman's summing up of the situation throws a glaring light on the dubious policies of the London and Palestine governments and shows clearly that for the last ten years the London government misled and deceived the Jew and turned the Balfour Declaration into a scrap of paper.

Here is what Mr. William Zukerman has to say on the subject:

That the Wailing Wall should have become the center of the controversy in Palestine is one of the greatest ironies of fate. Modern Jews are, as a people, probably the most advanced in religious thought, and are less than any other people in the world dominated by church dogmas. Zionism, it is true, has somewhat revived old religious dogmas by giving them a new Nationalistic luster, but even at that, most of the young Zionist pioneers going out to Palestine are Socialists and freethinkers, and do not care a hang about a few old stones in a dirty Arab alley in Jerusalem. Even the orthodox rabbis are not

pleased with the attempt at the deification of the Wall. They rightly contend that this is but another form of idolatry, which the Jewish religion has opposed for centuries, and is strictly prohibited by sacred law. In fact, the entire controversy smacks so much of medievalism that no section of Jewish society except some fanatics from Eastern Galicia, living in an atmosphere of the fifteenth century, or some equally fanatic militant Zionist revisionists takes it seriously. Yet this legend of a Jewish Most Holy Place obscures the entire Palestine situation, distorts the Jewish side of the question, and is very likely to bring much mischief in the future.

Still graver is the danger emanating from the other myth, that of the Jewish National Home, for this is a more modern figment in which the entire non-Jewish and even part of the Jewish world still believes. If the latest tragedy in Palestine accomplishes nothing else, it ought at least to prick the bubble of this illusion.

During the past few years Jewish public opinion the world over has been grievously disappointed to find that the Balfour Declaration has been relegated to the museum for famous scraps of paper and that the Jewish National Home is but a fiction.

This disappointment has long since passed the stage of vague dissatisfaction and general displeasure with government action which a restless people like the Eastern Jews are always bound to experience. The Jewish grievances about the National Home have been quite definitely formulated and stated. Of late, Jewish newspapers the world over have published long lists of specific wrongs committed against the "Yishub," i.e., the Jewish settlement in Palestine, and these wrongs have been the subject of several Zionist world con-

William Zuckerman
in The Nation

Even better class officials - balance
of power - suppress not encourage
nat. aspirations -

gresses. The last Congress, which took place at Zurich in August, passed almost entirely in the shadow which these grievances and disappointments have cast upon the Zionist movement.

The specific grievances which have led the Jews to their present doubts about the National Home in Palestine can be grouped under the following headings:

1. The British land policy in Palestine. This policy has been to distribute whatever free crown land there was in Palestine to the Arabs only. The Jews have not received an inch of free land for colonization purposes. They have had to buy, and pay dearly for, every acre that they are cultivating. Even if Palestine was not to be a Jewish National Homeland, the Palestine Jews were entitled to one-fifth of the free land. They received nothing.

2. The immigration policy. Jewish immigration into Palestine is restricted more than into the United States under the quota. Not only are Jews kept out of their National Home, but they are being deported just as other aliens if their political behavior or opinions do not happen to be approved by the administration.

3. The system of unequal taxation under which the Jews pay practically all the taxes of the country.

4. The failure of the administration to employ Jews on public works in Palestine.

5. The failure of the Palestine administration to subsidize sufficiently the Jewish educational and health institutions. Although the Jews are the heaviest taxpayers in Palestine, they are in addition called upon to support largely their own schools, hospitals, and clinics.

6. The failure to engage Jews proportionately in the police and in the military defense of the country. The proportion of Jews in defense forces is

far below the proportion of their population.

7. Above all, the supercilious, snobbish, and even downright anti-Semitic treatment which the Jewish population receives from the British officials of the Palestine administration. In their National Home Jews are being treated as if they were natives of some East-African colony—a treatment to which Jews are not at all accustomed. For even in the lands of their worst persecution the Jews were only hated. They were seldom looked down upon.

These complaints have even reached the House of Commons. In a debate last April Commander Kenworthy said:

For some nine years the Conservative Party has been hostile to the declared policy of successive British governments in Palestine... The flower of the Conservative Party was anti-Semitic with regard to Palestine.—Hansard, April 20, 1929.

In the course of the same debate in H.C. Colonel Wedgwood said: last April

No one could conceive a more unjust taxation than prevails in that country (Palestine) today. It is directed directly against the Jews... The Jews have to pay ten times more on their property than other people pay on similar properties... The Jews pay nearly all the taxation at present... The land in Palestine is locked up. At the present time the effendis own hundreds of thousands of acres of land, and keep it idle. They do not use it; they pay no taxes whatever, and charge the unfortunate Jewish settlers £20 an acre for absolutely raw land that I could get in South Africa for £1 an acre... The Zionist organization pays for the education of the Jews, the immigration of the Jews, research stations, buys the land, and does all the colonization work which in normal countries is done by the government, and the British officials regard

Arabs sold
free land
to J. at
speculative
prices.

Arabs sold
free land
to J. at
speculative
prices.

✓ Jews - 60% land - a dozen of policemen
Trans-Jordan force - frontier. 677 Arabs.
27 Jews.

the care of the Jews, the development of their settlements, their education, and their health as matters which do not concern the government... If you look through the last report on the Palestinian administration, and for 1927, you will find long descriptions of the excellent work done by the British administrators in regard to health, education, research, and so on—all done for the Arabs. There is not one word of what they have done for the Jews.—Hansard, April 30, 1929.

This was said in the House of Commons. The Zionist Congress at Zurich heard complaints more pitiful: "It was easier for a Jew to get into Moscow under the Czars than it is for him to get into the Jewish National Home now." The veteran Zionist leader, M. Ussishkin, made a plea, not that the Jews, like the Arabs, should be given free crown land in Palestine, but that the government should at least regulate the speculative prices which the Jews are being charged for this land. The employment of Jews on public works in Palestine was graphically illustrated by the report of the Zionist-Socialists, that on July 15 four Jewish workmen were engaged on the construction of new Haifa harbor. There were 400 Arabs working on the same job at that time.

Loudest of all, and directly prophetic of the coming tragedy, were the complaints voiced at the congress concerning the defense of the Jewish National Home. Jerusalem, though it has a population 60 per cent Jewish, had only a dozen Jewish policemen. The Trans-Jordan force, which is designed to protect Palestine from invasions of Bedouin Arabs across the frontier, has 677 Arabs, and 27 Jews. And this after the English troops had for reasons of economy been removed from the country, though the Jews had repeatedly warned the authorities of the coming

danger and had begged for protection.

The plain facts of the case show not only that the Balfour Declaration has not given the Jews any special privileges in Palestine, but that its existence has decidedly prejudiced the minds, not only of the Arab leaders, but also of the British officials, against the Jews.

Nor can it be said that the Palestine administration was the only one guilty of such an attitude. It is possible that a friendly Jewish National Home at a strategic point in the Near East would serve well the interests of Great Britain if it were already in existence. But such a home is not there yet, and the establishment of one seems to clash with the larger imperial British interests. To Great Britain Palestine must always remain a part of the greater Arab and Mohammedan world which she cannot afford to antagonize for the sake of the Jews or of some future benefit from a Jewish National Home. In her dealings with Jew and Arab, England will necessarily incline to favor the Arab, not the Jew. To quote Commander Kenworthy, speaking in the British House of Commons, the Balfour Declaration has, during the last ten years, given the Jews the privilege of raising £10,000,000 in hard cash, and put it into our Mandated territory (also to) pick their finest of the young men and girls in their teens and early twenties, physically strong, well educated, to go out as pioneers to drain the swamps, build the roads, cultivate the country, and transform the whole face of the Mandated area.—Hansard, April 30, 1929.

Such "privileges" the Jews would doubtless get without a Declaration and without the promise of a National Home, anywhere in the world where there is waste land to be cultivated. In Russia, where the Jews had no decorative promise of a National Home, 23,000 Jewish families have been settled on the land in the last five years, and

they have received from the government about a million acres of free fertile land in southern Russia and Crimea, apart from almost seven million acres in eastern Siberia.

To assume, then, that the special privileges which the Jews received because of the National Home led to the catastrophe in Palestine is to make the greatest error in the evaluation of this sorry business. All evidence on hand now shows that this was not a spontaneous outburst of the Arab people, but a well-organized plot carefully planned by Arab politicians and by the reactionary Supreme Moslem Council, who used a glittering, meaningless political myth, as they used a similar religious pretext, to incite a fanatical Eastern populace against the introduction of Western civilization in general and against British rule in particular. The Palestine administration with its superciliousness and ill-disguised anti-Jewish attitude has unwittingly or knowingly aided and abetted this agitation, and has emboldened these people to do things which they would never have dared to do had they known that they would meet with a resolute opposition on the part of the government.

Unfortunately, even a certain section of the Zionists unwittingly played into the hands of these plotters with their naive blabber about a Jewish state, a Jewish majority, and other phrases deduced from the Balfour Declaration. In general the Zionist policy of identifying Zionism with the imperial British interests and of relying almost exclusively upon British troops for protection has been a great mistake. Imperial interests are very fickle, and in the twentieth century new colonization enterprises are

not conducted with the aid of garrisons. Nor is it at all necessary for the Jews in Palestine to have recourse to force, British or any other. Their movement is one of peace so obviously in the interest of the native population that it can well afford to appeal to the Arab people even above the heads of their reactionary leaders. The Arab population in Palestine has admittedly gained much from Jewish immigration into Palestine. The Jews have not taken away Arab land. They have colonized desert country at their own expense; they have built colonies and cities; they have drained marshes, introduced sanitation, built roads, started to electrify the country; have begun industry, and established hospitals, clinics, and schools of learning open to all. All this has had a directly beneficial effect on the health, culture, and standard of living of the Arabs. Arab mortality has gone down; the Arab birth-rate has gone up. Palestine has progressed more in the last ten years since the war, as a result of Jewish immigration, than for centuries before. With a record of this kind why should the Jews not have turned to the Arabs for an alliance instead of antagonizing them for the sake of meaningless, glittering myths which yield nothing to themselves, prejudice the minds of many people against them as against lackeys of imperialism, displease even those whose policy they seem to serve, and convert a highly constructive, humanitarian movement into one of politics and religious prejudices? The obvious lesson of the tragedy is that not only the Palestine administration, but Zionism too needs to revise its policy to a considerable extent if catastrophes of this kind are to be avoided in the future.