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Zionism again vindicated, 1932.

32-4

June 1932

occasion not
indicated

ZIONISM AGAIN VINDICATED
DR. ABBA HILLEL SILVER-CLEVELAND, OHIO

Every race has its own unique wisdom, which is the distilled essence of its long life and history. Sometimes this wisdom is lost sight of. Sometimes members of the race deny it and act as if it were not true. But the march of time and the long-range experiences of the race always vindicate its basic wisdom and its racial sense.

Zionism is the ancient wisdom of our race. It is the classic philosophy of Jewish life which time and a bi-millennial experience in all parts of the world have evolved.

This deep-rooted wisdom of one's people has always embodied two principles. First - that the Jewish people should not assimilate. Secondly that the Jewish people cannot assimilate. The events of the last decade have again demonstrated how profoundly true and inescapable these doctrines are.

That the Jewish people should not assimilate - that is the burden of every prophet, sage, seer and teacher of Israel since the time of the patriarchs. For his own sake and for the sake of the world, the Jew should retain his identity - his racial and cultural integrity - this injunction runs like a major theme through all authentic Jewish teaching. One need not adduce proof for this. It is so self-evident that even he who runs may read.

That the Jewish people cannot assimilate is not so self-evident. That is why so many have so often tried assimilation as a solution of the Jewish problem. But this strange and challenging fact was already

known to the prophet Ezekiel who declared: "And that which cometh into your mind shall not be at all; in that ye say: We will be as the nations, as the families of the earth... As I live, saith the Lord God, surely with a mighty hand, and with an outstretched arm and with fury poured out, and I be King over you." You cannot escape the inescapable hand of your destiny.

Destiny will not permit the Jew to assimilate. Here and there an individual or a great number of individuals/^{or} even a majority of a community or a country will fall away. But the people remains - if only a remnant of it, which in course of time becomes the ~~fixing~~ seed-bed of a new national regeneration.

What the prophet of the second exile - Ezekiel - knew, the prophet of the last exile - Theodore Herzl - also knew and proclaimed. Speaking to another age, in another language, in a different part of the world and to Jews reared in other ways of life and thought, he yet proclaimed the same fateful thesis of Israel's inassimilability.

"We have honestly endeavored everywhere to merge ourselves in the social life of surrounding communities, and to preserve only the faith of our fathers. It has not been permitted us. In vain are we loyal patriots, our loyalty in some places running to extremes. In vain do we make the same sacrifices of life and property as our fellow citizens. In vain do we strive to increase the fame of our native land in science and art, or her wealth by trade and commerce. In countries where we have lived for centuries we are still cried down as strangers, and often by those whose ancestors were not yet domiciled in the land where Jews had already made experience of suffering... Therefore it is useless for us to be loyal

patriots, as were the Huguenots who were forced to emigrate. If we could only be left in peace... But I think we shall not be left in peace."

Herzl grounded his conviction in economics. Ezekiel in theology. The conviction, however is the same. Those Jews assimilate most readily, declared Herzl, who become economically most prosperous. Our economic aristocracy yields the greatest number of Jewish assimilationists. Thus if Jews in preponderately large numbers - in numbers large enough to disintegrate the Jewish people - are to assimilate they must first gain greater economic affluence and power than they now possess. But this is the very source and mainspring of antisemitism. The non-Jewish population does not want the members of a minority group to grow rich and powerful. Thus the process of assimilation is stopt by the very circumstance which makes it possible. "The absorption of the Jews by means of their prosperity is therefore unlikely to occur."

Herzl was laughed to scorn in his day by the practical people, the men of affairs, who knew everything - except what I call the ancient wisdom of their race - the historic sense. The events of the last few years in Western Europe - particularly in Germany and Austria - have exposed their tragic near-sightedness and vindicated the vision and insight of Herzl. Back of the Nazi black rage against the Jews is a bitter hateful resentment against the putative prosperity of the German Jews. ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ Thus the very factor which paved the way for assimilation among German Jews is now the greatest obstacle to the culmination of that process.

Two factors, not clearly discernible in Herzl's day, are today tending to make the lot of the Jew harder and to knock the last props from underneath the hopes of the assimilationist that enlightenment and human progress will solve the Jewish problem.

The first is cultural anti-Semitism. The medieval church wanted the Jew to assimilate, persecuted him in order to force him to assimilate and offered inducements and preferments to assimilation, but the modern cultural and racial anti-Semite most decidedly does not want the Jew to assimilate. He fears that his pure racial stock would be contaminated by the infusion of inferior Semitic admixtures. The cry of Hitler and his cohorts is : "Keep the Jew out! Ghettoize him again! Isolate and segregate him."

The second factor is the general disadvantaged position of minority groups in the modern state. Whenever and wherever political or economic integration takes place cultural minorities suffer. The modern state is reaching after a maximum of political integration and is therefore highly intolerant of racial and cultural minorities. Minority rights are only grudgingly conceded and they remain a source of continual resentment and irritation.

At the present time the trend towards economic integration or state capitalism is still further undermining the position of minority groups and more especially of the Jewish group. It is everywhere evident that the Jew has greater opportunities in small-scale, individualistic and competitive industries and trades than in large-scale, controlled or monopolistic industries. Economic consolidation always spells Jewish exclusion. State capitalism which is developing so rapidly in countries like Germany, Austria and Poland is notoriously inhospitable to Jews. The bourgeois economic individualism and political liberalism of the 19th century gave the Jew his greatest political and economic opportunities. The

break-down of this civilization in our day and the decline in economic individualism and political democracy have sadly worsened the position of the Jew everywhere.

Whether the State Socialism of Russia will disprove this thesis remains to be seen. It is too early to judge. Unlike Germany or the United States, Russia is still at the beginning of its industrial development. There is still room without crowding for everyone. When the saturation point is reached the real test will come. Will the Jew be unmolested even in Socialist Russia?

Thus the philosophy of Zionism is again being proved and established. The Jewish problem, insofar as it is solvable, can only be solved through national restoration in a national home. The Jewish people must be at home, thoroughly and completely at home, politically, economically and culturally at home, in at least one part of the world. A Jewish majority in Palestine under autonomous conditions will insure this. A Jewish minority in Palestine will in the long run prove as dependent and helpless as Jewish minorities elsewhere. A proper economic exploitation of Palestine on both sides of the Jordan may in the course of time bring into being a Jewish commonwealth of sufficient size and consequence to offer a normal political, economic and social existence to a substantial part of our people. This is our objective.

We are projecting a national home, not another Jewish Ghetto in an Arab country, nor even a Jewish university quadrangle.

Palestine is no solution for every Jewish problem, for not all the Jews of the world will settle in Palestine. The Jews of the Diaspora will have to fight for their rights and their self preservation as bravely as did their fathers before them. They are not strangers to anti-Semitism and they

will resort to the old Jewish strategy of entrenching themselves more firmly behind the bulwarks of the Jewish Synagogue, the Jewish school, the Jewish home and the Jewish Will to Live.

Palestine is the solution of one great Jewish problem - that of finding somewhere in the world a place where at least some of our people may enjoy that complete normal life which is denied them elsewhere, whither those of our people who find every road of progress in the countries where they now reside closed to them may go to find hope and fulfillment, and where the Jews may dwell not only under their own vines and fig trees, masters of their economic destiny, but also under the wings of their own racial ~~Shechinah~~, masters of their own spiritual and cultural destiny.

This is a long-range program. We dare not measure our progress in short wave lengths. We dare not ^{base} our strategy on a few skirmishes. Ours is a movement of the ages. It took eighteen centuries to lead up to the Balfour Declaration. Our movement unfolds itself with the slowness and deliberateness of great historic processes. The impatient men were always under suspicion by the thoughtful among our people. That which is overheated cracks soonest. "In quietness and in deliberateness shall ye be redeemed."

Zionism Again Vindicated

TP 1

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But the march of time and the long-range experiences of the race always

vindicate ^{its} ~~this~~ basic wisdom ~~of the race~~ and its ^{racial} sense, ~~of values~~.

^{this deep-rooted wisdom of our people}
~~Zionism which is the modern name for and the latest manifestation~~
^{has always embodied two principles,}
~~of national survival has in our day proclaimed two truths which were always part~~
~~of this racial wisdom of our people.~~ First-that the Jewish people should not assimilate, ~~and~~ ^{Secondly} that the Jewish people cannot assimilate. The events of the last decade have again demonstrated how profoundly true and inescapable these doctrines are.

That the Jewish people should not assimilate - that is the burden of every prophet, sage, ~~xxx~~ seer and teacher of Israel since the time of the patriarchs. For his own sake, ^{for} ~~for~~ the sake of the world, the Jew should retain his identity - his racial and cultural integrity - this injunction runs like a major theme through all authentic Jewish teaching. One need not adduce proof for this. It is so self-evident that even he who ~~runs~~ may read.

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"And that which cometh into your mind shall not be at all; in that ye say:

We will be as the nations, as the families of the earth.... As I live, saith

the Lord God, surely with a mighty hand, and with an outstretched arm and with

fury poured out, and I be King over you." *You cannot escape the merciless hand of your destiny.*

Destiny will not permit the Jew to assimilate. Here and there

an individual or a great number of individuals even a ~~majority~~ *majority* of a community

or a ~~community~~ *county* ~~of a community~~ will ~~fall~~ *fall* away, if only a ~~small~~ *small* remnant of it,

~~but the people remains~~ *But the people remains—* which in course of time becomes the ~~seed~~ *seed* of a new

national regeneration. *Seed-bed*

What the prophet of the ~~first~~ *second* exile - Ezekiel, knew, the

prophet of the last exile - Theodore Herzl - also knew and proclaimed.

Speaking to another age, in another language, in a different part of the world

and to Jews reared in other ways of life and thought, he yet proclaimed the

same fateful thesis of Israel's inassimilability. *WRHS ARCHIVES*

"We have honestly endeavored every where
to merge ourselves in the social life of surrounding communities,

and to preserve only the faith of our fathers. It has not been permitted us.

In vain are we loyal patriots, our loyalty in some places running to extremes.

In vain do we make the same sacrifices of life and property as our fellow citizens.

In vain do we strive to increase the fame of our native land in science and art,

or her wealth by trade and commerce. In countries where we have lived for

centuries we are still cried down as strangers, and often by those whose ancestors

were not yet domiciled in the land where Jews had already made experience of

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And vindicated the vision and insight
of Herzl.

ABSTRACT OF THE ADDRESS DELIVERED BY DR. ABBA HILLEL SILVER
OF CLEVELAND, OHIO, WESNEBDAY EVENING, JUNE 22, AT THE
ASTOR HOTEL.

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Jew harder and to knock the last props from underneath the hopes
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of minority groups in the modern state. Whenever and wherever
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may go to find hope and fulfillment, and where the Jews may dwell not only under their own vines and fig trees, masters of their economic destiny, but also under the wings of their own racial Shechinah, masters of their own spiritual and cultural destiny.



Q We have cut ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~man~~ ^{man} on paper in that I
was lights. We have as we are all happy
on a few ~~man~~ ^{man} - One is a movement
of the eyes - At ten ^{eighty} ^{centuries} to lead up to the
Kafukel ^{our} ^{movement} ~~the~~ ^{the} unfolds itself with the
slender & delicate lines, great historic processes.
The movement was also ^{always} ^{under} ^{suspension}
~~It was~~ ^{It was} ^{suspended} ^{by} ^{the} ^{that} ^{the} ^{army} ^{our}
people. That which is ~~the~~ ^{the} ^{crosses}
must. "In quietness and in debilitation
shall ye be redeemed"

Q This is a love ~~range~~ ^{range} ^{propane}.

WRHS



1. Every race has - distilled essence of its history
Some times it is lost sight of -
But the march of time - long-range
Zionism is the ancient wisdom of our race
classic of phil. which time

2. This ancient wisdom of our race has always
embodied 2 principles ~~which~~ touching
J. nat. survival:

First - J. people should not assimilate

Secondly - " " cannot " "

Zionism - ~~which~~ ^{derives authority} has proclaimed these
and events - how profoundly right
and inevitable

3. That the J. people should not - burden
of prophet -

For his own sake - this injunction
runs like the major theme

One need not adduce -

4. That the J. people cannot - not so self-
evident - and that is why - ass. as solution

⊙ But this strange, challenging fact
Anthropical - 22. 23 of 23rd

Destiny will not permit - Her & Her

5. What the prophet, the ^{first sound} Epile - Ezekiel - knew
speaking to another eye - he yet proclaimed
the same fatalistic thesis (Jews).
6. Hegel grounded his conviction in Economics
Eg. in Theology - Conviction same
- (c) These Jews, declare H., assimilate most
readily - who become Econ. most prosperous.
Our econ. aristocracy - Thus if Jews
in preponderance - attain a degree -
that that is the very force & basis -
Thus the process, H. is struck by the
very circumstances -
- "The absorption of Jews by means of their
prosperity is: unlikely to occur"
7. Hegel was laughed to scorn by -
The last few years in West-Eu. part -
effaced - & v. undisciplined - Haack, Nazi
rage against Jews is this indignation
the way. jump against the present -
(pretensions) & the ruinous J. jump
Thus the very econ. jump. which paved

E. Two other factors - not clearly discernible
in His days - are to day tending to weaken
- and to knock -

(a) The first is cultural anti-semitism.
The Med. Church wanted the Jew to
Do as we do Jew - 100%
Keep the Jew out! Ghettoize him again!
Isolate - segregate - Cry of the -
segregate - beyond hope of evening redemption

(b) Second - general disadvantaged position
of a minority group in modern world
Whenever & wherever pol. or Econ. integration
The countries which first effected
The modern state, everywhere seeking
maximum - is highly intolerant -
minority rights are gradually

(c) At present time the trend towards
Econ. integration - state capitalism -
is still further undermining
It is a notorious fact

Comm. centralization spells J. Exclusion in
The State Cap. which is devel. so rapidly
Germany - Austria - Poland - notoriously
inhospitable
As more & more of industry becomes

"Czechoslovak" - more run, Econ. anti. death
The bourgeois industrial + liberal liberalism
9 19c gave Jews their protest
The break-down, the long. civil-
decline - worried -
State cap. women the domination
+ majority + defeat

(1) Whether Russian "State Socialism"
will disappear - but get reached
a even approach - saturation

(2) Thus the future - not bright -
we cannot annihilate - and our
position as a min. group everywhere
regards us to those whisperings
which present-day trend - creates a
accountants.

9. Thus the phil. 92 - wisdom - is again
proved and established.

The J. problem, for in so far as it is
solvable, - then nat. restoration
in a nat. home

The J. people must be at home -
in some part, the world

11. Pal. is no solution of every J. problem
for all the Jews of the world will not
settle there.

(a) Jews in Diaspora will learn to
bifurcate - They will not be discouraged -
~~German~~ but novices - strategy -
German Jews - Crusade.

(b) Pal. is the solution of one great
J. problem: - that of estab. some-
where in the world for a sig. section
of our people a place - enjoy -
where their - road closed - where
Jews may dwell not only live -
marry - destiny.

12. That Jews possess the capacity to
upbuild -

(a) In a world so unt deft -
Trade Unions - Commerce - no
business collabor - antis unemployment

(b) It is only -

13. Why have Jews succeeded -

A Jewish majority in Pal- under-wisar
" " minority " " well, in long run,
must as dependent and helpless, a black
People Econ. exploitation of the possibilities
of P. on both sides, Jordan-Conf
may in the course, time stretch -
to offer a normal - to a substantial

10. This is our objective. We are
projecting a national home - not
another J. ghetto in an Arab country
or a J. community college quadrangle

(a). ∴ we dare not measure our progress
in that name by this. - We dare
not base our strategy on a few
skinnerheads.

Ours is a movement, the ages!
It took 18 centuries -
our movement unfolds itself
The impatient ones - from 1st point
That wheel is overheated cracks
move.

11
We have honestly endeavored everywhere
to merge ourselves in the social life
of surrounding communities, and to
preserve only the faith of our fathers.
It has not been permitted us. In vain
are we loyal patriots, our loyalty in some
places running to extremes. In vain do
we make the same sacrifices of life and
property as our fellow citizens. In vain
do we strive to increase the fame of our
native land in science and art, or
her wealth by trade and commerce.
In countries where we have lived for
centuries we are still cried down
as strangers, and often by those whose
ancestors were not yet domiciled in
the land where Jews had already made
experience of suffering.... Therefore it is
useless for us to be loyal patriots, as
were the Huguenots who were forced to
emigrate. If we could only be left in
peace....

But I think we shall not be left
in peace."

1. Z. is the ancient wisdom of our race. It is the classic phil.
of J. life which time and a bi-millennial experience ~~creating~~
~~every~~ in all parts of the world have evolved. Every race
has its own ^{unique} ~~deep-rooted~~ wisdom, which is the distilled ~~of~~
essence of its ~~long life~~ ^{history}. Some times it is lost sight of.
Sometimes members, the race deny it, ~~or act as if it were~~
not ~~there~~ ^{time}. But the march of time, ~~always~~ and the long-
range experiences, the race always vindicate ~~this~~ ^{this historic}
wisdom, ~~and its~~ ^{its} sense of values.

2. Z. which is the ~~ancient~~ ^{the} ~~name~~ ^{the} ~~of~~ ^{the} ~~national survival~~ ^{national survival}, ~~is the~~
~~fullness of~~ has ~~in our days~~ ^{in our days} proclaimed 2 truths which
were always ~~part~~ ^{part} of this racial wisdom of our
people. First that the J. people should not assimilate
and secondly that the J. people cannot assimilate.
~~But the events~~, the last decade has again
demonstrated how profoundly true and incapable
these doctrines are.

3. That the J. people should not assimilate - that is the
burden of prophet, sage, ~~and~~ ^{and} ~~seer~~ ^{seer} & leader of Israel
since the time of the patriarchs. For his own sake
for the sake of the world, the Jew should retain his
identity - his ~~original~~ ^{original} integrity - that requirement
new like a ~~reform~~ ^{reform} than all authority of packing.
That was the chief one used not address proof
for this. It is so self-evident that even he who
never may read ~~it~~.

4. That the J. people cannot assimilate is not

so self evident - and that is why so many have so
often denied accumulation as a solution, the J. problem.
But this strange fact, was already known to the
Biblical author who declared -

וְהָיָה כִּי יִשְׁכַּח אֶת-הַבְּרִית אֲשֶׁר עָשָׂה יְהוָה עִם-יִשְׂרָאֵל
וְהָיָה כִּי יִשְׁכַּח אֶת-הַבְּרִית אֲשֶׁר עָשָׂה יְהוָה עִם-יִשְׂרָאֵל
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and that wheel with your mind shall not be at
all; is that ye say; We will be as the nations, as the
peoples, the earth... As I live, saith the Lord God, surely
with a mighty hand, and with an outstretched arm,
and with fury poured out, will I be to you;

Destiny will not permit the Jew to assimilate.
Here and there an individual, even a great number
of individuals, will ^{even} ^{may} ^{be} ^a ^{community} ⁱⁿ ^a ^{prominent} ^{or} ^a ^{country}
if only a ^{small} remnant ^{which} ⁱⁿ ^{course} ^{of} ^{time}
becomes the nucleus of a new national regeneration.

4. What the prophet of the first exile - Ezekiel - knew, the
prophet of the last exile - Theodore Herzl - also knew
and proclaimed. Speaking to another age, in another
language, ~~to go~~ in a different part of the world and
to Jews reared in ^{other ways} ~~another~~ ^{and thought} ~~organization~~, he yet pro-
claimed the same fate for them of Israel's inescapability
(Quote).

5. Herzl provided his curriculum in Economics. Ezekiel
in theology. The curriculum, however, ~~is~~ the same.
Those Jews assimilate most readily, declare Herzl,

(4)
7. ~~The~~ Two other factors, not easily described in
Heaps days, are to-day ^{tending} ~~working~~ to make the
lot, the Jew harder, and to turn the last
pious ~~man~~ under the assumption ^{hope} ~~that~~
~~that~~ that enlightenment and human progress
will solve the Jewish problem everywhere.

(a) ~~The~~ first is cultural antipathy.
The Mod. Church wanted the Jew to assimilate,
Ypocris has ~~incarnated~~ - ~~human~~ - ~~preference~~
It had ~~an~~ ~~absorption~~ as a triumph. But
~~the~~ ~~absorption~~ ~~is~~ ~~not~~ ~~the~~ ~~modern~~ ~~cultural~~ ~~radical~~ ~~action~~ ~~must~~
~~decisively~~ ~~do~~ ~~not~~ ~~want~~. It does not
want the Jew to ~~become~~ ~~an~~ ~~assimilated~~ ~~man~~.
A ~~Christian~~, or ~~Freemason~~, a ~~key~~ - that is
to ~~contaminate~~ the pure racial stock - to
adulterate the pure texture, ~~fact~~, a ~~high~~ ~~on~~
cultures with inferior ~~humanity~~ ~~admixture~~.
Keep the Jew out! ~~Shut~~ ~~the~~ ~~door~~ ~~again~~! What
hiss - ~~eyes~~ ~~at~~ ~~him~~! That is the cry today
(Hitler & his cohorts - ~~eyes~~ ~~at~~ ~~him~~)
without ^{even} ~~that~~ ~~hope~~ ~~redemption~~ ~~where~~ ~~the~~
Mod. Church held out in the ~~former~~
apostasy,

(b) And the second is the general disadvantages
position of a minority group in the modern world.

As a minority group we are despised in the modern world. Whenever & wherever political or economic integration takes place cultural minorities are at a disadvantage. The countries which first expelled the Jews in the Middle Ages were those which were the first to be Christianized - England, France and a century later Spain & Italy, etc. The disunited countries of Italy & Germany offered ~~that~~ ^{at least} ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~7~~ ⁷ ~~immigrants~~ ^{immigrants} from one finding a refuge in one or another city, state or province being disturbed, could never wholly banish them. There always existed some city, bishopric or province to which ^{the Jews} could go when expelled from others. The modern state, ^{everywhere} seeking ~~to~~ ^{to} ~~prevent~~ ^{prevent} the wayward & pol. integration is by all intent & accident, a cultural minority. Minority rights are judiciously conceded, and are always a source of resentment and irritation.

At the present time, the Jew, towards economic integration, ^{in State Capitalism} ~~is still further~~ ^{is still further} ~~undermining~~ ^{undermining} the position of the minority groups, especially the Jewish group. It is a notorious fact that the Jew has greater econ. opportunities in small-scale ^{indus.} ~~comp.~~ ^{comp.} industry than in large scale manufacturing industries. Econ. integration always works against the Jew.

The ^{State Capitalism} ~~Prussian~~ Socialism wheel is developing (6)
~~very~~ rapidly in countries like Germany &
 Austria and Poland is ~~forming~~ ~~shifting~~
 to a system which will be Jew.
 As new & new industries become State
 "dominated" new & more economic arch-
~~structures~~ ^{will} develop. The Prussian ^{liberalism} ~~industrialism~~
 the 19c. gave the Jew his ^{greatest} ~~best~~ record.
~~Wreckmaster.~~ The breaking down of that civilization
 in our day declines both in pop. density and econ. individualism
 and the rise of a new ~~form of civilization~~
 has sadly increased the position of the Jew
 Every where. Central ^{State Capitalism} ~~Capitalism~~ means the
~~majority~~ ^{economic} domination, the majority
 pump, & the economic department, the minority
 pump. Perhaps the complete destruction
 of capitalism as in Russia. Whether Russia
 will despise this ~~system~~ ^{system} remain to be
 seen. It is too easy to judge. In Russia
 has not reached a ~~even~~ ^{where majority rule is the} ~~appearing~~ ^{that} ~~point~~ ^{point}
 individualism. ~~It is not~~ ^{It is not}
 unlike Germany, in the U.S. - it is still at the
 beg. of each level & there is still room
 for without crowding for anyone. When

the dividing point is reached. The real test will come - will the Jew be understood even then? (7)

Thus the future is not bright for our people ~~anywhere~~ ~~the~~ - may not be white etc. But may be for days when ~~present~~ ~~cond.~~ will become intolerable. We cannot assimilate; and our position as a minority group everywhere subjects us to those injustices which the present-day trends towards pol., econ. & cultural concentration create or accentuate.

8. The phil. & 2. the old wisdom, that Jewry is ~~here~~ ~~has~~ ~~been~~ ~~attacked~~ ~~by~~ ~~the~~ ~~present~~ ~~Establishment~~. The Jewish problem, in so far as it is solvable - can only be a ~~real~~ ~~then~~ ~~natural~~ ~~restriction~~ ~~in~~ ~~the~~ ~~National home~~ ~~movement~~ ~~land~~. The Jewish people must be at home, thoroughly & completely at home, pol. cult. & econ. at home - is at least the part of the world. A Jewish majority in Pal. under autocratic conditions, will remove that. A J. minority in Pal. will not be long seen from a dependent & helpless as elsewhere - poorer Econ. & political

(8)
the possibility of a Palestine which would
the Jordan ~~and~~ coupled with the creation
~~and~~ ~~not~~ enterprise, the Jews would
the Corporation, then, follow the ~~idea~~
of Pal-ma, in the case of time establish
there a J. Commonwealth capable of
supporting life and consequence to
offer the ~~normal~~ ^{normal} ~~public~~ ^{public} ~~economic~~ ^{economic} ~~life~~ ^{life}
to a substantial part of our people.

This is our objective. We are proposing a national
7. ~~We demand maximum self-determination~~
how - not a calico graduation, or a ~~the~~
J. ghetto in an Arab country.

11. That must not be permitted. (10)

12. Why have you achieved so much in Pol.

13. $\mathcal{P} \leq \mathcal{NP}$ is no solution of every $\mathcal{P}$ problem.

You in despair will have to fight
brave for their rights & their preservation
as their preachers ^{believe} ~~test~~ ^{to save Norway}
~~will yet~~ ^{we are not} be discouraged - They know - Cursed.

8 We are not
- ~~entrenched~~ but we are - Have our
strategy - entrenched - High School -
just home -

But Pal. may be may be the solution of
the great J. problem - that of finding
somewhere in the world a place
where at least some of our people may
enjoy ^{that complete} normal life denied them elsewhere.

Under the Jan will dwell under
his own door - ^{Wash} has any egg ^{any thing}
important - under the wings, lies over ^{the} ~~the~~
~~partial~~ @ 18 - Master, his own spot
cultural destiny

where there are people who will find every road
 & paths closed in the countries where they wish
 to go to find hope and fulfillment - and

111
That gives power the capacity ~~to~~ to uphold.
P - a fact which the practical men & affairs
of a decade or two ago scarcely questioned -
has been amply demonstrated by the remarkable
current achievement, the last 10 years.

In the midst of a world sunk deep in Econ.
depression, Pol. today, enjoys a healthy
econ. life - ^{and} is making steady progress.
Trade & industry are developing. The commerce
of the country with very many countries is
increasing. There have been ~~no~~ bank failures
~~and~~ no business collapse and no problem
of large-scale unemployment.

It is ~~not~~ only the important & indispensable
~~institutions~~ ^{concerns} agencies which serve the J. Id.
as a whole - ~~the educational~~ and which were
established not by private initiative, but
by an movement for the benefit of the entire
population, & which depend, of course, upon
the support of the Govs, the world that has
suffered & is now severely suffering be-
cause of the Econ. crisis in the world. Education -
Colonization - health work. There is some
doubt & collapse - would weaken our position
vis-a-vis Mandates etc. - Threat the entire
Credit system of the country -

That must not be permitted.

(12)

14. Why have Jews received ~~them~~ to Vol-

15. *On 24*



ZIONISM AGAIN VINDICATED

DR. ABBA HILLEL SILVER - CLEVELAND, OHIO

Every race has its own unique wisdom, which is the distilled essence of its long life and history. Sometimes this wisdom is lost sight of. Sometimes certain members of the race deny it and act as if it were not true. But the march of time and the long-range experiences of the race always vindicate its basic wisdom and its racial sense.

Zionism is the ancient wisdom of our race. It is the classic philosophy of Jewish life which time and a bi-millennial experience in all parts of the world have evolved.

This deep-rooted wisdom of our people has always embodied two principles. First - that the Jewish people should not assimilate. Secondly, that the Jewish people cannot assimilate. The events of the last decade have again demonstrated how profoundly true and inescapable these doctrines are.

That the Jewish people should not assimilate - that is the burden of every prophet, sage, seer and teacher of Israel since the time of the patriarchs. For his own sake and for the sake of the world, the Jew should retain his identity - his racial and cultural integrity - this injunction runs like a major theme through all authentic Jewish teaching. One need not adduce proof for this. It is so self-evident that even he who runs may read.

That the Jewish people cannot assimilate is not so self-evident. That is why so many have so often tried assimilation as a solution of the Jewish problem. But this strange and challenging fact was already known to the prophet Ezekiel who declared: "And that which cometh into your mind shall not be at all; in that ye say: We will be as the nations, as the families

of the earth... As I live, saith the Lord God, surely with a mighty hand, and with an outstretched arm and with fury poured out, and I be King over you." You cannot escape the inescapable hand of your destiny.

Destiny will not permit the Jew to assimilate. Here and there an individual or a great number of individuals or even a majority of a community or a country will fall away. But the people remains - if only a remnant of it, which in course of time becomes the seed-bed of a new national regeneration.

What the prophet of the second exile - Ezekiel^{el} - knew, the prophet of the last exile - Theodore Herzl - also knew and proclaimed. Speaking to another age, in another language, in a different part of the world and to Jews reared in other ways of life and thought, he yet proclaimed the same fateful thesis of Israel's inassimilability.

"We have honestly endeavored everywhere to merge ourselves in the social life of surrounding communities, and to preserve only the faith of our fathers. It has not been permitted us. In vain are we loyal patriots, our loyalty in some places running to extremes. In vain do we make the same sacrifices of life and property as our fellow citizens. In vain do we strive to increase the fame of our native land in science and art, or her wealth by trade and commerce. In countries where we have lived for centuries we are still cried down as strangers, and often by those whose ancestors were not yet domiciled in the land where Jews had already made experience of suffering... Therefore it is useless for us to be loyal patriots, as were the Huguenots who were forced to emigrate. If we could only be left in peace... But I think we shall not be left in peace."

Herzl grounded his conviction in economics. Ezekiel in theology. The conviction, however is the same. Those Jews assimilate most readily, declared Herzl, who become economically most prosperous. Our economic aristocracy yields the greatest number of Jewish assimilationists. Thus if Jews in preponder-

ately large numbers - in numbers large enough to disintegrate the Jewish people - are to assimilate they must first gain greater economic affluence and power than they now possess. But this is the very source and mainspring of anti-semitism. The non-Jewish population does not want the members of a minority group to grow rich and powerful. Thus the process of assimilation is stopt by the very circumstance which makes it possible. "The absorption of the Jews by means of their prosperity is therefore unlikely to occur."

Herzl was laughed to scorn in his day by the practical people, the men of affairs, who knew everything - except what I call the ancient wisdom of their race - the historic sense. The events of the last few years in Western Europe - particularly in Germany and Austria - have exposed their tragic near-sightedness and vindicated the vision and insight of Herzl. Back of the Nazi black rage against the Jews is a bitter hateful resentment against the putative prosperity of the German Jews. Thus the very factor which paved the way for assimilation among German Jews is now the greatest obstacle to the culmination of that process.

Two factors not clearly discernible in Herzl's day are today tending to make the lot of the Jew harder and to knock the last props from underneath the hopes of the assimilationist that enlightenment and human progress will solve the Jewish problem.

The first is cultural anti-Semitism. The medieval church wanted the Jew to assimilate, persecuted him in order to force him to assimilate and offered inducements and preferments to assimilation. The modern cultural and racial anti-Semite most decidedly does not want the Jew to assimilate. He fears that his pure racial stock would be contaminated by the infusion of inferior Semitic admixtures. The cry of Hitler and his cohorts is: "Keep the Jew out! Ghetto-tize him again! Isolate and segregate him."

The second factor is the general disadvantaged position of minority groups in the modern state. Whenever and wherever political or economic integration takes place cultural minorities suffer. The modern state is reaching after a maximum of political integration and is therefore highly intolerant of racial and cultural minorities. Minority rights are only grudgingly conceded and they remain a source of continual resentment and irritation.

At the present time the trend towards economic integration or state capitalism is still further undermining the position of minority groups and more especially of the Jewish group. It is everywhere evident that the Jew has greater opportunities in small-scale, individualistic and competitive industries and trades than in large-scale, controlled ^{or} monopolistic industries. Economic consolidation always spells Jewish exclusion. State capitalism which is developing so rapidly in countries like Germany, Austria and Poland is notoriously inhospitable to Jews. The bourgeois economic individualism and political liberalism of the 19th century gave the Jew his greatest political and economic opportunities. The break-down of this civilization in our day and the decline in economic individualism and political democracy have sadly worsened the position of the Jew everywhere.

Whether the State Socialism of Russia will disprove this thesis remains to be seen. It is too early to judge. Unlike Germany or the United States, Russia is still at the beginning of its industrial development. There is still room without crowding for everyone. When the saturation point is reached the real test will come. Will the Jew be unmolested even in Socialist Russia?

Thus the philosophy of Zionism is again being proved and established. The Jewish problem, insofar as it is solvable, can only be solved through national restoration in a national home. The Jewish people must be at home, thoroughly and completely at home, politically, economically and culturally at home, in at least one part of the world. A Jewish majority in Palestine under autonomous conditions

will insure this. A Jewish minority in Palestine will in the long run prove as dependent and helpless as Jewish minorities elsewhere. A proper economic exploitation of Palestine on both sides of the Jordan may in the course of time bring into being a Jewish commonwealth of sufficient size and consequence to offer a normal political, economic and social existence to a substantial part of our people. This is our objective.

We are projecting a national home, not another Jewish Ghetto in an Arab country, nor even a Jewish university quadrangle.

Palestine is no solution for every Jewish problem, for not all the Jews of the world will settle in Palestine. The Jews of the Diaspora will have to fight for their rights and their self preservation as bravely as did their fathers before them. They are not strangers to anti-Semitism and they will resort to the old Jewish strategy of entrenching themselves more firmly behind the bulwarks of the Jewish Synagogue, the Jewish school, the Jewish home and the Jewish Will to Live.

Palestine is the solution of one great Jewish problem - that of finding somewhere in the world a place where at least some of our people may enjoy that complete normal life which is denied them elsewhere, whither those of our people who find every road of progress in the countries where they now reside closed to them may go to find hope and fulfillment, and where the Jews may dwell not only under their own vines and fig trees, masters of their economic destiny, but also under the wings of their own racial Shechinah, masters of their own spiritual and cultural destiny.

This is a long-range program. We dare not measure our progress in short wave lengths. We dare not base our strategy on a few skirmishes. Ours is a movement of the ages. It took eighteen centuries to lead up to the Balfour Declaration. Our movement unfolds itself with the slowness and deliberateness of great historic processes. The impatient men were always under suspicion by the thoughtful among our people. That which is over-heated cracks & soonest. "In quietness and in deliberatedness shall ye be redeemed."

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