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Zionism - What it is - what it is not, 1943.

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ZIONISM

WHAT IT IS — WHAT IT IS NOT

The 1st of two lectures on a challenging problem of our day.
October 31st — The Historical Background of Zionism; November 7th —
Principles and Criticisms.

By
Dr. Abba Hillel Silver

At
The Temple

On
Sunday morning, October 31, 1943

One should approach the subject of Zionism from the point of view of Jewish History. For that matter, one should approach every basic Jewish problem from that same point of view. Jewish history covers so large a canvas. One is able to discern in it something definite, recurrent, a certain architectural design. Those who do not know Jewish history fail to observe these patterns, these recurrent patterns of our people's experience are greatly confused when they come to discuss the great Jewish problems, and are greatly confusing when they assume the role of leadership in Jewish life. For leadership in Jewish life must be predicated not necessarily on one's leadership in the non-Jewish world, with one's secular activities, say in business, or in one's profession. Leadership in Jewish life must be predicated upon an understanding of Jewish experience throughout the ages. Prestige and power of wealth are unfortunately not enough for Jewish leadership, nor for that matter pride of opinion or arrogance or the attitudes of judgment which sometimes derive from the possession of high position and great wealth. Frequently those who assume leadership in Jewish life on the basis of some of these things which I have mentioned and/or not on the basis of understanding of Jewish history, prove to be the most narrow minded, the most near-sighted, the most baffling kind of leaders, the most disastrous kind of leaders. One must study a great deal before one presumes to be a guide of the Jewish people. But unfortunately we have many people in our midst who the less they know, the louder they talk... Logic, reason is very sound equipment for everyone. They are needed also to one's approach to Jewish life, Jewish thought.

The primary equipment is knowledge of Jewish history, Jewish experience because Jewish history and Jewish experience possess an inner and unavoidable logic of their own.

On this 4000 year side of the canvas of Jewish history I said one can discern ~~an~~ certain definite recurrent patterns. One must look for them, study them. You come across, for example, if you study Jewish history, a recurrent

pattern such as this - you find a prominent Jew who occupied the highest position in Government, in court, some money, some ruler, perhaps a great financier who controls the finances of the country, who renders great service to the country. He is a good man and he benefits the country and his own Jewish people as a result. The Jewish people bask in his position and in his benevolence. Then something happens. The very high position which he occupies arouses jealousy in court. He is overthrown. He brings disaster upon his entire people. The group suffers for the action of the one. This is a pattern. It recurs over and over again in Jewish history. It is unjust and is not right. The whole Jewish people should not be held responsible for the action of one man.

You may wish to see that pattern changed and you may hope that someday it will be changed. But 2000 years in Jewish History in the diaspora tells you that unfortunately it does not change. 2000 years is a long time.

In the 13th century, in Persia, during the reign of Arghun Khan there lived the famous Jew, Sadud Dawla, an all powerful minister, an eminent physician. He practically controlled the entire finances of the kingdom. The Jews of Persia prospered because Sadud Dawla was important, so much so that one of the Arabs in his day wrote: "Turn Jews, for heaven itself hath turned a Jew." But during a fateful illness of Arghun, this Sadud Dawla is assassinated, and in the court the signal for his assassination resulted in a vast massacre of the Jewish people. This was in the 13th century in Persia.

In the 14th century, in Castile, during the reign of King Peter, we have the famous Jew Samuel B. Meir Ha-Levi who was in charge of the royal finances. He became Protector of the Jews. You will recall that it was he who ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ built the famous synagogue in Toledo at his own cost, which was subsequently turned into a church. His enemies in court conspired against him. He died on the rack. His enormous fortune was confiscated and so were the fortunes of all the Jews in Castile who were also massacred because Samuel b. Meir Ha-Levi had committed the offense of being on one side of a dynastic quarrel.

The same pattern! But you will say that was in the Middle Ages, long ago. This is a new day, a day of science, the rights of man. Those things don't happen to men these days. That pattern doesn't hold good. But unfortunately it does.

Take the 19th Century when men were so liberal. The leading Jews of Europe, the Western Jews in Europe were prominently identified with all the progressive political movements of the day, just because the prophetic tradition of our people seemed always to inspire the best of our people to seek greater justice for all men. They realized that ^{the} development of democracy, meant the extension of freedom, so they became the champions of liberalism, democracy...

But when reaction set in as it always does, the first victims of reaction in politics and economics are not merely great Jews, great liberals, but all Jews. So in the days of Bismarck -- first convocation of an anti-Semitic Congress in Western Europe. That was in Germany. A few years later, in France saw its culmination in the famous Dreyfus Affair. The same pattern is most vividly revealed during the period between the last war and this war. The first victims of the reactionary wave that set in were the Jews. Their rights were abrogated, the rights which they had won, they were annihilated, millions of our people were slain. There is a pattern.

What does this pattern point to, this pattern which recurred in the 13th, 14th, 19th, 20th centuries in Persia, in Spain, Germany, France and elsewhere in the world. What does it point to? It points to the insecure position of a minority group which has no national center to turn to for help or refuge or status. This is an unpleasant fact. One must face unpleasant facts. Comfortable people do not like to be disturbed by warnings of history. They resent those who remind them. They think that it is they and not the impacable fact of Jewish status. Actually it is an impacable fact of the abnormal status which our people retains in the world which is responsible for the pattern. And these comfortable people who don't like to be disturbed, instead of trying to understand the meaning of pattern, and try to correct this status, they become hysterical, they begin to

fight anti-Semitism hysterically which is only the result of a politically unsound status of the Jew, or they fight Zionism, which among other things, seeks to correct the abnormal status of the Jews and to apply the lessons of Jewish history to basic solutions of our problem.

I call your attention to another pattern -- the Jew fighting in opposition to Zionism -- because that, too, is one of those recurrent patterns in Jewish history, and when one remembers that, when one encounters it, one is able to view it in its true perspective.

I have been re-reading a very fine biography in recent weeks, that of Lord Balfour. "Near the end of his days he said that 'on the whole he felt that what he had been able to do for the Jews had been the thing he looked back upon as the most worth his doing'". This man was ^{at} one time in control of the destinies of an empire.

In his biography he also makes this interesting observation: "They (in 1916-17) fought their case under heavy handicaps by comparison with united peoples, such as the Czechs, who were also struggling for recognition of their claims during the Great War. In England the most formidable foes of Jewish nationalism were themselves Jews. In social and political circles especially, the indifference or hostility of the Jewish aristocracy of wealth worked actively against the Zionists. The Cabinet contained the very spear-head of Anglo-Jewish opposition to the Zionist movement, in the person of Mr. Edwin Montagu, Secretary of State for India. Mr. Montagu could not extend to his own people the sympathy he evinced later for nationalism in India. He saw the spectre of anti-Semitism in every country if its Jews permitted themselves to dream of a territorial centre or a national political existence outside their present citizenships. Such aspirations in English Jews he looked upon as traitorous disloyalty to their native land. In the case of Jews living under less happy conditions he believed their relations with the countries of their birth would only be worsened.

"This was not a point of view which ever appealed with great force to the non-Jewish populations of the British Empire, many of whom, for example, the Scotch, are perfectly accustomed to combining strong separate racial consciousness with a wider loyalty."

There is a pattern -- a pattern of opposition to Zionism -- 30 years ago in England, today in the United States, 100 years ago in Germany. Some of the Jews then said: "Berlin is our Jerusalem; Germany is our Zion. We don't have to think any more of racism." Unfortunately that was a unilateral observation. It isn't their own now; it wasn't then, because they are not there any more. I say this in order to help any Jew who wants to think through this thing called Zionism. There is a vast literature on this subject of Zionism and Jews should go to the sources to help them arrive at their decisions. Unfortunately Jews do not study this vast literature. They are experts on it, if you listen to them at the dinner table.

Zionism did not begin yesterday. It did not begin with the modern Zionism movement, nor with its founder in 1897, nor with the first colonies in Palestine in 1882. Zionism is a pattern nearly two thousand years old. The Rabbis say that the day The Temple was destroyed the messianic hope was . Throughout the long, weary centuries the hope of returning to their national home, their effort to rebuild their national life continued. It was a constant, uninterrupted presence. The modern form of Zionism is the most effective form, because it is the most practical expression of that unbroken and undeviating will to national restoration.

And Zionism today is on the eve of fulfillment, and that is why most of its ~~enx~~ friends and enemies have become so active. The Jews are a People. The Jews have always been a people, a nation. Judaism is a religion. But the Jews are a nation.

The Jews came into Palestine a long, long time ago, in the middle of the second millenium B.C., about 3500 years ago. By the 12century of the C.E., they

came into possession of most of Palestine. A century later they were a strong united nation under their Kings David and Solomon. For centuries they lived a great and strong nation, developing a great culture of their own, particularly a great religion and a great moral code. They produced a galaxy of great prophets, great poets, and great literature. During the centuries they made their greatest contribution to civilization in the religious field. That was their unique genius just as the unique genius of the Greeks found expression in Art and philosophy. But the fact that the greatest contribution of the Jews was to religion does not make of the Jewish people a religious sect any more than the contribution of the Greeks to art made them an artists' colony. They were a nation. They were a people. They were a nation.

After the death of King Solomon, the country was divided into two kingdoms. The kingdom of the North, the Kingdom of Israel, survived about 200 years. and was swallowed up by the Persian Empire. The Kingdom of Judah lasted 150 years. Then came the Babylonian Exile. Most of the leaders, the nobility, the entire royal families were exiled. The Temple was destroyed. But the will to survive as a nation does not perish in that disaster at all. By the waters of Babylon they sat down and wept as they remember Zionism and in their exile they declared: If I forget thee, O Jerusalem, my my right arm forget its cunning / ." Their will to return, their hope to return was gratified very quickly, unexpected. The defeat of Babylonia at the hands of the Persians. Cyrus gave the Jews permission to return to Jerusalem in the year 538. The majority of the Jews returned to rebuild their national life. Many remained in Babylon, of course...Palestine was the center of the Jewish people, the national seat of Israel, also the religious seat. And after their return to Judah, for centuries first under Persian rule, and later on under Greek rule, the Jews continued to live as a people.

In the second century, the Jews of Palestine were subjected to persecution under , the ruler of Syria. They were in danger. Their national life was in danger of being extinguished. They revolted. This was the revolt of

the Maccabees. The Jews regained their political independences. For 150 years thereafter they again lived free and independent. Then the Romans who conquered practically the whole world also conquered Juday in 63 B.C. The people lost their independence, but at all their sense of nationhood. They continued to live as a great and creative people among the Romans. When the oppression of the Romans became too great, the Jews revolted again. This great revolt lasted six years until 70 A.D. when the Romans destroyed Jerusalem and burned The Temple. The hope for a Jewish national life did not die. In 115 they revolted again. In 135 they revolted a second time. Hardly a people in history was so patiently devoted to its national survival as the Jewish people.

The population was decimated. Thousands were put to death. Many were put into slavery. Jewish life in Palestine declined although Jewish centers of learning continued in Palestine on a relatively large scale up to the 7th century when we again hear of our people fighting in Palestine for freedom. They clung to that pattern all through their history under Roman, Byzantian, Christian, Turkish, Arab, domination, to this day. They never ceased to think of their national home. The Jewish nation did not cease with the destruction of The Temple in 70 A.D. The Jewish people retained all the characteristics ~~of~~ which they had in Palestine. They retain it to this day. It lacks only one feature. Every other nation of people has a land. The Jewish people has none. And it never surrendered a hope to this day of returning to that land.

That was a sound and normal instinct. And the bitter experience of two thousand years of exile subject to degradation, yellow badges, wandering, only serves to strengthen that hope of some day escaping from the hells of oppression...

The idea that with the dispersion the Jewish people forthwith became a religious denomination like the Catholics, the Baptists, or Budhists is fantastic. Neither Jews nor non-Jews have really ever seriously maintained such a notion. The Jews are considered a people, but unlike every other people, the Jewish people lacked a national home. It is this that is the source of all their trouble.

The effort to return, reconstruct its life in Palestine has been unremitting through the ages, though of necessity it is sharply restricted. The living bond with Palestine has never been broken. The idea of the return, the hope of return was part of every creed. It was entered in to the Prayer Book. Every Jewish festival carried with it something of the aroma, the memories of Palestine. On the eve of that great Festival of Liberation, Passover, our forefathers used to say: "Next year, in Jerusalem". The theme was the theme used in all of our greatest literature, the theme of our greatest poets, Ibn Gabirol, Jehuda Halevi, Bialik, in our own age. The one hope of our people was the messianic hope, the hope of restoration. This is what kept their hopes sustained. In a book which I wrote some years ago, "Messianic Speculations in Israel", I dwelt on this pattern, of how Jews speculated when the Messiah would reappear, when the Jews would have an opportunity to return to their national home. In almost century there arose a pseudo-messiah, a false messiah. Every world crisis whopped into a fevered heat of expectancy this hope of return. All through the Dark Ages when traveling was most difficult, Jews sought opportunities singly or in small groups or in large groups to return.

In the 13th century we have the amazing instance of 300 Rabbis and Disciples of England and France migrating to Palestine...After the terrible expulsion of the Jews from Spain in 1492, many of the Jews began to stream back to the land of their ancestors.

In the 16th century we actually have the first political attempt made to rebuild Palestine. Don Joseph Nasi, the Duke of Naxos who was influential in the Turkish Court tried to restore a Jewish center around Tiberius. The groundwork was laid. Thousands of Jews returned.... And so through the centuries.

Finally came the 19th century, when the movement emerged from the mystic religious field in which it had been in the Middle Ages into the practical political

sphere. Interestingly enough, the first to approach colonization in Palestine were orthodox leaders, Moses Montefiore, . They were motivated by religious and cultural considerations, but also by economic considerations. They wanted to normalize Jewish life, to bring men back to the soil, to take men out of the trades, fly by night activities which many pursued, to normalize the status of the Jews by putting many of back to work on the soil.....

But in the 19th century, the great push towards political action came, strangely enough, from the emancipated and assimilated Jew in Europe who had become disillusioned. With the French Revolution came the spread of the ideals of liberty, equality and fraternity. It seemed for them that the day of brotherhood would return. Why talk about a Jewish people? Why talk about Jewish nationalism? Many people seized upon this motif of liberty, fraternity and equality. Let us assimilate the Jewish problem and fertig, they said. But it didn't last long. This beautiful dream didn't last long. As early as 1840 there was the terrible Damascus Blood Affair, anti-Semitism in Germany, then came the blood pogroms in Russia and the Dreyfus Affair. The thoughtful Jews of Europe came to realize that the whole pattern of Jewish experiences was re-asserting itself.

They began to seek for a basic solution to the problem, the historic solution. basically, They came to realize that the root of all the trouble was that the Jewish people possessed no national seat, no national home. Everywhere they were regarded as aryan. And the solution for national homelessness is the re-establishment of a national home.

Three great thinkers, one from Germany, one from Russia, one from Hungary, a philosopher, a physician, a journalist wrote about Zionism. Moses Hess, of Germany, wrote "and Jerusalem", David Pinsker wrote Auto-Emancipation, and following the pogroms in Russia Theodor Herzl wrote "The Jewish State".

The theme of all these great texts which have become the classic texts of Zionism was national emancipation and restoration as solution the/for Jewish people. Not all Jews

should go to Palestine any more than that all Englishmen should go to England, or all Italians to Italy, or all Frenchmen to France, or all Germans to Germany. There must be a Land of Israel. That would normalize the status of our people in the world. That would make us like every other people not unlike them.

In 1897 Theodore Herzl convoked the first Zionist Congress. It was to be held in Munich, but the German Jews did not want the Congress to be held there in their Fatherland. That was outrageous. You can't bring it here, they said. So the Congress was held in Basle.

I was in Palestine in 1935 when the first boat-load of German refugees came to Palestine and among them were a few young Jews from Munich whose fathers may have been among those who didn't want the Congress to come to Munich. The aim of Zionism ^{is} to create for the Jewish people a Home in Palestine secured by public Law. The progress was slow. Opposition was terrific especially among politically secure and economically secure Jews of Western Europe.

The First World War, in the 20's crowned the efforts of Zionists. The program in Basle received formal approval by one of the greatest political states in the world, Great Britain. On November 2, 1917, great Lord Arthur James Balfour issued the Balfour Declaration which reads:

"His Majesty's Government view with favour the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people, and will use their best endeavors to facilitate the achievement of this object, it being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine, or the rights and political status enjoyed by Jews in any other country."

President Wilson saw this Declaration before it was issued and approved it. In March, 1919 he wrote "that the Allied nations, with fullest concurrence of our Government and people are agreed that in Palestine shall be laid the foundations of a Jewish Commonwealth." This has been the dream of our people through the long centuries, and in 1917, it was finally realized. It received international sanction

and approval and in July, 1922, the Mandate for Palestine was given to Great Britain, the mandate which included the Balfour Declaration, which recognized Palestine as the national home of the Jews, etc. 52 nations approved of it and it was unanimously approved by the Congress of the United States.

That had an electric effect on the Jewish people. In the last twenty years they did more than ever before. A miracle was performed. The population rose from 55,000 to 600,000. Close to 300 colonies have been established. Whole school systems, whole health systems have been established. The land was reforested, reclaimed, a language revived, culture was revived. Into it has gone so much of social vision, so much of enthusiasm. It is fortunate it happened when it did. Palestine was about to take into it some 300,000 refugees during this crisis. Palestine today has thrown itself completely into the war effort. It is one of the most powerful and most dependable front lines of the United Nations in that critical part of the war effort of the United Nations.

I have sketched briefly enough. It is a long story, a fascinating story of background, ~~apptttrttttt~~ pattern. It will help you to understand what ^{it} is you are dealing with.....

The White Paper is latest manifestation of opposition to Palestine as a National Home today....

The Palestine Government has not been very friendly. Palestine today is threatened with the White Paper, to close the doors to Jewish immigration. I am confident that that will not come to be. A few days ago in Washington I had the privilege of meeting one of the really great leaders of America and we discussed the Palestine situation. He used a sentence which assured me. Be confident that a great moral ideal of a great people such as yours can not be permanently defeated.

History repeats itself. Our country is fighting today for freedom. Palestine is entitled to what the Czechs are entitled to, that which every people great and

small is entitled to and is deserving of, and we are no less deserving than any other people. Our tragedy is that of our national homelessness. That chapter is closed. It is possible that with the united effort of our people, of those who understand justice - that is why it is possible -- that chapter will be closed before many years.

My lecture next week will go a little more deeply into the subject of controversy, criticism being made. . . We must discuss why they exist...



ZION

the meal was an evening of Hebrew songs, and Yiddish songs, and Horas, and Supper—truly memorable. The Saturday Morning Service was neither too long for the impatient nor too short for the orthodox; it covered all that was really necessary to be said and a little besides, but never was it monotonous or boring. The temporary "Rav" conducted it well, taking not too long a time, nor rushing too fast.

After the Service, Horas spontaneously sprung up.

to merge into one or two giant circles, embracing Youth enjoying being Jewish. To reinforce the Shabbas atmosphere there was a chicken dinner: such soup, fowls, such preparation all in traditional style, even if it was necessary to queue up as usual for the meal.

There is no doubt that the fresh air and exercise were among the most important benefits of the camp, and never was this principle let slip. There was nearly always some organised recreation—football, table-tennis, cricket, swimming, in which all were able to participate; but at no stage, by any means, was any one forced to take part. "On the contrary," anyone was free to lie in the sunshine, which fortunately held every day, (or the shade for that matter), or to organise his own amusement or exercise. The hike took the camp a few miles around the neighbouring scenery: the beach and creek provided swimming facilities, though unfortunately not the best. An Athletic sports meeting was held on a rough, but serviceable track. It was just for fun, in the right spirit, with many an exciting photo-finish.

The weather was fortunately excellent; hot fine days, clear and dry, with dewy cold nights, full-mooned and stary. Only once did it rain hard, the first night after all had arrived. Ditches were dug round the tents next day.

Food was excellent and plentiful—indeed it was often luxurious, especially for camp fare. However, if anyone was hungry it was usually his own fault; there was always something to eat. Meals were generally well prepared in that not many were badly burnt, and they tasted good; that is the main thing. It was unfortunate that so much food was wasted through spoiling with the heat, but it is at the same time creditable that flies were kept to a minimum and the cookhouse kept clean. Food was kept covered, and rubbish buried at once.

Minor injuries, inevitably quite common, were efficiently treated by the Camp Nurse; any spare time she may have had seems to have been spent in shaving the bearded, thus collecting an appreciable and appreciated sum for the Blue Box. Another great factor in the general success of the camp was the Director's Loud-speaker and Movie Unit. Without this the same detailed assembly of individuals or groups would not have been possible; the bugle-call was also very useful, especially as an eagerly awaited meal-signal.

On first arrival in camp all were awestruck with the tales of hardship told by the "Advance Guard," who erected the tents, and prepared for the arrival of the main body of campers. Further tribute must be paid to all those, whoever they may be, who originated the idea of the camp, and worked for weeks and months before it started; they will have had practical experience by next time. At the end were left the rearguard to clean up the mess, which feat they successfully accomplished in heavy rain. Also among the helpers must be listed Mr. Goodman, on whose farm the camp was held; from his invaluable co-operation and advice in many directions to the gallons of milk, he was appreciated.

From the time they left the railway in the "bus" to Kaiaua till they bussed back ten days later, everyone was happy and proud to have been a camper in the first Camp Zion; an epic event in the history of New Zealand land Zionism, which, it is hoped, will be continued and eagerly awaited annually by the Jewish Youth of this country.

S. FAINE.



Max Shnider conducting service. 4. General view of service in marquee. 7. Max and Arnold after service.

WHAT IS ZIONISM?

From an address delivered at the Temple, Cleveland, Ohio

by **DR. ABBA HILLEL SILVER**

One should approach the subject of Zionism from the point of view of Jewish history. On the millennial canvas of Jewish history one can discern certain **definite and recurrent patterns**. There is, for example, the recurrent pattern of the Jew who comes to occupy a very high position in government. As a rule he is a great financier who renders distinguished service to his monarch or his country. He is a good Jew and is solicitous for the well-being of his fellow-Jews. The Jewish people bask in the sunshine of his exalted office. Then the inevitable happens. Because of his high position and achievements he arouses the sharp jealousy and hatred of other influential people in government circles. They conspire against him. The fact that he is a Jew serves as a powerful offensive weapon in their hands. He is overthrown. And his fall brings disaster upon his entire people!

This is a pattern. It recurs over and over again in Jewish history. You do not find the same pattern among other peoples, unless they, too, are defenseless minorities. And even then it does not hold true to the same extent.

Jews may wish to see that pattern changed. They may hope that someday it will be changed. But 2000 years of Jewish history testify that it does not change. And 2000 years is a very long time . . .

In 13th century Persia, during the reign of Arghun Khan, there lived a court Jew, Sadud Dawla. He was a very powerful minister. He practically controlled the finances of the kingdom. Because of him the position of the Jews of Persia improved to such a degree that one of the Baghdad poets of the day wrote: "Turn Jews, for heaven itself hath turned a Jew!" But Sadud Dawla aroused the enmity of Muslim rivals and during the fateful illness of Arghun, he was assassinated. His death was the signal for a general attack upon the Jews in which many were put to death.

This was in 13th century Persia.

In 14th century Castile, in Spain, during the reign of King Peter, the noted Jew, Samuel b. Meir Ha-Levi, was in control of the royal exchequer. He was enormously influential at court. His position made him the unofficial spokesman and protector of the Jews. He built, at his own cost, the famous synagogue in Toledo which was later converted into a church. But his enemies at court proceeded to undermine his position and he subsequently died upon the rack. His vast fortune was confiscated. The Jews of Castile were then plundered and massacred. Samuel b. Meir Ha-Levi had committed them, by his association with Peter, to one side of a dynastic quarrel, and the opposition unfortunately won.

Here is the same pattern again! Numerous other examples may be adduced. One might argue that all this occurred a long time ago in the dark Middle Ages.

Ours is a new day, an age of enlightenment. Such things do not happen today. The pattern does not hold good any more.

Unfortunately it does!

In the very liberal and advanced 19th century, in Western Europe, some Jews were prominently identified with the progressive political and economic movements of their day. A few of them became leaders in these movements. Enlightened self-interest as well as the immemorial prophetic urge of their race projected them into the very forefront of contemporary progressive and radical movements.

When the reaction finally set in, as it always does, its first victims were the Jews. And not merely those Jews who were actually identified, as leaders, with the liberal movements, but **all Jews**. The reaction in Germany under Bismarck ushered in a bitter anti-Semitic campaign against Jews—all Jews. A similar political and economic reaction in France took the form of violent anti-Semitism and culminated in the famous Dreyfus Affair. The prominence of some Jews in the Russian communist revolution provided text or pretext between the first and second world wars for a vicious and disastrous world-wide propaganda against the entire Jewish people.

Everywhere one may discern the same pattern. Its bloodiest outlines one may see today in Nazi Germany and in every Fascist state in Europe.

THE MEANING OF THE PATTERN.

What does this pattern point to?—this pattern which recurs in the 13th, the 14th, the 19th and the 20th centuries, in Persia, Spain, Germany, France, and everywhere else in the world? It quite clearly and unmistakably points to the insecure and precarious position of a minority group which possesses no national centre to turn to for help or refuge or status. This is an unpleasant fact, but Jews must face the unpleasant facts of their existence. Comfortable people do not like to be disturbed by the warning of history. They resent the people who make them aware of them. When these comfortable people do become disturbed, they do one of two things. They either spend themselves in fighting anti-Semitism which is after all only the effect and not the cause of what ails the Jewish people. Or, out of fear or social prejudice, they set about fighting Zionism, which does apply the lessons of Jewish history to the solution of the problem.

THE PATTERN OF OPPOSITION

Even in the opposition of some Jews to Zionism

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there is traceable, in the last one hundred years, an iterative pattern. In the biography of Lord Balfour, written by his niece, Blanche E. C. Dugdale, one finds this interesting observation: "They (the Zionists, in 1916-17) fought their case under heavy handicaps by comparison with united peoples, such as the Czechs, who were also struggling for recognition of their claims during the Great War. In England the most formidable foes of Jewish nationalism were themselves Jews. In social and political circles especially, the indifference or hostility of the Jewish aristocracy of wealth worked actively against the Zionists. . . . The Cabinet contained the very spear-head of Anglo-Jewish opposition to the Zionist movement, in the person of Mr. Edwin Montagu, Secretary of State for India. Mr. Montagu could not extend to his own people the sympathy he evinced later for nationalism in India. He saw the spectre of anti-Semitism in every country if its Jews permitted themselves to dream of a territorial centre or a national political existence outside

their present citizenships. Such aspirations in English Jews he looked upon as traitorous disloyalty to their native land. . . . This was not a point of view which ever appealed with great force to the non-Jewish populations of the British Empire, many of whom as, for example, the Scotch, are perfectly accustomed to combining strong separate racial consciousness with a wider loyalty."

Here is the pattern of opposition to Zionism! Thirty years ago in England, one hundred years ago in Germany, today in the United States. The same kind of people. The same motives. The same arguments. Even the horrible and shattering experience of the Jews of

Germany who were so confident that Germany was their Fatherland and Berlin their Jerusalem, and whose opposition to Zionism was so thorough-going, has not affected the Zionist opposition in other countries. The pattern remains.

THE NOBLEST PATTERN OF ALL.

But Zionism, too, is an historic Jewish pattern, the noblest and most persistent of all. Zionism did not begin yesterday. It did not begin with the modern Zionist movement, nor with the first Zionist Congress in 1897, nor with the first colonies which were established in Palestine in 1882. Zionism, as a national ideal of restoration, is two thousand years old. Throughout the long, weary centuries the hope of returning to their national home and of being restored as a free people in their own land was never absent from among our people. It was a constant, blessed, sustaining presence. Modern Zionism is the latest practical expression of that unbroke-

ken and undeviating will to national restoration which has persisted through the ages. It is neither recent nor new.

For fifteen centuries and more the Jewish people lived in Palestine as a nation. But never was the strong sense of life and the will to survive wanting among our ancestors. They stubbornly resisted all attempts to submerge, assimilate or annihilate them.

During some of those centuries they made their greatest contribution to civilization in the religious field. Israel's unique genius found its highest expression in the fields of religious and moral idealism; just as the unique genius of the Greeks found expression in art and philosophy. But the fact that the greatest contribution of the Jews was to religion did not make of the Jewish people a religious sect any more than the contribution of the Greeks to art and philosophy made of them an artists' colony or a school of philosophy. The Jews, like the Greeks, were a nation.

WHY I AM A JEW

I am a Jew because, born of Israel and having lost her, I have felt her live again in me, more living than myself.

I am a Jew because, born of Israel and having regained her, I wish her to live after me, more living than in myself.

I am a Jew because the faith of Israel demands of me no abdication of the mind.

I am a Jew because the faith of Israel requires of me all the devotion of my heart.

I am a Jew because in every place where suffering weeps, the Jew weeps.

I am a Jew because at every time when despair cries out, the Jew hopes.

I am a Jew because the word of Israel is the oldest and the newest.

I am a Jew because the promise of Israel is the universal promise.

I am a Jew because, for Israel, the word is not yet completed: men are completing it.

I am a Jew because, for Israel, Man is not created: men are creating him.

I am a Jew because, above the nations and Israel, Israel places Man and his Unity.

I am a Jew because, above Man, image of the divine Unity, Israel places the divine Unity, and its divinity.

Edmond Fleg.

Whenever disaster threatened their national existence, they found inner strength to surmount it. The destruction of Temple and country in the 6th century B.C., and the exile of the best part of Israel to Babylonia did not result in the death of the nation. By the rivers of Babylon they sat down and wept as they remembered Zion and in their exile they vowed: "If I forget thee, O Jerusalem, may my right hand forget her cunning."

The Jewish people lost its land. But it never surrendered the hope that some day it would return to its land. The bitter experiences of two thousand years of exile, outlawry, ghettos and massacres only served to re-enforce that hope.

THE HOPE OF RETURN.

The hope of return became part of the Jews' creed. It echoed through the pages of his Prayer Book. His festivals were redolent of memories and hopes of Palestine. On the eve of the great Festival of Liberation, Passover, our fathers would offer the fervent prayer: "Next year, in Jerusalem!" It was the theme of our greatest literary productions from the glorious poetry of Ibn Gabirol and Jehuda Halevi to Bialik and the remarkable galaxy of Hebrew writers of the last generation.

THE LAST PHASE

In the 19th century, this age-old national aspiration finally entered the phase of political organization and practical action.

The Damascus Affair of 1840 linked up with the wide-spread reaction after the Revolution in 1848, the Mortara Affair in Italy, the Christian-Socialist movement in the era of Bismark, the Tisza-Eszlar Affair in Hun-

gary, the revival of the blood accusation in Bohemia, the pogroms in the eighties in Russia, "La France Juive" and the Dreyfus Affair in France. They realized that the immemorial problem of the national homelessness of the Jewish people was the principal source of the Jewish millennial tragedy and that it remained as stark and as menacing as ever. It simply could not be circumvented by wishful thinking or pleasant day-dreaming nor by any fervid pledges by Jews of their patriotic devotion to the lands of their birth or adoption, nor even by complete self-effacement.

These disillusioned Jews began to look for the basic solution of the problem and they soon rediscovered it. Fundamentally the root of all the trouble was that the Jewish people was a nationally homeless people in the world and the only solution for national homelessness is a national home.

Three great thinkers from among the intellectual circles of Westernized European Jewry formulated this new insight and conviction. Their books have become the classic texts of modern Zionism. Moses Hess, in Germany, wrote "Rome and Jerusalem." Leon Pinsker, following the pogroms in Russia, wrote "Auto-Emancipation." Theodor Herzl, following the Dreyfus Affair, wrote "The Jewish State." The theme common to all three is emancipation through national restoration. Not that all Jews should return to Palestine any more than that all Englishmen living in all parts of the world should return to England, or all Frenchmen to France, or all Germans to Germany. But there is an England, a France and a Germany. So must there be a Land of Israel in order that the status of the Jewish people might be normalized throughout the world. Politically the Jewish people must become, like every other people, possessed of an independent life in a national home.

ZIONISM

In 1897, Theodore Herzl convoked the first Zionist Congress. It was to have been held in Munich. But the Jews of Munich did not want the Congress held in their midst for fear that it would reflect unfavourably upon their German patriotism. . . . So the Congress was held in Basle, Switzerland.

At Basle the official Zionist platform was adopted: "The aim of Zionism is to create for the Jewish people a Home in Palestine secured by public law."

Within twenty years of the organization of modern political Zionism the movement received formal approval at the hands of the greatest empire on earth—Great Britain. It received the Balfour Declaration on November 2, 1917.

THE NEW ERA—BUILDING.

Thus a new era in Jewish history was ushered in. The long-deferred hope of national restoration was set on its way to full realization. The great day had finally dawned. The unheeding world had at last heeded the cry of the homeless people. The Jewish people threw itself into the work of upbuilding its national home with incomparable zeal and enthusiasm. The task was enormous—untrained hands, inadequate means, overwhelming difficulties. Nevertheless the record of pioneering

achievement of the Jewish people in Palestine in the twenty years between two world wars, the story of their heroic labours and sacrifices and their courageous experimentation have received the acclaim of the entire world. A veritable miracle of colonization was performed. The Jewish population increased from 55,000 to 600,000. Close to 300 colonies were established. Social vision and high human idealism went into the planning and structure of many of them. Some 2,000 factories and 4,000 small workshops were opened. The waters of the Jordan were harnessed for electric power. The Dead Sea was made to yield up its vast chemical resources. Barren hills and valleys were reafforested. Marshes were drained. A splendid educational system was developed, crowned by the Hebrew University on Mt. Scopus. A modern health service was established throughout the country.

It was fortunate indeed for the Jewish people that a Jewish

Palestine was available, readied and prepared by the labour of these Jewish pioneers, when the horrible Hitler persecutions swept over European Jewry. For that little country was able to absorb more than 300,000 refugees from Germany and Central Europe. Today Jewish Palestine is again vindicating its claim to full life and national freedom by the extraordinary contributions which it is making to the war effort of the United Nations. Some 23,000 young Palestinian Jews have volunteered for service in the armies of the United Nations, and the civilian population is engaged in an all-out effort to back up the fighting armies in the Near East by providing them with

אֲשֶׁר הָיָא צֶעֶת נוֹיִם, וְיִסָּר סִתְּפוֹת עַרְוִיִּים:
בָּקָם עָלֵינוּ אָהֶם רָשָׁע גָּזַר וְדָוִן מִנְּרַע עֲקָלָק
(פִּיּוֹם לַפּוּרִים) (Purim hymn)
Who made the council of the Gentiles void,
And frustrated the thoughts of the cunning,
When against us rose a wicked, vicious
Man of the stock of Amalek.



Purim symphony. Yemenite girls in traditional garb. (Photo Alexander)

הַיָּמִים הָאֵלֶּה נִזְכָּרִים וְנִשְׁמָרִים בְּכָל דּוֹר וָדּוֹר
(אֶסְתֵּר ט, כה)
And that these days should be remembered and kept throughout every generation... (Esther 9, 28)

תִּמְנוֹת בַּחֲבוּשֵׁת פִּירִים.

many vital supplies and services.

THE ARGUMENT FROM FEAR

There are Jews who fear—and fear is the real reason behind most of the opposition to Zionism—that if a Jewish national home is once established, anti-Semitism will say to the Jews: "Go back to Palestine!" "Go back to your own country!" They will have a good excuse for expelling the Jews. But anti-Semitic governments have never waited for such an excuse to expel the Jews. Through all the long and dreadful centuries up to these days of Adolf Hitler, Jews have been driven from one country to another in spite of the fact that they had no national home to which to go. Our enemies never waited for the establishment of a Jewish national home before they began their agitation to drive out the Jews. The contrary is probably true. Had there been a Jewish national home to which to go. Our enemies never wait—have taken place. Had there been in existence a Jewish state wherein the nationals of other states lived and with which other states carried on commerce and trade, the attitude of those other states to the Jews living in their midst would probably have been dictated by considerations of national policy, trade interests, and reciprocity.

THE ARGUMENT OF DUAL ALLEGIANCE

Some Jews feel that with the establishment of a Jewish Commonwealth in Palestine, they, in the United States, or the Jews of England or of other countries will be charged with dual allegiance. Here again it should be pointed out that the enemies of our people have not waited for the establishment of a Jewish state before they began to charge the Jews with disloyalty and lack of patriotism. In fact they seized on the fact of the absence of a Jewish national centre—on the fact of Jewish national homelessness—as a most powerful argument in their anti-Semitic campaigns. The Jew, they clamoured, has no roots anywhere. He is an internationalist. He has a secret international organization—"The Elders of Zion"—to which he owes allegiance. He, the mysterious, the sinister Jew without a country of his own, is conspiring to overthrow all governments in order to put himself in power and rule the world.

The right thinking American knows that the desire of the Irish in America to help in the establishment of a Free Ireland, to which they devoted themselves so energetically, or the desire of the Czechs or Poles, to help establish a Free Czechoslovakia or a Free Poland did not in any way impair their loyalty to America. No one ever accused them of dual allegiance. In fact Americans applauded their movements, in the same way as they are applauding the effort of American Jews to rebuild a free Jewish Palestine.

In this connection the words of the late Justice Louis D. Brandeis come to mind: "Let no American imagine that Zionism is inconsistent with Patriotism. Multiple loyalties are objectionable only if they are inconsistent. A man is a better citizen of the United States for being also a loyal citizen of his state, and of his city; for being loyal to his family, and to his profession or trade; for being loyal to his college or his lodge. . . . Every American Jew who aids in advancing the Jewish settlement in Palestine, though he feels that neither he nor his descendants will ever live there, will likewise be a better man and a better American for doing so."

THE ARAB ARGUMENT

It has also been argued that the establishment of the Jewish Commonwealth in Palestine is unfair to the Arabs. The Jews would take away a country which belongs to the Arabs. The Jews will majorize the Arabs and will deprive them of their rights. Dr. Carl Hermann Voss of the Christian Council on Palestine has recently replied to this form of Arab propaganda which some Jews seem to have absorbed in these words:

"The Arab population in Palestine did not begin to grow until the 1880's. In fact, a careful analysis of the present Palestinian population would show that about 75 per cent of the Arabs are either immigrants themselves or descendants of persons who immigrated into Palestine during the last 100 years, for the most part in the last 61 years since 1882.

"That latter date of 1882 is significant because it is the date on which Jewish immigration into Palestine began. Prior to Jewish immigration, Palestine was an area of desolate countryside and dilapidated towns, and during the whole period of Arab life in Palestine the country showed scarcely a single Arab achievement. In the war to liberate Palestine in 1917-18 the Palestinian Arabs did little to overthrow their Turkish rulers. They neither tilled the soil nor fought for its redemption. Arab interest in Palestine began with its restoration by the Jews, and Arabs have benefited greatly by the establishment of the Jewish national home."

Out of the last war the Arabs gained freedom and independence from the Turks. As a result of the efforts of the Allies, three independent Arab states were established—Iraq, Transjordan and Saudi-Arabia. Realizing that the Arabs would have their national aspirations satisfied after the war by the establishment of a number of Arab states and that these states would have land areas so large that it would take them centuries to develop them, and realizing also that the Jews stood in desperate need of a place of refuge for their people, the Allies reserved "the tiny notch" of Palestine, as Balfour called it, for the Jews. In the Balfour Declaration there is no mention of establishing in Palestine an Arab national home. Only a Jewish national home is mentioned in which the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities are fully protected.

In fact there are no Arabs on the face of the earth more prosperous than the Arabs of Palestine. The prosperity of Palestine will stimulate and, in the course of time will come to depend upon the prosperity of all the adjacent Arab countries.

It is the Jews of Palestine who are the true pro-Arabs. The Jews of Palestine wish to work in complete friendship and cooperation with the Arabs—but not at the sacrifice of their national rights.

ZIONISM—SOUND AND JUST.

The critics of Zionism cannot make out a valid case. Fear is behind most of their reasoning. The Jewish people has never taken counsel of fear. The Zionist movement has now entered upon its final phase of fulfillment. It is incumbent upon all faithful Jews to become acquainted with the facts and not to permit themselves to be influenced by catch-words, slogans, rumours and prejudices.

Zionism is a sound and just ideal. As such it is inevitable!

At the request of the Jewish Agency, WIZO has undertaken to set up day creches and kindergartens for hundreds of children below school age inside the immigrants' camp. This is a large scale enterprise; the equipment of the institutions and the maintenance of the children will amount to thousands of pounds. The being carried out within the framework of the Immigrant Welfare Bureau of the Vaad Leumi and in co-operation with the Women's Workers' Council. Day Creches for babies from six months up to kindergarten age have so far been set up under the scheme in four camps—at Kiriath Motzkin, Tel-Mond, Raanana and Ramat Gan—as well as a kindergarten at the Kiriath Motzkin Camp.

THE CAMP FOR YEMENITE CHILDREN

By M. Turnovsky-Pinner.

Scarcely three months have passed since we paid a visit to the Yemenite tent-camp at Kiriath-Motzkin, and the impressions it left are still vivid. I still can see those small over-crowded cone-shaped tents; those women and children—swarms of children, filthy and neglected: the sickly fly-covered baby in the tin-tub; the scrofulous three-year-old playing with a water-tap, all wet and dirty; the new-born infant on the bare ground whom his mother, crouching by him in the sand, is wrapping in rags; the girl of twelve, loafing idly about with no other desire but children of her own, for didn't her mother have a baby at thirteen? We went from tent to tent, and everywhere we met, shy or trustful, those dark grave eyes of the children. . . The more we saw and heard, the stronger grew our conviction that things couldn't be left as they were. These children, we told ourselves, may become an asset to our country—or else a drag on it, spreading disease and degradation; they have innate good qualities—patience and intelligence—usefully developed, or may degenerate into laziness and unscrupulousness; their fundamentally tough character may be weakened through neglect. And the women need help no less than the children. In Yemen they had had their home and their household—run for centuries on the same traditional lines—to fill their life; here in these temporary tent-dwellings no orderly housekeeping is possible; their energies which could be used for breadwinning work, are going to waste. The complete rehabilitation of the Yemenite families requires of the women to help earn a livelihood, and work can be found for them. But there is no one to look after the children and the mothers have to stay at the camp to take care of the little ones, which they do badly because they do not know any better—doubly inefficiently under the difficult and unfamiliar conditions of camp life.

Something had to be done about the children.

And now we have come to the camp once again. As last time, it is a week-day morning and the men are all away to work. It is late in summer and still hot. As then, the light-grey tents on the bare sandy plane are sharply outlined against the sky. Yet the whole picture is different—the camp is empty, except for a few women and now and then a child around the tents. Only at the hour of the mid-day meal do children come into sight—at first a group of 2-3-year-olds shepherded to the dining-room, and after a while the older ones who by then are back from school. The babies and infants crawling about in the sand, who last time were such a prominent feature of the camp scene, are nowhere to be seen. Things have been moving fast indeed since our last visit!

For some time now the 40 children of school age have been attending special classes at Kiriath-Mayim, where they are taught Hebrew and coached in the school subjects of their age so as to prepare them for the regular school. Only in exceptional cases were children of school age left at home—those with still unhealed eyes or that 12-year-old girl, for instance, who declared that she was too old for school and preferred to get married. All the others have their lessons in the morning and come back to camp for their mid-day meal, sent down daily for all the children from the central kitchen of the Keren Hasanah in Haifa. The children are seated at long well-scrubbed tables in the special dining-hall erected for the immigrants by the Jewish Agency. Every child has its own bowl, fork and spoon, and it is a pleasure to note how quickly these little Orientals have adopted Western table manners and got used to the Western food, which is gradually putting some fat and muscle upon their emaciated bodies. In the afternoons the boys, according to Yemenite tradition, study the Torah and the Talmud with a teacher who had taught already back in Sana.

As to the 20 children of pre-school age, there are only the beginnings of a kindergarten for them so far. Furniture, as well as education and play equipment, are still lacking. Yet in the old camp barracks, a special room has been set aside for them, where they play under the supervision of a kindergarten teacher and receive adequate meals. This is already a big step forward towards orderly pre-school education.



Yemenite immigrant children in the care of a WIZO Kindergarten in the Yemenite settlement Kfar Marmorek near Rehovoth.

ההסתדרות הציונית בצרפת --- ציונים כללים

LA VOIX SIONISTE

Bulletin de l'Organisation Sioniste de France
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כ"סיון תש"ה

1^{er} JUIN 1945

Qu'on en finisse...

On a du mal à le croire. Et pourtant c'est vrai ! Au cœur de Paris des fascistes ont parcouru les rues en criant : « Les Juifs au four crématoire... » Dix jours après sa défaite totale, la bête nazie commence à relever la tête. Il y aura peut-être de nouveau des gens qui diront « Au fond, il ne s'agit que de Juifs... », ou encore « N'exagérons rien, il ne s'agit que de cas isolés... »

Malheureusement les choses sont plus graves que jamais.

En 1933, Hitler commençait par les persécutions des Juifs. On a dit alors : « C'est là une question qui ne regarde que l'Allemagne ». En même temps la Cagoule et les bandes de Bucard, Doriot, Darnand ou de Brinon préparaient la défaite de la France. Auxiliaires de Hitler, ils ont plongé la France dans la

douleur et dans l'abîme. Aujourd'hui les gens de la trahison, qui ont échappé au châtiement bien mérité, cherchent à reprendre les positions perdues et, comme il y a douze ans, ils commencent par des manifestations anti-juives. Mais entretemps il y a eu Oradour-sur-Glane et Dachau, où à côté de millions de Juifs, des centaines de milliers de Français ont péri.

Il est donc temps de sonner l'alerte. Le Gouvernement de la République doit montrer qu'il est décidé à mettre fin aux agissements des nazis français. Quant à nous, Juifs et Sionistes, nous avons reçu une leçon trop coûteuse de la « morale nazie », et nous sommes décidés à défendre notre vie par tous les moyens.

LA VOIX SIONISTE.

LE SIONISME

Ce qu'il est... Ce qu'il n'est pas...



Pour bien comprendre le problème du Sionisme, on devrait se placer au point de vue de l'histoire juive, et

par le Dr. Abba Hillel SILVER

pour la même raison on devrait considérer chaque question juive importante sous cet angle.

L'histoire juive s'étend sur un temps tellement long qu'il est possible d'y discerner certains phénomènes déterminés et périodiques. Ceux qui ignorent l'histoire juive et qui ont manqué d'observer ces phénomènes, éprouvent de grandes difficultés s'ils doivent discuter des problèmes juifs. Ceci est particulièrement vrai pour des hommes qui assument des responsabilités dans la vie juive. Dans ce cas le manque de clarté peut entraîner des conséquences sérieuses pour le peuple juif.

Pour jouer un rôle prépondérant dans la vie juive, il n'est pas suffisant de posséder une réputation établie dans le monde non-juif, ni d'avoir

(suite en 2 page)

Notre deuxième Conseil National

par SAM SEGAL

Six mois se sont écoulés depuis notre VI^e Congrès National qui était en même temps le premier depuis la Libération.

Nous voici au deuxième Conseil National, le premier depuis la Victoire. Nous n'avons pas perdu de temps pendant ces mois. Nous avons suivi le chemin tracé par le Congrès, et nous avons réalisé graduellement ses décisions visant la reconstruction de la vie sioniste en France.

Aujourd'hui, nous pouvons modestement faire le point. Sur le plan du travail d'organisation nous avons fait des progrès remarquables. Une poignée d'hommes a commencé le travail, sans local, sans presse. Aujourd'hui, dans un local splendide au cœur de Paris notre mouvement a un appareil d'organisation qui fonctionne et assure la direction nationale.

Des sections ont été créées dans toutes les villes de France où existe une communauté juive. Depuis quelques semaines paraît « La Voix Sioniste », organe bi-mensuel, et qui, nous l'espérons, deviendra très prochainement hebdomadaire.

Les membres du Comité Central ont visité la plupart des villes de France. Chaque visite de nos délégués a donné lieu à des manifestations imposantes en faveur du Sionisme et de la reconstruction de l'Etat Juif en Palestine.

D'autre part, nous poursuivons avec persévérance un travail politique sans relâche. Il est encore trop tôt pour parler des résultats obtenus, mais nous espérons pouvoir bientôt soumettre à l'opinion publique juive et sioniste les buts politiques que nous

(suite en 2^e page.)

Handwritten note:
faints
section
with best
regards from
Paris, for
Shalom

Notre deuxième Conseil National

(Suite de la 1^{re} page.)

Par Sam SEGAL

nous sommes fixés et dont l'étendue l'étonnera, ainsi que les résultats que nous atteignons graduellement.

Sur le plan social nous sommes activement présents partout où nous pouvons contribuer à la reconstruction de la vie sociale des Juifs en France.

Quant au travail culturel, un centre d'édition, qui est à ses débuts, s'occupe de la publication d'œuvres sionistes, de cours d'histoire et de Palestinographie.

Malheureusement, faute de moyens matériels, nous ne pouvons réaliser nos grands projets dans leur totalité.

Je dois encore mentionner la propagande. Les Sionistes Généraux sont seuls à faire une propagande sioniste sur grande échelle. Diverses manifestations publiques, dont la grandiose manifestation du 15 mai avec la participation de Ben Gourion, Marc Sangnier, Marius Moutet, Maître de Moro-Giafferi, etc., montrent que les organisateurs sont sur la bonne voie. Les adhésions affluent, notre Organisation se développe. En un mot, nous marchons en avant, et occupons à l'heure actuelle une place importante dans la vie juive et sioniste en France.

Allons-nous nous contenter de ce bilan satisfaisant ? Non, sans doute !

Le Conseil National se trouve devant de nouvelles tâches et devra prendre de nouvelles décisions conformes à la situation actuelle. Nous sommes témoins d'une recrudescence d'antisémitisme. Nous, Sionistes, nous n'avons jamais été grisés par la victoire et nous avons toujours averti les masses juives du danger qui continuera à peser sur nous dans tous les pays où nous formons une minorité, aussi longtemps que nous ne pourrons nous appuyer sur un Etat national à nous en Palestine. Mais il ne s'agit pas seulement de dire : Nous avons raison. Sans doute le Sionisme eut toujours raison, mais maintenant il faut agir. Il faut penser à défendre notre vie. Nous avons appris pendant ces dernières cinq années, ce que signifie : « se laisser faire » et ne pas se défendre. Nous sommes décidés à défendre notre vie par tous les moyens. Le Conseil National devra se pencher sérieusement sur ce problème, et tâcher de lui trouver une solution.

La situation politique de la Palestine sera sans doute une préoccupation

très grave pour nos délégués de toutes les villes de France.

Les événements de Syrie et du Liban, la recrudescence de la terreur arabe en Palestine, et le problème du futur statut politique de la Palestine, nous demandent une prise de position d'une vigueur extrême.

Il faudra également mettre, une fois pour toutes, un terme à la question du CODI qui prétend s'appeler Organisation Sioniste de France. Le CODI, dans sa composition actuelle, ne donne satisfaction à personne. Il ne repose sur aucune base légale, et nous sommes étonnés de voir certaines personnes s'entêter à maintenir son existence contre la volonté des masses sionistes.

L'heure est trop grave pour que nous nous permettions des discordes. Le CODI, étant un sujet de discorde,

doit céder la place le plus rapidement possible à un organisme coordinateur qui groupera autour de lui toutes les bonnes volontés pour un travail sioniste en commun.

Il y a encore le problème de nos enfants, de nos déportés qui reviennent, malheureusement en petit nombre, du Héhaloutz, de l'Aliyah, etc...

C'est donc en se basant sur la gravité de l'heure, que nos délégués au Conseil National doivent marquer par leurs décisions lucides et fermes, le début d'une nouvelle période dans le travail sioniste en France. La période de regroupement et de réorganisation est close; une période de lutte et de réalisations commence. C'est sous ce signe que nous disons aux délégués venus de tous les coins de France :

« Soyez les bienvenus et bon courage ».

LE SIONISME

Ce qu'il est — ce qu'il n'est pas

(Suite de la 1^{re} page.)

par le Dr. Abba Hillel SILVER

réussi dans les affaires ou dans une profession. Le droit d'occuper une place exposée dans la vie juive doit être basé sur une profonde compréhension des expériences que le peuple juif a faites à travers les âges. Prestige ou richesse ne sont point assez pour justifier une fonction responsable dans la vie juive ; il ne suffit pas non plus de croire son propre jugement infaillible ou d'être très sûr de ses opinions, parce qu'on occupe une position élevée ou parce que l'on est très fortuné. On a vu des hommes qui ont assumé des responsabilités dans la vie juive sans avoir acquis la compréhension de l'histoire juive, et sans être capable d'en appliquer les enseignements à la situation présente. Mais souvent on a vu aussi que les effets de leur action étaient désastreux. Même être capable d'un raisonnement sain et logique, élément évidemment indispensable pour quiconque prétend conduire des hommes, ne saurait suffire, car la vie juive suit une logique inhérente bien caractéristique à elle.

Phénomènes historiques périodiques.

Nous avons dit que le cours millénaire de l'histoire juive recèle certains phénomènes déterminés et pé-

riodiques. Il y a, par exemple, celui du Juif qui réussit à occuper une position très élevée dans l'administration. Il s'agit, d'ordinaire, d'un grand financier qui rend de signalés services à son souverain ou à son pays. C'est un bon Juif et qui fait preuve de beaucoup de sollicitude à l'égard du bien-être de ses coreligionnaires. Le peuple juif est heureux et tranquille. Et puis, l'inévitable se produit. A cause de sa position élevée et de ses succès, le Juif influe l'aigre jalousie et la haine d'autres personnalités des milieux gouvernementaux. Une conspiration s'ourdît contre lui; le fait qu'il est juif se transforme en puissante arme d'attaque contre lui. Il est éliminé et sa chute attire le malheur sur tout son peuple ! Voilà un phénomène caractéristique et qui se reproduit tout au long de l'histoire juive.

On ne rencontre pas un phénomène analogue chez d'autres peuples, à moins qu'ils ne soient, eux aussi, des minorités sans défense, et, même alors, il n'atteint pas la même importance.

(A suivre).

ZIONISM

What It Is . . . What It Is Not

DR. ABBA HILLEL SILVER



Two addresses delivered at the Temple, Cleveland, Ohio



WHAT ZIONISM IS

One should approach the subject of Zionism from the point of view of Jewish history. For that matter, one should approach every basic Jewish problem from that same point of view. Jewish history covers so large a canvas that one is able to discern in it certain definite, recurrent patterns. Those who do not know Jewish history and fail to observe these patterns are greatly confused when they come to discuss Jewish problems. Especially is this true of men who assume leadership in Jewish life. Here confusion may result in serious consequences for the Jewish people.

Leadership in Jewish life should be predicated not upon a man's acknowledged leadership in the non-Jewish world, or upon his outstanding success in business, or in a profession. Leadership in Jewish life should be predicated upon a thorough understanding of Jewish experience throughout the ages. Prestige or wealth are unfortunately not enough for Jewish leadership, nor pride of opinion or arrogance of judgment which sometimes spring from high position or great wealth. Frequently men who assume leadership in Jewish life on a basis other than that of an understanding of history and a skill in using it as a guide in present situations prove to be the most baffled and disastrous of leaders. Even the capacity to think logically and soundly, which is certainly indispensable equipment for any leadership is not enough. For Jewish experience possesses an inner and peremptory logic all of its own.

THE RECURRENT PATTERNS

On the millennial canvas of Jewish history one can discern certain definite and recurrent patterns. There is, for example, the recurrent pattern of the Jew who comes to occupy a very high position in government. As a rule he is a great financier who renders

distinguished service to his monarch or his country. He is a good Jew and is solicitous for the well-being of his fellow-Jews. The Jewish people bask in the sunshine of his exalted office. Then the inevitable happens. Because of his high position and achievements he arouses the sharp jealousy and hatred of other influential people in government circles. They conspire against him. The fact that he is a Jew serves as a powerful offensive weapon in their hands. He is overthrown. And his fall brings disaster upon his entire people!

This is a pattern. It recurs over and over again in Jewish history. You do not find the same pattern among other peoples, unless they, too, are defenseless minorities. And even then it does not hold true to the same extent.

Jews may wish to see that pattern changed. They may hope that someday it will be changed. But 2000 years of Jewish history testify that it does not change. And 2000 years is a very long time. . . .

In 13th century Persia, during the reign of Arghun Khan, there lived a court Jew, Sadud Dawla. He was a very powerful minister. He practically controlled the finances of the kingdom. Because of him the position of the Jews of Persia improved to such a degree that one of the Baghdad poets of the day wrote: "Turn Jews, for heaven itself hath turned a Jew!" But Sadud Dawla aroused the enmity of Muslim rivals and during the fateful illness of Arghun, he was assassinated. His death was the signal for a general attack upon the Jews in which many were put to death.

This was in 13th century Persia.

In 14th century Castile, in Spain, during the reign of King Peter, the noted Jew, Samuel b. Meir Ha-Levi, was in control of the royal exchequer. He was enormously influential at court. His posi-

tion made him the unofficial spokesman and protector of the Jews. He built, at his own cost, the famous synagogue in Toledo which was later converted into a church. But his enemies at court proceeded to undermine his position and he subsequently died upon the rack. His vast fortune was confiscated. The Jews of Castile were then plundered and massacred. Samuel b. Meir Ha-Levi had committed them, by his association with Peter, to one side of a dynastic quarrel, and the opposition unfortunately won.

Here is the same pattern again! Numerous other examples may be adduced. One might argue that all this occurred a long time ago in the dark Middle Ages. Ours is a new day, an age of enlightenment. Such things do not happen today. The pattern does not hold good any more.

Unfortunately it does!

In the very liberal and advanced 19th century, in Western Europe, some Jews were prominently identified with the progressive political and economic movements of their day. A few of them became leaders in these movements. Enlightened self-interest as well as the immemorial prophetic urge of their race projected them into the very forefront of contemporary progressive and radical movements.

When the reaction finally set in, as it always does, its first victims were the Jews. And not merely those Jews who were actually identified, as leaders, with the liberal movements, but *all* Jews. The reaction in Germany under Bismarck ushered in a bitter anti-Semitic campaign against Jews—all Jews. A similar political and economic reaction in France took the form of violent anti-Semitism and culminated in the famous Dreyfus Affair. The prominence of some Jews in the Russian communist revolution provided text or

pretext between the first and second world wars for a vicious and disastrous world-wide propaganda against the entire Jewish people.

Everywhere one may discern the same pattern. Its bloodiest outlines one may see today in Nazi Germany and in every Fascist state in Europe.

THE MEANING OF THE PATTERN

What does this pattern point to?—this pattern which recurs in the 13th, the 14th, the 19th and the 20th centuries, in Persia, Spain, Germany, France, and everywhere else in the world? It quite clearly and unmistakably points to the insecure and precarious position of a minority group which possesses no national center to turn to for help or refuge or status. This is an unpleasant fact, but Jews must face the unpleasant facts of their existence. Comfortable people do not like to be disturbed by the warnings of history. They resent the people who make them aware of them. In some confused way they come to think that it is the people who remind them of the facts and not the implacable facts themselves, which are responsible for their unhappiness. When these comfortable people do become disturbed, they do not, as a rule, make an effort to understand the meaning of such an age-old diaspora pattern, nor do they inquire as to what can be done about it. They do one of two things. They either spend themselves in fighting anti-Semitism which is after all only the effect and not the cause of what ails the Jewish people. Or, out of fear or social prejudice, they set about fighting Zionism, which does attempt to face the underlying cause of the things they complain of, which does view with open eyes the historic pattern, and does apply the lessons of Jewish history to the solution of the problem.

Sic

THE PATTERN OF OPPOSITION

Even in the opposition of some Jews to Zionism there is traceable, in the last one hundred years, an iterative pattern. In the biography of Lord Balfour, written by his niece, Blanche E. C. Dugdale, one finds this interesting observation: "They (the Zionists, in 1916-17) fought their case under heavy handicaps by comparison with united peoples, such as the Czechs, who were also struggling for recognition of their claims during the Great War. In England the most formidable foes of Jewish nationalism were themselves Jews. *In social and political circles especially, the indifference or hostility of the Jewish aristocracy of wealth worked actively against the Zionists.* . . . The Cabinet contained the very spear-head of Anglo-Jewish opposition to the Zionist movement, in the person of Mr. Edwin Montagu, Secretary of State for India. Mr. Montagu could not extend to his own people the sympathy he evinced later for nationalism in India. He saw the spectre of anti-Semitism in every country if its Jews permitted themselves to dream of a territorial centre or a national political existence outside their present citizenships. Such aspirations in English Jews he looked upon as traitorous disloyalty to their native land. . . . This was not a point of view which ever appealed with great force to the non-Jewish populations of the British Empire, many of whom as, for example, the Scotch, are perfectly accustomed to combining strong separate racial consciousness with a wider loyalty."

Here is the pattern of opposition to Zionism! Thirty years ago in England, one hundred years ago in Germany, today in the United States. The same kind of people. The same motives. The same arguments. Even the horrible and shattering experience of the Jews of Germany who were so confident that Germany was their Fatherland and Berlin their Jerusalem, and whose opposition to Zionism

was so thorough-going, has not affected the Zionist opposition in other countries. The pattern remains.

THE NOBLEST PATTERN OF ALL

But Zionism, too, is an historic Jewish pattern, the noblest and most persistent of all. Zionism did not begin yesterday. It did not begin with the modern Zionist movement, nor with the first Zionist Congress in 1897, nor with the first colonies which were established in Palestine in 1882. Zionism, as a national ideal of restoration, is two thousand years old. Throughout the long, weary centuries the hope of returning to their national home and of being restored as a free people in their own land was never absent from among our people. It was a constant, blessed, sustaining presence. Modern Zionism is the latest practical expression of that unbroken and undeviating will to national restoration which has persisted through the ages. It is neither recent nor new. Those who oppose it are very recent indeed and can find no authority for their position either in Jewish history or in Jewish religious tradition.

For fifteen centuries and more the Jewish people lived in Palestine as a nation, undergoing all the changing political vicissitudes which all nations, large or small, are bound to experience over a long period of time, alternating periods of consolidation and disunity, expansion and contraction, independence and subjugation, cultural productivity and stagnation. But never was the strong sense of life and the will to survive wanting among our ancestors. They stubbornly resisted all attempts to submerge, assimilate or annihilate them.

During some of those centuries they made their greatest contribution to civilization in the religious field. Israel's unique genius

found its highest expression in the fields of religious and moral idealism; just as the unique genius of the Greeks found expression in art and philosophy. But the fact that the greatest contribution of the Jews was to religion did not make of the Jewish people a religious sect any more than the contribution of the Greeks to art and philosophy made of them an artists' colony or a school of philosophy. The Jews, like the Greeks, were a nation.

Whenever disaster threatened their national existence, they found inner strength to surmount it. The destruction of Temple and country in the 6th century B. C., and the exile of the best part of Israel to Babylonia did not result in the death of the nation. By the rivers of Babylon they sat down and wept as they remembered Zion and in their exile they vowed: "If I forget thee, O Jerusalem, may my right hand forget her cunning."

In the second pre-Christian century, the Jews revolted against their Syrian overlords who attempted to merge the people of Israel and its religion into an amorphous Levantine amalgam. They bitterly fought for and regained their political independence. A century later they lost it again to the Romans. When the oppression of the Romans became too great, they revolted again. This great revolt lasted for six years, until 70 A.D., when Jerusalem and The Temple were destroyed. But the Jewish nation did not perish then. In 115 they revolted again. And in 135 they revolted a third time. Desperately, determinately they attacked the greatest empire of the earth in defense of their national life and liberties.

The population of Palestine was decimated. As a result of persecution, Jewish life sharply declined from its high levels but it continued in Palestine on a relatively large scale up to the 7th century when we again hear of Jews fighting in Palestine for their

freedom. Jews clung to Palestine all through Roman, Byzantine, Arab, Christian and Turkish domination, to this very day. They never ceased to think of it as their national home, or to regard themselves as anything but a nation in exile. The Jewish people lost its land. But it never surrendered the hope that some day it would return to its land. The bitter experiences of two thousand years of exile, outlawry, ghettos and massacres only served to re-enforce that hope.

The notion that with the Dispersion the Jewish people forthwith became a religious sect or a denomination like the Catholics or the Baptists, or like the Buddhists or Mohammedans is utterly fantastic. Neither Jews nor non-Jews have ever seriously entertained such a notion.

THE HOPE OF RETURN

The will and effort to return to Palestine were unremitting through the ages, although of necessity, sharply restricted and inhibited. The living bond with Palestine was never broken. The hope of return became part of the Jews' creed. It echoed through the pages of his Prayer Book. His festivals were redolent of memories and hopes of Palestine. On the eve of the great Festival of Liberation, Passover, our fathers would offer the fervent prayer: "Next year, in Jerusalem!" It was the theme of our greatest literary productions from the glorious poetry of Ibn Gabirol and Jehuda Halevi to Bialik and the remarkable galaxy of Hebrew writers of the last generation. The messianic hope which sustained the spirits of our people in the bleak and dolorous centuries was essentially the hope of Israel's return to Palestine. Avidly our people speculated as to the exact hour of the redemption and return. Every world crisis fanned the great expectations to fever heat. All through the

Middle Ages, when traveling was most difficult and dangerous, Jews found ways, singly or in groups, to return to Palestine.

THE LAST PHASE

In the 19th century, this age-old national aspiration finally entered the phase of political organization and practical action.

Orthodox Rabbis and lay leaders, moved by convictions both religious and national, were among the first to advocate planned and concerted colonization projects in Palestine. They were moved, too, by the need, universally felt, to normalize the economic life of the Jews. They hoped to shift them from the insecure, and in many instances, rather shabby occupations of petty tradesmen and shopkeepers in which they were engaged in the crowded ghettos of Central and Eastern Europe, and to restore them to a more wholesome life on the land.

A strong urge towards political action for national emancipation emanated also from the circles of the so-called assimilated Jews of Western Europe who had become disillusioned with the results of 19th century enlightenment and emancipation. The beautiful dream of liberty, equality and fraternity had not come true after all. The persistent pattern of Jewish experience in the diaspora was reasserting itself again. Sudden and violent outbursts of anti-Semitism in unexpected places forced upon these Jews who had so sanguinely awaited the early liquidation of the Jewish problem, the necessity of taking stock of their position anew. They soon discovered, what they never should have forgotten, that the story of Jewish emancipation in Europe from the French Revolution onward was but a record of political positions captured in the face of stubborn and sullen opposition which left the Jews an emancipated

minority encamped within an unbeaten and unreconciled opposition. At the slightest provocation, and as soon as things got out of order, the opposition returned to the attack and inflicted grievous wounds.

The Damascus Affair of 1840 linked up with the wide-spread reaction after the Revolution of 1848, the Mortara Affair in Italy, the Christian-Socialist movement in the era of Bismarck, the Tisza-Ezlar Affair in Hungary, the revival of the blood accusation in Bohemia, the pogroms in the eighties in Russia, "La France Juive" and the Dreyfus Affair in France. They realized that the immemorial problem of the national homelessness of the Jewish people was the principal source of the Jewish millennial tragedy and that it remained as stark and as menacing as ever. It simply could not be circumvented by wishful thinking or pleasant day-dreaming nor by any fervid pledges by Jews of their patriotic devotion to the lands of their birth or adoption, nor even by complete self-effacement.

These disillusioned Jews began to look for the basic solution of the problem and they soon rediscovered it. Fundamentally the root of all the trouble was that the Jewish people was a nationally homeless people in the world and the only solution for national homelessness is a national home.

Three great thinkers from among the intellectual circles of Westernized European Jewry formulated this new insight and conviction. Their books have become the classic texts of modern Zionism. Moses Hess, in Germany, wrote "Rome and Jerusalem." Leon Pinsker, following the pogroms in Russia, wrote "Auto-Emancipation." Theodor Herzl, following the Dreyfus Affair, wrote "The Jewish State." The theme common to all three is emancipation through national restoration. Not that all Jews should

return to Palestine any more than that all Englishmen living in all parts of the world should return to England, or all Frenchmen to France, or all Germans to Germany. But there is an England, a France and a Germany. So must there be a Land of Israel in order that the status of the Jewish people might be normalized throughout the world. Politically the Jewish people must become, like every other people, possessed of an independent life in a national home.

ZIONISM

In 1897, Theodore Herzl convoked the first Zionist Congress. It was to have been held in Munich. But the Jews of Munich did not want the Congress held in their midst for fear that it would reflect unfavorably upon their German patriotism. . . So the Congress was held in Basle, Switzerland.

At Basle the official Zionist platform was adopted: "The aim of Zionism is to create for the Jewish people a Home in Palestine secured by public law."

Within twenty years of the organization of modern political Zionism the movement received formal approval at the hands of the greatest empire on earth—Great Britain.

On November 2, 1917, Arthur James Balfour, then Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, issued the following declaration in the name of the British Government:

"His Majesty's Government view with favour the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people, and will use their best endeavors to facilitate the achievement of this object, it being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish com-

munities in Palestine, or the rights and political status enjoyed by Jews in any other country."

President Wilson saw the draft of this declaration before it was issued and approved it. In March, 1919, at the close of the war, he wrote "that the Allied nations, with fullest concurrence of our Government and people are agreed that in Palestine shall be laid the foundations of a Jewish Commonwealth." In 1920, the Supreme Council of the Allied Powers meeting at San Remo unanimously approved of the Balfour Declaration and in July, 1922, the Council of the League of Nations unanimously ratified the Mandate for Palestine which was given to Great Britain. This Mandate incorporated the Balfour Declaration and charged the Mandatory Government with the obligation to facilitate Jewish immigration into Palestine and the close settlement of Jews upon the land to insure the establishment of the Jewish National Home. That same year, the Congress of the United States, by unanimous action, passed a resolution which declared that "The United States favors the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people."

THE NEW ERA — BUILDING

Thus a new era in Jewish history was ushered in. The long-deferred hope of national restoration was set on its way to full realization. The great day had finally dawned. The unheeding world had at last heeded the cry of the homeless people. The Jewish people threw itself into the work of upbuilding its national home with incomparable zeal and enthusiasm. The task was enormous—untrained hands, inadequate means, overwhelming difficulties. The land was stripped and poor. European Jewry was shattered and impoverished by the war and could not be quickly rallied to the work of reconstruction. Plans had to be improvised and carried

through piece-meal. The anticipated cooperation of the Mandatory Government was not forthcoming. Nevertheless the record of pioneering achievement of the Jewish people in Palestine in the twenty years between two world wars, the story of their heroic labors and sacrifices and their courageous experimentation have received the acclaim of the entire world. A veritable miracle of colonization was performed. The Jewish population increased from 55,000 to 600,000. Close to 300 colonies were established. Social vision and high human idealism went into the planning and structure of many of them. Some 2,000 factories and 4,000 small workshops were opened. The waters of the Jordan were harnessed for electric power. The Dead Sea was made to yield up its vast chemical resources. Barren hills and valleys were reafforested. Marshes were drained. A splendid educational system was developed, crowned by the Hebrew University on Mt. Scopus. A modern health service was established throughout the country.

It was fortunate indeed for the Jewish people that a Jewish Palestine was available, readied and prepared by the labor of these Jewish pioneers, when the horrible Hitler persecutions swept over European Jewry. For that little country was able to absorb more than 300,000 refugees from Germany and Central Europe. Today Jewish Palestine has again vindicated its claim to full life and national freedom by the extraordinary contributions which it has made to the war effort of the United Nations. Some 23,000 young Palestinian Jews volunteered for service in the armies of the United Nations, and the civilian population was engaged in an all-out effort to back up the fighting armies in the Near East by providing them with many vital supplies and services.

THE NEW ERA — STRUGGLE

These remarkable achievements did not come about easily. Resistance was encountered almost from the very start and it has increased in intensity with the years—Arab resistance, British resistance. The Palestine Administration has been less than friendly. It has lagged far behind the expressed desire of the people of Great Britain to be helpful and cooperative. Those British politicians who have a determined Arab orientation as regards the British Empire, and those colonial administrators who resent and fear Jewish initiative, enterprise and social progressivism in a part of the world which they had staked out for their own national interests, have, time and again, attempted to thwart the progress of the Jewish homeland. They have succeeded in their periodic attempts to whittle down the clear meaning and intent of the Mandate. In the disastrous appeasement era which immediately preceded the second world war, their efforts were crowned with almost complete success. In 1939, the British Government announced a new policy with reference to Palestine. It prohibits Jewish immigration into Palestine after March, 1944, and severely restricts the rights of Jews to buy land in their own national homeland. This policy has been condemned by some of the foremost statesmen of Great Britain including the former Prime Minister, Winston Churchill. It has been sharply criticized by the Mandatory Commission of the League of Nations. Its revocation is being demanded almost everywhere. It is not likely to stand. The moral sense of England and of the world will not sanction such a cruel betrayal of a people which has been fighting so valiantly for its life and its freedom. The Jewish people must not be halted midway on its road to national salvation.

The Jewish people is no less deserving than other peoples whose national independence and freedom have been guaranteed by the

United Nations. It has contributed to the war effort in no less a degree than any other people and its casualties, especially the number of its slaughtered civilians, have been far, far greater. The Jewish people desperately needs Palestine for its homeless millions now and after the war, and for its national security, dignity and normality. Jews have shown a remarkable capacity for pioneering for labor and sacrifice. They have built worthily and well in Palestine. They have made Palestine their own again by their heroic labor, by their blood and sweat. Whatever is hopeful, promising and progressive in that country today, the Jews have created.

What has been called the noblest enterprise of our time must not now be cruelly sapped and undermined.



WHAT ZIONISM IS NOT

Every great idea will encounter resistance. However, if it is inherently sound and just, it will win through ultimately.

There have always been Jews who resisted both national liberation and national survival. Even in the days of Egypt, there were Jews who did not want to be set free. The Rabbis who understood the psychology of our people so well declared: "There were rebels and transgressors among the Jews who enjoyed Egyptian patronage and who had acquired wealth and prestige and did not want to leave Egypt." I suppose that these people developed a platform much like that of the American Council for Judaism. . . . They were one hundred per cent Egyptian patriots! They were opposed to political nationalism! They did not want a Jewish state in Palestine! Fortunately for Israel and humanity those "rebels and transgressors" were few in number. The majority of the Jewish people wanted to leave the slavery of Egypt and to set up a free national life in their own land.

Also there were Jews among those who had left Egypt who could not endure forty years of wandering in the wilderness and who tired of the long, hard road to the Promised Land. They insisted on returning to the fleshpots of Egypt. But the people as a whole refused to turn back, especially the young people whose spirits had not rusted in the bondage of Egypt.

There were many Jews who remained in Babylon after permission had been granted the Jews by Cyrus to return to Judea. But many did return. Had these failed to return the whole history of the world would have been different. The Jewish people would have disappeared, as had the ten tribes of Israel two centuries before.

Judaism would not have survived. Christianity would never have been born.

The same resistance appeared in the 19th century when the movement toward national restoration assumed vital, political forms among our people, especially after the organization of the Zionist Movement at the close of the last century. Strong opposition made itself manifest especially among the well-to-do Jews of Western Europe—those who had acquired wealth and position and felt themselves completely at home in the countries in which they lived.

OPPOSITION TO ZIONISM AMONG JEWS

They opposed Zionism. Some of them scoffed at the "impractical" and "fantastic" idea of trying to settle Jews in a barren and forsaken country like Palestine. Some laughed at the very notion that Jews would ever care to leave their comfortable homes in Vienna, Berlin, Budapest, or Paris and migrate to an oriental hinterland of sand, wastes and ruins. And the thought that Jews would or could become pioneers and colonists and actually with pick and spade and hammer build with their own hands a country of their own incited these worldly-wise bankers, merchants, lawyers and journalists to veritable outbursts of hilarity!

Yes, fifty years ago Jews began issuing manifestoes against Zionism. Some Reform Rabbis fulminated then in their best sermonic style against it. Some laymen gave money then to fight Zionism just as some of them are doing today. This was especially true in Germany where the emancipated Jews were riding the high tide of 19th century liberalism but failed to note the dangerous shoals of 19th century nationalism and anti-Semitism which were destined before long to destroy them completely, along with the Jews of the rest of Western and most of Eastern Europe.

In Germany, as far back as the forties of the last century, certain Reform Rabbis decided that the Jews were no longer a nation and that the Jewish people did not need a national home. As one looks back over the persistent and virulent anti-Semitism which pervaded German society, almost every section of it, during the last century, one is amazed at the appalling day-dreaming and political naiveté of the cultured and intelligent Jews of Germany. What a fatal blind-spot was theirs! And it was not restricted to German Jews only. Other Jews elsewhere were also day-dreaming.

THE REASONS BEHIND THE OPPOSITION

What are some of the reasons behind this persistent opposition to Zionism?

There are reasons and there are rationalizations. Rationalizations are intellectual camouflages for real reasons which are not readily acknowledged and which sometimes are not even readily sensed. Thus, for example, the argument which is often made that Jews are a religious sect, and not a people, and therefore should not aspire to a national center, is pure rationalization. The real statement,—the forthright statement,—of such a belief would read something like this: "*I do not want the Jews to be regarded as a nation or a people. It might suggest that I am an alien among the people in whose midst I live. It is better to tell them that I am like them in every way except religion. Inasmuch as people today are quite accustomed to a variety of religious groupings among them, my own position will be no different from that of Catholics or Baptists or Methodists. This will make it easy and pleasant for me.*"

THE RELIGIOUS ARGUMENT

All the ideological opposition to Jewish nationalism is pure rationalization. There is no warrant for it either in fact or in history.

The Jewish religion is steeped in nationalistic sentiments and loyalties, although it is universal in its ethical concepts and ideals. The ancient prophets of Israel were champions of Jewish national survival, and, after the first exile, of the idea of national restoration to Palestine. The mission of Israel to proclaim the idea of the one God and His moral law in the world has nothing whatever to do with anti-nationalism, and was, in fact, given its most eloquent expression at the hands of Deutero-Isaiah, the most nationalistic of all the prophets. All the artificial distinctions which are often drawn between universalism and particularism in Judaism, between Judaism as a religion and nationalism as secularism—and as something alien to Judaism—is pure vapping and moonshine.

All of it has been evolved as a political device to justify the Jews' claim to equality of citizenship in the modern state. But the Jews' claim to equality of citizenship in the modern state needs no such justification. The Jew, and any other man regardless of race, creed, color, is entitled to equality of citizenship in the land of his birth or his adoption—if that land is truly a free land,—and as long as he obeys the laws of his country and gives it his undivided loyalty. And if that land is not free, if its laws do discriminate between men, between classes, races or creeds, then no amount of self-effacement on the part of the Jew and no cunning definition of himself will protect him against discrimination and persecution. The anti-Semite is never reconciled or appeased by any pleasant formula about Jewish life which we invent. Our enemies can rationalize their hates quite as readily as we can rationalize our hopes; and they have never been known to relent because of any sweet and appetizing definition of Jewish life which we offered them.

WHAT ARE WE?

There really is no single adequate definition of the Jew available today unless it be that of an historic people recognized as such

by the world and by ourselves. What elements went into the fashioning of this historic people is really an academic question. Many factors undoubtedly contributed—race, religion, common historical experiences. But there was and is a Jewish people!

In Eastern Europe where millions of Jews lived before the war, they were recognized by the law of the land as a nationality among other nationalities and they were granted along with the other nationalities not only common rights of citizenship but certain minority rights as well. In the Soviet Union, where some three million Jews live, and where the principle of nationality is accepted and nationality cultures are encouraged by the Government, the Jews, too, are given full nationality status in those localities where they constitute a majority of the population. They are encouraged to have their own communal institutions, their own school system, to employ their own Yiddish language and their own press, and they are creating their own literature. Some ten years ago, the Soviet Union made an attempt to establish an autonomous Jewish Republic in Biro Bidjan. To speak of the Jews of Russia today as Jews by religion only is simply ridiculous.

In England, in the United States, and in other countries where nationality rights and differentiations are not and need not be emphasized, although they do exist, Jews naturally do not press for nationality status. They carry on as an historic community whose chief attribute is its distinctive religious culture. In Palestine, on the other hand, and in Palestine alone, the Jewish people have sought and do seek today a complete national life of their own with its full political complements. They wish to make of that ancient Land of Israel not a racial state, as some malicious opponents have averred, but a state which will be as Jewish as England is English or as France is French. In Palestine the Jews mean to be a

nation in their national home. That is the meaning of the Balfour Declaration and of the Mandate if they have any meaning at all. The nationhood of the Jewish people in Palestine has been acknowledged in international law. It is not yet sovereign or autonomous, but the existence of the Jewish nation and its right to re-establish its national home in Palestine has been approved by fifty-two nations. It never was and is not now a subject for speculation, except by such as choose to spin cobwebs in the void.

Those who proclaim that the Jews are only a religious communion or a denomination are distorting history, ignoring reality and are wilfully shutting their eyes to everyday experiences. We are a people living under different political conditions in many parts of the world. We are like every other people, except in one regard. All other peoples have their national homes. We lost ours! And the loss of it has been the source of nearly all the tragedies and sufferings of our people these two thousand years. It is the lack of a national center which makes us so anomalous and so different from other people, and which makes our position so insecure in the world.

In the long run this national homelessness endangers the security and equality even of those Jews who do enjoy full rights of citizenship in their respective countries. A national center would undergird the position of Jews as citizens wherever they live.

It is necessary to point out the simple fact that while Jews have been stigmatized as international—the International Jew—there are peoples today who are far more international than the Jews. There is not a corner of the world where you will not find Englishmen, Germans, Frenchmen, Italians and others. In many places they retain strong group identities, interests and modes of

life and communal organization. Yet no one speaks of them as the international Englishmen, Frenchmen, Italians or Germans. Only the Jew is called international. Why? Because somewhere on the face of the earth there is an England, a Germany, a France, an Italy,—the national centers of these widely scattered peoples. They all have a national homeland from which they emigrate, if they wish, and to which they may return, if they choose. The Jew alone has no such national homeland, and thus, in a real and frightening sense, he is regarded as proceeding from one homelessness to another.

A PEOPLE WITHOUT STATUS

We have no national status as a people. As a people we have no voice in any international conference, not even the voice of a government in exile! . . . When the United Nations is firmly established, every people, even the smallest—Luxembourg, Iraq or Ecuador—will have a voice in that international body. But the millions of Jews will have no voice. They will remain excluded and anonymous as heretofore, and when Jews are again persecuted in this or that country, as they have been so often in the past, they shall again have to intercede with some government to intercede for them. The grim irony of our position was illustrated recently when intergovernmental conferences were convoked and agencies established to look after the refugee problem created by Hitlerism—a problem which so largely and so vitally involved the Jews,—but there was no room found at these conferences or on the boards of these agencies for the official representatives of the Jewish people. . . .

Zionism aims to normalize the status of the Jewish people, to give to it what all other peoples possess—an internationally recognized status in the Family of Nations.

Attempts have been made to make Zionism repugnant by branding it political and nationalistic. To be sure, Zionism is both political and nationalistic, and there is nothing wrong with either except as politics turns into bad politics and nationalism degenerates into chauvinism and aggression. The principle of nationalism has not been discredited in the modern world. Nations are here to stay and for a very long time to come. Nowhere is there perceptible any desire on the part of nations, large or small, to efface and obliterate themselves. The reverse is quite the case. Witness the recent trend toward nationalism in that most "international" of countries—Russia. Someday the nations of the world will learn to cooperate and to live together in peace, leagued together in an international union of free nations. That day will be hastened through the liberation of all those peoples who are today denied their full national freedom and independence. In this sense, nationalism and internationalism logically supplement and re-enforce each other. The Jewish people seeks such a national restoration, freedom and independence within such an international world order.

THE ARGUMENT FROM FEAR

There are Jews who fear—and fear is the real reason behind most of the opposition to Zionism—that if a Jewish national home is once established, anti-Semites will say to the Jews: "Go back to Palestine!" "Go back to your own country!" They will have a good excuse for expelling the Jews. But anti-Semitic governments have never waited for such an excuse to expel the Jews. Through all the long and dreadful centuries up to these days of Adolf Hitler, Jews have been driven from one country to another in spite of the fact that they had no national home to which to go. Our enemies never waited for the establishment of a Jewish national home before they began their agitation to drive out the Jews. The contrary is prob-

ably true. Had there been a Jewish national home, many of these expulsions would never have taken place. Had there been in existence a Jewish state wherein the nationals of other states lived and with which other states carried on commerce and trade, the attitude of those other states to the Jews living in their midst would probably have been dictated by considerations of national policy, trade interests and reciprocity. The United States has just been at war with Germany and with Italy; yet one never heard the cry: "You Germans go back to Germany! You Italians go back to Italy!" And precisely because there is a Germany and there is an Italy!

At all events, if incidents of persecution are to occur in the future,—and no practical statesman can shut his eyes to such a possibility, in view of all that has happened in our own life time—then surely the establishment of a Jewish national home to which our persecuted brethren might go as to a place of welcome refuge, without having to suffer the horrors which our refugees underwent in the last decade, when they knocked on a hundred doors but were not admitted, is an act, to say the least, of wise national insurance. . . . The partially established Jewish national home in Palestine, working as it did under severe restrictions, was nevertheless able to give refuge to more than one half of the total number of Jewish refugees of Europe prior to the world war.

THE ARGUMENT OF DUAL ALLEGIANCE

Some Jews feel that with the establishment of a Jewish Commonwealth in Palestine, they, in the United States, or the Jews of England or of other countries will be charged with dual allegiance. Here again it should be pointed out that the enemies of our people have not waited for the establishment of a Jewish state before they began to charge the Jews with disloyalty and lack of patriotism. In fact

they seized on the fact of the *absence* of a Jewish national center,—on the fact of Jewish national homelessness—as a most powerful argument in their anti-Semitic campaigns. The Jew, they clamored, has no roots anywhere. He is an internationalist. He has a secret international organization—"The Elders of Zion"—to which he owes allegiance. He, the mysterious, the sinister Jew without a country of his own, is conspiring to overthrow all governments in order to put himself in power and rule the world.

In all the anti-Semitic literature both here and abroad wherein Jews are denounced for almost every sin in the catalogue, Zionism is hardly ever mentioned as one of them. It should furthermore be borne in mind that the anti-Semite invents his lies. There is nothing which we can do or say that will satisfy him.

The right thinking American knows that the desire of the Irish in America to help in the establishment of a Free Ireland, to which they devoted themselves so energetically, or the desire of the Czechs or Poles, to help establish a Free Czechoslovakia or a Free Poland did not in any way impair their loyalty to America. No one ever accused them of dual allegiance. In fact Americans applauded their movements, in the same way as they are applauding the effort of American Jews to rebuild a free Jewish Palestine.

Every President of the United States, from Woodrow Wilson down, has endorsed Zionism. The Congress of the United States unanimously approved it. Foremost ministers, authors, writers and editors have evidenced sympathetic and helpful interest in the movement. Not a single one has ever raised the issue, which some Jews insist on raising to their and our hurt, that participation in the Zionist Movement jeopardizes the loyalty and patriotism of the American Jew.

The Jews of the United States have no other allegiance than to the United States of America. The relation of the American Jew to the Jewish homeland in Palestine will not differ in any respect from the relation of any other American towards the land of his ancestral origin. If there is any Jew in this country who will wish to give his political allegiance to a Jewish state in Palestine, he will have the privilege of emigrating to that country and of becoming a citizen of that state. That is the privilege of all free men.

In this connection the words of the late Justice Louis D. Brandeis come to mind: "Let no American imagine that Zionism is inconsistent with Patriotism. Multiple loyalties are objectionable only if they are inconsistent. A man is a better citizen of the United States for being also a loyal citizen of his state, and of his city; for being loyal to his family, and to his profession or trade; for being loyal to his college or his lodge. . . . Every American Jew who aids in advancing the Jewish settlement in Palestine, though he feels that neither he nor his descendants will ever live there, will likewise be a better man and a better American for doing so."

THE ARAB ARGUMENT

It has also been argued that the establishment of the Jewish Commonwealth in Palestine is unfair to the Arabs. The Jews would take away a country which belongs to the Arabs. The Jews will majorize the Arabs and will deprive them of their rights. Dr. Carl Hermann Voss of the Christian Council on Palestine has recently replied to this form of Arab propaganda which some Jews seem to have absorbed in these words:

"The Arab population in Palestine did not begin to grow until the 1880's. In fact, a careful analysis of the present Palestinian

population would show that about 75 per cent of the Arabs are either immigrants themselves or descendants of persons who immigrated into Palestine during the last 100 years, for the most part in the last 61 years since 1882.

"That latter date of 1882 is significant because it is the date on which Jewish immigration into Palestine began. Prior to Jewish immigration, Palestine was an area of desolate countryside and dilapidated towns, and during the whole period of Arab life in Palestine the country showed scarcely a single Arab achievement. In the war to liberate Palestine in 1917-18 the Palestinian Arabs did little to overthrow their Turkish rulers. They neither tilled the soil nor fought for its redemption. Arab interest in Palestine began with its restoration by the Jews, and Arabs have benefited greatly by the establishment of the Jewish national home."

When one thinks of the Arabs of Palestine, one should think of them in relation to the Arab lands in the entire Near East. That is a vast territory. Arab territories in the Near East cover more than a million square miles. The whole of Palestine is ten thousand square miles! . . . The lands of Syria, Iraq, Transjordan and Saudi-Arabia are under-populated and undeveloped in spite of their rich potentials. Scientists have estimated that in the Near East there is room for another fifty to sixty million people.

Out of the last war the Arabs gained freedom and independence from the Turks. As a result of the efforts of the Allies, three independent Arab states were established—Iraq, Transjordan and Saudi-Arabia. Realizing that the Arabs would have their national aspirations satisfied after the war by the establishment of a number of Arab states and that these states would have land areas so large that it would take them centuries to develop them, and realizing

also that the Jews stood in desperate need of a place of refuge for their people, the Allies reserved "the tiny notch" of Palestine, as Balfour called it, for the Jews. In the Balfour Declaration there is no mention of establishing in Palestine an Arab national home. Only a Jewish national home is mentioned. Provision of course was made in the Balfour Declaration and in the Mandate for equality of citizenship and for the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities. These rights have been fully protected. The Palestine Arab has not been exploited. In fact there are no Arabs on the face of the earth more prosperous than the Arabs of Palestine.

The establishment of the Jewish national home in Palestine will be a great boon to the entire Near East and to all the Arab peoples. Jews are bringing scientific skill, technical knowledge, material resources and high enthusiasm to the upbuilding of Palestine. Palestine is destined to become the hub of a great and rapid economic development of the entire Near East. The prosperity of Palestine will stimulate and, in the course of time will come to depend upon the prosperity of all the adjacent Arab countries.

It is the Jews of Palestine who are the true pro-Arabs. The Jews of Palestine wish to work in complete friendship and cooperation with the Arabs—but not at the sacrifice of their national rights.

IS PALESTINE LARGE ENOUGH ?

Some Jews are disturbed over the absorptive capacity of Palestine. It is too small, they argue, and too poor a country to absorb many more settlers. Jews should look elsewhere for territories to care for their refugees and for immigration requirements after the war. The basic assumption here, of course, is that other territories

are available and can quickly be put in a state of preparation to receive mass immigration. Nothing can be further from the truth. There are no such territories. None has been offered. None has been prepared. The last attempt at group settlement of Jews—Santo Domingo—has proved a fiasco. The names of putative territories are bandied about by opponents of Zionism only as an offset to Palestine. It serves as an excuse for shutting the doors of Palestine against Jewish refugees. Jews who help to spread this talk concerning the availability of other territories for Jewish settlement are rendering these refugees a terrible disservice.

The present population of Palestine is 1,500,000. Lord Samuel, who was the first High Commissioner of Palestine declared, in 1930, that there was no reason to doubt that Palestine could support a population of 3,000,000. This is a very conservative figure. Agricultural experts who have made a study of the country have estimated that with irrigation and proper scientific methods of cultivation, Palestine can support on the land alone a population of at least 2,000,000.

The industrial development of Palestine need be limited only by the skill, energy and resourcefulness of its population. Hydro-electric power is available and oil is brought by pipeline from Iraq. Palestine is on the crossroad between three continents and is destined to become the center of extensive commerce between the continents of Europe, Asia and Africa. The country, which a few short years ago could point to nothing but a few humble handicrafts, is already producing a remarkable variety of manufactured goods. In 30 years, Tel Aviv rose from the sand dunes of the Mediterranean to a city of 200,000 and Haifa is destined to develop rapidly into a city of a half to three-quarters of a million people. The Jews are creating absorptive capacity in Palestine! Sicily which is a country

no larger than Palestine, has a population of 4,000,000, and Belgium, similar in size to Palestine, supports a population of almost 7,000,000. No one in Palestine thinks that the country is over-crowded. Only politicians who are determined to keep the Jews out of the country are trying to persuade people that Palestine cannot absorb any more immigrants.

ZIONISM — SOUND AND JUST

The critics of Zionism cannot make out a valid case. Fear is behind most of their reasoning. The Jewish people has never taken counsel of fear. The Zionist movement has now entered upon its final phase of fulfillment. It is incumbent upon all faithful Jews to become acquainted with the facts and not to permit themselves to be influenced by catch-words, slogans, rumors and prejudices. There is available a substantial literature on the subject covering all phases of the movement,—political, economic, cultural and spiritual. Jews should read and become informed.

Zionism is a sound and just ideal. As such it is inevitable!