



## Abba Hillel Silver Collection Digitization Project

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

Series V: Writings, 1909-1963, undated.

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174

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63

Folder  
241

Jewish National Fund, 1930.

1. Welcome - He represents prophecy -

הוא מייצג את הנביא  
הוא מייצג את הנביא

- Threshing-sledge - having sharp teeth  
- beat -

(a) of such stuff - and in period -

abstraction - your counsel,

melancholy, masochistic, warlike

- light heart - Gladly in camp

2. Glad you came for N.E. - Synthesizer

(1) To settle Jews on land - study  
ground-soil; normalize, transforming  
agricult. basis - To undo mischief

(2) To protect from Exploitation -  
speculation - abstract landlording -  
- drain off overpayment -

(3) Is there any thing within - All  
Civil nations

3. Are you - attacked! by whom?

It is they who point "a new social  
order

(1) Surely they betray us (Jews)

4. Principles, self-labels - 3/7/2 1/2

We involved - public -

Everybody applauded - Except -  
chief Arab leaders



5. Inconceivable Gandhi.

- degradation - weiche

6. Talk given from London

7. What are we going to do?

(1) We ignore White Paper -

(2) We reaffirm our hist. claim. Inst.

(3) We stand letter & spirit J.B.D.

Civil & Rel.

(4) We reject doctrine of "balance of power" - "a neutral, impartial attitude" - Betrayal

(5) Wangmakers

8. (6) We repudiate "Exploited & Oppressed Arabs - Antisemitism - Hitler -  
- Not Evicted & Mughal Arabs

8. We carry on - Thank Mother for coming here & help many



His Majesty's Government view with favor  
the establishment in Palestine of a national  
home for the Jewish people, and will use  
their best endeavours 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 the non-Jewish Communities  
in Palestine

Art 6

"to facilitate J. immigration under  
suitable conditions and to  
encourage close settlement  
by Jews on the land, including  
State lands and waste lands  
not required for public purposes."



Passed them  
1. 2 Stages - and now entered 3rd.

(1) The stage, the long-deferred Hope - stretching from 25 to end of 19 - a beaten + buffeted hope - saw times flaring up in flashing expectancy - dim into extinction. The who - the long-drawn out almost hope-less hope - they needed the hope. They needed it - not had. They expected an early realization. Hope expressed lyric in prayer, in song, in pathetic pilgrimages to holy land, Ureian agitation - migration - Seldan in concerted, deliberate action.

(2) The Stage of Pol. Econ. Action - Conflict & Struggle from 1882 - 1917. The desperate drive, Polymorphous. The sharp disillusionment with emancipation led to action - first colonies, first states, led to the preludes of no government Nationalism, which led to conflict within J. people glorious era of 1917-1918 - total transformation - Hezbollah, Zionist League, National, Nat. Front, - Chetnik vs. Pop. Zionism Hezbollah vs. Gildesheim; - anti-nat. vs. Nationalism - a glorious, glorious epoch of subarct. subarct.

(3) The Stage of Victory & Conquest + Work.

(1) Halfway Dedication - 20 short years.

(2) World War an opportunity - Puritans - Fr. Revolu. was in pl/6 & pl/6.

(3) New cooperation unity work - less theor. discussion - more prac. 2 per work 1 K. H.



2. The Era of J. self-respect.

① gave us status of nation.

② spoke of us as a nation - Balfour -

③ J. youth gained enormously in self-respect -

④ University Education ⑤ politics ⑥ Hadarim  
Education - Rev. G. H. H.

3. Era of consolidation or  Jewish unity.

① Pal. divided us for a time, will unite us for  
an eternity - Agency. Zionism - climax

was bound to happen.

4. Irreversible of J. Pal. appeal.

① Summons Abraham for us etc.

② When Left Hand. Killed stamp, Talented  
crowded; to turn, thinks; poetry - education, other  
Festivals redoubt -

③ Bound to unite + re-unite (we shall say so)

5. 4<sup>th</sup> Stage - Consolidation / Spontaneous Confidence

6. What is Zionism? hell to his dogmas

6. How do we wish to live - Exaltation -

① Let United - unpro. - Nat. prelude to justice

② Education for Prop. ideals -

③ politics and morals -

④ we want of freedom ⑤ justice ⑥ this the  
land of peace -

⑦ want a Plan OTW -

- 1/2 1/2 1/2 1/2



"The programme of legislation which I believe will issue from the Insurance Act, must, therefore, be supplemented by one of Nationalization, and the most obvious directions in which this has to be applied, to begin with, are the land, the mines, and the railways... It (Nationalization) is being promoted in order to retain for social use benefits designed for the whole nation, to keep increases of wages in the pockets of the individual worker, and to prevent exploitation... The policy of Nationalization is devised to retain in the pockets and the living standards of the people the gains which under present conditions are drained off into other pockets...

Nationalization does not pretend to attempt the impossible. It does not propose to set aside economic law; it proposes to make it an ally of legislation, and it is the only policy which does so."

J. Ramsay MacDonald

"The Social Unrest, its cause and solution", 1913.

Webb argues for expropriation for sake of Nationalization.

"It (the community) will let no "vested interests" stand in the way of improvement. It will "expropriate" without remorse individual owners from their lands, their house property, their factories and their enterprises, whenever this cause seems to promote the general well-being!" (Advocate compensation only where shall ultimately come out of taxes on property ownership of others.)

"Constitution for the Socialist Commonwealth of Great Britain".

Sidney and Beatrice Webb, 1920.



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The coming of Mr. Ussishkin to the United States dramatically calls attention to the achievements of the Jewish National Fund in the last quarter of a century. For Mr. Ussishkin symbolizes in himself the great idealism and the strength of purpose behind this progressive social movement for the settlement of Jews on the land upon an economically sound and just basis.

The Fund

It is one of the most courageous and far-visioned economic enterprises of modern times. The land purchased by the Jewish National Fund remains in the possession of the Jewish people in perpetuity. Private land speculation is thus eliminated. Only those who actually till the soil derive benefits from it. An independent, hard-working, self-respecting Jewish agrarian population is thus being rapidly built up in Palestine.

The Fund has been made possible by the numerous small contributions of the masses of Jewry throughout the world. It is not the hobby of a small group of philanthropists. It is a great national effort at redemption in which millions of Jews participate.

The purchase of land in Palestine for the benefit of new Jewish settlers has not in any way expropriated the Arab or created a landless Arab proletariat. It has been estimated that less than one hundred Arab families have been shifted from agricultural to urban life through the Jewish colonization policy. The displacement of this negligible number, who received adequate compensation for their land, went hand in hand with the settlement of a hundred thousand Jews in the country, many of them on the soil.

For every acre of land that the Jews purchased from the Arabs they paid on an average of one hundred dollars. Not a single Arab has been dispossessed. Those who sold their land were handsomely paid for it. More than eighty percent



of them have resettled on land elsewhere.

It should also be borne in mind that while the Jews constitute twenty percent of the population of Palestine, they own no more than eight percent of the land.

Economically the position of the non-Jewish communities in Palestine has been tremendously enhanced by the coming of the Jews. Those who have visited Palestine in the last few years and who recall what Palestine was in the days before the Balfour Declaration will bear testimony to the remarkable progress which that country has made in a few short years. From a medieval, backward, poverty-stricken province Palestine, largely through Jewish effort, money and sacrifices, is fast becoming a modern, healthy and prosperous country.

The standard of living has been materially raised throughout the country and the exploited Felaheen, who up to the coming of the Zionists into Palestine slaved for a few piastres a day, has begun to profit from the higher standard of wages and living conditions which Jewish labor introduced. Jewish economic progress could not long continue without permeating Arab life as well and the whole Arab population has been feeling the economic stimulus.

The Jews are justly proud of what they have accomplished in Palestine in the short span of ten years. They do not wish to see their great work of civilization interrupted by a government which at this moment is actuated more by Imperial considerations than by a sense of justice and fairness. The Jew wishes to live on the friendliest terms with the Arab but he must insist that his own national rights, historically justified and internationally sanctioned shall be respected.

Abba Hillel Silver.



## Silver and Neuman Charge Britain's Palestine Policy Based on Imperialism at Rousing Reception to M. M. Ussishkin

(Continued from Page 6)

called, 'The Social Unrest,' Mr. MacDonald writes: 'the most obvious directions in which the program of nationalization is to be applied, to begin with, are the land, the mines and the railways. Nationalization is being promoted in order to retain for social use benefits designed for the whole nation, to keep increases of wages in the pockets of the individual worker and to prevent exploitation. The policy of nationalization is designed to retain in the pockets and the living standards of the people the gains which under the present conditions are being put into other pockets. Nationalization does not attempt the impossible. It does not propose to set aside economic rules. It proposes to make it an ally of legislation, and it is the only policy which does so.'

"And so, Mr. MacDonald and Lord Passfield, before they became enmeshed and entangled in British imperialism spoke tonight, that the land which God created is for the benefit of all who toil and not for the benefit of the few exploiters. It remained for these Laborites and Socialists to attack us on yet another score that has to do with the National Fund—the principle of self-labor. Who would ever think that Socialists would attack the principle of self-labor? That is exactly what they have done. When we established colonies decades ago which were not built on the principle of self-labor but which did employ Arab labor, non-Jewish tourists who used to visit Petach Tikvah, Rishon le Zion and other colonies would go away with a slight twinkle in their eyes and knowing looks and say, 'aha, the Jews do in Palestine exactly what they are doing in Warsaw, in Berlin, in New York. They are exploiting other people. They are not doing the hard work, they are trying to build the Jewish National Homeland with Arab sweat and Arab labor.' They sneered at us for it.

### Sees Inconsistency

"And so, when the third Aliyah was to begin, when a new movement of young Jewish pioneers was about to begin, that movement of the chalutzim which brought romance into our movement, which brought the epic quality of grandeur and magnificence into our movements, that sacrificial loyalty which gave us our first legendary heroes, which made Palestine a singing laboring country, when that movement began, these young men found that they would build Palestine with their own sweat and blood. But now we are asked by Socialists, by a Socialist government (here a voice from the audience interrupted and said, "ex-Socialist," and Rabbi Silver answered, "ex-Socialist"—right). Now we are asked to abandon this self-respecting upbuilding principle of self-labor, and go back and employ cheap Arab labor in the building of our Homeland.

"Inconsistent?—of course it is inconsistent, my friends, as inconsistent as it is to have Ramsay MacDonald in 10 Downing Street and Ghandi in prison;

as inconsistent as when he wrote and preached for freedom for India and then put 10,000 of them in prison for asking what he himself thought they had a perfect right to ask. And here you have 240,000,000 Hindus, not 180,000 Jews—240,000,000 Hindus on the land, who have lived there for hundreds of thousands of years, who cannot be called immigrants, who also were promised independence during the emergency of the last war, who are also helpless at this moment in getting their just demands met. But they are prepared. They know how to wait. They are going to wait. They have discovered the secret of saying to a threatened act of injustice, 'Non-possimus,' 'we cannot, we will not yield.' They will stand up by the hundreds and thousands, and they will be beaten down by the constabulary, by staves and sticks until they are senseless, and when they are down, others will come to take their place, and still others, and still others, and this non-resistance to injustice, this will that does not yield to force, that will break British imperialism in India.

### Will Ignore White Paper

"What are we going to do? Well, in the first place, we are going to ignore the White Paper. It wasn't written for us, in the first place. It was written for the Arabs, to appease them, to satisfy their irreconcilables. It wasn't written to meet our legitimate aspirations, our sensitiveness, our national pride. We weren't consulted. *We reject it.*

We reaffirm today, as we did in 1917, as we did in 1897, as we did in 1882, as we did in the year 71, A. D. immediately following the destruction of the Temple and the dispersion of our people, we reaffirm our historic claim to Palestine as our National Home, a claim which has now been internationally recognized. We stand by the letter and the spirit of the Balfour Declaration and the Mandate. We know how to read. We are an 'Am Ha-Sefer', a people that not only reads but studies every word and phrase, and letter. That document which was not drafted in haste and not given as result of momentary impulse, that remains our charter of national independence. We stand by it.

"The British government undertook to facilitate the establishment in Palestine of a National Home for the Jewish people. Nothing was mentioned in the Balfour Declaration or the Mandate about a national home for the Arab people in Palestine. It said that none of the civil and religious rights of the non-Jewish communities there shall be interfered with — and they have not been interfered with. The Arab has not lost one civil or religious right that he possessed before the Balfour Declaration. It is not a civil right and not a religious right for the Arab to have an Arab national home in Palestine, and their national aspirations, as has been superbly indicated by the chairman, Mr. Neuman, tonight, have

(Continued on Page 8)

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## Silver and Neuman Charge Britain's Palestine Policy Based on Imperialism at Rousing Reception to M. M. Ussishkin

(Continued from Page 7)

not been denied. We would be the last ones to deny any people its legitimate aspirations. They have been thrice vindicated. Already three national homes have been established since the war. Palestine was intended to be by those who issued the Declaration and the Mandate, the National Home of the Jewish people. We stand by that. We make no concessions and yield no point on that.

### Reject New Policy

"We may not realize, we may not achieve our aim tomorrow or the next day, but the Jewish people has a peculiar genius for losing every battle but the last one. And we reject—we reject the new doctrine which has been enunciated in the Shaw report and since repeated in two White Papers; namely, that the British Government in Palestine is to keep a balance of power between the two peoples; to remain impartial (I am quoting) 'a neutral, impartial attitude in the inevitable conflict between two peoples who have the same rights in Palestine.' That, we maintain, is a distortion and falsification of the Declaration and the Mandate. To remain a 'neutral' when you have undertaken 'to facilitate close Jewish settlement' on the soil; to remain 'a neutral' when you have undertaken 'to encourage Jewish immigration'; to remain 'a neutral' when you have solemnly assumed the sacred trust of the upbuilding of the Jewish National Home in Palestine, is to betray both the Declaration and the Mandate. And it is this maintenance of an attitude of neutrality that has led to all the tragedies in Palestine since 1920, because, don't you see, in the attempt of the British Government to remain 'neutral' between the two peoples in Palestine, the objective can be attained in only two ways, through protest or through massacres. The Jews have protested and the Arabs have massacred. The Jews protested and gained nothing. The Arabs massacred and have successfully received more and more concessions. In Palestine they say, 'Le'Yehudim havtochoth; L'Aravim hanochoth' (to the Jews, promises; to the Arabs, concessions). And as long as this policy continues there will be no stability, there will be no security, there will be no tranquility.

### Denies Expropriation by Jews

"Lastly, and I am through, we repudiate this contention which has come to the fore only since the last twelve months, since the riots, that the incoming Jews have expropriated, expatriated, impoverished the great, rich Arab population of Palestine which heretofore was prosperous, cultured and civilized. We ruined the country! How much those statements of the Colonial Office remind you of the ramblings of the Hitlerites in Germany and of every anti-Semite all over the world! What is it that they say of the Jews in any country? Why, the Jew exploits, the Jew lives off other people and makes it impossible for other people to earn a living. They make the age-old anti-Semitic charges under new cloaks.

"Our conscience is clear. Our record is open to the gaze of the world. We are not going to build a national, new life upon the backs of any people. We are going to build our national life for the benefit and not for the curse of anyone. For every dunam of land we bought in Palestine, we paid handsomely. Not an Arab has been evicted. Those Arabs who have been moved or transferred from rural settlements to urban life were adequately compensated. Many of them settled on land elsewhere. Much of the land of the new settlements that have been built in recent years was redeemed from swamps, waste lands, lands from which every other who attempted to cultivate it was driven away by pestilence and malaria. Our chalutzim went to these malaria-ridden swamps and drained them, and built upon these malarial pestilential swamps beautiful communities.

"We have brought into Palestine, my friends, civilization, the sacred art of peace. From a Mediterranean poverty-stricken, backward, oriental province we are making of Palestine a practical, healthy, modern commonwealth. The Arabs who live in Palestine feel already the economic stimulus that has come with the incursion of the new Jewish settlement. Our record is clear and therefore our determination is undaunted. Our answer to Lord Passfield, Mr. MacDonald, to all the secretaries and underlings of the Colonial Office, our answer is today as it was yesterday, as it will be tomorrow until our holy ideal is realized, 'we carry on.'

"We thank Mr. Ussishkin for coming to our midst at this critical time to help us to carry on."

## Leader Outlines Menace of Hitlerite Anti-Semitism

(Continued from Page 5)

secure the power of dictatorship, it would undoubtedly constitute a great danger to the civic status of the Jewish citizens of the Republic."

Against these dangers, German Jewry is prepared, ready to defend its civic, material and spiritual rights against the onslaughts of the modern-medievalists who would destroy German Jewry and the largest organization of German Jewry, the Central-Association of German Citizens of the Jewish Faith, says Herr Wallach, is leading all German Jewry in this struggle, making use of decades of experience in fighting anti-Semitism, and carrying on the campaign with full energy and with the proper psychological insight into the situation.

"The German Jews," declares Herr Wallach, "do not feel themselves isolated in this struggle. The government stands resolutely for the maintenance of the republic constitutional guarantees, and the great republican parties have finally decided to fight all those elements which threaten the future existence of the German Republic.

"We utter the hope," he said finally, "that all right-thinking people of the world will make efforts to bring about a return of good-will, peace and tranquility throughout Europe and throughout the world."

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## Silver and Neuman Charge Britain's Palestine Policy Based on Imperialism at Rousing Reception to M. M. Ussishkin

(Continued from Page 3)

dunam, we must keep on building. We must have our feet firmly on the ground—and first we must own the ground to stand on. God has created a political crisis in Palestine at the same moment that he created a financial crisis in America. The American Jews must remember that when a man has an only child dying, he pawns his very coat in order to buy medicine for the child. Palestine is our child. Medicine is needed at once. There will always be Jews to go to Palestine, but we may not always be able to get Palestine for the Jews."

### Message from Warburg

The following message from Felix M. Warburg was read: "May I add to the host of greetings which have reached you from so many sources, a word of welcome on your arrival here, in behalf of the Jewish National Fund.

"The stalwart courage you have always evinced in the face of obstacles should stand you and us in good stead in these trying days, when the mood of discouragement affects so many.

"The cause of the upbuilding of Palestine through all of its constructive channels of service today, more than ever before, requires the most earnest effort and the most harmonious cooperation of all groups and personalities. Apart from problems of governmental discussions, both the Jewish Agency for Palestine and the Keren Kayemeth Leisrael are faced with the duty of meeting the needs of their day to day programs.

"In the building up of a strong and helpful sentiment and in the promotion of sympathetic collaboration in this cause, we know that you will bring to bear all of your strength and energy."

### Rabbi Silver's Speech

"Wherever I think of Mr. Ussishkin, a phrase from one of our Prophets comes to my mind: 'Behold, I will make thee like a threshing sledge, having sharp teeth; you will break through mountains and beat them into small pebbles, a sharp threshing sledge and the hills you will make like plains.' Ussishkin is like a 'Morag Chorutz', and at such times as these, my friends, we require men of that type—in this period of storm and confusion, with sentiments of abdication and defeatism in the air, with a babel of voices which take counsel not from hope and courage but from fear and despair all around us; coupled in some quarters with a sort of melancholy masochistic Messianism and a universal pessimism, at such times of confusion and uncertainty, it is fine to be able to look up to a lighthouse that stands there imperturbable, steady, sure, and that lighthouse is Menachem Ussishkin.

"I am glad he came here this time for we need him, and I am glad he came as he did come, for the Jewish National Fund, because there is no agency, my friends, which so completely and perfectly symbolizes the high ideal of our movement as the Jewish National Fund. It is most beloved. It is closest to the

heart of our people—and why?—because, it has set for itself two objectives, each one of them reminiscent of the noblest traditions of our race; each one of them voicing the highest prophetic aspirations of our people:

### Land Settlement Paramount

"First, to settle Jews on the land in Palestine, to ground their life again in the soil, to normalize, stabilize and tranquilize Jewish life again by giving it an agricultural basis, to undo, if possible, some of the mischief which the age-long predominantly urban mode of life of our people has done to our souls and minds: to sink our roots deep down again into the nourishing soil of mother earth. That is the first ideal of the Jewish National Fund. And the second one is to preserve that land which is to be tilled by Jewish labor in perpetuity for the Jewish people. The land is to be acquired by the Jewish people, not as the hobby of a few philanthropists but through the sacrificial offerings of millions of our people, because it is to be the inalienable property of the Jewish people. In other words, no land speculation, no absentee landlordism, no profiteers draining the surplus value of the unearned increment of the land but only he who tills the soil 'b'zehath apo' (by the sweat of his brow) shall enjoy the yield of the land.

"That is Jewish prophecy as I understand the message of our prophets, and that I make bold to say is the ideal toward which every civilized country is moving today, and up to recently this effort was applauded by everyone. It was one thing in our program about which we were most praised and most applauded, but today that very item has been attacked, and by whom?—not by reactionary agrarians, not by conservatives who have vested interests to protect, not by liberals who are not sure of what they want, but by Laborites, by Socialists, by the British Labor Party sneaking through its spokesmen Passfield and MacDonald.

### Britain Betrays Jews

"We had to wait for a quarter of a century to be attacked. It is they who point the finger of scorn and accusation against the new social order of agricultural centres which we have been attempting to build in Palestine, and against this provision to preserve the land as the inalienable property of the Jewish people. In so doing, they betray not us, for we go on, but themselves, for they repudiate their own position, their own creed.

"Lord Passfield before he became Lord Passfield, when he was only Sidney Webb, wrote a constitution for the Socialist Commonwealth of Great Britain, an ideal constitution for the Great Britain which is to be in the days to come when it becomes a Socialist Commonwealth. In this constitution, Lord Passfield, or Sidney Webb, not only advocates the nationalization of the land but advocates the expropriation of the land for pur-

poses of nationalization. I read from his book printed in 1920: 'The community will let no vested interest stand in the way of improvement. It will expropriate without remorse individual owners from their land, and house property, their factories and their enterprises, whenever this course seems to promote the general well-being, offering them, of course, compensation which shall come out of the taxes of other property owners.'

"Now, when we set about trying to acquire land for the national possession of our people, we did it through no 'expropriation without remorse,' we did it without legislation, without compulsion, without threat. We bought land which was gladly sold to us and we paid for it. Now that we are trying to realize his ideal of Lord Passfield without doing harm to anyone, without evicting a soul, without dispossessing a soul, we are being criticized for doing the very thing which Lord Passfield would like to do in England, if he could.

### Quotes MacDonald's Book

"And what did Mr. MacDonald say about land nationalization? In his book

(Continued on Page 7)



## Our Answer is: "We Carry on"— Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver in the course of his address at Mecca Temple said:

"Whenever I think of Mr. Ussishkin, a phrase from one of our Prophets comes to my mind: 'Behold, I will make thee like a threshing-sledge, having sharp teeth; you will break through mountains and beat them into small pebbles, and the hills you will make like plains', Ussishkin is like a 'Morag Chorutz' (a sharp threshing-sledge).

### Ussishkin An Imperturbable Lighthouse

"At such times as these, my friends, we require men of that type—in this period of storm and confusion, with sentiments of abdication and defeatism in the air, with a babel of voices which take counsel not from hope and courage but from fear and despair all around us; coupled in some quarters with a sort of melancholy masochistic Messianism and a universal pessimism; at such times of confusion and uncertainty, it is fine to be able to look up to a lighthouse that stands there imperturbable, steady, sure and that lighthouse is Menachem Ussishkin. I am glad he came here this time for we need him, and I am glad he came as he did come, for the Jewish National Fund, because there is no agency, my friends, which so completely and perfectly symbolizes the high ideal of our movement as the Jewish National Fund. It is most beloved. It is closest to the heart of our people—and why?—Because, it has set for itself two objectives, each one of them reminiscent of the noblest traditions of our race; each one of them voicing the highest prophetic aspirations of our people: First, to settle Jews on the land in Palestine, to ground their life again in the soil, to normalize, stabilize and tranquilize Jewish life again by giving it an agricultural basis, to undo, if possible, some of the mischief which the age-long predominantly urban mode of life of our people has done to our souls and minds; to sink our roots deep down again into the nourishing soil of mother earth. That is the first ideal of the Jewish National Fund. And the second one is to preserve that land which is to be tilled by Jewish labor in perpetuity for the Jewish people. The land is to be acquired by the Jewish people, not as the hobby of a few philanthropists but through the sacrificial offerings of millions of our people, because it is to be the inalienable property of the Jewish people. In other words, no land speculation, no absentee landlordism, no profiteers draining the surplus value of the unearned increment of the land but only he who tills the soil 'b'zeath apo' (by the sweat of his brow) shall enjoy the yield of the land. That is Jewish prophecy as I understand the message of our prophets, and that I make bold to say is the ideal toward which every civilized country is moving today, and up to recently this effort was applauded by

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### Shows MacDonald-Passfield's Inconsistency

"Now, when we set about trying to acquire land for the national possession of our people, we did it through no 'expropriation without remorse,' we did it without legislation, without compulsion, without threat. We bought land which was gladly sold to us and we paid for it. Now that we are trying to realize this ideal of Lord Passfield without doing harm to anyone, without evicting a soul, without dispossessing a soul, we are being criticized for doing the very thing which Lord Passfield would like to do in England, if he could.

"And what did Mr. MacDonald say about land nationalization? In his book called, 'The Social Unrest', Mr. MacDonald writes: 'The most obvious directions in which the program of nationalization is to be applied, to begin with, are the land, the mines and the railways. Nationalization is being promoted in order to retain for social use benefits designed for the whole nation, to keep increases of wages in the pockets of the individual

worker and to prevent exploitation. The policy of nationalization is designed to retain in the pockets and the living standards of the people, the gains which under present conditions are being put into other pockets. Nationalization does not attempt the impossible. It does not propose to set aside economic rules. It proposes to make it an ally of legislation, and it is the only policy which does so."

"And so, Mr. MacDonald and Lord Passfield, before they became enmeshed and entangled in British imperialism spoke as we speak tonight, that the land which God created is for the benefit of all who toil and not for the benefit of the few exploiters. It remained for these Laborites and Socialists to attack us on yet another score that has to do with the National Fund—the principle of self-labor. Who would ever think that Socialists would attack the principle of self-labor? That is exactly what they have done. When we established colonies decades ago which were not built on the principle of self-labor but which did employ Arab labor, non-Jewish tourists who used to visit Petach-Tikvah, Rishon le Zion and other colonies would go away with a slight twinkle in their eyes and knowing looks and say, 'Aha, the Jews do in Palestine exactly what they are doing in Warsaw, in Berlin, in New York. They are exploiting other people. They are not doing the hard work, they are trying to build the Jewish National Homeland with Arab sweat and Arab labor.' They sneered at us for it.

### Self Labor Self Respecting Principle

"And so, when the third Aliah was to begin, when a new movement of young Jewish pioneers was about to begin, that movement of the chaluzim which brought romance into our movement, which brought the epic quality of grandeur and magnificence into our movement, that sacrificial loyalty which gave us our first legendary heroes, which made Palestine a singing laboring country, when that movement began, these young men found that they would build Palestine with their own sweat and blood. But now we are asked by Socialists, by a Socialist government (here a voice from the audience interrupted and said, 'ex-socialist,' and Rabbi Silver answered, 'ex-socialist'—right). Now we are asked to abandon this self-respecting upbuilding principle of self-labor, and go back and employ cheap Arab labor in the building of our Homeland.

"Inconsistent?—of course it is inconsistent, my friends, as inconsistent as it is to have Ramsay MacDonald in 10 Downing Street and Ghandi in prison; as inconsistent as when he wrote and preached for freedom for India and then put 10,000 of them in prison for asking what he himself thought they had a perfect right to

(Continued on next page)



## Our answer is: "We Carry On"— Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver

(Continued from page 10)

ask. And here you have 240,000,000 Hindus, not 180,000 Jews—240,000,000 Hindus on the land, who have lived there for hundreds and thousands of years, who cannot be called immigrants, who also were promised independence during the emergency of the last war, who are also helpless at this moment in getting their just demands met. But they are prepared. They know how to wait. They are going to wait. They have discovered the secret of saying to a threatened act of injustice, "Non-possimus," "we cannot, we will not yield." They will stand up by the hundreds and thousands, and they will be beaten down by the constabulary, by staves and sticks until they are senseless, and when they are down, others come to take their place, and still others, and still others, and this non-resistance to injustice, this will that does not yield to force, that will break British imperialism in India.

### We Reject

"What are we going to do? Well, in the first place, we are going to ignore the White Paper. It wasn't written for us, in the first place. It was written for the Arabs, to appease them, to satisfy their irreconcilables. It wasn't written to meet our legitimate aspirations, our sensitiveness, our national pride. We weren't consulted. We reject it.

"We reaffirm today, as we did in 1917, as we did in 1897, as we did in 1882, as we did in the year 71 A. D., immediately following the destruction of the Temple and the dispersion of our people. We reaffirm our historic claim to Palestine as our National Home, a claim which has now been internationally recognized. We stand by the letter and the spirit of the Balfour Declaration and the Mandate. We know how to read. We are an "Am Ha-Sefer," a people that not only reads but studies every word and phrase, and letter. That document which was not drafted in haste and not given as a result of momentary impulse, that remains our charter of national independence. We stand by it.

"The British Government undertook to facilitate the establishment in Palestine of a National Home for the Jewish people. Nothing was mentioned in the Balfour Declaration or the Mandate about a national home for the Arab people in Palestine. It said that none of the civil and religious rights of the non-Jewish communities there shall be interfered with — and they have not been interfered with. The Arab has not lost one civil or religious right that he possessed before the Balfour Declaration. It is not a civil right and not a religious right for the Arabs to have an Arab national home in Palestine. Their national aspirations, as has been superbly indicated by the chairman, Mr. Neumann, tonight, have not been denied. We would be the last ones to deny any people its legitimate aspirations. They have been thrice vin-

dicated. Already three national homes have been established since the war. Palestine was intended to be by those who issued the Declaration and the Mandate, the National Home of the Jewish people. We stand by that. We make no concessions and yield no point on that.

"We may not realize, we may not achieve our aim tomorrow or the next day, but the Jewish people has a peculiar genius for losing every battle but the last one. And we reject — we reject the new doctrine which has been enunciated in the Shaw report and since repeated in two White Papers; namely, that the British Government in Palestine is to keep a balance of power between the two peoples; to remain impartial (I am quoting) "a neutral, impartial attitude in the inevitable conflict between two peoples who have the same rights in Palestine." That, we maintain, is a distortion and falsification of the Declaration and the Mandate. To remain a "neutral" when you have undertaken "to facilitate close Jewish settlement" on the soil; to remain a "neutral" when you have undertaken "to encourage Jewish immigration;" to remain a "neutral" when you have solemnly assumed the sacred trust of the upbuilding of the Jewish National Home in Palestine, is to betray both the Declaration and the Mandate.

### Scores British Neutrality

"And it is this maintenance of an attitude of neutrality that has led to all the tragedies in Palestine since 1920, because, don't you see, in the attempt of the British Government to remain "neutral" between the two peoples in Palestine, the objective can be attained in only two ways; through protest or through massacres. The Jews have protested and the Arabs have massacred. The Jews protested and gained nothing. The Arabs massacred and have successfully received more and more concessions. In Palestine they say, "L'Yehudim havtochoth; L'Aravim hanachoth" (to the Jews, promises; to the Arabs, concessions). And as long as this policy continues there will be no stability, there will be no security, there will be no tranquility.

Lastly, and I am through, we repudiate this contention which has come to the fore only since the last twelve months, since the riots, that the incoming of Jews have expropriated, expatriated, impoverished the great, rich Arab population of Palestine which heretofore was prosperous, cultured and civilized. We ruined the country! How much these statements of the Colonial Office remind you of the ramblings of the Hitlerites in Germany and of every anti-Semite all over the world! What is it that they say of the Jews in any country? Why, the Jew exploits, the Jew lives off other people and makes it impossible for other people to earn a living. They make the age-old anti-semitic charges under new cloaks.

"Our conscience is clear. Our record is open to the gaze of the world. We are not going to build a national, new life upon the backs of any people. We are going to build our national life for the benefit and not for the curse of anyone. For every dunam of land we bought in Palestine, we paid handsomely. Not an Arab has been evicted. Those Arabs who have been moved or transferred from rural settlements to urban life were adequately compensated. Many of them settled on land elsewhere. Much of the land of the new settlements that have been built in recent years was redeemed from swamps, waste lands, lands from which every other who attempted to cultivate it, was driven away by pestilence and malaria. Our chaluzim went to these malaria-ridden swamps and drained them, and built upon these malarial, pestilential swamps, beautiful, thriving communities.

### Determination Remains Undaunted

"We have brought into Palestine, my friends, civilization, the sacred art of peace. From a Mediterranean poverty-stricken, backward, oriental province, we are making of Palestine a practical, healthy, modern commonwealth. The Arabs who live in Palestine feel already the economic stimulus that has come with the incursion of the new Jewish settlement. Our record is clear and therefore, our determination is undaunted. Our answer to Lord Passfield, Mr. MacDonald, to all the secretaries and underlings of the Colonial Office, our answer is today as it was yesterday, as it will be tomorrow until our holy ideal is realized, "We carry on."

"We thank Mr. Ussishkin for coming to our midst at this critical time to help us to carry on."

### One Million Zlotys Raised in Poland for Jewish National Fund

#### Remarkable Advance Noted

In the course of the twelve months of the last Jewish year, Polish Jewry raised over one million Zlotys for the Jewish National Fund, which represents some 30% increase over the receipts of the former year.

Only five centers in Poland showed a decline in income, while sixteen increased their receipts by 266,352 Zlotys, the greatest increase being from boxes which brought in 60,326 Zlotys more than the previous year. Other important contributions were those from the Kehila budgets.

This result is the highest ever achieved in Poland with the exception of the record year of 1925, when conditions were much more prosperous. As present economic conditions are extremely low the advance for the National Fund is, therefore, the more remarkable. It is of interest to note that notwithstanding the conditions and the distraction from Palestine interests caused by the Parliamentary elections, friends of the National Fund are imbued with optimism in regard to the future.