



## 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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League for Labor Palestine, 1933.



Dinner Meeting of League for Labor Palestine  
at Park Lane Villa, Cleveland, Nov. 21, 1933.

Address by Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver

This subtle distinction between rabbi and doctor reminds me of what an old-fashioned rabbi once said: "When Judaism was healthy and strong, its leaders were called rabbis, and as soon as they became sick, they called the rabbis doctors." (Laughter)

I want to speak to you quite informally this evening about some of the things which I saw in Palestine, and particularly about the labor movement in Palestine. During my Sabbatical year I spent a good deal <sup>of time</sup> ~~of it~~ in and about Palestine. This was my third visit to the country. My first visit was in 1919, shortly after the World War. Palestine then was still under military occupation. ~~And Palestine~~ <sup>It was</sup> then was a very empty and desolate country. Here and there you could see a Jewish settlement or colony, but it was no more than some of these flowers <sup>which</sup> ~~that~~ you see growing up <sup>among</sup> ~~between~~ the debris of ~~the~~ ruins. <sup>The country</sup> ~~It~~ showed very little promise of great things.

My second visit to Palestine was in 1927. The country had developed a great deal during those eight years. New settlements and colonies had been established. Tel Aviv had become a city of respectable size and importance. ~~expanding~~ <sup>and expanding</sup> Industries were springing up. Nevertheless I felt then that all about Palestine there was still the air of something experimental and ~~quite~~ tentative. One did not have the feeling of permanence about the whole project. <sup>To be sure there</sup> ~~it~~ was something definitely in the making, <sup>but</sup> ~~one~~ did not know whether the process would not sooner or later break down.

Done



This year that feeling of uncertainty left me the minute I got into the country. The country had made such marvelous strides in these five ~~and a half~~ or six years. <sup>its development was both</sup> ~~it was an intens-~~ ive and extensive ~~development~~. One had the feeling that the plant had finally sent its roots deep down into the soil and that it had become a sturdy plant which would be able to withstand almost any storm which might sweep over it. Jewish settlements had multiplied to a remarkable degree. Trade, ~~and~~ industry and commerce had expanded. Home building had increased. ~~and~~ <sup>all</sup> the community ~~agencies~~ and social agencies which go to make up a permanent and stable community had developed to a remarkable degree. Between 1919 and 1933 close on to 125,000 Jews had come and settled in the country.

~~And~~ What particularly impressed me was the spirit of confidence that one encountered everywhere. <sup>this</sup> ~~and that~~ confidence was traceable to many causes. First of all, and most evident, of course, was the fact that the country was prosperous. <sup>this fact</sup> ~~that there~~ has already been dwelt <sup>upon</sup> ~~on~~ so often that I need not elaborate on it. <sup>now</sup> The rest of the world was passing thru terrific economic tribulations. The most powerful and prosperous countries had gone down into a disastrous economic decline. ~~Palestine~~ <sup>Little</sup> Palestine, was holding its own. There were no bankruptcies, ~~and~~ <sup>or</sup> ~~there were no~~ bank failures ~~and there was no~~ unemployment, ~~and~~ <sup>it was fortunate for</sup> the Government finances were sound. <sup>that it</sup> Palestine had never been over-capitalized or over-industrialized.

~~And~~ Palestine ~~was~~ beginning to enjoy the consequences of five major developments which had taken place in the country in the <sup>last</sup> ~~ten preceding~~ years. <sup>the</sup> ~~first of which~~ <sup>these</sup> was the completion of the



Ruthenberg Project for the hydro-electrification of the Jordan.

That project, which seemed to be more or less of a fable for nearly ~~ten years~~ <sup>a decade</sup> in Zionist and Jewish circles, ~~a vague dream~~, had finally become a reality of steel and concrete. It was finished, actually built, and <sup>it</sup> is now giving electric power at low rates to practically two-thirds of Palestine.

The second development which contributed to this spirit of confidence in the country was the highly successful development of the citrus industry, particularly the orange industry, in the country. Palestine was becoming an exporter of no mean proportions of oranges. This was bringing capital into the country. ~~Up to the last two or three years,~~ <sup>Heretofore the</sup> capital <sup>which</sup> had come into the country <sup>was</sup> either by way of contributions or by way of investments <sup>7</sup> ~~which private individuals had brought into the country~~. Here was capital coming into the country on the basis of what the country was producing. The citrus industry is developing so rapidly that it is expected that in 1936 Palestine will be able to export some eight or ten million crates of oranges to the various markets in Europe and in Asia Minor.

The third major development was the development of the mineral resources, the chemical resources of the Dead Sea. A <sup>small</sup> town has grown <sup>up</sup> around the Dead Sea, ~~which I had the pleasure of visiting~~. Hundreds of workingmen are now employed in extracting some of the almost limitless rich potash from the Dead Sea. That potash is now being sold in the markets of the world. It is possible that this <sup>from now on</sup> ~~may be~~ the richest source of income for Palestine in the ~~next generation~~ <sup>future</sup>.



The fourth project, which was being completed while I was there, and is now completed, was the Haifa harbor. The Haifa harbor is now one of the two or three finest, ~~largest~~ harbors on the Mediterranean. It is fast becoming the point of export and import not merely for Palestine and for parts of Syria, but for the entire hinterland, for Mesopotamia, for the Iraq. Haifa ~~is~~ <sup>is proving</sup> ~~going to be~~ the great industrial center of Palestine.

~~and~~ The last of the five major developments which contributed to this upbuilding of the morale of the people <sup>and</sup> in stimulating this hopefulness that one senses everywhere in the country, is the completion of the pipeline which is to carry oil from ~~the Mosul section, from Iraq,~~ to the shores of the Mediterranean. 1200 miles of pipes have been laid ~~down~~ right across the desert, and one of the two terminal points of that pipeline is Haifa. ~~and~~ <sup>and</sup> already one ~~saw these~~ huge tanks on the outskirts of Haifa where this oil is to be stored for ultimate exportation.

For a small country like Palestine five of such major enterprises, completed within the space of less than a decade, are enough to send a current of hope, and with it renewed initiative and enterprise through the whole economic life of the country.

Another reason for this spirit of confidence to my mind is this - and this brings me to the subject upon which I want to dwell ~~a bit~~ this evening - a realization that the economic foundations which have been laid in Palestine are true and sound foundations, that the economic superstructure of the country is grounded in real things built not upon sand, but upon those facts of economic life which are durable.



~~And~~ <sup>group</sup> The labor ~~element~~ in Palestine to my mind is <sup>largely</sup> responsible for this fact. I had occasion to observe quite closely the numerous factions and groupings in Palestinian Jewry, the old settlers and the new, the young and the old. ~~and~~ I was persuaded from my close observation of men and movements in Palestine that the labor group represents <sup>to-day</sup> the most sound, the most thoughtful, the most constructive, and if I dare say it, the most conservative element in the Palestinian population, ~~today~~. They have real leaders among them, <sup>both in the political and in the economic</sup> ~~real statesmen, real~~ <sup>fields</sup> ~~economic experts~~. They know what they are about. ~~They are~~ ~~realists~~. They are facing their problems pragmatically, intelligently and courageously.

Let me illustrate what I mean. You are all acquainted with the Arab problem in Palestine. Recently we had some very serious riots in Palestine. They were not the first riots. They are probably not the last ~~riots~~ <sup>as you well know</sup>. Now, the Arab problem is a very serious one in the country. It cannot be lightly brushed aside, ~~by gestures, by speech~~. There is a large Arab population, at present the dominant majority in the country, which for one reason or another has been agitated, instigated, <sup>and</sup> aroused, and which ~~for the time being~~ is being ~~wielded~~, manipulated by a small group of very clever, politically-minded Arab leaders who are trained in all the tricks of European propaganda methods, and who also know what they are about.

~~Now~~ <sup>Jews</sup> The labor group in Palestine is facing the Arab problem forthrightly and squarely. It is not blinking the issue, ~~It~~ is not ignoring it. ~~and~~ It refuses to meet the situation by



any theatrical grandstand, ~~grandiloquent~~ attitudes, by any bellicose gestures, by an effort to shout ~~them~~ <sup>the opposition</sup> down, or to out-play them in the game of propaganda, knowing full well that these tactics cannot succeed. ~~and so~~ They have adopted a long-range program of rapprochement, a ~~long range~~ program of cooperation with the Arabs, ~~realizing~~ <sup>aware</sup> fully that for the time being that program is very difficult of realization. They are determined to work with the Arab, and not against him. They are reconciled to the fact that the Arab is going to remain in Palestine and will be for years and generations to come <sup>be</sup> an important element in the Palestinian population.

As a means of closely approaching the Arab and establishing a basis <sup>of cooperation</sup> ~~for union~~ with him on the ~~level~~ <sup>plane</sup> of ~~(labor interest~~ <sup>common</sup> ~~and cooperation,~~ they are endeavoring to raise the standard of the Arab workingman. They are even encouraging the unionization of the Arabs, because they believe that as the Arab rises in the economic scale, as <sup>he</sup> ~~the Arab~~ becomes more literate and more intelligent in an economic sense, ~~that~~ he will realize that the interest of Jewish labor and the interest of Arab labor are not antithetical, ~~they are not opposed to one another,~~ but that both <sup>national</sup> labor groups, ~~both national groups~~ can cooperate in the common task <sup>for</sup> mutual benefit, <sup>and for</sup> the upbuilding of the country.

Now, if there is any other solution <sup>for</sup> ~~to~~ the Arab problem, I, for one, <sup>do not</sup> ~~don't~~ know <sup>it</sup>. There is no way of driving them into the desert. There is certainly no way today of reducing that ~~pppulation~~ population to the level of feudal serfs to serve the interest of a dominant Jewish group. Not only can we not ourselves permit



any such <sup>immoral</sup> exploitation of <sup>people</sup> ~~another human group~~, but it <sup>simply</sup> cannot be done.

There is another subject on which the labor group in Palestine has been sound and level-headed, and that is the subject of ~~nationalism~~, of the Jewish State in Palestine. ~~Now~~ The working group in Palestine, like all classic Zionists, are maximum nationalists. They have not surrendered the ideal of a Jewish State in Palestine. But they realize, as all people who are engaged in the business of <sup>practical statecraft</sup> ~~real politik~~ must realize, that no state is built in a day. They are not blatant about their ultimate objectives, they are not irritant about them, they do not fling them in the face of the Arabs. At present they are not so much concerned with ultimate objectives as they are with their present detailed rights in the country <sup>under the terms of the mandate</sup>. They <sup>first</sup> want to sink the roots of Jewish life deeper and deeper in the country. They know that they must have a preponderantly large Jewish majority in the country before <sup>the Jewish state</sup> ~~this question of the political supremacy of the Jewish group can~~ <sup>be satisfactorily settled</sup> ~~ever become a real problem in the country.~~

They have been criticized for it. The extreme Revisionist group has taunted them, <sup>with the charge</sup> ~~has jeered at them~~ that they are time-servers, <sup>and</sup> ~~they are~~ opportunists. ~~and~~ <sup>it</sup> is so comfortable, and <sup>it</sup> gives one such a <sup>warm glow</sup> ~~sense~~ of inner exaltation when <sup>one</sup> ~~he~~ feels that he <sup>is</sup> ~~is~~ more "patriotic" <sup>and "courageous"</sup> ~~is better~~ than the other fellow, that his program is more extreme than that of the other fellow. But the labor leaders of Palestine <sup>who are responsible for the upbuilding work</sup> ~~have not yielded to the temptation~~, <sup>the country cannot afford such self-indulgence</sup>. They are confronted with the day-by-day perplexing and difficult problems of construction and upbuilding, and they are determined not to be deviated from their



task of upbuilding by any ~~of these grandiloquent, unrealistic~~ <sup>dramatic maneuvers</sup> means in the present hour ~~which are fruitless and dangerous.~~ <sup>may prove</sup>

These two facts alone, their attitude towards the Arabs and their attitude towards the problem of ~~nationalism~~, of the National State in Palestine, ~~has given to Palestine because of the labor group being today the all-important group in Palestine,~~ <sup>has</sup> ~~has~~ given to the whole upbuilding <sup>work</sup> program in Palestine a certain <sup>practical certitude</sup> reality which it would not have if the politics of the country were in the hands ~~today~~ of irresponsible <sup>and hardly believable</sup> visionaries, ~~and~~ politicians. ~~impractical idealists.~~

Another factor which the Labor Party has stressed in Palestine, and which ~~to my mind~~ particularly at this hour is of utmost importance - ~~it was always an important fact.~~ has been the idea of self-work, ~~which the chairman read out of that brief summary of the program of the Histadruth.~~ <sup>must be</sup> Palestine ~~is to be~~ built up by Jewish labor, not merely by Jewish capital. Classical Zionism aimed at <sup>this.</sup> ~~that sort of thing.~~ If you recall the history of the Zionist movement, <sup>You will remember that</sup> it was as much aimed at reconstructing the economic life of the Jew as it was at establishing a Jewish homeland <sup>in Palestine.</sup> ~~for our people.~~ Classic Zionism was an effort to restore an economic balance in Jewish life, <sup>to rectify the</sup> ~~this~~ frightful maladjustment which the Galuth had forced upon <sup>the economic life of</sup> the Jewish people ~~in its economic life,~~ <sup>the</sup> ~~this~~ overcrowding <sup>in</sup> of the middle class, <sup>the crowding</sup> ~~this forcing of the~~ Jew <sup>in</sup> ~~into~~ business and the professions, <sup>the sad conditions</sup> ~~these facts~~ which are responsible for so much of the present tragedy of German Jewish ~~life~~ <sup>journey</sup>

You will recall that one of the most <sup>damaging</sup> ~~enkindling~~ and



infuriating arguments which the Nazis used in the last fourteen years of their propaganda <sup>against the Jew was</sup> just this: that the Jew is an exploiter, the Jew lives off the labor of other people. How many Jewish farmers have we in Germany, how many Jewish artisans <sup>how many</sup> skilled and unskilled laborers have we in Germany? <sup>but see how many</sup> ~~The Jew~~ <sup>Jewish</sup> ~~bankers, merchants, lawyers and professional people!~~ engages in what we call "schacher macher" trading in the labors and productivities of other peoples. Of course we know that there are historical reasons for it. But a historical reason is an explanation, not a solution.

The classic thinkers of the Zionist Movement conceived as one of the great objectives of Zionism the normalizing of the economic life of the Jew once <sup>he is settled</sup> ~~has~~ <sup>can be placed</sup> in his own homeland. Many Jews that go into Palestine forget this. They bring a little capital ~~in~~ with them and ~~they~~ start a business, and they are not particularly careful whether they employ a Jew ~~in the~~ business or ~~an~~ Arabs. Many of ~~them~~ <sup>to exploit</sup> would prefer the Arab because <sup>he</sup> ~~the Arab~~ represents cheaper labor. <sup>thus</sup> ~~and there is~~ the danger that we would have in the course of time in Palestine ~~this situation~~, an immigrant Jewish group, largely belonging to the bourgeois class, living off and exploiting <sup>a</sup> ~~the~~ active working peasant <sup>and proletarian</sup> Arab group. ~~And that would besmudge and besmirch~~ <sup>on</sup> ~~the whole business~~ <sup>would enterprize</sup> in Palestine. That would make us an object of ~~attack~~ <sup>just criticism and contempt</sup> throughout the world. That would become ~~then~~ the classic <sup>is the worst, the whole world</sup> example of the <sup>fatal</sup> exploiting <sup>machinations</sup> ~~tendency~~ of the Jewish people.

The labor group in Palestine ~~however~~ <sup>has</sup> been ~~very much~~ <sup>keenly</sup> aware of this <sup>danger</sup> ~~problem~~, and so, fundamental to ~~their~~ <sup>its</sup> philosophy, is that Palestine, Jewish Palestine, ~~at least~~, shall be built up by



Jewish labor from the ground up. They are not opposed to capital, they are not opposed to Jewish businessmen, but the Jewish businessman should work with, in cooperation with, the Jewish workingman.

*Please*  
~~You must~~ remember that if there is anything clear <sup>lesson</sup> which has come out of the last ten or fifteen years of economic unrest in the world, it is ~~this~~ <sup>th</sup> that ultimately <sup>and</sup> ~~when all is said and done~~, the final verdict <sup>in the life of a nation</sup> lies with the people who live on the soil and <sup>who with their hands</sup> ~~work in the shops~~. Today the capitalist group is on trial the world over, <sup>even in</sup> including those states, which are <sup>traditionally</sup> ~~still~~ conservative and capitalistic. The future belongs to the ~~people who work on the soil or in industry~~. If <sup>in Palestine</sup> we are not <sup>struggle</sup> represented in ~~Palestine~~ as tillers of the soil and as workers in industry, we will share the fate of all <sup>exploiters</sup> ~~capitalist~~ groups which are ~~exploiting~~ <sup>in</sup> ~~the working groups~~ of the world.

Self-work, then, <sup>is</sup> a great principle of the Jewish labor group in Palestine. ~~And~~ <sup>th Jewish worker in Palestine</sup> I have seen them work, and there is something <sup>very fine and uplifting about him</sup> about the Jewish workingman in Palestine. I do not mean to wax romantic, <sup>all work is noble and all workers are enviable by it.</sup> about the workingman in Palestine. There is as much nobility to a workingman in Cleveland as there is to a workingman in Tel Aviv or Jerusalem or Haifa. But there ~~is~~ <sup>is</sup> a ~~perhaps this~~ distinctiveness about the Jewish workingman in Palestine. He ~~is~~ really not a member of what we choose to call the proletarian class, just as the Jewish farmer cannot rightly be called a peasant. His social level is ~~very~~ high. His cultural level is ~~very~~ high. He is literate, he is well read, many of them are well-educated. <sup>Some</sup> ~~Many~~ of them have had ~~college~~



~~and~~ university training. Their minds are open to everything that is going on in the world. You ~~gather~~<sup>sit</sup> around with them in some circle after the day's work is over, ~~you sit around and eat with them and~~<sup>and</sup> talk with them. Well, I have ~~met~~<sup>learned</sup> very few ~~such~~ circles in Cleveland ~~in my years of experience~~<sup>that were as interesting and as stimulating</sup>. They have read the finest in the world's literature. They are ~~thoroughly~~ at home in economics and sociology. Many of them have thought out for themselves a ~~philosophy~~<sup>clear</sup> of life. It is challenging to come up with a group like that. In a way, it is humbling.

Out of this principle of self-work which Jewish labor is stressing in Palestine has come ~~this~~<sup>the</sup> other - I ought not to call it a principle, I should rather call it a necessity - namely, the insistence on ~~Jewish labor~~<sup>the employment of Jewish labor</sup>. ~~That is, that~~<sup>by Jews</sup> The Jewish employer ~~shall~~<sup>is asked to</sup> employ Jewish labor and not Arab labor, not because ~~they are the enemies of the Arabs~~<sup>of hostility to</sup>. ~~But don't you see that~~<sup>and</sup> in Palestine ~~itself~~<sup>itself</sup> and around Palestine there is ~~an inexhaustible~~<sup>a very great</sup> reservoir of cheap Arab labor. Their standard of living ~~for the time being~~ is very low. The Jewish workingman ~~and his family~~<sup>on that level</sup> cannot compete with them. He ~~can't~~<sup>and his family can't</sup> live on three or four piasters a day. ~~Consequently~~<sup>Consequently</sup> The Jewish employer - and the Jewish employer is no different ~~than~~<sup>from</sup> all other employers - will buy his labor in the cheapest market. If he is permitted to choose as between Arab and Jewish labor, he will, with a few outstanding exceptions, ~~I suppose~~ employ as a matter of course Arab labor, ~~and~~ Jewish labor will progressively be starved out. There will be no Jewish labor in Palestine. There will be no self-work in the upbuilding of the country.



And so they have been subject to the anger and resistance on the part of other groups in Palestine, and to much on the face of it logical argumentation on the part of these other groups, who say to them "You are Socialists, you do not draw any distinction as regards labor between group and group and race and race. And here you are not consistent, you bely your own position." In spite of these logical oppositions, and in spite of the active oppositions of many groups in Palestine, Jewish labor has been compelled, and in my mind, justified in insisting upon Jewish labor in Jewish enterprises in Palestine.

~~And~~ <sup>lastly</sup>, ~~and with that I shall be through~~, Jewish labor has tried to emphasize the importance of cooperative enterprise in the country, <sup>of</sup> social enterprise. ~~Now~~ That ought not to be regarded today as very startling and radical. The whole world is moving in that direction. ~~today~~. The day of unrestricted competitive individualism is drawing fast to a close. Even in such a staid and conservative land like ours we are beginning to <sup>experiment</sup> ~~first~~ with the idea of controlled industry, which inevitably leads to some form of socialized industry.

~~Now~~ In Palestine Jewish labor has maintained that rather than first build up a capitalist society with all its inherent weaknesses and evils, and then be compelled <sup>in</sup> ~~through~~ suffering and struggle to revamp ~~it~~ or destroy it ~~completely~~ and <sup>to</sup> build upon <sup>its</sup> ~~the~~ ruins a socialized state, <sup>it is wiser to</sup> ~~let us start now, that we are~~ fortunate in beginning in a new country where <sup>one does not</sup> ~~we don't~~ have to destroy before <sup>we</sup> ~~we can~~ build, ~~let us start de novo~~ from the foundations ~~on~~ and build up some kind of satisfying cooperative social



and economic life.

*On a small scale, they have already done it.*

~~They have done it, on a small scale of course, because~~

~~their capital was limited.~~ They have done it, not as it was

done in Russia through the expropriation of the properties of

other people <sup>and</sup> through blood and terror. They have done it through

their own efforts, <sup>and with</sup> ~~their own capital,~~ <sup>which they themselves</sup> and ~~what~~ friends and

sympathizers the world over have <sup>provided.</sup> ~~given them.~~ And there are now

some very <sup>fine</sup> ~~beautiful~~ and model Jewish colonies in Palestine where

the old prophetic ideal of a ~~real~~ human society has been <sup>corporealized</sup> ~~built~~

~~as~~ Cooperative groups of one type or another <sup>exist when</sup> ~~have pooled their~~

labor, <sup>and</sup> ~~have pooled their~~ resources, <sup>and</sup> ~~have pooled their~~ enthusiasms

<sup>have been pooled</sup> without sacrificing ~~their individualities~~ or ~~their~~ personal

freedom.

I don't know <sup>when else</sup> ~~anywhere~~ in the world today ~~where~~ this  
type of bloodless, <sup>and</sup> ~~unforced~~, voluntary experiment in a socialized  
community <sup>life</sup> is going on, ~~no place in the world except in Palestine.~~

<sup>this</sup> ~~and in that~~ sense Palestine is becoming ~~on a small scale~~ a sort  
of ~~a~~ proving ground for mankind, a ~~sort of a test~~ laboratory for  
the <sup>peaceful</sup> cooperative commonwealth of tomorrow.

~~and~~ <sup>I believe</sup> ~~for these reasons, I go back to what I said at the~~  
~~beginning, that~~ the labor group in Palestine represents ~~in my~~  
~~judgment~~ the soundest, ~~element~~, the most constructive ~~element~~,  
the most conservative ~~element in the literal sense of the term,~~  
and the most promising element in Palestine.

I met some of their leaders, the unforgettable and much  
~~to be lamented~~ <sup>Arlosoroff</sup> ~~Arlosoroff~~, <sup>Truly</sup> ~~really~~ a remarkable man. I was with  
him the night before he left for Berlin, ~~and~~ <sup>The</sup> next I heard of



him was that he had been assassinated. <sup>Arlosoroff</sup> ~~Arlosoroff~~ represented the high type of Western European Jew, ~~for~~ he had been educated in Western European ways of thought, <sup>at the same time he</sup> ~~and yet he also~~ represented the finest traditions and the highest ideals of Israel. He was a man of keen mentality, he understood not only movements and abstract ideas, but what is infinitely more important, he understood people. ~~And~~ That is why he was chosen to be the head of the Political Department of the Zionist Executive in Palestine. ~~And~~ He made friends <sup>(in the movement)</sup> among the British officials, He made friends among the important sections of the Palestinian population. ~~But~~ He was struck down in the midst of his youth and his career, ~~and~~ ~~his great possibilities.~~ It is a tragic loss to the movement, ~~in~~ to Palestine and to Israel.

I met Ben-Zvi, I met ~~Rubaschoff, Katznelson~~, many other of the leaders of the labor group, and they increased still more my confidence in this group, in whose hands, ~~by the way,~~ the fortunes of Palestine today ~~lie~~ <sup>rest</sup>.

Let me close with <sup>another</sup> ~~this other~~ side of the picture. For one reason or another the labor group has not been able to capture the imagination of <sup>large sections of</sup> ~~(the youth of Palestine, not all of the youth,~~ but ~~large sections of the youth.~~ The youth of Palestine, at least ~~shall I say~~ the most vocal section of it, tends very decidedly to the extreme right, just as the youth <sup>many of the countries of Europe</sup> ~~of the Central European~~ nations ~~has tended towards the extreme right.~~ We call it the Fascist angle of Zionism. <sup>These young people</sup> ~~They also~~ like their uniforms, <sup>Zionism is</sup> ~~and~~ they like <sup>stripes</sup> ~~they also like~~ the martial ways of a party <sup>which</sup> ~~demands~~ <sup>They are captivated by</sup> ~~the~~ <sup>for an immediate</sup> maximum <sup>program</sup> even if it can achieve less than the minimum.



I suppose the reason for this fact is ~~this~~, that the Socialism of today is no longer <sup>a</sup> ~~that~~ movement of daring and danger that it was a generation ago. A generation ago Socialism represented the ultimate extreme to the imagination of young people, ~~which is enkindled by the heroism,~~ The danger which is involved in being identified with an extreme movement ~~enkindled their ardor and fascinated them.~~

There are today extremes beyond Socialism, On the one hand ~~is~~ Communism, ~~and~~ on the other hand ~~the other extreme, which also brings with it a measure of daring and gesture. It is~~ Fascism. Socialism has become more or less of a conservative ~~movement~~ ~~group~~ like democracy ~~generally~~ and liberalism. ~~and~~ Unfortunately today democracy and liberalism cannot capture the imagination of young people. ~~and~~ That is one of the reasons for the defeat of democracy and liberalism ~~in many parts of~~ ~~to my mind all over~~ the world.

I saw the youth in Italy. I saw the youth in Germany. I saw the youth in France, and other countries of Europe. They are attracted almost irresistibly by the parties of the extreme. They have nothing but a smile of contempt, shall we say, or indifference to this thing we call democracy and liberalism, and now I believe we can also include Socialism.

How to get around <sup>this</sup> ~~that~~ in Palestine I don't know. ~~It is a serious problem, because it~~ <sup>The extreme ardor of sections of Palestine youth</sup> ~~has led to serious riots in~~ <sup>it was responsible</sup> ~~Palestine among Jews, and I suppose directly and indirectly~~ <sup>for</sup> the assassination of ~~Arlosoroff~~ <sup>Arlosoroff</sup> ~~How to get around it I don't~~ know any more than I know how we can get ~~our~~ <sup>the</sup> youth in this country aroused to a high pitch of devotion and enthusiasm for <sup>these</sup> ~~democratic~~ ~~ideals~~ and liberal ideals, which a generation or two ago were



(able to set fire to a nation and raise it to a high pitch of sacrifice. That is one of the great problems in Palestine.

Perhaps as the mood of the age changes, ~~perhaps~~ as life becomes a little more quiet and settled these extreme movements will disappear of themselves, and ~~these~~ <sup>the</sup> solid constructive tendencies will again gain ascendancy in human life, and ~~and~~ <sup>Palestine's</sup> youth will again rally to them.

I think that is all I want to say this evening, and I thank you very much. (Applause)





1. 3<sup>rd</sup> visit - <sup>desolat</sup> 1919 - 1927. Experimental.

- slides - new enterprises - confidence  
come to say -

1- Reasons for confidence.

① prosperity.

② 5 new projects - ③ <sup>citrus</sup> ~~orange~~ industry

④ Ruttenberg (r) Lead Sea - potatoes

⑤ Hairfax Harbor (r) 1200 miles pipeline

2. Socially constructive methods of J. Labor  
emphasis upon cooperation effort, unselfish  
work - Balance wheel.

3. Soundest thinkers in Pal.

I Arab problem - do not bludge it - refuse  
to meet it with blusters - reach out  
for econ. cooperation - upbuild theirs  
econ. life - union - join with them  
long-range view - statesmanlike -

II National State - Mexican Nationalism  
blatant or unpalatable - irritant -  
want to build up majority -  
Talk less ultimate objectives &  
more detail rights -