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Jewish Daily Bulletin articles, varied topics, 1934-1935.

For
1st
Communist Bulletin

1-17-34

A PEOPLE ACTS
Abba Hillel Silver

We continue to urge a universal, persistent and relentless boycott of Nazi Germany. Our first few months of effort have been remarkably effective. The cumulative impact of the world-wide boycott will be felt even more within the next few months.

The boycott movement has been the most amazingly spontaneous movement among the masses of our people recorded in our history. An innate and sound group instinct led our people to act, even before any leadership was given to the movement or any program announced. They realized that to trade with Nazi Germany is to trade with our sworn and implacable enemy. It is to strengthen the hands of those who wish to destroy us.

If Hitler succeeds in permanently undermining the economic and political position of the Jewish community in Germany it will serve as a guide and an inspiration to our enemies throughout the world. A triumphant Nazism will not stay confined within the boundaries of Germany. It will spread like a plague. No Jewish community anywhere in the world will be safe.

We are entering a desperate stage in our history. In the bitter struggle of the next few generations which will engulf the whole of humanity, the struggle between private capitalism and the various forms of the corporate economic society which is coming to be, the Jew more than any other group will suffer. The Jew has always suffered the labor pains of every new social order. The contending economic forces will not hesitate to use anti-Semitism as a weapon, a ready means of propaganda.

and a remarkably easy method by which to incite both the masses and the classes.

The struggle with Hitlerism, therefore, is of utmost ^{historic} significance for our future. It will turn out to be either a strategic victory or a strategic defeat of major significance.

The boycott is a legitimate and moral weapon. Other methods have failed us. We are justified in resorting to economic pressure, to bring the present dictators of Germany to their senses or to break their power. The ruthless men of Wilhelmstrasse are amenable to no other argument. Moral persuasion and the public opinion of the world have moved them not at all. They recognize and yield only to force.

We urge upon our people to listen to no timid counsel from the mouths of our pseudo-diplomats and self-appointed Hoffjuden who flutter helplessly about government offices, hoping to exploit their putative influence, for the sake of obtaining some meagre word of cold comfort and cheer. It is the old bankrupt "shtadlanut" again.

Let the Jews of America -- and of the world -- speak over the heads of these confused and frightened pseudo-leaders, directly to the free and fearless peoples of the world -- workers, lovers of freedom, men of peace, and the free womanhood of the world, in a word to all those who see in Hitler a menace to all the precious values of civilization -- and together with them, crack down in a crushing economic boycott upon the heads of the unspeakable terrorists in Germany.

We cannot be deterred by the fear or the threat of reprisals.

Our history has demonstrated that it is our weakness which invites

persecution, and not our strength.

It is nobler by far to suffer blows in battle than to be kicked
and buffeted in mute and cowardly submission.



A Happier New Year.

1 Sept 9, '34

Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver

The past year was one of recession for our people in many parts of the world. In the wake of world-wide Fascist tendencies the fortunes of our people almost everywhere, in a material or a spiritual sense, suffered a sharp decline. The malady of Anti-Semitism became more aggravated and contagious than ever before. Hitlerism continued to trample upon the prostrate body of German Jewry and German refugees by the thousands wandered over the world in search of new homes. Austrian Jewry passed through a terrible year of fear and uncertainty, not knowing whether the dark horrors of Berlin would not be repeated in Vienna. Polish Jewry continued its disastrous economic retreat in the midst of anti-Jewish hostility and excesses. Brown shirts in Germany, Black shirts in England, Silver shirts in America, bastard Nazi organizations in South America and South Africa, riots in Algeria,

Turkey and Greece, Jew-baiting in Canada - what a year of bitterness, stress and heart-ache this has been for our people!

On the credit-side of our national inventory may be placed first and foremost the unbroken and unimpaired morale of our people in the face of all these hostile attacks. World Jewry was not demoralized. Rather there took place an amazing manifestation of Jewish solidarity and loyalty, with a determination to fight resolutely with every political and economic weapon available in national self defense. Assimilation was largely liquidated. Indifference in many places yielded to vital concern and alertness, based upon a more realistic appreciation of the status of the Jew in the world today.

Furthermore, Anti-semitic propaganda was not everywhere successful. In some countries organizations and parties of the Nazi brand were outlawed and suppressed. Non-Jewish spokesmen and political leaders and nearly all important churches of Christendom repeatedly denounced the madness and viciousness of Anti-semitism and racialism. The free press of the world was zealous in championing our cause. Hitlerism, though still strongly entrenched in

Germany, suffered disastrous ^{economic} defeats at home and political isolation abroad. A world-wide economic boycott and a political blockade is all that Hitler achieved in his eighteen months of brutal dictatorship. It is quite possible that the Nazi blood bath of June thirtieth last in Germany, and the assassination of Dollfus in Austria will come to mark the beginning of the decline of Fascism in the Western World.

On the credit-side, too, should be placed the continuing growth and progress of Palestine. Forty thousand Jewish settlers entered the Jewish Homeland last year. Tens of thousands more are waiting to enter. The tempo of the economic development of the country was remarkable. Palestine was not without its serious problems, mostly of a political nature, but the historic work of national upbuilding and rehabilitation went on in a most gratifying manner.

A year of lights and shadows — the shadows more numerous than the lights! But our long history has known many such years. We do not despair. We know how to kindle lamps in our darkness... No weapon has yet been forged to destroy us. Our fortunes are linked with the fortunes of humanity — with

4

the fate of mankind's enduring ideals of freedom,
justice and human brotherhood. When these
shall be vindicated and firmly established, we
too shall be vindicated and firmly established
in peace and security. Until then we abide
in faith and in our ancestral covenant of
battle and struggle, finding ^{our} refuge in Him
Whose truth is a shield and a buckler,
And in the dawning of a new year we
wish each other and all men of good will:

A Happier New Year!



AL CHET
Dr. Abba Hillel Silver

One of the sins for which the Jew beats his breast on Atonement Day is the sin "wherein we have sinned against Thee be-tipshut peh -- by the stupidity of the mouth." To which might be added also the stupidity of the pen.

It is only within the last few years, since the mad stampede of Nazi racialism and chauvinism across the face of the world -- a stampede which affected our people so disastrously -- that certain Jewish voices which had chanted much the same tribal strains of arrogant, truculent group egotism have been tactfully muted in our midst.

In our eagerness to persuade the world and our own fellow Jews that our claim to nationhood was legitimate and that the status of our people in the world should be normalized by re-establishing a national center in Palestine, we were constrained to do a great deal of talking and writing about race, culture and nationalism. Some of it was true. Most of it was rubbish of the Teutonic variety. We drew liberally upon the fantastic race-nation vagaries of German pundits and we gave them one of the characteristic Jewish emotional tropes -- *the* ghalshelet for good measure.....It was all done, of course, with the best of intentions, le-shem shamayim, as it were, in an effort to demolish effectively the assimilationist and the pseudo-internationalist in our midst. We, therefore, did not stop to scrutinize closely the weapons which we were employing. But they have turned out to be ^{dangerous,} double-edged weapons.

Thus one of our Zionist propagandists, in a book provocatively addressed to the Gentile world and written at a time when the Nazi slogans were gaining currency -- that the Jews are forever aliens in Germany and in all other Aryan lands, that their interests were forever irreconcilable with those of other people and that their baneful influence should therefore be everywhere destroyed, root and

branch -- delivered himself of the following thesis: ^R"Years of observation and thought have given increasing strength to the belief that we Jews stand apart from you gentiles, that a primal duality breaks the humanity I know into two distinct parts; that this duality is a fundamental, and that all differences among you gentiles are trivialities compared with that which divides all of you from us.....The cleavage is there, abysmal and undeniable. In the main we are forever distinct. Ours is one life, yours is another....I do not believe that this primal difference between gentile and Jew is reconcilable. You and we may come to an understanding, never to a reconciliation. There will be irritation between us as long as we are in intimate contact. For nature and constitution and vision divide us from all of you forever -- not a mere conviction, not a mere language, not a mere difference of national or religious allegiance.....These are two ways of life, each utterly alien to the other. Each has its place in the world -- but they cannot flourish in the same soil. they cannot remain in contact without antagonism. Though to life itself, each way is a perfect utterance, to each other they are enemies....We Jews are accused of being destroyers: whatever you put up, we tear down. It is true only in a relative sense. We are not iconoclasts deliberately: we are not enemies of your institutions simply because of the dislike between us. We are a homeless mass seeking satisfaction for our constructive instincts. And in your institutions we cannot find satisfaction:.....We try to adapt your institutions to our needs because while we live we must have expression; and trying to rebuild them for our needs, we unbuild them for yours."

This, of course, is Alfred Rosenberg and Adolf Hitler in reversed ^V-Yiddish. It again illustrates the fact that when a Jew becomes a super-nationalist, he gets hold of a wolf by the tail....

Another Jewish writer, an assimilationist who became a Zionist and dawkah a Revisionist, wrote the following approval of the Nazi offer to give every Jew a one way ticket to Jerusalem:

"The Gentile who cries "Go back to Jerusalem" is right. Instinctively he feels the Jews alien to his country. He knows that whether the Jews admit it or not, whether they are actually conscious of it or not, they find life irksome and oppressive in the Gentile environment. There is a pressure upon them to be something different, to live somewhat differently from what it is natural for them to be and to live. They are not at ease. That is the reason they have been the severest critics of the laws and institutions, customs, mannerism and ideals of the various nations. That is why they have been objectionable even when most useful and salutary. That's what makes it right to say, "Back to Jerusalem."

And a Rabbi who took stock recently of the Jewish religion wrote with much tumult and many quotations that "even when God is universalized and monotheism energetically preached, the Jew but reluctantly shares his God, his Father, with the rest of humanity. He still remains a kin of Israel.....God, then, is absorbed in the nationalism, or more correctly, in the nationality of Israel. He becomes the national ethos.....He is the national God; He is the soul of the nation."

The abundant references in Biblical and Rabbinic literature which would have given a different picture of the God of Israel, which speak of Him as the God of all men and of all nations and which voice the hope of a coming age when a re-united and regenerated humanity "will be fashioned into one society to do thywill with a perfect heart," -- are studiously avoided by this cleric in

his eagerness to score a point in his polemic against the non-nationalist Jew.

It is fortunate that Israel can now use the Hitler besom to sweep such intellectual rubbish from its door-steps.

Race and nationalism were never the ultimate vision of Israel or of humanity. Israel's national life, ever since the diaspora, has been deficient in that it lacked a national center. That deficiency must now be repaired. But this necessity does not warrant either an apotheosis of nationalism, or an apologetic which forever and ever divides the human race into two hostile camps -- Jew and Gentile.

None speaks more rapturously of national Gods and of the eternal irreconcilability between Jew and non-Jew than those brutal enemies of human brotherhood, tolerance and cooperation who are today, as the arch-exponents of Race and Nation, devastating the civilized world.

The great Austrian poet, Franz Grillparzer neatly traced the swift katabasis of all such ideals:

"Von Humanität -- durch Nationalität -- zur Bestialität."

WEASEL WORDS

by
DR. ABBA HILLEL SILVER

Dr. Alfred Rosenberg, crack theoretician of the Nazi movement, spiritual leader of the Hitler Youth, one of the most vulgar of the German Anti-Semitic scribes and at present chief of the National Socialist Party's foreign section, and Mr. William Randolph Hearst, American multi-millionaire newspaper publisher, have been exchanging letters recently in Germany where Mr. Hearst is taking a cure at Bad Nauheim.

The Nazis have been making frantic efforts lately to win over the important newspaper organizations in England and the United States. Mr. Hearst's visit to Germany was greedily seized upon by both Hanfstaengl and Rosenberg as a providential opportunity for converting him. Hanfstaengl who does the piano playing for Adolph Hitler to rest the Fuehrer's jangled nerves and also considerable soft-peddling in the foreign press to allay the fears of the world, has acted as Mr. Hearst's dragoman in Germany and has shown him all the sights worth seeing, including Hitler. Dr. Rosenberg visited Mr. Hearst at Bad Nauheim and requested him "to express his views on press censorship, governmental racial policies and world peace."

On the first and third of these items, Mr. Hearst expressed himself fully and eloquently. He championed a free press and spoke with great feeling about world peace. A free press is what Mr. Hearst is interested in for altruistic and perhaps also for other reasons. And world peace-- why that is beautiful! Everybody is strong for world peace. Provided, of course, that it does not imply any reduction in armaments. Mr. Hearst has been among the most vehement advocates of increased military preparedness in this country.

But on the subject of Germany's "governmental racial policies" which to Dr. Rosenberg and to anyone else could mean but one thing--Germany's treatment of the Jews--Mr. Hearst was as silent as a tombstone. He skirted the whole issue by amazing circumlocution and by adumbrating irrelevantly about some far-off, apocalyptic world conflict between Europeans and Asiatics. Pressed for an opinion on Germany's racial policies which have so far affected no one but Jews and from which by Nazi decree the yellow races were expressly excluded, Mr. Hearst replied: "Warfare between European nations is wholly unnecessary", but "a conflict of Europeans with Asiatics might be a different matter." "Europe would better save its wealth and progress in peace and reserve its strength against the day of possible danger from the Orient."

This is how Mr. Hearst deftly disposes of the infamous racial policies of the Nazis which have shattered a community of 600,000 souls, erstwhile citizens of the Reich, destroyed thousands of meritorious professional and artistic careers, drove 60,000 into exile and consigned all who remained behind to material and spiritual degradation. For them Mr. Hearst seems to have not one word of encouragement or defense. His great humanitarianism is concerned not with these men, women and children who are at this moment bleeding from the wounds inflicted upon them by the Nazi "governmental racial policies" but projects itself magnificently across continents and ages to some far-off putative Armageddon when Europeans and Asiatics will meet in mortal combat.

Surely Mr. Hearst is not so naive as to believe or to assume that other people will be made to believe that the most immediate and urgent factor in the present European political situation is the prospect of an Oriental invasion of Europe. His warning, therefore, against Asiatics, uttered in Germany at this time can serve but one purpose, one surely not

intended or envisaged by Mr. Hearst--to confirm the Nazis in their war of extermination upon the Jews whom they have continually regarded and branded as the Asiatics in their midst. That "conflict of habits and customs, of law and religion, of moral standards, of social and political ideals, etc." which Mr. Hearst finds to exist between Europeans and Asiatics, Dr. Rosenberg and his disciples and their literary mentors have found to exist between the Aryan Nordics and the Asiatic Jews, and those fictitious differences have been exploited by them to justify their brutal anti-Semitic program. The Nazis will undoubtedly find in Mr. Hearst's statement a vindication of their "governmental racial policies." They have simply anticipated Mr. Hearst. They began the holy messianic war upon the Asiatics a little earlier than Mr. Hearst expected and launched it first upon the Asiatics in their own midst--the Jews,.... That, you will recall, was also the logic of the Crusaders in the Middle Ages. These did not wait until they got to Palestine to begin the extermination of the infidel and the non-believer. They began at home--with the Jews. At that time, too, it was in the Rhineland.....

This is the second occasion in recent weeks that Mr. Hearst, prompted perhaps by his dislike of the French, has chosen to flirt with the Nazis, and by eloquent omissions and pregnant silences, has shown his total disinterestedness in the plight of the martyred Jewish community of Germany.

In Munich, following the recent plebiscite, Mr. Hearst issued the following statement as reported by Hanfstaengl: "The results of the recent plebiscite represent a unanimous (sic!) expression of the popular will. This overwhelming majority with which Hitler astonishes the world must, as we now learn, be accepted as self-evident and in a sense must open up a new chapter in modern history.

"If Hitler succeeds in pointing the way of peace and order and an ethical (sic) development which has been destroyed throughout the world by war, he will have accomplished a measure of good not only for his own people but for all humanity.

"Germany is battling for her liberation from the mischievous provisions of the Treaty of Versailles and for her redemption from the malicious suppression and encirclement to which she has been subjected by nations which in their avarice and short-sightedness have only shown enmity and jealousy over her advancement.

"This battle, in fact, can only be viewed as a struggle which all liberty-loving (sic) peoples are bound to follow with understanding and sympathy."

In such manner does Mr. Hearst give the Nazis and their known and authenticated record of black reaction, terrorism and murder the grand white-wash and to their leader he ascribes the new role of a long looked-for saviour of humanity.

Let it be remembered that it is not what Mr. Hearst says in his newspapers in New York City and in other parts of the United States which is the true index to his sincere opinion, but rather what he says in these critical, revealing statements made abroad and to official representatives of the German government.

The attitude of Mr. Arthur Brisbane, Mr. Hearst's right-hand man, has also greatly astonished and perplexed us during the last year and a half. We have been waiting for a very long time to hear from the liberal Brisbane a strong, courageous word in defense of the human liberties as well as the elemental human rights of the Jewish group which have been trampled under foot in the Third Reich. We have been waiting for one unequivocal denunciation of that regime of blood and terror. That word has not been forthcoming. Instead we have been treated to a few words of comfort, to

scrape of neutral comment, to weasel words, and to the well-known device of saying "one the one hand,...but on the other hand."

Not once did Arthur Brisbane speak in that tone of anger and indignation which he allowed himself to employ, for example, in denouncing Professor Albert Einstein, because the latter dared to suggest that the allied debts should be wiped out for the sake of the peace of the world,.....

From The Jewish Weekly Bulletin



The super-learned Dr. Einstein, of relativity fame, warns the U.S. that "America is not innocent of Europe's misery," and in demanding payment of her war debt becomes "an accomplice in the ruin of political morality & the cultivation of a revenge spirit encouraged by despair." So says an Associated Press dispatch from Paris.

It should not annoy Prof. E. to be told that the people of the U.S. delighted to receive & provide him with congenial employment when Germany put him out, feel able to form their own opinions of one, however wise in mathematics, who will take no part in paying the debt, and bought none of the "Liberty bonds," when the debts were contracted, do not interest the American tax-payer.

If the highly esteemed Dr. Einstein will read the foolish book that his greater predecessor Newton wrote,

elucidating the apocalypse, he will learn that it is ~~im~~possible for a Scientist to make mistakes when he wanders away from Science. There is no demand for a 4th dimension in international honesty.



Wed. June 6, 1934

Arthur Brisbane

J. D. B. 9-30-34
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Sep. 30.34

BOOM DAYS IN ZION -- AND AFTER
Dr. Abba Hillel Silver

In 1918 the American Zionist Organization unanimously adopted a program of reconstruction for Palestine which included the following items:

1) To insure in the Jewish national home in Palestine equality of opportunity, we favor a policy which, with due regard to existing rights, shall tend to establish the ownership and control of the land and of all natural resources and of all public utilities by the whole people.

2) The co-operative principle should be applied so far as feasible in the organization of all agricultural, industrial, commercial and financial undertakings.

3) The fiscal policy should be framed so as to protect the people from the evils of land speculation and from every other form of financial oppression.

Not one of these items is being carried out in present day Palestine.

1) Neither the natural resources which have been exploited nor the public utilities which have been developed since the war are owned and controlled by the whole people. Some land has been acquired by the Jewish National Fund. All other Jewish land holdings are in private hands.

2) The co-operative principle is practically non-existent in the industrial, commercial and financial undertakings in Palestine today though not entirely absent from agriculture.

3) There is no country in the world where the evils of land speculation are more rampant than in Palestine.

During the past year practically no new land was acquired by the Jews of Palestine. Nevertheless the Palestinian Government received close on to two hundred thousand pounds in registration fees for land transfers. In many instances a parcel of ~~wahes~~ land passes through eight or ten hands a year and its price is pyramided from, say, one hundred pounds to three

thousand. The story of Palestinian speculation in real estate and orange groves is a faithful replica in miniature of the disastrous Florida boom of 1925.

Bialik, just prior to his departure from Palestine on his fatal journey to Vienna in quest of health, administered a solemn warning to the Jewish population of Palestine. The "Yishuv" was quite as sick as he, himself, was, he declared. Among the symptoms of its dangerous malady he pointed to "the miserable speculation which is consuming us just as the moth consumes a garment. The Satanic glitter of gold has blinded us. We pride ourselves on expansion and growth when, in reality, there is only the empty hurly-burly of speculation."

The rapid urban development of Palestine which has been stimulated by the stupendous immigration into the country in the last few years is destroying the Jewish character of many of the farming settlements which were built at so much cost of labor and substance. Working men from the colonies are flocking into the cities attracted by the higher wages which are being paid, due to the building boom and the labor shortage. Jewish colonies are forced to employ Arab labor, Palestinian, Bedouin and Hauranese. Jewish plantations increased three fold in area between 1930 and 1933 but there were actually less Jewish laborers employed in them in 1933 than in 1930. On one-half of the land owned by Jews there are no Jewish workers employed at all. On less than one-third of the land owned by Jews is Jewish labor employed exclusively.

Jewish labor is thus being displaced in the colonies which were founded in the hope of reviving agriculture among our people and as a means of stabilizing our economic status in Palestine and of insuring the economic foundations of our National Home. Even in Palestine we are thus becoming a landless people without roots in our native soil.

Jewish labor in the towns and cities is also being displaced in many instances by the cheaper Arab labor, much of it imported from the neighboring

countries. Palestine Jewry is fast becoming a predominantly middle-class community -- the universal curse of our status in the Galut. What, therefore, appears to some as the mounting sap of wholesome growth may, in reality, prove to be deadly, creeping dry rot....

The small capitalists who poured into Palestine in the last few years in such large numbers and who are bent on making a quick turn-over on their investments are rapidly reproducing there all the evils of an uncontrolled capitalistic expansion which has bankrupt many a greater and richer land. Everywhere nations are struggling to-day through various forms of social planning and control to bring about a sounder and juster economic life for the masses. Zionism anticipated this in its basic program decades ago, and for a time it struggled valiantly to realize that program -- to make the Jewish homeland a noble expression of the historic social idealism of our race. Herzl dreamt of "making the new land a land of experiments and a model State." World Jewry hoped to build in Palestine an experimental laboratory for social reconstruction, free from violence, bloodshed and bitter class struggle. A Christian pilgrim visiting Palestine a few years ago could speak enthusiastically of it as "the bravest social venture in the world today."

But what is actually taking place in Palestine at this time is an headlong onrush of uncontrolled, chaotic, competitive middle-class capitalism which is certainly not making Palestine an experimental laboratory for social reconstruction but which ^{is} inevitably paving the way for those same violent economic conflicts which have begun to devastate the civilized world.

The social and economic program of Zionism is being defeated. Along with it will also come political defeat. Without Jewish labor and Jewish agriculture, without a sound economic basis for Jewish life, Zionism will have succeeded merely in creating in Palestine another Jewish ghetto which will be as insecure

-4-

and impermanent as all our ghettos are proving to be in the diaspora. When the fateful hour of decision will come it will be found that it is the people on the land and those who hold the tools of production, and not the merchant, the banker and the rentier who will have the final say in determining the political policies and institutions of the country.....

The one organization which has consistently championed the classic ideals of Zionism -- the Palestine Labor Party -- has of late been subjected to venomous attacks by the petit-bourgeoisie, the "baale batim" and their mace-bearers, the Revisionists who started out with a program of political maximalism and ended up in a morass of economic reaction. The Palestine Labor Party has been put on the defensive. The Stavsky Affair, by some strange twist in popular logic, has given these elements the leverage in Palestine. It is the Palestine Labor Party which has been constrained by circumstances to issue an appeal for unity in Zionist ranks, in the hope of averting further internecine strife and a still more disastrous disintegration of the whole Zionist program. Its manifesto to the Jews of the world is an historic document of courage, dignity and statesmanship. We applaud both its spirit and its purpose. But at the same time we humbly suggest that great as is the need for unity in this hour, greater by far is the desperate need to salvage whatever can be salvaged for the future of our people of the essentials of the Zionist ideal. It is far more important at this time to fight resolutely in their defense than to patch up a temporary political truce.

The Zionist Organization of America, in 1918, placed itself solidly on the side now championed by the Palestine Labor Party. Does not the hour call for this organization to cease functioning as an ineffectual organization of "General" Zionists, which today can mean only an organization of and for the

petit-bourgeoisie, and definitely and aggressively to align itself with those organized forces in Palestine which are struggling against almost overwhelming odds to materialize those social and economic ideals which American Zionists once regarded as the very heart of the Zionist movement.

The Zionist Organization of America has been reaching out desperately for some program which will revitalize it. The dynamic program of work and struggle is really at hand and in its keeping defined in clear detail and spread upon the minutes of its own conventions.



Oct. 19, '34

VIVISECTION
Dr. Abba Hillel Silver

How frequently these days one is tempted to cry aloud: Take the Jewish people out of the anatomical theatre! Stop dissecting the Jewish soul and the Jewish mind! That way madness lies. In Heaven's name, let us stop being a problem to ourselves! There are problems of Jewish life, many, grave, but a people which regards itself as a problem will never solve any of its problems.

The spread of anti-Semitism in the world in the last few years has spurred many a Jewish pen and tongue to discuss Jew-baiting afresh, systematically from Aleph and historically from Father Abraham on. The Jewish people has again been stretched out helplessly on the dissecting table for anatomical probing and observation. Books and essays in prodigious quantities are appearing, purporting to define, analyze and explain the Jew -- that brand new arrival on the world scene -- and to lay bare the dark secret of his unpopularity.

We thought that everything that could be said on the subject had already been said -- adequately and well. There is not a corner of our racial soul that has not already been pried into. Israel, we thought, has already been Bertillonized "from the sole of his foot unto the crown of his head." We have been studied physiologically, neurologically, and sociologically. Our hair, our skin, the shape of our heads, feet, hands, and noses have been carefully x-rayed. Our physiognomies have been studied singly and compositely. Our racial metabolism has been charted and the kind of diseases we favor. The diet of Israel, as well as its theology has been most carefully appraised -- some even going to the extent of identifying the two....

We thought that every essential characteristic of our race had already been discovered, properly labelled, catalogued and filed in the archives of the anti-Semite or the philo-Semite. Has it not already been established beyond a

Vivisection

-3-

shadow of doubt that we are, racially speaking, extraverts and introverts, "weiblich" and "mannlich" rationalists and mystics, oriental voluptuaries with a weakness for asceticism, arrogant with a pride derived from our slave-mentality, clannish and forward, intensely national and accursedly international, gifted business men with a secret passion to destroy capitalism, political poltroons with a dangerous plan to dominate the world....

We thought that every possible definition of our status in the world had already been sent in. We were, unquestionably, a race, a religion, a people, a nation, a nationality, a nationhood, a peoplehood, a social organism, an organic society, a community, a culture, a civilization, a point of view, a misfortune!....

Every major and minor cause of anti-Semitism, we believe, had already been painstakingly collected and arranged according to size, age, and country of origin and grouped under their various and proper headings, such as political, religious, racial, national, economic, temperamental, etc., along with the classic rebuttal in each case. Some did this work scholastically, ponderously with proper documentation, foot-notes and appendices. Others in a gayer, lighter mood, scherzando, as it were, as if the whole subject intrigued them only as a delightful sport, one which did not seriously involve them....

We thought that we had displayed all our wares, our achievements, our contributions, our talent, and our genius to the world with sufficient energy and persistence that there was nary a goy who did not know how much indebted he was to us. How many Noble prizes he gave to us and how many scientists, artists, philanthropists, prize-fighters, and movie stars we gave to him. Had we not told him in all modesty over and over again about the Jew and Relativity, the Jew and Psycho-analysis, the Jew and Baseball, the Jew and Rotary, the Jew and Diabetes, the Jew and....the Jew and.....

Vivisection

-3-

What else was there to say on the subject? And reading some of the books, essays and pamphlets which have been appearing in such profusion of late one is inclined to say that there really is not anything new to say. There is not a new word in the whole pack of them. Only weariness, and vexation of spirit....

One wonders whether the time has not come to call a halt to this neuritic introspection, self-analysis and group exhibitionism. The world is not impressed, and we are only rubbing our sore spot and making it worse. Ought not our writers, journalists, teachers and preachers fight their way out of this sickly world of pathological introversion to a free world of action?

There are great, historic tasks calling upon our generation to duty, labor and sacrifice. We must organize more effectively against those forces which threaten our political and economic positions in many parts of the world. We must normalize our political status in the world by the establishment of a strong, national center in Palestine. We must rationalize our economic status in many lands by courageous economic planning and reorganization. We must develop better methods of integrating our young people loyally and enthusiastically into our group life. All these are problems -- grave, concrete, urgent, but their solution depends not upon group apologetics, or national advertising, or endless self-probing, but upon statesmanship, planning, and action.

One Jewish colony in Palestine, one effective boycott crashing down upon the head of a foe of Israel, one new Hebrew School in your community, one upstanding loyal young Jewish life anywhere, is worth a thousand hackneyed, threadbare volumes of Jewish apologetics and mind-probing.

Oct. 21, '34 6

POGROMS ARE NOT SUCH SIMPLE MATTERS
DR. ABBA HILLEL SILVER

James W. Gerard, former Ambassador to Germany, has sounded a warning to the Jews of America.

"As a friend of the Jewish people, I want to state that if the American nation ever gets the idea that the Jewish race and communism are synonymous there is a possibility of a pogrom in the United States that will make those of the Czar's era in Russia look like a small parade....I believe it is the duty of the responsible Jews of the country to devise some means of keeping the people of the United States from obtaining the idea that the Jews and the Communists are the same people by discouraging members of the race from embracing communism."

We appreciate this warning. We know that it comes from a friend who on more than one occasion has demonstrated his friendship to the Jewish people.

But there is really nothing that we can do about it. We have no one recognized authority in Jewish life that can issue orders which will be universally obeyed. There is no one central body among us that can 'say to this one, Go, and he goeth; and to another, Come and he cometh'...We are not a religious communion, like the Catholic Church, whose mandates are binding upon its communicants. We are a people, split fifty ways along political, economic, social and religious interests -- like any other people. Only persecution forces us occasionally into a semblance of unity of action. This simple, rudimentary fact about Jewish life even the friendliest non-Jew of the type of ex-Ambassador Gerard seems unable to grasp.

Destiny has forced an inescapable group responsibility upon us without, at the same time, implementing us with the legislative or executive power with which to control the actions of any of our members. We have no way of "discouraging members of the race from embracing communism" -- even if that were the

-2-

proper thing to do -- any more than we have ways of discouraging four Jews from running for Governor simultaneously in one State -- a ridiculous performance, come to think of it, and one calculated to lend fuel to the myth of Jewish domination, -- any more than we have ways of discouraging too many Jews from accepting important positions in Washington at the invitation of the President -- a fact which also causes considerable anti-Semitic back-firing, any more than we have ways of discouraging Jews from going into finance and international banking -- another fact which is grist to the Jew-baiter's mill all over the world.

Even if we had such ways of controlling and directing the political and economic persuasions of all our people, we would be at a total loss to know in what direction and to what end to exercise that power. If it is to please the anti-Semites and to fend off the threat of pogroms we would have to discourage our people from living. We would have to direct them to get off the face of the earth. For it is not our communists only who enrage the anti-Semite but our capitalists as well, our bankers, our professional people, our writers, our artists, our men in public life -- in fact all of us....

It is clear to any impartial observer that Jews and communists are not the same people. The vast majority of Jews in this country, native or foreign born, are not communists. That is true of all other countries as well, including, one might add, Russia, itself. In New York City where there are close onto two million Jews there were cast in the last municipal election 26,564 Communist votes, which number, of course, included votes cast by non-Jews....

This fact, however, as well as many others which may be adduced, has had and will have absolutely no weight with those sinister forces who are determined to exploit anti-Semitism in this country for purposes of political and economic reaction and with Nazi agents. Facts do not bother the propagandist. He distorts and falsifies facts

or creates myths out of the old cloth and serves them up as facts. And when the propagandist is clever and ruthless, and the people are desperate because of prolonged economic depression, the desired results are obtained. "Man is ice toward truth and fire toward falsehood".....

We know all this only too well -- and in a sense we are reconciled. We know fairly well what lines American Fascism is likely to take in the future, what its stock-in-trade, its slogans and its methods are likely to be. There will be very little new or original about it -- even to the threat of pogroms... We understand it all and in a way we are prepared for it.

Only -- and this warning ex-Ambassador Gerard might well carry to his non-Jewish friends -- any political or economic system which tries to save itself through pogroms is already doomed! When capitalism will have to resort to gangsterism and hoodliganism to perpetuate itself it will be lost beyond any possibility of redemption. The Czar's pogroms were the prelude to the Revolution of 1917. The pogroms did not save Czarism but merely hastened the day of final reckoning and retribution. If American capitalism will ever have to defend itself by such stupid and brutal methods it might just as well spare itself this final indignity. American capitalism will not be able to save itself through any desperate sallies into the shameful domain of the Black Hundred. Anti-Semitism will never save capitalism. Only a more secure and orderly economic life of greater justice to all can give permanency to the American way of life and will make communism unnecessary.

Mr. Gerard might bring also this warning to his non-Jewish friends. Anti-Semitism makes communists of Jews. Some young Jews, of course, enter the ranks of communism, lifted by the ground-swell of the age and carried along by its tides. But many more are driven to it by a burning sense of wrong and resentment because of legitimate economic opportunities which are denied to

-4-

them on the ground that they are Jews. Jewish young men and women thus frustrated and handicapped in their careers, cannot close their eyes to the fact that in communist Russia there are no stumbling blocks placed in a man's way because he is a Jew....The anti-Semitic employer, private or corporate, commercial or professional, who discriminates against Jews is thus a zealous recruiting agent for Union Square....

And, finally, Mr. Gerard might warn those non-Jews who may be inclined to attempt to solve the economic problems of our day by the simple device of breaking some Jewish heads, not to be too hasty. They might get hurt....Much water has run under the bridges since the classic pogrom days of the Czars. The Jewish people in many parts of the world have since then taken to heart the Biblical injunction "to teach the sons of Judah the bow".....The non-Aryan has discovered the use of his fists.....Pogroms are not such simple matters to-day....

7 Oct. 28, 34

YORKVILLE IS NOT YET AMERICA
Dr. Abba Hillel Silver

We read with interest the other day some of the thick Teutonic sentiments voiced at the Nazi meeting held in Madison Square Garden under the auspices of the United German Societies celebrating German Day. One fellow who thought that he was standing on the platform of the Sports-Palast in Berlin instead of New York, delivered himself of the following bit of pugnacious pomposity.

"Those who fight us must perish -- socially as well as economically -- because of our determination to destroy our enemies completely and without any consideration whatever." Griebel was the name of this determined gentleman. One could fairly visualize this Griebel ecstatically though vicariously enjoying the physical trampling under-foot of his enemies, the Jews, through the medium of this verbal Germanic orgasm.

In the Bronx, a few days later, another German-American delivered himself of the following: "I'm happy to preach race; there's nothing better than the German race. As long as I'm able, I'm going to preach the doctrine of race and preach that the German is the cream of all races." Zahne is the name of this modest German whose race loyalty, so tactfully proclaimed, will undoubtedly make a hit with the American people.

In Chicago, the other day, another German-American, the national "fuehrer" of the Friends of New Germany, referred derisively and with startling originality to the "chosen people of the kasher" (?) and again to "Those who are supposed to be chosen people. I wonder who chose them?", and called for a "unified force to counteract Jewish influence." Schmach is the name of this humorist whose brilliant sallies, however, fell far short of

-2-

those of Zhane, who, at the Chicago meeting, referred to the "five million garlic eaters who are trying to run things in the United States." The above are samples of the linguistic schrecklichkeit, bombast and billingsgate with which the Yorkville Nazi leaders have been regaling the American public in recent months.

They are masters of abuse, fist-shaking and invective, these Nazi lads. The propaganda of all the shirted political parties abroad is rich in colorful polemics but none has evolved so extensive and foul a propaganda vocabulary as the Nazis. Schimpfkunst is their forte. Their compatriots in Germany were evidently impressed by it. In the United States, however, and in other civilized countries, threats and abuse are not looked upon as good argument or good form. Distinctly they are regarded as bad taste and evidence of petulant impotence. Strong men are reserved and calm. Weaklings sputter and fume and throw verbal sticks and stones.

Jews should not permit themselves to be angered or frightened by such stage thunder and scurrility. Yorkville is not yet the United States, and the German-Americans -- even all the seven millions of them -- most of whom will have nothing to do with the Nazi extremists -- are not yet the American people.... Some of their self-appointed spokesmen, hankering after political jobs, have been flaunting the numerical strength of the German-American group in the United States. With characteristic Nazi contempt for facts and figures they claim that the German-Americans constitute twenty, thirty, fifty, eighty percent of the American population....And, of course, the German-Americans, discovered, explored, settled and developed America and are the true creators of American culture in the self same way as the Germans are the sole creators and monitors of European culture....Some German-Americans have a way of hypnotizing

themselves into delectable delusions -- just like their brethren abroad.

Nevertheless, and in spite of all this braggadocio, they are not yet the American people. They discovered that in 1917....The more recent German immigrants seem to have forgotten this. They may discover it again....No national or racial group in American life can rant itself into any preferential position in our body politic. Furthermore, any hyphenated citizens in this country who place loyalty to the land of origin above loyalty to their adopted country, and who attempt to carry over into the New World the hatreds of the Old, and to stir up religious and racial strife among the American people which is a mosaic of so many races, peoples and religions, will come to certain grief, -- brass, gall and verbal violence, notwithstanding...

America was not taken in by all the high-powered propaganda emanating from the Goebbels', the Goerings, and the Hanfstaengles in Germany. It is not being taken in by the stupid and insolent propaganda of the Griebels, the Schmuchs, and the Zahnes here at home. America was acquainted with the disloyal and treasonable acts and attitudes of this element during the World War and dealt with it then. It will know how to deal with it again....

It is clear that the anti-Semitic propaganda of these alien and hyphenated Germans in the United States has only begun. It will be kept up as long as the Nazis remain in power in Germany. Some of these propagandists are outspoken pogrom-mongers. They are putting their kinemen in uniform and training them with rifles for some longed-for day of future reckoning. They talk with great relish about some great "Purge" which will take place in the United States similar to Hitler's "Purge" of last June. They have already become bold enough to break up a public hearing conducted by a committee appointed by the Congress of the United States.....

If these gentlemen are really looking for trouble, the Jews of the United States should be prepared to give it to them. Policy and wisdom dictate that our American Jewish youth should be trained in self-defense. In unsettled times it is far more important that our youth should be receiving the necessary training in athletic and sport groups than in debating societies....In unsettled times a Jewish Governor or a Jewish President of the Board of Aldermen or influential friends in exalted places are of no help at all. But a trained and disciplined host of a hundred thousand Jews ready to respond to a quick emergency is a reasonable argument which even Yorkville can understand....

Such physical preparedness against pogrom-mongers will save the largest Jewish community in the world from those frequent waves of hysteria which have been sweeping over it in the last few months, and from such blundering affairs as that of the "Black Hitler".....Instead of giving this Barnum-and-Bailey African showman the grand order of the boot, a frenzied Jewish press (with an eye, perhaps, to circulation) built him up into a dreadful ogre -- another Hitler -- and his shadow was cast by nationally syndicated articles across every Jewish community in the United States. And the affair was allowed to end in a disgraceful judicial fiasco....

Training and preparedness rather than hysteria, protest meetings, and linguistic tournaments, are clearly indicated.

And the boycott!

Nov. 4, '34
8

ORANGE JUICE
Dr. Abba Hillel Silver

Two months ago we sent the following letter to the "Nir" -- The Jewish Agricultural Cooperative Labor Association of Palestine:

"I am returning herewith the bill which you sent me for the shares which I subscribed to in April, 1933, when I was in Palestine. I would gladly take up these shares but I have become so completely out of sympathy with your organization because of its arrangement for the transfer of German-Jewish capital by way of German exports to Palestine -- which is in effect a violation of the boycott -- that I cannot further subscribe to the work of your organization. There is no reason why a German Jew wishing to export his capital by way of German goods to Palestine should be favored over against other German Jews whose business has suffered by the boycott. Jewish Palestine should have been a leader of world Jewry in boycotting Germany. Instead, German exports to Palestine have been steadily increasing from month to month and the effect of this upon the non-Jewish world throughout has been lamentable. Your organization has made a serious mistake in identifying itself with such an activity. Palestine is not short of capital and Jewish labor in Palestine did not need this financial support which can only be had at the cost of outraging the sentiments of world Jewry. You have placed yourselves in the same category with the orange growers of Palestine who last year began the sabotaging of the world-wide anti-Nazi boycott.

"I write this in the friendliest of spirit for, as you know, my sympathies have always been with the cause of Jewish labor in Palestine."

Since the writing of the above letter, the Jewish orange growers of Palestine have concluded a new barter agreement with Hitler's Government whereby Germany will be able to export two dollars' worth of goods for every dollar's worth of Palestinian oranges she will import. The Anglo-Palestine Bank attempts

to throw sand in people's eyes by declaring that it is incorrect to term this agreement "barter". It is merely a triangular arrangement under which credits of the normal German exports to the Far East will be used to pay for German imports of Palestine oranges, while orange importers in Germany may accept half the amount in Reichsmarks and the other half in the so called "orange marks". "

All of which means nothing at all! "Das ist fuer die Katze!" The plain truth is that the Jewish orange growers of Palestine have again ripped the world-wide boycott of Germany wide open. Because they live in Palestine and have oranges to sell, these gentlemen feel themselves to be in a preferential position as against the rest of world Jewry. They are entitled to trade with Germany, flood Palestine with German exports and indirectly act as agents and salesmen for German goods even outside of Palestine while the rest of world Jewry wages a bitter struggle in national self-defense to close the markets of the world to German goods in an effort to undermine the barbarous Hitler regime and the anti-Semitic Brown International which it directs and finances.

This is as infamous a piece of national sabotage as can be found anywhere. And as yet no official protest against this national betrayal has emanated from organized Palestine Jewry -- the Vaad Leumi, nor from the Jewish Agency. (a)

In the meantime German exports to Palestine are growing by leaps and bounds. The first quarter of 1934 showed ^{an} increase of more than sixty per cent over the first quarter of 1933.

The transfer agreement was explained away and apologized for on the ground that the poor German emigres to Palestine (some of them not so poor....) had no other way of removing their possessions from Germany.

But what excuse or apology can be invented to explain away this cynical fiscal

concordat of the Palestinian orange growers with the Nazi Government?

What a magnificent opportunity Palestine had and forfeited to give the superb example of sacrificial solidarity not alone with world Jewry but with all the freedom loving and struggling forces of mankind! The whole of Jewish Palestine should have been ^{declared} hermetically sealed against everything emanating from Germany. What a contribution that would have been to Jewish national prestige and honor! What a quickening and heartening example of wise and courageous political and spiritual leadership that would have been -- the sort of leadership which the Jews of the world have been taught and promised to expect from Palestine!

It is gratifying to learn that many Jews in Palestine are keenly aware of the national indignity which these export and transfer agreements involve. "The Palestine Committee for the Boycott of German Goods and Services" is doing its utmost, in the face of great resistance, to check the flow of German goods into the country and to remove the reproach to which Palestine Jewry has up to now laid itself ^{wide} open.

Nov. 11, 349

THE RED MESSIAH
Dr. Abba Hillel Silver

The following newspaper report came out of Odessa, Soviet Russia recently:

"An order restricting the use of Yiddish in the Odessa Technical High School, issued by the newly appointed director, M. Misnikov, has aroused strong protests by the students and teachers, several of whom have resigned. The order provides for cutting down the number of hours devoted to Yiddish language and literature, and the complete dropping of Yiddish in the teaching of several subjects. Hereafter, the order decrees, Russian is to be used in place of Yiddish and all official announcements of the school must be couched in that language. In making the announcement of the order, immediately after assuming his new duties, M. Misnikov remarked: "Odessa is not Palestine." The order is being protested by students and teachers who are demanding that the central authorities reprimand the new director and force him to rescind the restrictive edict."

In all probability the Soviet authorities will rescind this restrictive edict. Their position on cultural autonomy for all nationalities in the Soviet Union is well known. What should be noted, however, is that the incident did occur and could occur even in Communist Russia where proletarian economics were to have solved the whole problem of anti-Semitism.

Careful and impartial observers have reported over and over again that the problem of anti-Semitism is far from being liquidated in Soviet Russia and that while the government has ruthlessly suppressed every form of anti-Jewish propaganda as counter-revolution, and has carried on an educational campaign to discredit all forms of race antagonism, there is still a vast amount of anti-Jewish feeling among the masses and even among the governing class which may in time of strain and crisis become serious.

Writing in the Menorah Journal (Spring, 1934) on "Court Action: Soviet Style", Mr. Leon Dennen states: "It did not take me long last year to discover anti-Semitism in Russia. The older generation retained it from the old days along with other worldly capital. It crops up everywhere, sometimes in the most unexpected places. Even among members of the Communist party one encounters this prejudice. One encounters it also in the cooperative stores and in the factories as well as in the theatres. Indeed, anti-Semitism still exists in Russia."

One wonders whether it is only among the "Older generation" in the Communist party and among the older Russians generally that anti-Semitism is to be found and whether the younger generation has been permanently inoculated against it.....

Two factors may in the future aggravate the problem of anti-Semitism in Russia. They are the factors of "growing nationalism, and increasing material inequality" which Mr. William Henry Chamberlin points to as among the three long-term trends in Soviet life which seem to him most significant at the present time. In his recent volume, "Russia's Iron Age", he writes: "This nationalism is visible also in the internal life of the country. A decade ago excessive devotion to his own country was regarded as bad form in a Communist, as savoring of indifference to the international revolution....Now Soviet patriotism is trumpeted in all the newspapers....And, Pravda, official organ of the Communist Party, recently indulged in a sentimental outburst that might well have appeared in an Italian Fascist or German National Socialist newspaper".....

Increased nationalism in any country of the world, capitalist or communist, can mean but one thing -- increased anti-Semitism!

Material inequality has been growing apace in Soviet Russia. Mr. Chamberlin calls attention to the "strident propaganda for unequal wages, and for higher compensation for persons in more responsible posts" in present-day Russia. He

expresses the opinion that "one of the probable future paradoxes of Russia will be that, just about the time when classes have been officially abolished, new classes, based not on wealth or birth but on power, on status in the huge hierarchy of state officialdom, and distinguished by very different standards of living, will become much more visible."

And with it, undoubtedly, anti-Semitism will become much more visible. For the Jewish economic position in Russia is quite as unbalanced as in most of the capitalistic countries. In Russia, too, the Jews are predominantly an urban population. They are represented, far beyond their proportion to the general population, in what we would here call the "white collar class" but which in Russia may properly be called the "portfolio class" -- the bureaucracy -- the political and economic officialdom. The preferred material status of this group in the evolving Communist state is bound to become an ever sharper thorn in the side of the Russian working classes. And their discontent will vent itself, when the hour of stress comes, first upon the Jews -- Marxian dialectics notwithstanding.

Therefore, those who are advocating that the Jews of the world should collectively turn communists in the expectation that Communism will finally solve the problem of anti-Semitism are beguiling themselves and misleading their people. A Jew who believes in Marxian economics as economics, who is persuaded that private capitalism is incompatible with our machine age and that the necessary socialization of our economic system can best be accomplished through the class struggle and proletarian dictatorship and who, furthermore, believes that Communism will yield mankind a sounder and juster way of life, should by all means become a communist. This is his right and -- in view of his convictions -- his duty. But a Jew ought not to detour his way into Communism by any fantastic hope that it will solve what ^{may} seem to him to be the most urgent and important problem of Jewish life -- anti-Semitism. Conversely, a Jew should not become an

anti-Communist for the sole purpose and in the fond hope of allaying anti-Semitism. The Jewish people will never appease Fascist Jew-baiters by engaging in zealous and frantic anti-Communist activities. This, too, is a vain and futile thing.

As a people, we have frequently indulged ourselves in such apocalyptic hopes. On the threshold of every great political or social change we believed that our salvation was near at hand. Thus we assumed that democracy and liberalism would automatically solve the Jewish problem. The progress of science and the rapid increase in popular education would quickly usher in the millennium. The disestablishment of the church and the dissolution of its political power would destroy religious intolerance and would make all men brothers. In every instance we were bitterly disillusioned.

We ought not to invite another heart-breaking disillusionment. The Russian balance sheet, as far as the Jewish people as such is concerned, is not one to make us joyously exultant. The Jew in Russia is subject to no political, social or economic disabilities. But Hebrew culture, of which the writers and rabbis who, at this moment, are coyly toying with Communism, speak so urgently to their readers and to their congregations, has practically been destroyed in Russia. "For us Jews outside Russia the essential fact is that that community is in disintegration which, for many decades, was the principal Jewish force maintaining Jewish learning and revivifying the Jewish spirit throughout the world." (Harry Sacher, "Jewry Under the Soviets") Zionism is proscribed in Soviet Russia, and Jewish religious education which these same writers and rabbis regard as so essential for the American Jewish youth, is prohibited by law to the Russian Jewish youth.

We have had many glamorous Messiahs in our long history -- the Messiah of Democracy and Liberalism, the Messiah of Science, the Messiah of Rationalism

the Messiah of Religious Freedom, the Messiah of the Second Internationale, and--
now--the Messiah of the Third Internationale--the Red Messiah of the Kremlin.

They have all proved false.

There is but one Messiah for Israel--the Messiah ben David--fashioned out
of the life-blood and the soul-spirit of our own people, who is destined to
suffer in chains, physical or spiritual, in all parts of the world and who will
be fully and triumphantly free only in Zion.

The hour of his redemption is of our own determining!....



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34-17

THE BEGINNING OF WISDOM
Dr. Abba Hillel Silver

We recently read the remarkable confession of an old ^{and} honored Hebrew teacher, an Hebraist and a Zionist, Mr. Daniel Persky ("Religion and Nationalism in Hebrew Education", Hadoar, October 26, 1934). This confession strongly confirms the fear which many have entertained for a long time concerning the inadequacy of a secular Hebraic and non-religious education for our children. This type of education was fostered in quite a number of Hebrew Schools and by Bureaus of Jewish Education during the last few decades. In these schools the teaching of the Jewish religion, in its spiritual and ethical phases as well as in its more formal phases of worship and ceremonial observances was brusquely pushed aside as outmoded, or grudgingly tolerated as an inescapable concession to parents of the old generation who, because of their conservatism, still insisted upon it. Modern Jewish education, in the hands of these "enlightened" pedagogues, became largely a matter of teaching Jewish boys and girls the Hebrew language. Occasionally a few other items which they regarded as the necessary accessories of a nationalistic education were added. These schools came to resemble more Berlitzer schools than religious schools. These pedagogues who brought over their "enlightenment" from Eastern Europe have now had a full generation in which to experiment with their educational theories, and one of their numbers and a leader among them now honestly and courageously takes stock of their accomplishments.

Mr. Persky states that he was moved to take stock by the rude awakening which he received recently when he attended a large meeting, ~~of young people~~ which was arranged to honor a group of young American Chalutzim who were departing for Palestine. The meeting, attended largely by young American-born Jews, made a very favorable impression upon him because of the splendid

-2-

enthusiasm and devotion for all that was Jewish and Palestinian which were manifested there by these young people. Upon inquiry, however, he discovered, much to his great chagrin and disillusionment, that none of these young people knew Hebrew and that very few of them had ever attended a Hebrew school.... Graduates of the American Hebrew schools, he was led to confess to himself, are seldom numbered among the Chalutzim or among the active workers in the field of Jewish nationalism. Rather are they to be found by the hundreds in the ranks of the young communists "who despise us and our sanctities", and who are confirmed anti-nationalists and assimilationists. Mr. Persky feels himself almost driven to the conclusion that "the Hebrew school raises a generation of assimilationist Jews while those children who keep away from us become the faithful builders in Israel".....

What is wrong? And what is the remedy? The principal remedy which Mr. Persky prescribes clearly indicates what he regards to be the true nature of the ailment. He calls for a complete volte-face. We must introduce into our schools, he argues, a maximum religious spirit. We must give our children the "warm" weapons with which to oppose their strongly assimilative environment. We must enkindle their imaginations. We must give them the opportunity to practise their Judaism day by day. "I recommend that we intensify the spirit of religion and the force of tradition in our classes even to the extent of teaching our children the ceremonial laws and of practising them there and then.... We have sinned in having filled our classrooms with dry and parched intellectualism and rationalism. We are now convinced that this is not the way. Let us, therefore, return to the living, flowing fountain....It has been cold and frigid for us here in America. Give us the holy fire, the fire of faith which is the fire of national life and survival!"....

There is very little that needs to be said in auditing this balance sheet of what has proved to be ^{such} a costly experiment. Both Mr. Peraky's survey and conclusion are correct. Jewish education divorced from a rich and positive religious content is without value and without enduring appeal to Jewish children living in this country, or for that matter, anywhere else in the diaspora. Even in Palestine, in a thoroughly Jewish environment, an exclusively secular education would be inadequate for the rising generation. In the diaspora it is simply incongruous. The knowledge of a language and a literature (and very few of our children ever really acquire this knowledge to a point where they can truly enjoy it in later life. There is not sufficient time for proper instruction.) is an insufficient equipment for a Jewish boy and girl. They require much more. They require a spiritual viaticum for their future lives-- a faith, a habit of worship, a religious discipline, a loyal and cultivated attachment to the synagogue. They need not only Jewish nationalism, but Judaism-- the strong, simple faith of their fathers, its color, its warmth and its glowing mystery. They need the Jewish religious way of life and thought which fed and sustained our life in the diaspora until now and for which no substitute can be found either in a putative secular Jewish culture or in an imaginary Jewish civilization which is spun out of the tenuous cobwebs of wishful thinking in the study.

The study of Hebrew is, of course, an indispensable part of a proper Jewish education -- but only a part. Linguistic ingurgitation does not necessarily nourish the soul. Our children need -- Torah, of which Saadia said that "were it not for the Torah, this people would not be a nation". And Torah means faith in God, worship, religious observances, ethical idealism and loyalty to the people of Israel into whose keeping the Torah was entrusted!....

34-17
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STATE CONTROL
Dr. Abba Hillel Silver

The post-war era has been dominated by the idea of State corporateness to an amazing degree. The power and authority of the State have been augmented even in those countries where no actual dictatorship exists. Everywhere the State is stepping in to check the power and scope of the individual. The democratic apparatus which middle class individualism advanced to safeguard its rights is being pushed aside or discarded. There are no areas which are exempt from group control and interference. The individual is steadily being deprived of his "inalienable rights". The State is beginning to dominate not only ~~was~~ the political fortunes of its people but ~~was~~ their economic fortunes as well -- and ~~was~~ their cultural and spiritual lives, too.

The slogan of "State Control" has become popular in recent years, especially among those sections of our population who dislike to use the more forthright and definitive term "Socialism". Young Jews are especially captivated by it. But few of them have taken the trouble to inquire what a maximum state control would mean to a minority group like ours. In Russia it has destroyed the Jewish group culturally and religiously. In Germany it is destroying it politically, socially, and economically. In Poland, whenever a government monopoly is established over a trade or an industry, the Jew is almost always squeezed out.

As a free individual secure in his constitutional rights, in an open, competitive market, the Jewish business man and working man could hold his own with the non-Jew. But where government in a capitalistic country controls and determines its economic life, it will represent, as a matter of course, the preferences and prejudices of the ~~dominant~~ majority, and the Jewish minority group will always be disfavored. Our political and economic security in the last century lay in constitutional guarantees, in charters of fundamental human

State Control

-2-

liberties, in the doctrine of man's "inalienable rights to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness". When these liberal doctrines are discarded, and all constitutional guarantees are scrapped, we become an unprotected and defenseless minority, left to the mercies and the moods of dictators or their underlings.

Liberalism and democracy in the 19th and early 20th centuries gave us the opportunity in the Western World to live free lives and to advance to new positions of equality in all fields of human endeavor. The recent tendency towards state absolutism with its mystic yearnings towards "coordination", "Gleichschaltung" and the "monolithic society" has begun to play havoc with our people both materially and spiritually.

Those Jews who sing the praises of state control are, of course, thinking exclusively in terms of the Russian model. They should bear in mind, however, that long before the Russian model will become the dominant form in the world (if ever) the other maximum form of state control, -- the Fascist and the Nazi -- will, unless it is strenuously opposed, come to master ~~the~~ the countries of the earth. And Fascist state control is everywhere anti-Jewish. If Italian Fascism, on the face of it, seems to be an exception, it is only because the Jewish group in Italy is numerically negligible. Everywhere else, Fascism is avowedly and determinately anti-Semitic.

State absolutism may be inevitable but what reason is there for Jews to welcome it with hallelujahs?....

In all Fascist lands, side by side with the absolute totalitarian state, runs the doctrine of militant and aggressive nationalism which always claims as its first victim the Jewish group. Fascist nationalism automatically makes the Jewish group suspect and tends to ghettotize and disfranchise it anew. For state control, carried to its logical conclusions, does not stop at economics.

It is omnivorous and insatiable.....

In Germany, Fascist nationalism is still further narrowed by the concept of race. Nationalism is made synonymous with racialism. Only those belonging to the racial stock of the dominant majority are recognized as citizens. It is clear that in a state where race becomes the criterion and prerequisite for rights and preferments the Jew is sacrificed. It is no longer a question of personal character or of ability but of hereditary fatalism. One's claim to equality can no longer be based upon constitutional rights or upon a shared human destiny or upon worth or merit but upon a factor which is beyond the individual's control -- ancestry.

The Jew would do well not to permit himself to be beguiled in his quest for social justice by the millennial promises of state messianism. All dictators promise so much and achieve so little. They ask men to surrender all their rights and liberties on the glowing promise of achieving "Kingdom Come" -- the Golden Age -- in no time. And hard-pressed men are easily beguiled. They yearn for some quick escape from all their difficulties. They surrender their charters of liberty. They even condone at first the terroristic means which dictators employ to achieve the promised goal. But somehow the promised goal is never achieved. They never behold that. But the means they do behold -- and experience all the brutalities and oppressions which devastate their lives.

Liberals seem to have forgotten that liberalism is as much a matter of means as of ends. Liberalism is decidedly a matter of method and technique. If the methods are those of democratic^{tie} justice, fairness, tolerance and freedom, then human life is enriched in the very process of attaining the far-off goal. But if the methods are those of tyrannic force, oppression and intolerance, then human life becomes brutalized in the process and the goal becomes increasingly

more difficult of approximation. Liberals undermined their own position in the world because a great hope prompted them to sanction the sacrifice of means to ends, leading them into the tragic intellectual morass of endorsing and condoning illiberal and dictatorial methods and practises in one part of the world and of condemning the self-same methods and practises in another.

They were taken to an exceedingly high mountain and shown all the kingdoms of the world and their glory and -- they succumbed to the great temptation....

Jewish liberals, with so much more at stake, seem to be committing the same folly.



MR. PROSKAUER IS IN FAVOR OF THE BOYCOTT

Ex-Judge Joseph M. Proskauer is in favor of the boycott of German goods. He has not bought five cents worth of German goods, he declares. But he is opposed to the organized boycott. That is, he is opposed to telling others to boycott German goods. He would keep the fact that he is not buying German goods a great secret, hidden in his noble breast. He would not explain in the press or at public meetings why he has found it necessary to boycott German goods or why, if his reasons are sufficiently valid to make a judge boycott German goods, the same reasons should not persuade others. He would not have any collective action of the boycott. He would be opposed to the American Federation of Labor passing a resolution in favor of the boycott, just as he has been opposed to the American Jewish Committee passing such a resolution. On the contrary, he would be in favor of resolutions being passed against the boycott and public statements issued against the boycott such as the American Jewish Committee has done.

But still Judge Proskauer is for the boycott!

He is opposed to an organized boycott which "interferes with the commercial transactions of my country" as against letting his emotions as a Jew interfere with his duties as an American citizen. But a private, unorganized, whispering boycott, if effective, also "interferes with the commercial transactions of my country," and is also an act whereby one lets his emotions as a Jew interfere with his duties as an American citizen. Is it because ~~the~~ Judge Proskauer is convinced that the private, unorganized boycott is not effective that he is in favor of it? What other conclusion is possible? And wherein does his stand differ from that of the gentlemen

of the Dawah and Friends of the New Germany and the Steuben Society? They, too, have shouted from the housetops that to boycott German in an organized or an unorganized fashion is treason to America.

Judge Proskauer is also opposed to protest meetings against Hitlerism and anti-Semitism. "It doesn't take any bravery to stand up in Madison Square Garden with ample police protection." One must infer from this that it takes remarkable bravery to go gun-shoeing around the corridors of Washington to persuade the government not to protest against the horrors of Hitlerism. It takes remarkable courage to refuse to protest against the crucifixion of a whole people for the sake of defending some banker friends or relations in Germany.

A new program of Jewish diplomacy has been announced. "You cannot stop anti-Semitism by fighting it. You must stop it by ideas and ideals." What single intelligent idea has come forth from the Judge or his associates in the last two years on the subject of counteracting anti-Semitism? We do not recall that the Judge ever opposed the United States entering the World War to fight Germany. Why do people become such amazing pacifists and idealists when it comes to a discussion of a Jewish issue? Judge Proskauer's attitude is the typical German-Jewish attitude, which having been defeated in Germany, and facing defeat in this country, is still struggling to exert itself as authoritative in American Jewish life. It is defeatist, assimilationist, cringing, undignified and unworthy of the great Jewish tradition. It should be completely repudiated.

If Washington has been silent in the last two years when every of Americanism and humanity cried for one expression of indignation against the brutalities of the Third Reich, it will be attributed to the meddling of the sha-shal diplomats of these gentlemen. And a complete story of what Jewish notables perpetrated in Washington will someday be told.

NO LIQUIDATION!
Dr. Abba Hillel Silver

The Jews of Germany will not leave Germany. Regardless of the number that will emigrate in the next five or ten years, the majority of the Jews now residing in Germany will continue to reside there. Any attempt on the part of Jews to liquidate that important Jewish community in the heart of Europe is impractical, short-sided and dangerous.

Certain leaders of Jewish life in this country and abroad, when first the German-Jewish tragedy broke upon the world, rushed to their favorite nostrum - charity. Jews are suffering - send them relief. That is their customary prescription for all Jewish afflictions. There must be no protests, no demonstrations, no demand for political action from international agencies charged with such responsibility, no boycott - only the "Tsedakah Pushke..." Through lachrymose relief campaigns, and through gentle, tactful intercession with fifth Assistant Secretaries of State, the matter will be fully taken care of.

We argued, three years ago, when High Commissioner MacDonald was first appointed, that the solution of the Jewish problem in Germany was political in nature and not philanthropic. The High Commissioner, himself, has now confirmed this fact. But our Jewish leaders here and abroad - bankers, financiers, and their satellites - continue intransigent in their adherence to their discredited policy of attempting to solve the German-Jewish problem by means of a philanthropic procedure which has now become fraught with the most serious dangers to the position of the Jewish Jews throughout the world. It is now proposed to assist a mass emigration of from one hundred to two hundred thousand Jews from Germany, who will presumably be permitted by the German government to export their capital, Reichsfluchtsteuer deducted, by way of German goods, payment for part of which at least, will have to be made in foreign exchange. The plan contemplates a Bank of Liquidation which will become, to

all intents and purposes, an export agency for German manufactures, to flood the markets of the world with German goods. The Jews of the world will be asked to relent in their anti-German boycott in order to make possible the sale of these German goods in the name of Jewish charity and for the sake of saving Jewish capital. The plan will help to replenish the depleted gold reserves of the Nazi government with foreign currency which the Nazi regime can no longer obtain - a depletion which is undermining its economic position and threatening its very existence.

This proposal is made by Jewish leaders at a time when the Jews of the world, united with other forces fighting ~~again~~ against the bloody barbarism of Hitler, are engaged in a life and death struggle with the Nazi regime and are employing the boycott as the most effective weapon in their struggle. In the name of Jewish charity, these Jewish "pious" diplomats would unwittingly betray these forces which are now fighting the grimmest battle of modern times for civilization and for the elementary rights and decencies of men.

What madness has swept over these men who have assumed the grave responsibility of Jewish leadership in these serious times? Are they not aware that they are playing into Hitler's hands? Are they not aware that they are signing the death warrant not alone of the Jewish community in Germany but of all other communities in Eastern Europe who are today in the anti-Semitic danger zone? If the Nazis succeed in getting rid of the Jews of Germany through the ready and efficient cooperation of the Jews themselves, if they succeed in strengthening their own regime with money expropriated from their Jewish subjects and with foreign exchange brought into Germany via Jewish deportations, will not their admirers and would-be imitators in the neighboring Hungary, countries - in Austria, Poland, Romania and elsewhere - be encouraged and inspired to do the same? It will pay these countries to drive out the Jews! It will be good business! And how easy! Jews themselves are at hand to offer their services to facilitate the work and to insure the success of the operation....How simple, how

orderly, how legitimate and how profitable will Jewish expulsions become!

The Hitler regime is three years old and already these leaders of the Jews have lost their faith, their courage and their morale. They have supinely accepted the Nazi thesis that there is no room for Jews in Germany and they are proceeding on that basis. What a staggering and frightening surrender! For if there is no room for the Jews in Germany, there is no room for the Jews anywhere in Europe and, for that matter, anywhere in the diaspora. It is the point of view of Herr George Kareski, the super-imposed head of the Jewish Kulturbund of Germany, now friend and tool of the Gestapo, who recently gave his apostatic benediction to the Nuremberg laws which disfranchised and degraded his people in Germany.

Jews have lived under all sorts of oppressions and tyrannies in the past in all parts of the world - under persecutions and disabilities far worse than those now visited upon our people in Germany. They suffered, endured and waited for the dawn of a better day. Whenever they were able, particularly in the last few decades, they joined the forces of the opposition and became the most active leaders and adherents of revolutionary movements aimed against the tyrannical governments which oppressed them. They resisted! The thesis which holds that as soon as a hostile political party gets into power in any country and proclaims that it does not like the Jews and proceeds to put pressure on them, the Jews must forthwith emigrate, is a startlingly new, most dangerous and cowardly one which, strange to say, the very people who gloried in the diaspora to the extent of scoffing at and deriding the need of a Jewish homeland, are now most ardently advocating.

Is the situation of the Jews in Germany quite as hopeless as these leaders seem to assume? What information have they that is not available to the rest of the world which has led them to the conclusion that the present regime will remain in power indefinitely? Have they, perhaps, accepted the Nazi wish-thought that their regime will last for at least a thousand years?....Is anyone justified in setting in

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motion the liquidation of one of the great Jewish communities in Europe, with all its terrifying international repercussions, because of his conviction based on the sole fact that the Nazi regime has succeeded through terror and brutal oppression, to maintain itself in power for three short years? Are these Jewish leaders really convinced that the majority of the German people approves of Hitler's mad anti-Semitism and that, under a new regime, a new readjustment and a normalizing of the Jewish status will be quite impossible?....

What else is behind this agitation besides charity and a desire to help conserve some of the wealth of some of the ~~German~~ Jewish emigrés? Are certain of the upper classes of German Jewry, bankers and industrialists, hoping perhaps that by the removal of a hundred or two hundred thousand Jews from Germany, the pressure upon themselves will be relieved? Has the Nazi government, perhaps, in the hope of breaking the world boycott, brought pressure to bear through the many channels available to it upon certain leaders of German Jewry to ask for such liquidation? General Goering's "Kessener National Zeitung" declared a few days ago that mass emigration of German Jews will be considered by Germany only "if Jewish capitalists abroad exercise their influence to see that the Jewish boycott measures against Germany are completely stopped throughout the world." Does this tell the story?....

The German Jewish community will not liquidate. Whatever financial relief is extended to it will prove of small significance in the ultimate solution of its problem. The ultimate solution lies in the overthrow of the Nazi regime. The greatest service which can be rendered to the Jewish community in Germany and to Jewry throughout the world is to concentrate every ounce of our energy upon the successful prosecution of our war against Hitlerism, upon the outcome of which the political, economic and social security of fifteen million Jews in the diaspora depends. The Jews of Germany are in the front line trenches, it is true. They are today bearing the major brunt of the attack. Their plight is serious. That

is tragic but unavoidable. There have been other communities in the past who found themselves in such desperate situations. The Jewish people cannot capitulate to Hitlerism and to the Nazi International, and lay down its weapons, just because one section of the front is under deadly bombardment.

The Jews of Germany should be helped to maintain their institutions and their communal organizations within Germany. Every assistance should be rendered to enable them to maintain their morale and to ease their suffering during the period of their great tribulation until the day of their redemption - which may not be far off - will have come. Those Jews who must leave Germany should be helped through existing agencies to re-establish themselves in other parts of the world and to find opportunities for work and a livelihood. Generous financial assistance should be given to them in their new homes. No effort, however, should be made and no institution should be established to facilitate and to speed up Jewish emigration from Germany, and no ransom should be paid to their tormentors. The Jewish people should not be maneuvered by Hitler into becoming his sales-agents and bankers to recoup the squandered fortunes of Germany and to rehabilitate its broken-down domestic economy. This is statesmanship. All else is blind, piddling, penny-wise-pound-foolish trafficking with the enemy - dangerous as well as disgraceful.

The Palestine Transfer Agreement was bad enough. We yielded to it only on the plea that it was of no aid to the Hitler government in as much as it did not bring any foreign currency into Germany. The transfer arrangement was strictly limited to the one country - Palestine - whose economic absorptive capacity, it was argued, would be materially increased as a result of the Agreement, making it possible for many more thousands of German Jews to settle there. It was definitely understood that the German exports marketed by the Haavarah¹ would be strictly limited to the confines of Palestine. There was also the persuasive argument that a great

historic national purpose, namely the upbuilding of a Jewish homeland - and not merely the interests of the individual emigre - would be advanced by this Transfer - without in any way strengthening the Hitler regime.

No one accused or suspected that attempts would be made to universalize this practice and to convert what was clearly to be an exception into a rule. In the light of the new proposals which are now being made, which if carried into effect, will spell the doom of our concerted economic attack upon the Nazi regime, the Palestine Transfer Agreement itself might have to be reconsidered.

The answer to the infamous Nuremberg decrees and to the shameful acts of blackmail and gangsterism to which the Nazi regime is now resorting must be a more determined and implacable boycott and a reinforced attack all along the front to harass, weaken and finally to crush this bloody foe of civilization.

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CHANUKAH - 5695
Dr. Abba Hillel Silver

The very surface meaning of Chanukah arouses in our hearts an eager response. For this Festival commemorates the struggle of a small people in behalf of its freedom and independence. A small people, for centuries dominated by foreign rulers, at last decides to become master in its own house, enters a desperate conflict which rages for more than three years against the powerful Graeco-Syrian empire, and after many bloody encounters and in the face of overwhelming odds wins through to victory.

In this day of encircling hate and of seeming helplessness in the face of mounting persecution, it is good to have this Festival of Chanukah recall to us that once upon a time we were a valorous and courageous people, ready at the point of death to defend its national sanctities, and unwilling to be the shuttlecock of destiny, passive and helpless in the hands of tyrants and oppressors.

There is an epic and heroic quality to Jewish history which is frequently forgotten by the bookish spokesmen of our people for whom Jewish history is bracketed between code and commentary. No history records as many uprisings against tyranny and oppression within and without as does the history of Israel -- from the first revolution against Egyptian slavery, through the revolution of the Maccabees, until the last revolution of Bar Kochba which could be crushed only after the most desperate resistance and by the overwhelming force of the iron legions of imperial Rome.

Chanukah is one of the happiest manifestations of the unsubdued courage and the sacrificial loyalty of which our people is capable when the great hour of testing comes.

The will to live was always strong among us. This, of course, is the prime reason for our survival. We always wanted to live, and to live our own lives. We resolutely defended the kernel of our inner being, our soul's inviolability, our spiritual autonomy. When the sword was struck from our hands and we could no longer defend ourselves by physical prowess, we continued to wage war against all the threatening and the disintegrating forces about us with spiritual arms, with resolution and firmness and stubbornness and martyrdom. Everywhere we built impregnable citadels and fortresses, not of masonry and stone, but mightier ones by far, and irreducible -- synagogues, schools and Jewish homes -- wherein the pristine life and spirit of our people continued fresh and vigorous and unabated.

The Jew has an ^{insatiable} ~~overabundant~~ hunger for life. His God is a God "Who desireth life"...Behold the amazing tidal energy with which Israel is setting itself today to the task of rebuilding its national life anew in its ancient homeland. See the overflowing and on-rushing will to live which the Chalutzim are manifesting today -- those true heirs of the Maccabees of old.

Only unquenchable youth, filled with the love of life and moved by its glorious urgency, can set about "rebuilding the old, waste places". Only vision and hope and courage can build upon ruins...We have always known how to build upon ruins. We knew how to borrow the flame from our soul's inner sanctuary and kindle lights in the darkness -- Chamukah lights, lights of rededication....

The grandeur of Chamukah increases from year to year as the people which once in blood and battle achieved the victory which made Chamukah possible is again vindicating itself through struggle and sacrifice making possible a new

"Chamukat Ha-Bayit" -- a rededication of the Temple of Israel's life in the land whose youth is being renewed by a faith which never knew age.



A LETTER TO TWELVE JEWISH STUDENTS
Dr. Abba Hillel Silver

The charge of discrimination against Jewish students in American medical schools has again been resurrected. The occasion this time has been a letter sent by Dr. James L. McConaughy, President of Wesleyan University, to twelve Jewish students taking pre-medical courses in the University apprising them of the difficulties which they will encounter when they will come to seek admission to a medical school. Dr. McConaughy advises these Jewish students "that the opportunity to study medicine is definitely limited by the medical schools of this and other lands." More than twice as many students apply for admission than are actually admitted. "While the racial question does enter somewhat into the selection of students, it does not enter as much as some claim. The Association of Medical Colleges reports that 17% of the freshmen students in medical schools are Jews. It is pointed out that in this country out of a population of more than 120,000,000 there are probably between 5,000,000 and 6,000,000 Jews. They, in round numbers, make up not more than five per cent of the entire population. It has further been reported that over fifty per cent of the applications for entrance to the medical schools in 1933 were of Jewish ancestry. The above facts explain why it is difficult for Wesleyan to place her graduates of the Jewish race in medical schools."

This letter makes unpleasant reading -- as does so much of Jewish news today. Our first reaction to it is one of bitter resentment. In free America, why should a young man be forced to turn aside from the path of his chosen career by the fact that other young men of the same racial stock have chosen in numbers beyond their population quota, to enter the same profession? Neither the basic law of the land nor the classic tradition of American democracy recognizes any such race groupings or prerequisites. Why should one single race -- the Jewish -- be placed in one scale of the balance while all the other races in this country --

Anglo-Saxon, Teuton, Slav, ^{Celt, Latin,} ~~Slav~~ etc. -- are bunched together and placed in the other scale of the balance? If quotas are to be established in professional schools on the basis of race, then every race in these United States should be submitted to the same restriction and should be assigned a fixed quota. Again, if this single-race quota system in the field of higher education is accepted as just and as being in complete consonance with the American principle of the individual's right to "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness," (which, if it means anything at all, means the right of every individual to follow the career which he has chosen, unhampered by any legal restrictions based on race, religion or color) then we shall have to acknowledge that the Nazis were justified in carrying out this principle, in their country, to its logical conclusion, and in applying it rigorously and mathematically ⁱⁿ ~~to~~ all fields of human endeavor. The Nazis merely added insult to injury.... In this country those guilty of perpetrating the injury are too urbane to stoop to banal race libels to justify the injury. Here they are rather decent about it. They attempt to save appearances all around by making fictitious personality and psychological tests do the dirty work of discrimination....

This is our first reaction. On second thought, however, and after we had relieved ourselves of our feeling of indignation, Professor Morris R. Cohen's comment on President McConaughy's letter seemed to be quite valid: "The President happens to be a very courageous person. He is facing the situation and telling the truth."

For it is true that medical schools are limiting Jewish students. A few years ago Dr. Frank Gavin wrote that "Jewish college graduates of New York who desire to enter medicine have applied to as many as forty colleges before securing admission." It has been argued by Dr. Harold Typins that "the case of Jewish students in New York City seeking admission to the study of medicine presents a

special problem deserving speical consideration, the solution of which will be hindered rather than advanced by unfounded claims of racial or religious prejudices." Other Jewish physicians have stoutly denied that discrimination exists in American medical schools. Dr. A. J. Rongy wrote not so long ago: "We must not overlook the essential fact that every Jewish student of proper competence and talent can eventually succeed in entering the doors of almost any medical school in this country....Undeniably, Jewish applicants must exert greater effort and perseverance than the non-Jewish. Still, in a country where the Jewish population aggregates $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent of the total, Jews are represented by six times their ratio percentage among the medical student body. With this score, can we intelligently impugn the liberal attitude of the admission boards?"

But whether American medical schools are anti-Semitic or not, the cold, hard fact remains that nearly all of them are trying in one way or another to restrict the number of Jewish students while at the same time the number of Jewish applicants is mounting steadily every year. If Dr. McConaughy's figures are correct that over fifty percent of the applicants for entranceⁿ in the medical schools in 1933 were Jews, (if this figure is not the result of the large number of "multiple" applications which Jewish students are forced to make), then we are confronted by a very startling and serious situation. About fourteen thousand students apply annually to American medical schools. Of these over seven thousand are Jews, and only a little over six thousand, all told, Jews and non-Jews, can be admitted!....

What is the answer? Shall we build special Jewish medical schools to make room for those who cannot be admitted in existing schools? We do not recoil from the idea of a Jewish medical college out of any fear of imputed segregation. Such schools may some day be necessary. But at present, with the percentage of

Jewish students already very high in our medical schools, another additional school or schools would simply increase the number of Jewish doctors in this country, whose number seems already to be excessive, especially in the large metropolitan centers of our country.

Do we not owe a responsibility to our Jewish youth, in deference to their own future, to apprise them early of the facts as they exist today in this profession and in others? Ought we not to face the situation realistically, putting aside for the moment the polemical element involved in it? Why wait until such information is imparted to them by a non-Jewish President of a University, or Dean of a Medical College? We shall refuse to accept the principle of race quotas in our educational institutions, and we shall vigorously oppose it with all the means at our disposal and at every turn. But we should nevertheless protect our Jewish youth against future heartaches and disillusionments by advising them before they commit themselves to a professional or commercial career, of what its true prospects are. We should give them helpful, intelligent, accurate vocational guidance.

More than a year ago, we suggested in this editorial column that a program of national economic planning on the part of the Jewish group in this country is becoming imperative. We ought not to permit ourselves to wait until a drastic economic reconstruction program is forced upon us by hostile forces from without. Much can be accomplished by careful fact-finding, planning, and education from within.

34-17
Dec 10 - 34
14

"THE END OF THE MATTER, ALL HAVING BEEN HEARD"
Dr. Abba Hillel Silver

I have been pleased and somewhat amused by the outbursts which my editorial "The Beginning of Wisdom" evoked from a number of Jewish educators.

This editorial was in the nature of a comment on an article "Religion and Nationalism in Hebrew Education", written by an old and respected Hebrew educator and writer, Mr. Daniel Persky, which appeared in the Hebrew periodical HADOAR, October 26, 1934. In it, this veteran Hebraist and Zionist expresses his complete disillusionment with the non-religious and secular Hebrew education of American Hebrew schools and appeals for a positive and maximum teaching of religion, as well as for religious ceremonies and rituals in these schools. This article of Mr. Persky's was addressed to the Hebrew educators of America. It was commented upon extensively in the Yiddish press of New York. It seems strange that none of the educators who hastened to answer my editorial took the trouble to answer the article of Mr. Persky or the writers who commented on it. It is only after I lifted Mr. Persky's article out of its comparative obscurity in a Hebrew periodical and brought it to the attention of the English-reading Jewish public that these educators became excited about it. Why? Is it because they feared that those who largely support the bureaus might finally become aware of the problem which Mr. Persky raised and might begin to ask embarrassing questions?....

I question whether Dr. Jacob S. Golub, Director of the Bureau of Jewish Education of Cincinnati, who rushed to the defense of the Hebrew schools, really read Mr. Persky's article or, for that matter, my editorial.

Nowhere in my editorial did I assert that "most of the Talmud Torah graduates have gone over to the ranks of Communism", and nowhere did I "charge Talmud Torahs with being breeding places of Communism." It is Mr. Persky who expressed himself on this subject and even he did not use the word "most". "Especially hundreds (not most!) of the graduates of Hebrew schools and teachers' training schools in New York....turned their backs upon us and became fiery communists who despise us and our sanctities." Dr. Golub is either guilty of irresponsible writing, or has difficulty with simple Hebrew and English texts.

Somehow all the letter writers who felt called upon to reply to my editorial overlooked the plain fact that nowhere in the article did I criticize all the Hebrew schools and bureaus. I was much more conservative than Mr. Persky. I stated that "this type of education (the secular and non-religious) was fostered in quite a number of Hebrew schools and bureaus of Jewish education during the last few decades." It appears that each one of these gentlemen took this criticism to apply to himself, to his school, or to his bureau. Why? There is an old Yiddish proverb, "Aufn Canef brennt die huetel.".....

Dr. Ediden of Buffalo thinks that the criticism of Mr. Persky and mine can be answered by turning the tables and launching an attack upon the Sunday schools. He even draws upon his luxurious imagination for a fictitious picture of my particular religious school to drive home his point. But this is an old and sorry dodge which used to work but which works no longer. The inadequacies of the present-day Sunday schools do not necessarily make for the adequacies of present-day Hebrew schools. The deficiencies of the one do not establish the proficiencies of the other.

Each system of Jewish education must be judged on its own merits. I frequently have been outspoken in my criticism of the shortcomings of the Sunday school system, and have time and again called attention to its lack of emphasis on the study of the Hebrew language, to its very short study period, its lack of adequately trained teachers, proper textbooks, etc. So have many other Rabbis. Rabbis who have Sunday schools have taken this and similar criticism (much of it coming with great gusto and overweening self-righteousness from the same sources which have criticized my editorial) in good grace and have attempted to profit from it. But ^{some} evidently/ Hebrew school educators and directors can dish it out but can't take it!....

Dr. Ediden states: "The actual time devoted to instruction (two hours a week) is an insult to the four-thousand-year old Jewish heritage." The implication of this is that children who attend Hebrew schools devote much more time to their Hebrew studies. This, of course, is not true. Those who have read Mr. Israel Konovitz' illuminating study, "My School", (published, ~~in~~ 1934, by the Bureau of Jewish Education of New York) which is based on actual records which he accumulated as Principal of the Downtown Talmud Torah of New York City, one of the largest Hebrew schools in the country, know that "about seventy per cent of the pupils, even in such a well organized school as the Downtown Talmud Torah, are found in the classes of the first three years" and that "the annual turnover is still very great so that the majority of those attending the Talmud Torah do not have the opportunity of remaining for three years." (From Dr. Bendorly's Introduction) Inasmuch as most children attending Temple religious schools

stay on until they complete an eight or nine year course (of two or three and, in some higher grades, of four hours per week) it does not require much figuring to arrive at the conclusion that Hebrew school children do not receive more hours of instruction, all told, than religious school children.

A few more facts brought out by Mr. Konovitz are apropos of our discussion: "Ninety-nine per cent of the pupils of the Talmud Torah and perhaps more, do not get to a point where they read Hebrew literature nor will they ever write or speak Hebrew."

"Only two per cent of the pupils ever reach the seventh grade of the Talmud Torah."

"During the first four years, from eighty to ninety per cent of the children drop out."

"Because of the linguistic, and literary objective, Jewish education became secondary with us to language study and quite naturally all subjects taught became merely a stepping stone to language. The Torah and the Prophets, History and even an abstract of the Shulchan Aruch, in fact, everything became in the hands of the Hebrew teacher a chrestomathy for the study of language and literature. As a result the great majority of our pupils leave school without any proper knowledge of Torah and Judaism, without any proper Jewish education, and, also -- without any literature and Hebrew."....("My School", p. 59)

Mr. Konovitz, unlike those educators who are more concerned with apologetics than with truth-finding, has the courage to put on the cover of his book of honest stock-taking: "We have gone astray. We have led others astray." He suggests a radical revision of the curriculum of the Hebrew schools whereby the course of study in the first four school years, wherein most of the Hebrew school population is found, will be

centered almost entirely around the synagogue, public worship and the study of the meaning, ceremonies and observances of the Jewish festivals and Holy Days! The study of the Hebrew language would be only a means to this end. The main objective would be not "the teaching of a vocabulary" but the integrating, as far as possible, of Jewish children into the full religious life of the Jewish people.

Mr. Konovitz quotes another Hebrew educator, Dr. M. Z. Lavie, who, writing in the "Hadoar", declared: "The Hebrew teacher forsook the synagogue, and this defection deprived him of the last vestige of his influence."...

Dr. Golub defends his uncertain position on the teaching of religion in Jewish schools by saying, "We seek a realistic (sic!) religion that can sincerely express us as moderns and Jews and if we have not yet found it we refuse to drape our uncertainty with the patriotic mantle of the fathers." Quite so. But why become teachers of religion and directors of Jewish education if you have not yet found that realistic religion? Why not wait until you have found it before you set about teaching it to Jewish children? If, on the other hand, you are not teaching this realistic religion which you have not yet discovered, then Mr. Persky's criticism and mine and those of others, that religion is not being taught in quite a number of Hebrew schools, is clearly not "slander".....

Dr. Leo L. Honor, Director of the Bureau of Jewish Education of Chicago, is far more forthright and consistent in his position. Recently he made "a plea at the sixth Annual Institute of the Jewish Religious School Teachers' Association to omit the mention of God in stories told to pupils of Jewish religious schools. 'We have no right to stuff children's minds

with what we ourselves do not believe!" ("The Day", December 6, 1934). For the sake of consistency we would suggest to Dr. Honor, that only one book of the Bible -- the Book of Esther -- be allowed in his schools, for it is the only book of the Bible where the name of God is not mentioned.....

Dr. Golub thinks that he makes a point by asking me why the Jewish Welfare Fund campaigns in Cleveland fail to reach their quotas. Does the gentleman really wish to suggest that the success of similar campaigns in Cincinnati is to be attributed to the generation of Hebrew scholars which he, Dr. Golub, raised in that stronghold of Reform Judaism?.....

There is nothing to be gained by beclouding a real, even if unpleasant, issue by misrepresentation, partisan polemics, or by dragging in unrelated matter. My editorial was not written in any spirit of hostility to Hebrew schools or to bureaus of Jewish education. I helped to found the Cleveland Bureau of Jewish Education ten years ago and was its first president for nearly eight years. During that time I devoted almost as much time to the problems of the Hebrew schools of Cleveland, especially their financing, as I did to my own religious school. I made the study of Hebrew compulsory in all grades of my religious school in the face of considerable opposition. I established week-day periods of Hebrew instruction for children who desired additional Hebrew study. In my editorial I merely sought to call attention to a phase of Hebrew education in America which, in my humble judgment, needs rectification. Judging from the numerous letters which I have received, there are many other people throughout the country who feel as I do.....

Dec. 23 - 36
15

SABOTAGE
Dr. Abba Hillel Silver

Much is happening in Naziland behind the cloak of secrecy and censorship which points to a steady disintegration of the National Socialist Party and to the abandonment of nearly all of the twenty-five points of its famous "unalterable" program. A second purge, less bloody than the first but under the same pretext of cleansing the party of its moral perverts, is on. The Reichswehr is determined to reduce both the S. S. and the S. A. to a position of political impotence -- and the Reichswehr is now in the saddle. Opposition to the policies of Ruhrized Hitler who has thrown overboard every article of the Nazi platform (except its anti-Semitism) and has left it nothing but the chauvenist rhapsody which has now turned sour -- is being ruthlessly suppressed but cannot be destroyed.

The economics of Nazism which had such a large element of Socialism in it went down to final defeat at the hands of that stalwart champion of old-time capitalism (with all of its knavery and jockeyship) -- the present financial dictator of Germany, Dr. Hjalmar Schacht. The symbol of this defeat is the elimination and total eclipse of Gottfried Feder, the real papa of Nazi economics, the author of that famous antithesis of "raffendes" and "schaffendes" capital, which so enthralled the mind of Hitler. They made Feder ride in a tumbril to a dry guillotine....

German stock exchanges and banks have not been nationalized nor have the great trusts. The profits of the large concerns in Germany have not been distributed. "Interest slavery" has not been outlawed. Even the department stores remain. The economic salvation which the Nazis promised the German people has not materialized. Unemployment has not been abolished nor reduced, only camouflaged. Wages have fallen sharply. The cost of living has risen.

Germany's export trade is crippled. Her shortage of raw materials is menacing.

The German people are coming to realize that the great national awakening by which they had been beguiled has turned out to be a miserable coup at their own expense and in the interest of their age-old unconscionable exploiters. Some day soon the real national awakening will take place in Germany and an outraged and embittered people will arise in its unleashed wrath and wreak its vengeance upon its lying prophets, the physical and intellectual perverts who misled them and all the bloody hirelings of Junkerdom and big business who tricked, robbed and degraded them -- and terrible will be that day of reckoning!.....

That day is sure to come; and all those, within and without Germany, who help to undermine that unspeakable regime are making a major contribution to civilization. The economic pressure upon Germany by way of an organized, directed and intensified world-wide economic boycott is the surest way of undermining this regime. Those who directly or indirectly, by word or act, contribute to any relaxation of this economic pressure are rendering a distinct dis-service to the cause of civilization.

A favorite dodge among certain Jewish leaders who want to provide themselves with an accident insurance policy in their fight ^{against} ~~xxxxx~~Hitlerism is to proclaim a distinction between an unorganized, unofficial and private boycott which in their minds is legitimate and praiseworthy and an organized boycott which is altogether blameworthy and which should be abandoned. To some this may appear as subtle and profound diplomacy. In reality it is nothing but a camouflage for cold feet....It is sheer pilpul and swivel-chair dialectics. You cannot fight Hitlerism with hushed and muted indignation and with little private pinpricks when nobody is looking....The only real difference

is the one between an effective and a non-effective boycott! A private, unorganized, undirected boycott is sure to be ineffective. An organized, planned and directed boycott might be effective.

If a man is so greatly persuaded that a boycott of Nazi Germany is morally justified and politically wise that he "will not buy five cents worth of German goods", then he certainly should want to tell others about it. He should not keep it hidden as a great secret in his bosom. He should want to explain to everyone why it is necessary to boycott German goods. He should seek to merge his single act with those of others into a powerful collective action which might get results.

It is not clear how an organized boycott "interferes with the commercial transactions of one's country" and indicates that one has permitted "his emotions as a Jew to interfere with his duty as an American citizen", while a private, unorganized and whispering boycott, if effective, does not "interfere with the commercial transactions of one's country" and does not indicate that one has allowed his emotions as a Jew to "interfere with his duty as an American citizen." This stale, "patriotic" argument, has the smell of Captain Max Naumann about it....

We are in the midst of a war! Nazism has declared war upon us in every part of the world. It is out to destroy us politically, economically and socially. It is pouring its poison gas over all the habitations of Israel. World Jewry has established its front line of defense -- just as England has -- on the Rhine....We must fight it out along that line if it takes a generation. We must stand in the muck and the cold, the filth and the nastiness of this war which is not of our choosing until Nazism is destroyed. Jewish leaders would do well not to stab our fighting forces in the back....

Of course our principal defense lies in our appeal to the fundamental concepts of justice, freedom and human equality. But when these are brutally rejected in one country or another and our rights are trampled under foot, those countries must know that we will not lightly surrender our hard-won rights. We will do more than appeal. We will fight back with every means which the law of life and of survival makes mandatory upon self-respecting men. Our persecutors must learn that they will not escape unscathed. It is intolerable that fifteen million people should everlastingly be made the easy victims of the hired agents of decaying economic classes, or the charlatans of special privilege, or of embittered chauvenists or of breeds of excitable morons whom the Ho-jo-to-ho of irresponsible propagandists turns into pogromists. If the law of the land will not safeguard the right of citizens to remain in their homeland and to enjoy the full privileges of citizenship, then other methods must be employed to safeguard them. To refuse to fight for them with every forceful and legitimate weapon, is to betray not only the Jewish cause but the cause of humanity itself.

Dec. 30, '34
16

THE INCONTINENT-AL CONGRESS
Dr. Abba Hillel Silver

One organization after another declined the ingenious invitation of the American Jewish Congress to participate in elections for the creation of an enlarged Congress scheduled for next April. The Jewish Labor Committee declined. The American Jewish Committee declined. The B'nai B'rith declined. The National Council of Jewish Women declined. Other declinations are undoubtedly on the way. Each organization gave its own reasons for declining. We need not go into these reasons for the present. They may or may not be valid. Reasons given for public acts are not important for they are seldom the real motives behind the acts. They are largely intended for the record. What is important is that some of the largest and most influential organizations in American Jewry have declined to enter into an arrangement which would have meant (1) their endorsement of the Congress idea (2) their recognition of the American Jewish Congress as the supreme super-organization in American Jewry (3) their own subordination to, and their involvement in all the policies of the Congress and (4) their acceptance of the so-called democratic method of election as the proper way of insuring ideal leadership in American Israel.

It was a fore-gone conclusion that these organizations would not accept this enticing said-the-spider-to-the-fly invitation....One must conclude that the Congress leaders were amazingly naive in extending this invitation or that they assumed that the invited guests were political babes in the woods. They are not, of course, as the leaders of the Congress had frequent occasions in the past to learn. Perhaps it was intended as a skillful maneuver to put these organizations in the wrong by compelling them to acknowledge in public that they were opposed to the sacrosanct method of democratic elections and that

they were afraid of a popular decision at the polls. But these organizations had so often in the past been put in the wrong by the leaders of the Congress and had been so fearfully and so wonderfully denounced, that another abuse more or less did not seem to phase them much. Strangely enough the "great masses" of American Israel -- those anonymous hosts which were the particular preserve of the Congress -- did not seem to be outraged by this gross betrayal of Jewish democracy....Some of the "great masses" who spoke up recently in the Confessional of Declinations arranged by the American Jewish Congress seem even to suggest that "the slogan of democratic elections does not impress them much....that there is no possibility of a real democratic election under circumstances under which it is impossible to register and control the voters....and that the American Jewish Congress has for several years now assumed to be speaking for the whole Jewish community without practically having been elected by anybody".....

This last statement is interesting. The fact that the American Jewish Congress speaks for the whole Jewish community is no specific indictment of this particular organization. Everybody is doing it. It is a favorite Jewish past-time, popular and time-honored. What is of interest is that the American Jewish Congress was able to do some very important work in recent years "without practically having been elected by anybody". One need not be a partisan or a member of the Congress (and the writer is neither) to recognize and acknowledge the significant services which it rendered American and world Jewry in the early days of its existence and more recently. The forceful and vigorous offensive (and, in our judgment, a winning offensive) against Nazi Germany, was initiated and directed in this country by two

organizations, The American Jewish Congress and the Anti-Nazi League -- the latter organization devoting itself almost entirely to the Boycott. Were it not for their courageous and aggressive leadership the old sha-sha diplomacy of the Shtadlanim would undoubtedly have prevailed. The Congress helped to write a proud chapter in positive and fearless leadership in times of crisis.

There will be need for this quality of leadership, for this outlook on Jewish life also in the future. Decidedly, there is a place for the Congress in American Israel. We believe, however, that the American Jewish Congress will strengthen rather than weaken its position if it will surrender in theory what it really never possessed in fact -- the exclusive spokespersonship for American Israel. There is no such thing! There can be no such thing! The more we try to create such a supreme all-embracing agency, the more we expose the utter impossibility of the task, and the more discord and confusion do we sow. Thus it seems likely that the next few months will be spent in vigorous controversies over this issue, with Jews lustily belaboring each other in the press and on the platform (for it is not only the son of Gaul "who has his best member in his mouth"...) while the attention of our people will be effectively diverted from necessary work at home and abroad.

What holds true of a World Jewish Congress holds true of an American Jewish Congress. American Israel can not be persuaded, cajoled, scolded or dragooned into a single organization presided over by democratically elected representatives and officials. We are not that kind of a people! It is doubtful whether any people is that kind of a people, unless it lives in its own land and must of necessity evolve some central form of organized political life. The Congress idea is a beautiful idea launched in vacuum. It is plausible but utterly false.

There are in existence today several national Jewish organizations which have won the right to participate in decisions affecting those interests which are common to all of them, e.g., the fight on anti-Semitism; problems of foreign relief; the rationalization of our economic life; Palestine; Jewish education, etc. These organizations, each having its own constituency and its own ways of representing them, should arrange to meet frequently in council for discussion of these common interests, and should attempt to arrive, when necessary, at joint agreements and common action. This will be difficult at first. In the course of time, as mutual understanding and good-will ripen, the task will be less difficult.

We question whether the forth-coming elections will do the American Jewish Congress any good. It will advertise to the world that its constituency is definitely limited to those who will take the trouble to vote. And when it again speaks in the name of the whole of American Israel, there will be a catch in its voice, and disconcerting figures will dance before its eyes....

Jan. 6 - '35 17
Jewish Daily
Bulletin

ERSATZ
Dr. Abba Hillel Silver

Ten years ago it was Crimea and the Ukraine as Ersatz for Palestine. Today it is Biro-Bidjan. Tomorrow it will be Syria. Time and again, substitutes for Palestine are discovered, and while they are marketable for a time in the campaign-world of Jewish philanthropy, they are ultimately discarded.

We were never opposed to Jewish colonization in Crimea and the Ukraine but we discounted from the start the fantastic claims which were made for it. American Jewish millionaires and their satellites — the "welfare" folk throughout the land — were enthralled by the project which persuasive experts from abroad so plausibly outlined to them. Thus it was conclusively demonstrated that Russian Jewry was doomed to a quick and certain death unless it went on the land by the hundreds of thousands and turned peasant. Those good at figuring, and at mixing figures with politics, showed how much cheaper it was to settle a Jewish family on Russian than on Palestinian soil, how much more land, and better land, there was available in Russia, and how much more liberal the Soviet Government would be than the indifferent or hostile Government of Palestine.

The confidently expected ruralization of Russian Jewry did not materialize. The Russian Jewish masses did not stampede to the soil. The opportunities which were offered to them by the rapid industrial development of Russia, especially since the inauguration of the Five Year Plan, pulled many of those Jews who had previously settled on the land back to the town and cities. One hears much less rhapsody today about the Jewish colonies in the Crimea and the Ukraine. Nor are they any longer spoken of as Ersatz for Palestine.

Today is is Biro-Bidjan. From newspaper reports it seems as if every week thousands of Jews were going there, or were clamoring to go there or were already there. At regular intervals, one reads of the Soviet Government voting breath-taking sums of money for the Biro-Bidjan autonomous Jewish region. Every news item is calculated to make one admire not only the generosity but the eagerness of the Soviet Government and, per contra, to ruminate bitterly over the dilatoriness and niggardliness of the Palestinian Government with which Jews are forced to squabble daily about ^y immigration certificates, jobs, land purchases, etc. Thus Lord Marley neatly points out that: "Bureya has the advantage of not having a native population. It is an almost uninhabited country. There will be no clash with the Arabs. Also there is no British government to impede progress."

Occasionally, one does come upon a news item which serves to temper one's ecstasy over Biro-Bidjan. Thus it appears that "during the last four years, from October, 1930, 20,000 people emigrated to Bureya and 10,000 re-emigrated. In 1932, 6,000 out of 9,000 arrivals re-emigrated, and in 1933, the number of re-emigrants was larger than the number of arrivals..." Hersch Brill, Comzet representative in Biro-Bidjan, complains in "Emes", Yiddish communist organ in Moscow, that "according to the schedule for the past six years in which the work of settlement has been going on, there should now be at least 50,000 settlers in Bureya. There are hardly 10,000 now."

Theoretically, there can be no objection to another autonomous Jewish region besides Palestine. Other peoples -- the English, for example -- have established quite a number of autonomous regions in different parts of the world. Why not the Jews?.....

But here, again, we are admonished not to be hasty in identifying one autonomous region with another. P. Sprach, of the "Emes", writes: "We must not allow the Jewish nationalist region to color the relations of the Jewish masses with the national coloring which the Jewish national bourgeois abroad and also in the Soviet countries will certainly attempt to do. There have already been such who have described Bureya as the Soviet Palestine, an idea which is organically foreign to us."

Of course, it is! What is intended in that extreme Far Eastern corner of Siberian Russia is not so much an autonomous national region for the Jewish people as a bulwark and outpost for the Russian empire. There is a war between Russia and Japan in the offing -- a seemingly inescapable war. Russia is making feverish preparations in anticipation of that fateful event. What Moscow is interested in at the moment, is not so much the survival of Yiddish culture or Yiddish nationality, as the quick establishment at that strategic point of a large and loyal frontier population which will act as a dyke against a possible invasion. The "autonomy" element is the bait offered to Russian and world Jewry. Even Dr. Joseph Rosen, prime leader of the Russian colonisation movement, acknowledges that "there is, of course, the question of 'war clouds' overhanging the Far East." "But", he adds, "with the present situation in Europe, it is not easy to say where the danger for the Jewish masses is greater, in the Far East, or in the Near West." This last statement is, of course, an ingenious but inconsequential argument and one calculated unjustifiably to allay apprehension. The establishment of a large Jewish community in another danger zone in the Far East will not lessen the dangers confronting the existing communities in the Near West...The wisdom of

creating voluntarily a new Jewish settlement in a new danger zone receives no endorsement from the fact that an old danger zone already exists elsewhere which the new will not displace.

Other than this vital consideration of the dangers to which Jewish settlers in Biro-Bidjan would be exposed in case of war, there is no practical reason why anyone should be opposed to Russian Jews settling there if they wish to or have to. (Transplanting Jews from Poland or another part of Eastern Europe to Biro-Bidjan is quite another matter....) But as an "Ersatz" for Palestine, as a substitute for the National Jewish Homeland, or even as an important movement for the solution of the economic problems of Jewry of Eastern Europe, it is preposterous. We trust that our all-too-gullible Jewish philanthropists will not permit themselves to be persuaded that Biro-Bidjan is another opportunity to "save" the Jewish people and another call upon them and upon world Jewry to raise funds. The recent visit of Dr. Rosen and Dr. Zegelnitsky, Director of the Ort, to Biro-Bidjan, seems to suggest that such a fund-raising campaign is being seriously considered.

Syria, too, will soon become an Ersatz for Palestine. Negotiations between the Committee for the Defense of Jewish Rights in Central and Eastern Europe and the French Government have resulted in permission being granted for the immigration and settlement of 10,000 Jews in Syria. France wants ~~something~~ for her mandated territory of Syria, something of the prosperity which the Jews have brought to Palestine. It wants, furthermore, a Jewish population in Syria to play off against the politically intransigent Syrian-Arabs. At first, French authorities stipulated that only Jewish capitalists should come to Syria, and (with an eye to its southern neighbor) only avowed anti-Zionists...

They finally consented to admit also Jewish artisans and agriculturists. Land is available if Jews will drain the swamps and pay for it. In return the Jews will receive permission to "adapt themselves to the customs of their future home and to study Arabic and French" (which study will be made obligatory). The Jews will help "to further the increased progress of French industry in the deserted territories of Syria, in collaboration with French and Syrian personalities...."

It is announced that a preliminary colonization organization will soon be formed, i.e., an appeal will be made to the Jews of the world to finance this project, and campaign literature will soon play up Syrian colonization as another great international Jewish "cause". It will be pointed out how much cheaper it is to settle a Jewish family on Syrian soil than on Palestinian soil, etc., etc....

But there is no Exeat for Palestine! For Palestine is not a colonization project or a relief measure. It is nation building. It is not an emergency place of refuge, a night's lodging. It is Home! Palestine is the Jewish soul seeking reincarnation and new life in the physical realities of a native land and language, ^a distinctive culture and an autonomous political form. Jews will build -- and it is desirable that they should build -- farm settlements all over the world, in the Argentine, in Syria, in Biro-Bidjan.

But the Jewish people will build Palestine!

Jan. 13 - '35
18

WHERE OUR SECURITY LIES
Dr. Abba Hillel Silver

Three great world movements marked the end of the Middle Ages for the Jews of Western Europe -- the Renaissance, the Reformation and the French Revolution. Two of these movements are now in definite retreat.

The Renaissance stimulated the spirit of free inquiry among the peoples of Europe. It ushered in the epoch of intellectual emancipation. It was destined to shake the foundations of superstition, bigotry and intolerance. The Jew stood to gain from this liberating movement of the mind and spirit of man -- and the Jew did actually gain.

The Protestant Reformation destroyed religious uniformity in Western Europe. It ended the religious imperialism of Roman Catholicism. For more than a century after Luther, the Protestant and Catholic Churches waged a most determined and ruthless war over the issue of religious hegemony or monopoly. After many bloody and inconclusive battles it became evident that the problem would not be solved by war but only on the basis of compromise. The compromise was religious toleration, not merely for Catholics and Protestants, but also for the numerous sects which had sprung up within Protestantism itself. This principle of toleration was destined to benefit the Jewish group also. The Jew was sooner or later included within this compromise of toleration.

The French Revolution established the rights of man over against the rights of the State and Church. In place of the divine rights of State and Church there were enthroned the divine rights -- the inalienable rights -- of Man. Man was invested with fundamental rights over which neither the State nor the Church had any power of veto. They were his by virtue of his humanity and not by virtue of his membership in any political or religious grouping. The Jew was destined to benefit from this revolutionary movement also -- and he did

benefit. While the fires of the French Revolution were still raging -- in 1791 -- the Jew received his French citizenship. The doctrines of the French Revolution spread over Western Europe in the wake of the armies of Napoleon; and wherever these doctrines triumphed, the ghetto walls fell. In spite of recurrent political reactions, the Jews, by the end of the third quarter of the Nineteenth Century, were at home politically in nearly all lands of Western Europe.

Today the ideas symbolized by the Renaissance and the French Revolution are in sharp retreat. Dictatorship is now established in two-thirds of Europe; and dictatorship is implacably set against the spirit of free inquiry and all freedom of thought -- the essence of the Renaissance -- and against the doctrine of man's inalienable rights -- the essence of the French Revolution. Dictatorship must in self-defense suppress all intellectual freedom. It is compelled to regiment all thought, to proscribe all dissent and criticism, to exploit education for propaganda purposes, to make every writer a state functionary, and every newspaper a party bulletin. It is compelled to defend the principle which Mussolini summarized: "Beyond the State -- nothing!" There are no inalienable human rights, no constitutional guarantees, no charters of liberty. The individual has no recourse and no refuge in the absolutist state -- no appeal to a law which is above party or men or to any inviolable principle of abstract justice.

The Jew stands to suffer a serious decline in status as a result of this new development. His security lay in the uninterrupted progress of free inquiry among men and in the development of freedom of thought unshackled by political partisanship. His security lay in those inalienable rights which the French (and American) Revolution proclaimed. Under the new dispensation the Jew is again entirely dependent upon the will or the whim of the party in power, or

of the dictator. If they do not choose to tolerate him, his position becomes desperate.

The gains of the third movement -- the Reformation -- in terms of religious toleration, are being nullified today in some absolutist states through the substitution of racial intolerance for religious intolerance. Racial intolerance is far more menacing to the Jew than religious intolerance. Religious intolerance wished to assimilate the Jew. It was eager to welcome him as a convert. It proffered him full equality. It recognized his essential human worth. Racial intolerance repels the Jew. It does not wish to assimilate him ever. It insists upon isolating him permanently and upon degrading him politically, socially and economically.

With the spread of dictatorship in the world, the Jewish people has entered upon very serious and trying times. Its salvation lies not in preferring one kind of dictatorship to another -- Communism to Fascism. All forms of state absolutism are inimical to the best interests of the Jewish people. Our security must be found in the future, as in the past, in the great doctrines of the French Revolution -- liberty, equality, fraternity -- doctrines which are today in recession. It is only when these liberal doctrines which set aside for all men certain sacred areas of personal rights and privileges which no organized group dares trespass, are again vindicated and firmly re-established, that the Jew will be secure in the Western World.

Liberalism is in eclipse today. Its spokesmen are apologetic. Some liberals are even flirting with communism whose methods and technique are the very antithesis of those of liberalism. They have been persuaded that salvation can come only through dictatorship. They are convinced that the world is going communist. They are certain that the next world war will see the end of capitalism

and the triumph of communism, all of which is, of course, ^{pure}/speculation -- much of it highly fantastic.

The spirit of liberalism which is not, as so many liberals lightly assume, the product of capitalism, but of the unappeasable life and liberty hunger of the human spirit, has not yet abdicated. It is still deeply entrenched in the heart of man. And as all forms of dictatorship are beginning to expose their inherent and fatal weaknesses, liberalism is again beginning to fight its way across the aberrations and obsessions of our age to its imperial position in the life of society.

The Jew who was long ago warned not to try "to force the End", should cast in his lot with those who, in these turbulent and confused times, are still holding steadfastly to the vision of a free and liberal society wherein progress must be achieved without sacrificing those values which alone are the true test and measure of progress, even if its tempo seems slow.

Jan. 27, 35
19

LAND HUNGER
Dr. Abba Hillel Silver

"Blessed be agriculture! If one does not have too much of it"....This is the clever bon mot of a delightful cynic, but it cannot be applied to modern Palestine for we have desperately little of agriculture there.

Many Jews fail to remember in these hurly-burly boom years in Palestine that classic Zionism was as much a movement to rebuild the Jewish people as the Jewish homeland. It was motivated by the ardent wish to normalize the economic life of our people along with its political and cultural life. The early devotees of Zionism, the Biluim and the Chovevei-Zion, were actuated as much by the hope of returning the Jewish people to the soil of Palestine as by the hope of building a Jewish state. So were Hess, Pinsker, Herzl and Nordau.

"Back to the land!", was the call of Hirsch Kalischer to the men of his generation, ^{half} a quarter of a century ago. Rabbi Samuel Mohilever hailed the first Palestine pioneers as the blessed ones who had finally freed themselves from the hard wheel of fate which held so many of their brethren in the Galut tied to trade, business, and "shacher-macher", with all their attendant evils of exploitation, insecurity, and spiritual indignities. Samuel David Luzzatto pleaded with the Jews of his day to return to the ancient occupations of their ancestors in Palestine and to earn their living once again by the labor of their hands, "especially by farming", believing, as did the Rabbis of old, that "he who chases after money, and has no land, can have no abiding satisfaction in life.

Moses Hess visioned the great restoration of Israel in terms of land settlement and cultivation. "You will come to the land of your fathers crowned with the crown of age-long martyrdom, and there, finally, you will be completely healed from all your ills! Your capital will again bring the

wide stretches of barren land under cultivation; your labor and industry will once more turn the ancient soil into fruitful valleys, reclaim the flat lands from the encroaching sands of the desert, and the world will again pay its homage to the oldest of peoples."

Herzl, though disapproving of any extreme program for agrarianizing the Jews, nevertheless regarded land settlement as the primary undertaking of Zionism. It is our purpose, he maintained, to attach the Jews to the soil, to make them farmers, so that they will live on their own land and eat the fruits of their own planting and will no longer be mongers and peddlers in the market places of the world.

Nordau spoke of converting the disinherited Jewish proletariat into an agrarian folk and of putting the plough into the hands of those who are at present shopkeepers and tradesmen.

Brenner called for an act of national repentance through labor on land to atone for all the sins of the Galut....

This nostalgia for the soil was not mere day-dreaming and romancing. It was of course the poetic theme and emotional appeal of Zionism -- but it was much more than that. It was the cold clear realization on the part of our people that our economic life in the diaspora, due to uncontrollable historical forces, was distorted, unbalanced, awry, and frightfully insecure. Our economic structure had no foundations in a land where all national economic foundations must be put. So that the pioneers of Zionism, in thinking of a sound, normal, national life for our people in Palestine, thought first of its foundation -- the creation of a large, prosperous and contented farming population. "The glory of the farmer", said Emerson, "is that, in the division of labors, it is his part to create. All trade rests at last on his primitive activity." This basic truth the early pioneers

of Zionism clearly sensed.

And, in very truth, the Zionist movement developed exactly along these lines up to recent years. The overwhelming emphasis was always placed on acquiring land and on settling Jews upon it. This was a slow and difficult process but one which unmistakably embodied one of the essential purposes of the movement.

However, the mass immigration into Palestine in the last few years seems to have eclipsed this essential purpose. Jewish immigrants to Palestine are going into the towns and not on the land. For every single Jew settling on land, a score or more are crowding into the towns and cities. Many Jews who had previously been settled on land are leaving for the towns where wages are higher. Forty percent of the labor in the Jewish colonies is already Arab. The land which we struggled so hard to reclaim from the Arabs is now being turned back to them -- except, of course, the title deeds. We are again becoming land lords instead of land workers. It seems as if the economic ghetto structure of Eastern and Western Europe and of America -- that crazy pyramid standing on its apex -- is being set up in every detail in Palestine where something new and finer might have been built. It seems that in Palestine, too, we shall become a people of shopkeepers, small manufacturers, money-brokers and speculators, with a plethora of doctors, lawyers, and journalists. The Jewish artisan class, too, is bound to diminish in the self-same way as the farming class is diminishing in relation to the total Jewish population. For when the holy mandate to labor on the land for the sake of national redemption is ignored, the mandate to Jewish labor, generally, will be ignored.

No one is really to blame for what is transpiring in Palestine. World forces beyond our control are driving tens of thousands of our people every year to Palestine. Agriculturally, Palestine was unprepared for such mass migration, nor were most of the immigrants prepared for the agricultural life. Quite

naturally they drifted to the towns and cities, the laborer to seek work, the capitalist to seek investments, the professional^{al} man to seek opportunities to practise his profession. No control over middle class immigration was possible, and no central economic planning and social control were, under the circumstances, even attempted.

In the earlier years we had planned on paper how Palestine was to be rebuilt, how the costly mistakes of private competitive capitalism in other countries would be avoided, and how a great social purpose would guide the economic growth and development of the new land which we were building. Life has knocked over our house of cards. Palestine will have to go through the same traditional process of economic evolution and when the time comes it will have to be rebuilt from within, in struggle and conflict -- just like all the other countries of the earth.

Nevertheless, it would be criminal folly and a betrayal of our future, if, in these days when the swift tempo of Palestinian development is endangering our perspective on the whole movement, we did not make extraordinary efforts to keep the colonization purposes of the Zionist movement central and primary in all of our planning, and if we did not exert ourselves to the utmost at this time both to divert as many of the newcomers as possible to the land and to acquire more and more land for them.

The new turn of events has made large scale colonization projects immediately imperative. This calls for the opening up of Trans-Jordania at the earliest possible moment for Jewish settlement. On this pivotal issue of Trans-Jordania all the energies of the Zionist movement should now be concentrated.

Feb. 3 - 35
20

THE TOTAL PROGRAM
Dr. Abba Hillel Silver

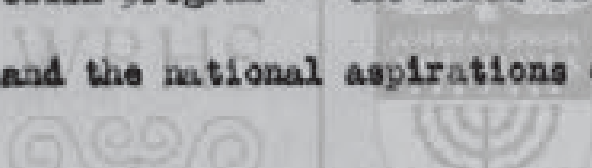
Two hundred and forty-one Reform Rabbis, members of the Central Conference of American Rabbis, issued a statement last week in which they expressed themselves as being in full accord with the principles and ideals of the Palestine Labor Movement. They did not, of course, endorse every action of the Histadruth, nor commit themselves to any partisan approval of any and all of its future actions. They hailed the social principles basic in the program of the Palestine Labor Movement which they believe to be in complete consonance with the prophetic idealism of Israel's faith. And at a significant juncture they spoke, convinced that "A wise man is impartial, not neutral. A fool is neutral, but not impartial." (Confucius)

This statement of the Reform Rabbis has a twofold significance. First, it reveals the very liberal economic views which have come to prevail among the leaders of Reform Judaism in America. And secondly, it dramatizes the remarkable volte face which has taken place in recent years among Reform Rabbis with reference to Palestine.

The radical liberalism of so many Reform Rabbis will come as a shock to those critics who, never varying their sing-song still speak of Reform Temples as the altars of the rich and the citadels of economic reaction and of Reform Rabbis as time-servers and lackeys of entrenched privilege. In many a community today it is not infrequent to find the Rabbi of the Reform or Conservative congregation, the one who speaks

bound up with the prophetic vision of "aharit ha-yamim" -- the ultimate vision of a perfect society. Up to the latter half of the nineteenth century the restoration movement was entirely and avowedly religious in character. Towards the close of the century, the influence of certain European philosophies of nationalism upon some of the leaders of our movement introduced into Zionism a note of secular nationalism and the pseudo-philosophies of race and culture.

There is not enough of truth or vitality in these concepts of nation, race or secular culture to inspire or to hold a generation of Jews to Jewish loyalty. They are a scant viaticum, hardly sufficient "tsaidah laderek" for so hard a journey. The total Jewish program -- the moral idealism, the religious values, the cultural treasures and the national aspirations of Israel -- might achieve this miracle.



isolation -- political, economic and religious. Such isolation is no longer possible for the Jewish group even in this mad, intolerant, post-bellum world of ours. Zionism would therefore give to our national culture the security of a home, as well as the matrix of a national soil.

But Jewish culture is not just another culture, a replica of the cultures of the peoples of Europe. It differs from them not only in content but in spirit. In a sense it is their challenge and their condemnation. One of the tragic casualties of assimilation has been the surrender of the sovereign inherency of our unique culture to a simulated identity with other cultures. Our terrestrial Jerusalem is a replica of the Heavenly Jerusalem. Our classic cultural creations of the past were tipped with the fires of a uniquely Jewish world-purpose -- prophecy.....Both the Written and the Oral Law were aimed at making Israel "a holy nation" -- not just another nation. This is a conception as astounding as it is unique.

The Bible is not just literature. Neither is the Apocrypha, the Apocalypses, the Talmud or the abundant writings of the philosophers, scholars, mystics and poets of the Middle Ages. All the purely "secular" literary writings of the Jewish people up to modern times would not entitle us to a tenth place in the literary estimation of the world. Our literature is, in the broadest sense, religious literature. It is hortative literature, if you will, the championing, in preachment, song, law or philosophy of a few vital and transcendent moral and religious ideals.

A Jewish culture which is devoid of its Messianic theme, its moral passion and its profound spiritual faith, is a delusion and a mockery.

Zionism never lost sight of this quintessential truth. Its roots were always in the Messianic ideal of our people. This ideal in turn, is

Feb. 10, 35
21

THE LESSON
Dr. Abba Hillel Silver

There are a few lessons which thoughtful men might well learn from the recent plebiscite in the Saar -- lessons which men emotionally involved in the issues which were projected in that arena find it difficult to learn.

The results of the Saar plebiscite were a bitter pill to swallow for all the liberal and anti-Fascist forces of the world which had hoped for a sufficiently large vote in favor of the status quo that could have been interpreted as a repudiation of Hitlerism. The ten-to-one vote in favor of the return of the Saar to the Fatherland was a staggering blow to these hopes.

The vote of the Saarlanders is but another demonstration that the prime emotional complex of the Western world today is nationalism and that whenever the issue of nationalism is involved all other considerations are definitely subordinated.

In the elections in the Saar held in 1932, before the advent of Hitler, the Nazis, together with the German Nationalists, received no more than 47,000 votes. The Center polled 157,000 votes and the two Socialist parties, 127,000. Two years later, with the consequences of two years of Nazi terrorism before their very eyes, with the full story of the ruthless dictatorship in the Fatherland disclosed to them -- the suppression of all liberties, the destruction of the labor unions, the attack upon the Church, and all the other malodorous facts which have made Hitler's Germany a hissing and a by-word in the civilized world -- the two Socialist parties in the Saar, together with the Catholic opposition and all other opponents of the Hitler regime could poll no more than 47,000 votes!...

An even more revealing fact is that on January sixth, seven days

before the plebiscite, some 90,000 Saarlanders entitled to vote, in Saarbruecken and its environs, marched in a public demonstration in favor of retaining the status quo. These prospective voters publicly demonstrated their opposition to Hitler's Germany and their determination to keep the Saar from returning to Germany as long as Hitler remained in power. They were not afraid to make public avowals of their preference. Nevertheless, seven days later, in the secrecy of the voting booth, just a little over half of that number in the whole Saar territory voted for the status quo!...

What is the answer? Nationalism has become in the Western world, as someone has put it, man's other religion. In fact it is supplanting man's traditional religions which, in spite of their theologic partisanship, stressed certain universal concepts touching human brotherhood and the ultimate unity of all mankind.

The Saar folks voted for a regime which had proved itself hostile to the Catholic Church -- and the Saarlanders are predominantly Catholic. They voted for annexation to a country wherein economic conditions were definitely worse than in their own with the prospect of their own economic status becoming adversely affected by such annexation. They willingly sacrificed their liberties to a dictatorship which they knew would reduce them to helpless groundlings. All in the name of nationalism! All for the sake of the Fatherland! They welcomed the execution^{er} of their freedom because he came to them garbed in ^{the} dress-suit of patriotism.

It is clear that whenever and wherever the issue is formulated as one between economic, religious or personal interests, on the one hand, and national patriotism on the other, the latter will always win out, especially among peoples smarting under a sense of national humiliation, caused by defeat in war.

The 19th and early 20th centuries built up the dogma of nationalism to a point where it has become a sacrosanct fetish and a menace to the highest interest of humanity. Super-nationalism is definitely provincializing the individual. Instead of lifting him to an outlook of world-citizenship it is sharply restricting him intellectually and emotionally to his own little corner in a shattered and fragmentized world. Modern nationalism is definitely ghettotizing the individual. Mankind has come to the edge of a wilderness....

What is the solution? An internationalism based on proletarian class-consciousness is simply not making any headway in the modern world. The Second Internationale broke down in the World War. The Third Internationale finds itself confined within the borders of the Soviet Union. The doctrine of the class-struggle must by its very nature appeal only to a part of each nation, not to the nation as a whole. But the whole is always greater than any of its parts...

There seems to be no recourse or refuge from the ravages of modern super-nationalism and no hope for the future except in the patient efforts of whatever liberal forces are still left in the world, secular and religious, ^{which} who still have the courage to preach the higher loyalty to humanity as a whole and who are not afraid to confront the atavistic heresies of our day with the immemorial dogma of international brotherhood and human solidarity.

Feb 17, 35
22

THE RADICALISM OF THE JEW
Abba Hillel Silver

Radicalism is a word which has been bandied about in recent years. Some people use it as a weapon of attack. To call a man radical is to beat him down as with a club -- to demolish him. Very often the term is mixed up in the minds of people with the idea of violence. A radical is a man who seeks to overthrow an institution or a government by force.

This, of course, is confusing an attitude with a technique. There are many people in the world who are radical in their economic, political and social thinking but who prefer to achieve their radical objectives through non-violent means. Pacifists are radical. On the other hand, foes of radicalism and the staunchest defenders of the old order, frequently resort to violence and revolution in order to maintain their privileged positions.

There are, of course, economic radicals like the communists, who believe in achieving their program through force and dictatorship. What is radical, however, with communists is not their technique but their program. Their technique is as old as the cave man. Lenin did not have to invent the technique of dictatorship. A thousand years of Czarism laid it at the doorstep of his mind. Mussolini learned the same technique from Lenin. And Hitler, from Mussolini. What is radical in communism is not its method of force and terrorism but its program of a classless society and of the state as the universal employer and paymaster. The socialists have the same program as the communists but they reject their technique.

Nevertheless, in the confused and feverish thinking of our day, all radicals are grouped together, and all progressives and liberals are added to them in one vast red network of radicalism. This, of course, is good strategy for

reactionaries whose purpose it is to make every movement seeking change at the expense of the status quo, suspect by linking it up with some extreme violent movement against which there already exists strong emotional resistance.

An even more ingenious strategy for reactionaries is to identify all liberal and progressive movements with some group against which there already exists a latent prejudice -- the Jewish group, for example.

The Nazis who at the behest of their industrial and financial overlords set about uprooting all democratic and liberal institutions in Germany, cleverly resorted to this ingenious strategy. Hitler popularized the idea that "democracy is fundamentally a Jewish concept, not German." Liberalism and intellectualism are products of the decadent spirit of the oriental Jew -- not Teutonic. So is the quest for universal peace. It does not emanate from the genius of the Teutonic race but is a Jewish device for undermining the military power of Germany. Democracy, liberalism, internationalism and peace are radicalism, and all radicalism is Jewish.

Actually, of course, the Jews were only slightly represented in the Communist Party in Germany, just as they are only slightly represented in the Communist Party in the United States. The Jews ^{are} predominantly a middle-class folk and ^{their} economic interests incline them to liberal or conservative groupings. There are Jews who belong to the extreme right and those who belong to the extreme left, but their numbers are small. The great body of our people is certainly not radical. Overwhelmingly they are liberal and democratic.

Unfortunately we are a very vocal and voluble and eager people and the Jewish communist is a very tense and aggressive and voluble individual. It is he who becomes the stump speaker and the parade marshall and the pamphleteer. It is he who seems to be everywhere. His volubility, vocability and omnipresence

often give the impression that every Jew is a communist and every communist a Jew.

The Jew has never sought to overthrow any government by force except those governments which denied him his elementary human rights and which singled him out for particular discrimination. He would have been a fool and a coward if he did not set about to overthrow such governments. But in those countries where he enjoyed equal rights of citizenship, his political interests usually lay where his economic interests were -- which is true of all people.

What may have contributed to the widespread notion of Jewish radicalism is the fact that the Jew has been a very ready champion of human rights. He is very sensitive to all forms of oppression. He, himself, experienced oppression and persecution for so long that he is quick to respond to any appeal from wrong and human tyranny.

History, likewise, made the Jew a cosmopolitan. Since the first dispersion of the people, twenty-five centuries ago, the Jew has moved across the face of the world. He has come in contact with many peoples, races, cultures and civilizations. Quite naturally he became less provincial than peoples rooted in one place. He is more internationally minded. He is a ready intermediary between cultures and an interpreter among peoples. He is receptive to new ideas. His very survival depended upon his easy adaptability. Long training in the hard school of life as well as in the rigorous intellectual discipline of Talmudic academies have sharpened his intellect. His mind is analytical and critical, and while not devoid of its mystic excursions, it is, as a rule, given to straightforward realistic thinking.

History also made the Jew a champion of world peace. No one suffers

as much from war as the Jew, for, as a rule, he is victimized both by friend and foe. In the lands of the victor, he is denounced as a war profiteer and in the lands of the vanquished he is saddled with the responsibility both for causing the war and losing it.

These factors -- the quick response of the Jew to the cry for justice, his cosmopolitan analytical mind, his readiness to entertain new ideas and his great devotion to peace -- are responsible, to a large degree, for that radicalism which so many non-Jews are associating with the Jew.

But justice and internationalism and world peace are not radicalism. They are the enduring aspirations of the human race -- the eternal life-hunger of men. The Jew must never, out of any fond hope of removing this stigma of radicalism from himself, turn his back upon these great causes of humanity.

Feb 24, '35

23

BROTHERHOOD DAY
Abba Hillel Silver

Brotherhood Day which is dedicated to better understanding between races and creeds and which is being celebrated throughout this nation today is a unique American institution. No one, of course, can estimate its efficacy. Dealing in spiritual imponderables its concrete achievements cannot be determined. Nevertheless the very act of instituting such a day is in itself an achievement of prime importance, particularly at a time when men's minds are being turned away from thoughts of human brotherhood to bitter racial, national and group rivalries. To our best knowledge no other country in the world has called into existence such a challenging symbol of fundamental human unity.

It is fitting that this day should be celebrated in this month which is dedicated to the anniversaries of two great and representative Americans -- George Washington and Abraham Lincoln. Both of these men helped to mold American destiny. Both stand at the headwaters of epochal movements reaching down to our own day. And both embodied in their life's work ideals which must remain basic in American life if its character is not to undergo a complete and tragic disfigurement.

The two men were worlds apart as far as their background and training were concerned. Washington was the staid and courtly gentleman whom political circumstances made a revolutionist. Lincoln was a product of the vast and lonely wilderness of American backwoods life. One was an aristocrat and the other a plebeian. Nevertheless both of them magnificently embodied the great American tradition.

Washington was a champion of religious freedom and tolerance. "No man's sentiments are more opposed to any kind of restraint upon religious principles than mine are", he wrote. His dream of America was of an haven

of refuge for all the persecuted of the earth. "I conceive under an energetic general government such regulations might be made, and such measures taken, as would render the country the asylum of pacific and industrious characters from all parts of Europe -- a land of asylum for mankind."

Lincoln's faith in democracy, freedom and equality never for a moment wavered during all the terrible years of struggle and civil war. Next to Thomas Jefferson, who framed the Declaration of Independence, Lincoln was its most passionate and uncompromising champion.

"The principles of Jefferson are the definitions and axioms of free society. And yet they are denied and evaded, with no small show of success. One dashinglly calls them 'glittering generalities'. Another bluntly calls them 'self-evident lies'. And others insidiously argue that they apply to 'superior races.' These expressions, differing in form, are identical ~~xxx~~ in object and effect -- the supplanting the principles of free government and restoring those of classification, caste, and legitimacy. They would delight a convocation of crowned heads plotting against the people. They are the vanguard, the miners and sappers of returning despotism. We must repulse them, or they will subjugate us. This is a world of compensation; and he who would be no slave must consent to have no slave. Those who deny freedom to others deserve it not for themselves, and under a just God, cannot long retain it."

Lincoln vehemently rejected the doctrine of superior and inferior races. He knew that there were advanced and backward races but he refused to attribute this fact to any biologic fiction. Alexander Stephens, one of the most brilliant minds of the Confederacy, attempted, like most Southern spokesmen, to justify slavery on some such ground. He declared: "The prevailing ideas

entertained by Jefferson and most of the leading statesmen at the time of the old Constitution were that the enslavement of the African was wrong in principle socially, morally and politically. Our new government is founded upon exactly the opposite idea; its foundations ~~xx~~ are laid, its corner stone rests, upon the great truth that the negro is not the equal of the white man; that slavery -- subordination to the white man -- is his natural and normal condition. This, our new government, is the first in the history of the world based upon this great physical, philosophical, and moral truth. The great objects of humanity are best attained when there is conformity to the Creator's laws and decrees."

But ~~for~~ Lincoln, for whom the "electric chord" that linked the hearts of all Americans was not blood but the love of freedom, wrote: "I am not a Know-nothing; that is certain. How could I be? How can any one who abhors the oppression of negroes be in favor of degrading classes of white people? Our progress in degeneracy appears to me to be pretty rapid. As a nation we began by declaring that 'all men are created equal'. We now practically read it 'all men are created equal, except negroes'. When the Know-nothings get control, it will read 'all men are created equal, except negroes and foreigners and Catholics'. When it comes to this, I shall prefer emigrating to some country where they make no pretense of loving liberty. -- to Russia, for instance, where despotism can be taken pure, and with, the base alloy of hypocrisy.".....

How prophetic these words are for our own day and how desperately needed is this message of Washington and Lincoln to a confused and groping generation such as ours.

March 3, '35
24

SPEAKING THE TRUTH IN LOVE
Abba Hillel Silver

Frequently in recent years, ever since rabbis, priests, and ministers have found their voices and have begun to speak freely and pointedly on political and economic subjects, complaints have been heard in the land that the Church ought not to enter politics and that ~~the~~ churchmen ought not to dabble in economics about which they know very little. Involved in the latter statement is the assumption that bankers, brokers and merchants know a good deal more about economics than clergymen — an assumption which has been completely controverted by their demonstrated collective asininity in recent years. Captains of industry appear to be helplessly bewildered and quite desperate and reckless and they do not seem to know the first principles of a sound and secure economic order.

One could readily concede that the Church should not reach after political power nor attempt to control government. The alliance of Church and State has always worked iniquity. The possession of temporal power corrupts the Church, and theologic bias saddles bigotry upon government. No Church ought to align itself with any political party and its spiritual leaders ought not to further the interests of political aspirants just because of their religious affiliations.

On the other hand, the Church should not permit itself to become the tool of the State and ^{be} to/exploited as the apologist and defender of all of its political policies and acts. The Church should be autonomous, loyal at all times to its own spiritual and moral mission. It should be the guide, critic and censor of State and society. It should transcend the State. It should resist coordination and total submergence in the political state in the spirit of the German Church opposition.

Similarly one can readily concede that the Church should not entangle itself in economic dogmatism. It should not -- as in all conscience it cannot -- champion the present economic system. On the other hand, it should not commit itself or give blanket endorsement to any avowedly utopian economic system which in practice may not even approximate the perfections claimed for it by its zealous advocates. The Church is concerned with the safeguarding of principles of morality which are involved and endangered in any and every economic system, and which no system can completely express or represent.

Some sincere churchmen have suggested that the organized religious bodies should endorse Communism. What, then, of Communism as realistically exemplified in Soviet Russia? Should they endorse that, too, with all that it involves -- dictatorship, the rigors of suppression and terrorism, the purges and liquidations, the nascent class inequalities, the dogmatic materialism and the bitter hatred of all religion? Or should the Church rather remain uncommitted to any specific economic system and thus remain free "to make justice the line and righteousness the plummet" at all times and under all forms of economic organization?

We may concede that the latter position is the only valid one for organized religion to take. This does not, however, mean that leaders of religion should content themselves with pious abstractions and should not touch life in the raw. Quite the contrary. They should face the everyday social, political and economic problems with which men are struggling realistically, and wherever men suffer from the harsh inequalities of an economic order, their voices should be heard admonishing, chastising, counseling and pointing the way to concrete and specific measures for amelioration. Ministers who denounce social injustice in the abstract and the general, and make no local and specific application are, like Xerxes, whipping the unheeding sea -- a wearying exercise for the lasher, but

what does the sea care?.....Unless the ministers speak concretely, fearlessly and in decisive moments of social wrong, of the gross evils of our economic organization, of exploitation, of economic insecurity, of the shame and disaster of unemployment, and of the rights of labor to organize and work collectively for a fuller share in the social goods, they and their churches are irrelevant and worse than useless.

Leaders of religion, however, should remember that their weapons never were and never can be those of hate and class struggle. They are teachers and guides, not agitators. Their task is to persuade through reason and love. There is such a thing as "speaking the truth in love." Their unique appeal is to the spirit of justice and compassion and the sense of human solidarity.

This may seem to be platitudinous and gloriously safe. But it is safe only as dynamite is safe before the spark is applied to it. Platitudes are truths which all men accept -- and ignore. It is hard to draw the line between leadership and propaganda, between education and agitation. Ofttimes much pusillanimity and ~~worldliness~~ worldliness hide themselves behind this distinction. But the truly spiritual men will quickly detect the difference and will understand....

NO BARTER!
Abba Hillel Silver

The Nazi mentality is dense, the Nazi regard for truth--nil. How else is one to account for the amazing address of Dr. Julius Lippert, State Commissar for Berlin before the American Chamber of Commerce on February 26. Dr. Lippert delivered a carefully prepared statement appealing to the United States to end the boycott against German goods. The boycott evidently has been much more devastating to German exports than Nazi spokesmen or the Jewish "Naumannites" in the United States have heretofore cared to acknowledge. Dr. Lippert is convinced that the boycott against the Reich "proceeds from wholly false assumptions." "It is asserted and the reproach is made against us that we destroyed the economic existence of the Jews in Germany...Everybody, even a disinterested visitor to our Fatherland, has an opportunity to convince himself by facts that economically nothing has happened to the Jews of Germany. Not a single dispossession or destruction of a so-called Jewish enterprise has taken place!".....

On the very day when Dr. Lippert's statement appeared in the American press there was published a cable dispatch from Germany stating that the Director of the Reich Association of German Publishers of Periodicals had sent a letter to all Jewish publishers in Germany "inviting" them to sell their businesses before they were excluded from the Association and thereby prevented from continuing in business.....

How any responsible spokesman of a government can brazenly deny the uncontested evidence of a nation-wide boycott against Jewish merchants, traders, clerks, salesmen and professional men which in the course of two years has ruined thousands of people and driven tens of thousands into exile, can only be explained by the general complex of the Nazi mentality which is persuaded that a lie is justified when it is in the

interest of the State and that if you repeat a lie often enough, people will come to believe it.

There is implied in Dr. Lippert's statement the unwarranted assumption that if the Jews of Germany were once assured by the Nazi regime that their economic life would no longer be interfered with, the Jews of the world would abandon the boycott and their opposition to the Nazi regime. This is colossal ignorance and mendacity. The boycott was not inspired by the economic persecution alone. It was the expression of indignation of a whole people against the attempt to destroy its political and cultural status of equality in a modern state. It was evidence of a determination not to permit itself to be reduced to a citizenship of the second class. Dr. Lippert has forgotten that Jews possessed economic opportunities even in the dark Middle Ages! They were allowed to carry on their trades and to engage in business even when they were forced to live huddled together in ghettos. They do not regard the restoration of such a protected-ghetto-status as any concession on the part of Hitler. The Jews are fighting for their absolute equality as citizens of Germany -- no more and no less!

Dr. Lippert states that "what the National Socialist State had to turn against, was the circumstances that certain Jewish elements not only sought or actually possessed economic preference, but also exercised an influence in political and cultural spheres that was intolerable. To defend itself against that was not only the right but also the duty of the leadership of the German people, which need not affect the economic existence of the Jewish minority so long as the members of this minority manifest an earnest will to realize certain cultural-political necessities and show an appropriate sense of responsibility." Dr. Lippert wants the Jew, in return for a promise not to be molested economically, to consent to political and social debasement. The Jews are to submit to "cultural and political

necessities" which means their banishment from the intellectual and political life of Germany. Only a Nazi dunderhead would have made such a proposition in the expectation of its being considered anything else but an insult or a sorry jest.

It is clear from the address of Dr. Lippert that the Nazi regime has not retreated one step from its original anti-Semitic platform. Jewish emigres returning to Germany are arrested and sent to concentration camps. Efforts to train Jewish youth to fit into the few trades and crafts still open to them are discouraged by the government. The Nazi regime is determined to drive the Jews out of Germany. The Jews of the world will therefore not retreat one step from their position of implacable and unyielding resistance to that regime. We shall not sell our political and cultural birthright in the world for a miserable mess of Teutonic pottage.

Dr. Lippert of course does not miss the opportunity to repeat the well-known Nazi falsehood that the boycott is exclusively a Jewish affair, being maintained "by only a small minority, although such a boycott is contrary to all American interests." If the boycott were maintained by only a "small minority" it would have collapsed long ago. It is not collapsing. It is growing stronger. It is driving German exports from the markets of the world. The boycott has cut across racial and religious lines. It has cut vertically down through all classes. It has enlisted millions throughout the world who register through it their resentment not alone of Jewish persecution but of the destruction of all those human values which are dear to the hearts of freedom-loving people everywhere.

The relaxation of anti-Jewish legislation and propaganda in Germany will not stop the boycott. The Nazi regime must be overthrown! Its menace to Western civilization must be completely liquidated before the civilized world will come to terms with Germany.

WHAT ONE SHOULD LEARN ON THE ROAD OF AGES
~~Revised~~ Abba Hillel Silver

What compelling idea motivated Mr. Robert Nathan in writing his "Road of Ages"? Why did he seize upon such a colossal theme as that of a world-wide expulsion of Jews -- a theme far more portentous than fantastic and one so tragic in its implications -- and, having chosen this theme which to a sensitive Jew is what the Crucifixion and Passion is to a non-Jew, why did he proceed to treat it in the manner of a care-free boulevardier with a studied insouciance not a little suggestive of intellectual priggishness and condescension?

Is Mr. Robert Nathan perhaps another victim of the masochistic tendencies so marked among certain Jewish intellectuals hovering on the periphery of Jewish life, who love to stick burrs into their own Jewish skins so as to sample the exquisite pain of self-humiliation?

Out of his tremendous and awesome theme Mr. Nathan could squeeze only two ideas -- neither of which is new or particularly significant: first, that the Jews on their long trek to the Gobi Desert whither they had been exiled present a very motly and polyglot spectacle; and secondly, that the Jews, in spite of their common misfortune, continue to quarrel among themselves. The author cannot get over the fact that these Jews still persist in keeping alive their religious, social and economic differences in spite of the ~~same~~ ^{sad} fate which overtook them. The climax of the book is reached in a bloody riot in which heads are smashed, men and women are trampled upon, and Jews kill Jews. The stupendous tragedy of a universal expulsion of his people which the author had evoked, wrings from his elegant pen nothing more profound than this trite satire.

But why should not Jews quarrel among themselves quite as much as any other people? Why should their reactions be different? Surely the fact that Jews have lived in exile for long centuries in the midst of insecurity and hostility and under continuous emotional strain and tension does not justify anyone in expecting to find among them a calmer outlook and greater poise and self-possession than ~~these~~^{among} ~~expressed by~~ other peoples whose lives have moved in much quieter channels -- peoples who never knew wandering, persecution and humiliation!

Is the American people a more united people than ours? Is not the American people -- or for that matter, any modern people -- divided and torn by conflicting social, political and economic interests? Has not the American people its full quota of reactionaries, conservatives, liberals and radicals in every department of its national life? Is the American people free from recurrent bloody economic strife and riots? Was it not once rent by four bloody years of civil war? Do the two hundred and more religious sects in Protestant Christianity bespeak a greater capacity for unity among non-Jews than among Jews -- and unity in a religious communion, be it remembered, is far more likely than in a people -- unless an artificial unity is forcibly imposed upon it by a powerful totalitarian dictatorship.

We Jews are a people. As soon as Mr. Nathan and his friends will digest this simple fact they will get over their surprised indignation when and if in the course of their literary meanderings they ~~will~~ come upon evidences of disunity in our midst. When one bears in mind the variety of our backgrounds, cultures and languages, the different worlds we come from and belong to, the marvel is that we possess even that modicum of unity which we do somehow succeed in bringing into play when we are faced with problems of self-defense. of

international relief or of local philanthropic activities in our respective communities.

Is it really desirable that we should have one organization to speak for the whole of Israel -- living as we do in all parts of the world, among all sorts of peoples under differing political, social and economic conditions, where many Jewish communities are faced with problems quite unique to their own situations? A calm survey of our status will convince one that it is far better that we do not have one organization or one man to plan or to speak for us on all things.

The naive Jew as well as the naive non-Jew has always sought to give us the status of a unified religious denomination or of a fraternal lodge whose slogan is brotherly love -- a status which is quite foreign to our real nature. The non-Jew will of course frequently judge us as a unit and will hold every Jew responsible for the acts of every other Jew. That is one of the grave disabilities of belonging to a minority people living in the midst of other peoples. But this should not lead us into acknowledging and accepting such a false status and definition. We will, then, not be forced to castigate ourselves publicly for failure to live up to an unreal and illusory image of ourselves....

April 7, 35
28

SIRAJ
Abba Hillel Silver

Because Moses Maimonides was a man of genius, belonging to the breed of the world's supermen, he is, in a sense, above race. Nevertheless, there are visible in his way of life, as well as in the pattern of his thought certain broad distinctive contours which we like to associate with classic Jewish quality. Maimonides is for us the consummate Jew, the comprehensive epic product of Jewish life at its best. His thought-world is a unique blending of reason; faith and moral passion. Clear, incisive methodical thinking, a high and exalted faith, and a prophetic earnestness find in him that unity after which Jewish thought has consistently aspired. Maimonides is not a rationalist exclusively, or a pietist, or a legalist, or a moralist. He is a synthesis of all of these. He is not an obscurantist who sacrifices reason to blind faith. Neither is he a rationalist who rejects everything that reason cannot grasp. Nor is he a moral sentimentalist who builds his world on uncritical wish fulfillments. He employs man's highest intellectual scaffolding to reach the towering battlements of faith. He uses both reason and faith for the foundations of his ethical system. All of which is the sovereign way of Jewish thought.

One also finds in the man himself, in his personal character and temperamental qualities which we are inclined to consider essentially though not exclusively Jewish -- calm, patient wisdom, a reverence for all life, a pragmatic idealism, firmness plus forbearance, justice and charity -- that golden mean which is quite as much Hebraic as it is Hellenic.

The Jews of his day sensed all this in Moses Maimonides. They saw in him the "Light of the Exile." Jews from all parts of the world turned to him in their perplexities for counsel and guidance. Their sound instinct led them

to recognize in him the leader who could be trusted because of his knowledge, sagacity and integrity to guide them aright in all their difficulties.

Those were trying times for Israel, both in the West and in the East, in Christian as well as in Mohammedan lands. It was the century of the Crusaders for themselves ^{bloody} who paved/a/corridor of Jewish martyrs on their way to the Holy Land, and of the Almohades, the fanatical Mohammedan Puritan sect which gave men the choice of the Koran, exile or death. In those dark days of fear, persecution, forced conversions and exile, Jewish communities turned to Maimonides. He proffered them the mellowed wisdom of a sage and the strong faith of a man of God. With calm, considerate judgment, at times with fatherly admonition he instructed, forewarned, comforted and cheered them in their tribulations. To the Jews who had been compelled to profess Mohammedanism in public while practicing their Jewish faith in secret, he held out the promise of God's forgiveness, and, unlike some intolerant rabbis of his day, he refused to read them out of the fold and to brand them as apostates to their people and their God. He warned his coreligionists against the menace of false messiahs who were arising in those turbulent years and against all forms of superstition into which an harassed people so readily sinks. He preached tolerance towards Jewish sectaries and dissenters and urged upon his people not to thrust from Jewish fellowship their Karaite brethren. Although he zealously championed the doctrines of Judaism as against the doctrines of Christianity and Mohammedanism, he nevertheless had the courage and the broad tolerance to proclaim that both Christianity and Mohammedanism are but different paths which led ultimately to the same goal of true faith.

Moses Maimonides was the crest of the wave of fine philosophic speculation which set in among our people nearly three centuries before his time.

It is true that his great "Moreh" solved no philosophic problem. No basic philosophic problem is ever solved. But neither can it ever be ignored.... Thinking men will forever try to bridge the gulf between reason and faith. Maimonides taught his generation and many succeeding generations to look upon the reasoning and questioning mind of man not as an obstacle to faith and piety but as the royal road which leads to both.

We are no less perplexed in our day than were our forefathers in Maimonides' day, and we can still draw from the intellectual integrity, the indefeasible faith and the moral courage of the son of Maimon much guidance and inspiration.



April 21, 1935
29

THE ETERNAL LOVELINESS OF PASSOVER

~~XX~~

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver

Men always think of Jews in terms patriarchal. Artists, when they attempt to portray the symbolic Jew in stone or on canvas, always depict him as a very old man, long-bearded and bent with the load of the years. Whenever men think of the Jewish religion, they always think of it in terms of hard stern duty, of law, of "Thou shalt", and "Thou shalt not", in terms of solemnity and venerability.

Seldom do men think of the Jewish people in terms of youth and hope and boundless aspiration. They assume that the Jew, having wandered all over the rough places of the world, must be weary and drained of all hope and of all illusion, and that all his thoughts must be bitter thoughts.

And yet a moment's reflection would convince one that our people could not have lived to this day unless it had known the secret of renewing youth. Other peoples grew old and died. Israel somehow knew how "to renew its days as of old", how to replenish its youth. Israel was old when Greece and Rome were young. Israel is young when Greece and Rome are dead....

Who, for example, standing beside the cities of Pithom and Rameses, thirty-five centuries ago, watching the Hebrew slaves building under the those citadels drive of the lash/for the Pharaohs, could have imagined that the descendants of these slaves, thousands of years later, long after there remained nothing of the resplendent civilization of Egypt but pale memories and ruins and crumbling mummies in hemusarcophagi, would be building highways for human thought in all parts of the world? Who could have imagined that their descendants, after long dark centuries of wandering and suffering, would set about with fresh, amazing vigor and with unbounded enthusiasm rebuilding their thrice-destroyed national life in their promised land?

A strange vitality possesses this people. Those who are aware of it are not at a loss to understand that constantly recurrent note of hope and spiritual buoyancy which we find in the literature, lore, customs and ceremonies of Israel and in the deep layers of its changeless faith.

Thus the festival of Passover fairly rings with the joyousness of life. The major themes of this holiday are Spring, and freedom and life triumphant. Passover is a Spring festival. Through the dark stages of death and decay, the seed of life bursts forth again in the breathless glory of bud and flower, and man, feeling the warm rays of the sun upon him and the throb of new life within and about him, cries out for joy, "Awake and sing ye that dwell in the dust. For thy dew is as the dew of light, and the earth shall bring to life the shades".... A song leaps to the lips of man at this season of the year and that song is Passover.

The gladness which is Passover is reflected in that beautiful Song of Songs -- that ecstatic lilt of life and love and beauty -- which tradition has prescribed for reading in the synagogue on the festival of Passover.

Passover was one of the three festivals of pilgrimage in ancient Israel. On Pesach as well as on Shabuoth and Succoth, our farming ancestors made their way from their towns and villages and climbed the mountains leading to Jerusalem carrying with them offerings from the bountiful yield of their land. Their hearts were filled with a deep gratitude to God who vouchsafed His blessings to them. They sang those beautiful Songs of Ascent which we find in the book of Psalms. The soul contentment of the peace in life which we find in those pilgrim songs -- that, too, is part of the loveliness of Passover.

And so is the charm of the personality of Moses. We Jews are not in the habit of building holidays around great national heroes. We do not idolize

men. Men come and go. Ideas alone are eternal. We build our festival around ideas rather ^{than} around personalities. And yet what is Passover without the majestic, towering figure of Moses? Here again men always think of Moses as of an old man. We think of him as Michael Angelo thought of him -- the stern law-giver, venerable, long-bearded, cosmic. And yet the Bible knew of another Moses -- Moses the babe whose cradle rocked on the River Nile, Moses the prince who lived in the royal court, Moses the young revolutionary who went forth from the gilded halls of the palace to his toiling brothers in the slave pens and in his wrath slew an Egyptian, Moses the Shepherd, the dreamer who heard voices and saw visions....The charm and loveliness of that personality enswathes this festival of Passover as with an element.

And the loveliness of Jewish home life -- that, too, is Passover. All the poetry of Jewish family life is symbolized in the Passover Seder. Music and song, family loyalty and traditional Jewish hospitality, merriment, and the joyous laughter of children -- all that is Passover.

Thank God for Passover! As long as its appeal can reach our hearts, quicken our pulse and bring a glow to our days, so long do we remain a people everlastingly young.....

JEWISH DAILY BULLETIN EDITORIALS
1934-35

- ✓ 1) Sept. 9 A HAPPIER NEW YEAR
- ✓ 2) Sept. 16 AL CHET
- ✓ 3) Sept. 22⁵ WEASEL WORDS
- ✓ 4) Sept. 30 BOOM DAYS IN ZION -- AND AFTER
- Oct. 7 No Editorial
- ✓ 5) Oct. 14 VIVISECTION
- ✓ 6) Oct. 21 POGROMS ARE NOT SUCH SIMPLE MATTERS
- ✓ 7) Oct. 28 YORKVILLE IS NOT YET AMERICA
- ✓ 8) Nov. 4 ORANGE JUICE
- ✓ 9) Nov. 11 THE RED MESSIAH
- 10) Nov. 18 THE BEGINNING OF WISDOM
- ✓ 11) Nov. 25 STATE CONTROL
- ✓ 12) Dec. 2 CHANUKAH - 5695
- ✓ 13) Dec. 9 A LETTER TO TWELVE JEWISH STUDENTS
- ✓ 14) Dec. 16 "THE END OF THE MATTER, ALL HAVING BEEN HEARD"
- ✓ 15) Dec. 23 SABOTAGE
- ✓ 16) Dec. 30 THE INCONTINENT-AL CONGRESS
- ✓ 17) Jan. 6 ERSATZ
- ✓ 18) Jan. 13 WHERE OUR SECURITY LIES
- Jan. 20 No Editorial
- ✓ 19) Jan. 27 *Land Hunger*
- ✓ 20) Feb. 3 THE TOTAL PROGRAM
- ✓ 21) Feb. 10 THE LESSON
- ✓ 22) Feb. 17 THE RADICALISM OF THE JEW
- ✓ 23) Feb. 24 BROTHERHOOD DAY
- ✓ 24) March 3 SPEAKING THE TRUTH IN LOVE

JEWISH DAILY BULLETIN EDITORIALS
1934-35

-2-

March 10	No Editorial
25 March 17	NO BARTER - (Not Published)
26 March 24	WHAT ONE SHOULD LEARN ON THE ROAD OF AGES
27 March 31	ABOUT DR. ZHITLOWSKY
28 April 7	SIRAJ
29 APRIL 21	THE ETERNAL LOVELINESS OF PASSOVER



The TEMPLE BULLETIN

THE TEMPLE

East 105th St. and Ansel Rd.
CLEVELAND, OHIO

Abba Hillel Silver, D.D.
RABBI

Rabbi Leon I. Feuer
Minister of Religious Education

SUNDAY, NOVEMBER 25, 1934, 10:30 A. M.

RABBI SILVER

will speak on

THE PROTOCOLS OF THE ELDERS OF ZION

On the occasion of the sensational trial in Switzerland which has attracted world-wide attention, Rabbi Silver will discuss these so-called "Protocols", giving their contents as well as the origin and history of this amazing forgery which is the textbook of all modern anti-Semitism.

Friday Evening Services 5:30 to 6:00

Saturday Morning Services 11:15 to 12:00

THE TEMPLE BULLETIN, published weekly, except during the summer vacation, by Tifereth Israel Congregation, East 165th Street at Ansel Road, Cleveland, Ohio. Rabbi Leon I. Feuer, Editor; Harry A. Levy, Sec'y. Subscription price, 25 cents per annum.

Entered as second-class matter Nov. 12, 1921, at the Post Office in Cleveland, Ohio, under the Act of March 3, 1879.

On Time

It has been gratifying to note the large congregations which have been attending the Sunday morning services ever since the beginning of the season. It would be an additional source of gratification to every one if promptness were added to regularity of attendance. Try to be in your pews before ten-thirty, when the service begins.

20,000 School Teachers

In the last few weeks Rabbi Silver has addressed over 20,000 school teachers at conferences in Columbus, Toledo, Atlantic City and Kansas.

Friday Morning Study Group

This coming Friday morning, November 23, Rabbi Silver will give his fourth lecture for The Temple Women's Association on "The Kings and Books—The Bible of Confucianism." Next Friday, November 30th, he will speak on "The Koran—The Bible of Mohammedanism."

Parent-Teacher Chanukah Rally

The first Parent-Teacher Meeting of the year, for parents and teachers of children in the Elementary Department of The Temple Religious School, will be held on Sunday afternoon, December the

second. Since this meeting will take place on the first day of the festival of Chanukah, it is planned to have the gathering take on the nature of a Chanukah rally.

The children of The Temple Religious School will present an original play entitled "The Chanukah Guest", followed by a series of living pictures. More than fifty children will take part in the performance.

Preceding the meeting there will be an opportunity for conference between parents and the individual teachers of their children. Rabbi Feuer will deliver a brief address and the meeting will close with a reception and tea.

Each child of the School will receive a box of Chanukah candles. Each newly enrolled child will receive a beautifully carved Menorah. This coming Sunday morning the Menorahs will be distributed to the children who are to receive them. A service of consecration will be held for these children who have just entered our School.

Flowers In Classrooms

Through the generosity of The Temple Garden Club, Mrs. Benjamin Lowerstein, President, potted plants will be placed in all the classrooms of the Religious School. The Temple is deeply grateful to the Garden Club for this gift which will add greatly to the appearance and the attractiveness of our classrooms.

New Members

The Temple extends a warm welcome to the following new members who have joined the congregation within the month:

Mr. George E. Jaffee
Mr. Joseph Levine
Mr. Joseph Licht
Mr. Paul Rosenthal

Noted Cleveland Journalist To Address Temple Alumni

Mr. William McDermott, of the staff of the Cleveland Plain Dealer, whose reports on political, social and cultural conditions in Russia and the Far East have won him national recognition, will address The Temple Alumni Association on Sunday evening, December 2, at eight o'clock in Mahler Hall. Mr. McDermott will speak on his recent trip last summer through China and Japan. This address should be of unusual interest. The meeting will be followed by a social hour and tea.

Admission will be by membership card or twenty-five cents for non-members.

Men's Club Tenders Dinner

Members of the Men's Club are requested to reserve Wednesday evening, December 5, for a farewell dinner to be given Rabbi and Mrs. Feuer by the Men's Club. Details of the meeting will be announced later.

An Editorial In The "Atlantic City News"

"Speaking before 6,000 members of the New Jersey State Teachers' Association, who followed his every word with rapt attention, Dr. Abba Hillel Silver, rabbi of The Temple, Cleveland, Ohio, gave the assemblage rich food for thought when he spoke on "Educating Our Child-

ren for the New Deal" at the closing session here Monday morning.

Dr. Silver, one of the nation's great orators, frankly advised the teachers that educating children for the "New Deal" was first of all a matter of putting particular stress, from now on, on the social sciences; that is, on economics, sociology and kindred subjects. Politics, he emphasized, is only "a by-product of economics", and teachers should permit students to find out what is wrong with the present social order without establishing "an emotional barrier between the child and certain ideas or sets of ideas which the teacher may regard as radical or revolutionary."

The speaker urged the assembled teachers to place greater importance on the teaching of the manner in which our democratic system of government operates. Agreeing whole-heartedly with the new progressive ideas emanating from Teachers' College of Columbia University, Dr. Silver feels that the time has come when school children should be taught the why and wherefore of our economic and political system and of its relation to and dependence upon the systems invoked throughout the world.

Pollyanna policies of "covering up" the real facts are a hindrance to a progressive education, Dr. Silver claims, and we hope that his brilliant advice to the teachers Monday was thoroughly digested."

Wednesday Evening, December 12 8:15 p. m.

"RUSSIA AS IT IS"

Fascinating movie on Soviet Russia and Siberia, with lecture by that noted world traveler, Julien Bryan

at

JOHN HAY HIGH SCHOOL AUDITORIUM

(Please note change in date from December 5th to December 12th)

Admission by Season Ticket. Individual admission tickets at seventy-five cents may be obtained at The Temple Office.

THE BEGINNING OF WISDOM

We recently read the remarkable confession of an old and honored Hebrew teacher, an Hebraist and a Zionist, Mr. Daniel Persky ("Religion and Nationalism in Hebrew Education", Hadoar, October 26, 1934). This confession strongly confirms the fear which many have entertained for a long time concerning the inadequacy of a secular Hebraic and non-religious education for our children. This type of education was fostered in quite a number of Hebrew Schools and by Bureaus of Jewish Education during the last few decades. In these schools the teaching of the Jewish religion, in its spiritual and ethical phases as well as in its more formal phases of worship and ceremonial observances was brusquely pushed aside as outmoded, or grudgingly tolerated as an inescapable concession to parents of the old generation who, because of their conversation, still insisted upon it. Modern Jewish education, in the hands of these "enlightened" pedagogues, became largely a matter of teaching Jewish boys and girls the Hebrew language. Occasionally a few other items which they regarded as the necessary accessories of a nationalistic education were added. These schools came to resemble more Berlitzer schools than religious schools. These pedagogues who brought over their "enlightenment" from Eastern Europe have now had a full generation in which to experiment with their educational theories, and one of their numbers and a leader among them now honestly and courageously takes stock of their accomplishments.

Mr. Persky states that he was moved to take stock by the rude awakening which he received recently when he attended a large meeting, which was arranged to

honor a group of young American Chalutzim who were departing for Palestine. The meeting, attended largely by young American-born Jews, made a very favorable impression upon him because of the splendid enthusiasm and devotion for all that was Jewish and Palestinian which were manifested there by these young people. Upon inquiry, however, he discovered, much to his great chagrin and disillusionment, that none of these young people knew Hebrew and that very few of them had ever attended a Hebrew school... Graduates of the American Hebrew schools, he was led to confess to himself, are seldom numbered among the Chalutzim or among the active workers in the field of Jewish nationalism. Rather are they to be found by the hundreds in the ranks of the young communists "who despise us and our sanctities", and who are confirmed anti-nationalists and assimilationists. Mr. Persky feels himself almost driven to the conclusion that "the Hebrew school raises a generation of assimilationist Jews while those children who keep away from us become the faithful builders in Israel"

What is wrong? And what is the remedy? The principal remedy which Mr. Persky prescribes clearly indicates what he regards to be the true nature of the ailment. He calls for a complete volte-face. We must introduce into our schools, he argues, a maximum religious spirit. We must give our children the "warm" weapons with which to oppose their strongly assimilative environment. We must enkindle their imaginations. We must give them the opportunity to practise their Judaism day by day. "I recommend that we intensify the spirit of religion and the force of tradition in our classes even to the

extent of teaching our children the ceremonial laws and of practising them there and then . . . We have sinned in having filled our classrooms with dry and parched intellectualism and rationalism. We are now convinced that this is not the way. Let us, therefore, return to the living, flowing fountain. . . . It has been cold and frigid for us here in America. Give us the holy fire, the fire of faith which is the fire of national life and survival! . . ."

There is very little that needs to be said in auditing this balance sheet of what has proved to be such a costly experiment. Both Mr. Persky's survey and conclusion are correct. Jewish education divorced from a rich and positive religious content is without value and without enduring appeal to Jewish children living in this country, or for that matter, anywhere else in the diaspora. Even in Palestine, in a thoroughly Jewish environment, an exclusively secular education would be inadequate for the rising generation. In the diaspora it is simply incongruous. The knowledge of a language and a literature (and very few of our children ever really acquire this knowledge to a point where they can truly enjoy it in later life. There is not sufficient time for proper instruction.) is an insufficient equipment for a Jewish boy and girl. They require much more. They require a spiritual viaticum for their future lives—a faith, a habit of worship, a religious discipline, a loyal and cultivated attachment to the synagogue. They need not only Jewish nationalism, but Judaism — the strong, simple faith of their fathers, its color, its warmth and its glowing mystery. They need the Jewish religious way of life and thought which fed and sustained our life in the diaspora until now and for which no substitute can be found either in a putative

secular Jewish culture or in an imaginary Jewish civilization which is spun out of the tenuous cobwebs of wishful thinking in the study.

The study of Hebrew is, of course, an indispensable part of a proper Jewish education—but only a part. Linguistic ingurgitation does not necessarily nourish the soul. Our children need—**Torah**, of which Saadia said that "were it not for the Torah, this people would not be a nation." And Torah means faith in God, worship, religious observances, ethical idealism and loyalty to the people of Israel into whose keeping the Torah was entrusted! . . .

From "The Jewish Daily Bulletin"

*The Hasidic Anthology by Louis I. Newman

At the outset, may I be permitted to remark that Hasidism described in this book must not be confused with the earlier Hasidim (Hasidim Horishonim) who lived over two thousand years ago. Hasidismus of this Anthology had its origin in the early part of the 18th Century in Poland, with Israel Baal Shem Tov, as its head. Sayings, parables, anecdotes and aphorisms, all intended to interpret passages of Bible, Talmud and Midrashim, formed the foundation for his disciples and adherents, and are incorporated into this Anthology.

The leaders of the movement, in attaining the highest degree of humility and holiness, were surnamed **Zaddikim**, and their followers, **Hasidim**, finding both names in a verse of the Psalms: "God is **Zaddic** (righteous) in all his ways, and **Hasid** (loving) in all his doings."

One marvels at this colossal piece of work of 800 closely-printed pages containing a kaleidoscopic variety of subjects, and touching the lives and activities of

these mystics and optimists in Israel, for nearly 250 years.

Dr. Newman, by this monumental work, has proved himself an explorer of the type of Prof. S. Schechter in this *terra incognita*. He gathered together from all nooks and corners of the Jewish world, especially from Eastern Europe, all available material, written and printed in German, Yiddish and Hebrew. He translated it into a lucid and beautiful English that fascinates and delights.

"The Mission of the Baal Shem", says the author, "was to offset the gloom and the hardships of the Polish Jews and to begin a ministry of joy." The Zaddik, or Rebbe, received no fixed salary, but subsisted on donations which went mostly toward the upkeep of the needy, the widow and the orphan.

The burden of leadership weighed heavily upon these Zaddikim, and one of them, who was also a famous preacher, once said: "Think ye it is a comfortable station to be a Zaddik? It is rather a thicket of thorns. For the heart of the true Zaddik is flooded with the life-blood of others, and weighted down with the sorrows of the people."

"The striking similarity", says Rabbi Newman, "in the forces which operated to produce both Hasidim and Christianity, has been noted by numerous scholars. Both the Nazarene (Jesus) and the Podolian (Baal Shem) were the heroes of wonder tales disseminated by the lips of the people, the lowly of the land—the *Amei ha-aretz*."

According to Dr. Klausner, of the Hebrew University, Jerusalem, (quoted by the author) "Jesus was an artist imparabile, and a master of morality. The Baal Shem also was supremely effective as a teacher of ethics, through the medium of parables, folk-tales, aphorisms, fables and epigrams. Both men were mystics, with an

intense sense of the omnipresence of God—the Loving Father."

"Dubnow (quoted by Dr. Newman) compares one of the Hasidim, Rabbi Mosheh Leb of Sassov, to Saint Francis of Assisi, whom he calls a Catholic Hasid. Both had an immense sympathy with the suffering and pure love for humanity."

And yet these Hasidim gave themselves to laughter, gaiety, the dance and the cup of cheer, as compensation for the gloom and poverty they witnessed around them.

While most of these Zaddikim or Rebbes lived in dire poverty, because they gave most of their substance to the poor, there are on record a few who lived in luxury. When one of them was asked why he lived in a richly appointed home, he gave this explanation: "We are told in the Talmud that a fine dwelling, fine clothes and a beautiful wife broaden a man's understanding, and I need all the understanding I can acquire to serve my master fitly."

Reviewed by Dr. Leo Reich

"This book may be obtained in The Temple Library.

The Temple Gratefully Acknowledges the Following Contributions:

To the Library Fund:

Mr. and Mrs. Nathan Seidman, in memory of son, Morton Seidman.

Mr. and Mrs. L. W. Neumark, in memory of daughter, Alice Pauline Neumark.

To the Floral Fund:

Mrs. Laura Neuman, in memory of Mr. A. Schmidt.

Mr. and Mrs. Joseph Rothschild, in memory of Mrs. Rosa Kohn.

To the Scholarship Fund:

Mrs. Frances K. Strauss, in memory of Mrs. Tillie Druehl and Dr. Herman B. Rosenwasser.

Mrs. S. Goldhamer and Miss Helen Klein, in memory of father, David Klein.

The TEMPLE BULLETIN



THE TEMPLE

*East 105th St. and Ansel Rd.
CLEVELAND, OHIO*

Abba Hillel Silver, DD
RABBI

Rabbi Leon I. Feuer
Minister of Religious Education

SUNDAY, DECEMBER 23, 1934, 10:30 A. M.

RABBI SILVER

will speak on

SANITY IN LIVING

Sunday morning, December 30, Rabbi Silver will deliver his annual New Year's Message, "Taking Stock of 1934."

Friday Evening Services 5:30 to 6:00

Saturday Morning Services 11:15 to 12:00

THIS TEMPLE BULLETIN, published weekly, except during the summer vacation, by Tifereth Israel Congregation, East 185th Street at Ansel Road, Cleveland, Ohio. Rabbi Leon I. Feuer, Editor; Harry A. Levy, Sec'y. Subscription price, 50 cents per annum.

Entered as second-class matter Nov. 12, 1931, at the Post Office in Cleveland, Ohio, under the Act of March 3, 1879.

Youth Rally

For some years now one Sunday in December is set aside as Youth Rally Day for all the young people of our Temple. In previous years hundreds of young men and women and their parents thronged to the Youth Service in the morning which ushers in the day's program.

Next Sunday is Youth Rally Day, 1934. The Alumni Association has invited all of its members and friends to this service. A special invitation has been sent to the sons and daughters of Temple members who are attending out-of-town schools and universities who will be home for the holiday season.

Rabbi Silver will preach on the theme: "Sanity in Living."

Following the service, the Alumni Association will entertain the out-of-town students at dinner in the ballroom of the Statler Hotel.

Oberlin Students at Temple Service

Students and members of the Graduate School of Theology of Oberlin College attended our services last Saturday morning and spent a round table discussion period after the services with Rabbi Silver. An inspection of the Temple building and the School followed.

Rabbi Sherman

The Temple takes pleasure in announcing that Rabbi David Sherman will assist Rabbi Silver in the

conduct of Temple activities during the remainder of the congregational year. Final arrangements to fill the vacancy caused by the resignation of Rabbi Feuer will be announced later.

Rabbi Sherman was ordained at the Hebrew Union College in 1934. While there he won the Heine-mann Vogelstein Memorial Prize for research in Jewish history and served as president of the Hebrew Society and Associate Editor of the Hebrew Union College monthly. Rabbi Sherman graduated from Boston University in 1930 with Phi Beta Kappa honors. He also studied at the Hebrew Teachers College in Boston.

Rabbi Sherman will reside at 1728 East 115th Street.

Lecture Course Presents Unusual Movies of Russia

A large audience which filled John Hay High School Auditorium witnessed the showing of some of the finest moving pictures ever to come out of Soviet Russia. The lecturer, Mr. Julien Bryan, gave a charming and very fair commentary on his pictures. The pictures were varied and presented a rather all-around view of present-day Russian life.

This was the second in the Temple Lecture Course series which is being sponsored this year by the Temple Men's Club. The next number in the Course will be a Symposium on the interesting and vital subject "Shall the Church Enter the Class Struggle?", participated in by Professor Reinhold Niebuhr, of the Union Theological Seminary, and Dr. Harold C. Phillips, of the First Baptist Church of Cleveland Heights. This event will take place on Wednesday evening, January 23.

Annual Mother-Daughter Luncheon

of

THE TEMPLE WOMEN'S ASSOCIATION

**NEXT THURSDAY, DECEMBER TWENTY-SEVENTH
12:30 P. M. IN MAHLER HALL**

Original and Humorous Sketches, written and presented by members of the Association and their daughters; Specialty Dances; Music by the Silverberg String Trio.

Age Limit for Daughters, Fourteen Years and Over. Reservations are Seventy-five Cents per Person. Tables for Parties of Ten may be Reserved.

**PLEASE MAKE YOUR RESERVATIONS AT ONCE IN
THE TEMPLE OFFICE**

Cast for Mother-Daughter Play

For the Mother - Daughter Luncheon which is to take place next week, a group of women have written a clever series of humorous sketches which will be presented by members of the Temple Women's Association and their daughters. The following cast will participate:

Mrs. Charles Bang, Mrs. Charles Barnett, Mrs. Samuel Berger, Mrs. Helen Bing, Mrs. Robert Blau, Mrs. Milton Daus, Mrs. Julia Einstein, Mrs. Milton Einstein, Mrs. Emanuel Garson, Mrs. Robert Garson, Mrs. Edward Goldstein, Mrs. Joseph Gross, Mrs. Louis Grossman, Mrs. Irving Hexter, Mrs. Paul Hexter, Mrs. Roy Hexter, Mrs. Samuel Horvitz, Mrs. Jule Jaskalek, Mrs. Joseph Rothschild, Mrs. Isadore Sands, Mrs. Joseph Sands, Mrs. Norman Siegle, Mrs. A. H. Silver, Mrs. Nathan Sloss, Mrs. Sidney Stern, Mrs. Charles Stone, Mrs. Hart Stotter, Mrs. Harold Thorman; Children in dance: Peggie Freedman, Cecil

Hausner, Ruth Lillian Klein, and Frances Vactor.

Mrs. J. E. Roodman and Mrs. Joseph Kaufman are in charge of costumes and Miss Esther Einstein and Mrs. Joseph Kaufman in charge of properties.

The Temple Gratefully Acknowledges the Following Contributions:

To the Floral Fund:

Rose and Leo Oppenheimer, in memory of mother, Mrs. Max Oppenheimer.

To the Library Fund:

Mr. and Mrs. Morris Elsner, in memory of son, Sidney E. Elsner.

Minnie and Martha Markowitz, in memory of Selma E. Markowitz.

To the Scholarship Fund:

Mrs. S. Skirboll, in memory of Mrs. Aaron Horvitz of Mt. Vernon, N. Y.

Mrs. Sophie Stiefel and Mrs. Julius Wise, in memory of J. Haas.

The Temple Memorial Book

Mrs. Abram Buka and daughters, in memory of husband and father, Abram Buka.

In Memorium

The Temple records with deep sorrow the passing of SIGMUND KORACH and extends its condolences to the bereaved family.

34-17 #14

(2)

"THE END OF THE MATTER, ALL HAVING BEEN HEARD"

I have been pleased and somewhat amused by the outbursts which my editorial "The Beginning of Wisdom" evoked from a number of Jewish educators.

This editorial was in the nature of a comment on an article "Religion and Nationalism in Hebrew Education," written by an old and respected Hebrew educator and writer, Mr. Daniel Persky, which appeared in the Hebrew periodical HADOAR, October 26, 1934. In it, this veteran Hebraist and Zionist expresses his complete disillusionment with the non-religious and secular Hebrew education of American Hebrew schools and appeals for a positive and maximum teaching of religion, as well as for religious ceremonies and rituals in these schools. This article of Mr. Persky was addressed to the Hebrew educators of America. It was commented upon extensively in the Yiddish press of New York. It seems strange that none of the educators who hastened to answer my editorial took the trouble to answer the article of Mr. Persky or the writers who commented on it. It is only after I lifted Mr. Persky's article out of its comparative obscurity in a Hebrew periodical and brought it to the attention of the English-reading Jewish public that these educators became excited about it. Why? Is it because they feared that those who largely support the bureaus might finally become aware of the problem which Mr. Persky raised and might begin to ask embarrassing questions? . . .

I question whether Dr. Jacob S. Golub, Director of the Bureau of Jewish Education of Cincinnati, who rushed to the defense of the Hebrew schools, really read Mr. Persky's article or, for that matter, my editorial. Nowhere in my editorial did I assert that "most of

the Talmud Torah graduates have gone over to the ranks of Communism," and nowhere did I "charge Talmud Torah with being breeding places of Communism." It is Mr. Persky who expressed himself on this subject and even he did not use the word "most." "Especially hundreds (not most!) of the graduates of Hebrew schools and teachers' training schools in New York . . . turned their backs upon us and became fiery communists who despise us and our sanctities." Dr. Golub is either guilty of irresponsible writing, or has difficulty with simple Hebrew and English texts.

Somehow all the letter writers who felt called upon to reply to my editorial overlooked the plain fact that nowhere in the article did I criticize all the Hebrew schools and bureaus. I was much more conservative than Mr. Persky. I stated that "this type of education (the secular and non-religious) was fostered in quite a number of Hebrew schools and bureaus of Jewish education during the last few decades." It appears that each one of these gentlemen took this criticism to apply to himself, to his school, or to his bureau. Why? There is an old Jewish proverb, "Aufn Ganef brennt die huetel." . . .

Dr. Ediden of Buffalo thinks that the criticism of Mr. Persky and mine can be answered by turning the tables and launching an attack upon the Sunday schools. He even draws upon his luxurious imagination for a fictitious picture of my particular religious school to drive home his point. But this is an old and sorry dodge which used to work but which works no longer. The inadequacies of the present-day Sunday schools do not necessarily make for the adequacies of present-day Hebrew schools. The deficiencies of the one do not estab-

lish the proficiencies of the other. Each system of Jewish education must be judged on its own merits. I frequently have been outspoken in my criticism of the shortcomings of the Sunday school system, and have time and again called attention to its lack of emphasis on the study of the Hebrew language, to its very short study period, its lack of adequately trained teachers, proper textbooks, etc. So have many other Rabbis. Rabbis who have Sunday schools have taken this and similar criticism (much of it coming with great gusto and overweening self-righteousness from the same sources which have criticized my editorial) in good grace and have attempted to profit from it. But evidently some Hebrew school educators and directors can dish it out but can't take it! . . .

Dr. Ediden states: "The actual time devoted to instruction (two hours a week) is an insult to the four-thousand-year old Jewish heritage." The implication of this is that children who attend Hebrew schools devote much more time to their Hebrew studies. This, of course, is not true. Those who have read Mr. Israel Konovitz' illuminating study, "My School", (published, 1934, by the Bureau of Jewish Education of New York) which is based on actual records which he accumulated as Principal of the Downtown Talmud Torah of New York City, one of the largest Hebrew schools in the country, know that "about seventy per cent of the pupils, even in such a well-organized school as the Downtown Talmud Torah, are found in the classes of the first three years" and that "the annual turnover is still very great so that the majority of those attending the Talmud Torah do not have the opportunity of remaining for three years." (From Dr. Benderly's Introduction.) Inasmuch as most children

attending Temple religious schools stay on until they complete an eight or nine year course (of two or three and, in some higher grades, of four hours per week) it does not require much figuring to arrive at the conclusion that Hebrew school children **do not** receive more hours of instruction, all told, than religious school children.

A few more facts brought out by Mr. Konovitz are apropos of our discussion: "Ninety-nine per cent of the pupils of the Talmud Torah and perhaps more, do not get to a point where they read Hebrew literature nor will they ever write or speak Hebrew."

"Only two per cent of the pupils ever reach the seventh grade of the Talmud Torah."

"During the first four years, from eighty to ninety per cent of the children drop out."

"Because of the linguistic, and literary objective, Jewish education became secondary with us to language study and quite naturally all subjects taught became merely a stepping stone to language. The Torah and the Prophets, History and even an abstract of the Shulchan Aruch, in fact, everything became in the hands of the Hebrew teacher a chrestomathy for the study of language and literature. As a result the great majority of our pupils leave school without any proper knowledge of Torah and Judaism, without any proper Jewish education, and, also—without any literature and Hebrew." . . . ("My School", p. 59.)

Mr. Konovitz, unlike those educators who are more concerned with apologetics than with truth-finding, has the courage to put on the cover of his book of honest stock-taking: "We have gone astray. We have led others astray." He suggests a radical revision of the curriculum of the Hebrew

schools whereby the course of study in the first four school years, wherein most of the Hebrew school population is found, will be centered almost entirely around the synagogue, public worship and the study of the meaning, ceremonies and observances of the Jewish festivals and Holy Days! The study of the Hebrew language would be only a means to this end. The main objective would be not "the teaching of a vocabulary" but the integrating, as far as possible, of Jewish children into the full religious life of the Jewish people.

Mr. Konovitz quotes another Hebrew educator, Dr. M. Z. Lavie, who, writing in the *HADOAR*, declared: "The Hebrew teacher forsook the synagogue, and this defection deprived him of the last vestige of his influence" . . .

Dr. Golub defends his uncertain position on the teaching of religion in Jewish schools by saying, "We seek a realistic (sic!) religion that can sincerely express us as moderns and Jews and if we have not yet found it we refuse to drape our uncertainty with the patriotic mantle of the fathers." Quite so. But why become teachers of religion and directors of Jewish education if you have not yet found that realistic religion? Why not wait until you have found it before you set about teaching it to Jewish children? If, on the other hand, you are not teaching this realistic religion which you have not yet discovered, then Mr. Persky's criticism and mine and those of others, that religion is not being taught in quite a number of Hebrew schools, is clearly not "slander" . . .

Dr. Leo L. Honor, Director of the Bureau of Jewish Education of Chicago, is far more forthright and consistent in his position. Recently he made "a plea at the sixth Annual Institute of the Jewish Religious School Teachers' Association to omit the mention of God in stories told to pupils of Jewish

religious schools. We have no right to stuff children's minds with what we ourselves do not believe!" ("The Day", December 6, 1934.) For the sake of consistency we would suggest to Dr. Honor, that only one book of the Bible—the Book of Esther—be allowed in his schools, for it is the only book of the Bible where the name of God is not mentioned. . . .

Dr. Golub thinks that he makes a point by asking me why the Jewish Welfare Fund campaigns in Cleveland fail to reach their quotas. Does the gentleman really wish to suggest that the success of similar campaigns in Cincinnati is to be attributed to the generation of Hebrew scholars which he, Dr. Golub, raised in that stronghold of Reform Judaism? . . .

There is nothing to be gained by beclouding a real, even if unpleasant, issue by misrepresentation, partisan polemics, or by dragging in unrelated matter. My editorial was not written in any spirit of hostility to Hebrew schools or to bureaus of Jewish education. I helped to found the Cleveland Bureau of Jewish Education ten years ago and was its first president for nearly eight years. During that time I devoted almost as much time to the problems of the Hebrew schools of Cleveland, especially their financing, as I did to my own religious school. I made the study of Hebrew compulsory in all grades of my religious school in the face of considerable opposition. I established week-day periods of Hebrew instruction for children who desired additional Hebrew study. In my editorial I merely sought to call attention to a phase of Hebrew education in America which, in my humble judgment, needs rectification. Judging from the numerous letters which I have received, there are many other people throughout the country who feel as I do. . . .

From "The Jewish Daily Bulletin"

The Beginning of Wisdom

By ABBA HILLEL SILVER

We recently read the remarkable confession of an old and honored Hebrew teacher, an Hebraist and a Zionist, Daniel Persky ("Religion and Nationalism in Hebrew Education," Hadoar, October 26, 1934). This confession strongly confirms



A. H. SILVER

the fear which many have entertained for a long time concerning the inadequacy of a secular Hebraic and non-religious education for our children. This type of education was fostered in quite a number of Hebrew Schools and by Bureaus of Jewish Education during the last few decades. In these schools the teaching of the Jewish religion, in its spiritual and ethical phases as well as in its more formal phases of worship and ceremonial observances, was brusquely pushed aside as outmoded, or grudgingly tolerated as an inescapable concession to parents of the old generation who, because of their conservatism, still insisted upon it.

Modern Jewish education, in the hands of these "enlightened" pedagogues, became largely a matter of teaching Jewish boys and girls the Hebrew language. Occa-

sionally a few other items which they regarded as the necessary accessories of a nationalistic education were added. These schools came to resemble more Berlitz schools than religious schools. These pedagogues who brought over their "enlightenment" from Eastern Europe have now had a full generation in which to experiment with their educational theories, and one of their numbers and a leader among them now honestly and courageously takes stock of their accomplishments.

...

Mr. Persky states that he was moved to take stock by the rude awakening which he received recently when he attended a large meeting, arranged to honor a group of young American Chelutzim who were departing for Palestine. The meeting, attended largely by young American-born Jews, made a very favorable impression upon him because of the splendid enthusiasm and devotion for all that was Jewish and Palestinian which were manifested there by these young people. Upon inquiry, however, he discovered, much to his great chagrin and disillusionment, that none of these young people knew Hebrew and that very few of them had ever attended a Hebrew school. . . . Graduates of the American Hebrew schools, he was led to confess to himself, are seldom numbered among the Chelutzim or among the active workers in the field of Jewish nationalism. Rather are they to be found by the hundreds in the ranks of the young Communists "who despise us and our sanctities," and who are confirmed anti-nationalists and assimilationists. Mr. Persky feels himself almost driven to the conclusion that "the Hebrew school raises a generation of assimilationist Jews while those children who keep away from us become the faithful builders in Israel. . . ."

...

What is wrong? And what is the remedy? The principal remedy which Mr. Persky prescribes clearly indicates what he regards to be the true nature of the ailment. He calls for a complete volte-face. We must introduce into our schools, he argues, a maximum religious spirit. We must give our children the "warm" weapons with which to oppose their strongly assimilative environment. We must enkindle their Judaism day by day.

"I recommend that we intensify the spirit of religion and the force of tradition in our classes even to the extent of teaching our children the ceremonial laws and of practicing them there and then. . . . We have sinned in having filled our classrooms with dry and parched intellectualism and rationalism. We are now convinced that this is not the way. Let us, therefore, return to the living, flowing fountain. . . . It has been said that we are here in the holy fire, that we are the fire of life and survival! . . ."

There is very little that needs to be said in auditing this balance sheet of what has proved to be such a costly experiment. Both Mr. Persky's survey and conclusion are correct. Jewish education divorced from a rich and positive religious content is without value and without enduring appeal to Jewish children living in this country, or, for that matter, anywhere else in the diaspora. Even in Palestine, in a thoroughly Jewish environment, an exclusively secular education would be inadequate for the rising generation. In the diaspora it is simply incongruous. The knowledge of a language and a literature (and very few of our children ever really acquire this knowledge to a point where they can truly enjoy it in later life. There is not sufficient time for proper instruction.) is an insufficient equipment for a Jewish boy and girl. They require much more. They require a spiritual viaticum for their future lives a faith, a habit of worship, a religious discipline, a loyal and cultivated attachment to the synagogue. They need not only Jewish nationalism but Judaism the strong simple faith of their fathers, its color, its warmth and its glowing mystery. They need the Jewish religious way of life and thought which fed and sustained our life in the diaspora until now and for which no substitute can be found either in a putative secular Jewish culture or in an imaginary Jewish civilization which is spun out of the tenuous cobwebs of wishful thinking in the study.

The study of Hebrew is, of course, an indispensable part of a proper Jewish education—but only a part. Linguistic ingurgitation does not necessarily nourish the soul. Our children need Torah, of which Saadia said that "were it not for the Torah, this people would not be a nation." And Torah means faith in God, worship, religious observances, ethical idealism and loyalty to the people of Israel into whose keeping the Torah was entrusted! . . .

Two View Exodus Of 1936

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver Writes On Exodus

Buy no exodus from Germany.
Tighten the boycott.
Fight on, to destroy Nazism.

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver of The Temple in Cleveland offers those admonitions in an editorial entitled "No Liquidation!" in the Jewish Telegraphic Agency service and appearing within the past few days.

His editorial follows:

"The Jews of Germany will not leave Germany. Regardless of the number that will emigrate in the next five or ten years, the majority of the Jews now residing in Germany will continue to reside there. Any attempt on the part of Jews to liquidate that important Jewish community in the heart of Europe is impractical, shortsided and dangerous.

"Certain leaders of Jewish life in this country and abroad, when first the German-Jewish tragedy broke upon the world, rushed to their favorite nostrum—charity. Jews are suffering—send them relief. That is their customary prescription for all Jewish afflictions. There must be no protests, no demonstrations, no demand for political action from international agencies charged with such responsibility, no boycott—only the 'Tsedakah Pus'ke . . .'. Through lachrymous relief campaigns, and through gentle, tactful intercession with fifth Assistant Secretaries of State, the matter will be fully taken care of.

Recalls Claim

"We argued, three years ago, when High Commissioner MacDonald was first appointed, that the solution of the Jewish problem in Germany was political in nature and not philanthropic. The High Commissioner, himself, has now confirmed this fact.

"But our Jewish leaders here and abroad—bankers, financiers, and their satellites—continue intransigent in their adherence to their discredited policy of attempting to solve the German-Jewish problem by means of a philanthropic procedure which has now become fraught with the most serious dangers to the position of the Jews throughout the world. It is now proposed to assist a mass emigration of from one hundred to two hundred thousand Jews from Germany, who will presumably be permitted by the German government to export their capital, Reichsfluchtsteuer deducted, by way of German goods, payment for part of which at least, will



Dr. Abba Hillel Silver

have to be made in foreign exchange.

The Plan

"The plan contemplates a Bank of Liquidation which will become, to all intents and purposes, an export agency for German manufactures, to flood the markets of the world with German goods.

"The Jews of the world will be

(Continued on Page 8)

Dr. James G. Heller Talks On Exodus

So long as the remainder of the world—official and unofficial—continues to be unwilling to aid the German Jews, the Jews of the world should forget fine words regarding faithfulness to allies and ideals, and should rescue as many German Jews as possible.

Dr. James G. Heller of Wise Temple in Cincinnati so declared Sunday morning, Jan. 26th, in an address at his congregational services in Wise Center.

His subject was "To Save 100,000" and he discussed the report that Sir Herbert Samuel, Viscount Bearsted and Simon Marks, Brit-



Dr. James G. Heller

ish Jews now in the U. S., are interested in persuading Jews of the world to "buy" an exodus of 100,000 to 250,000 Jews from Germany through purchase of German products valued as high as 500 millions of dollars.

Dr. Heller took specific exceptions to THE AMERICAN ISRAELITE editorial of Jan. 16th, entitled "Shall We Desert Our Allies To Underwrite Nazi Germany?"

Wortay of Discussion

At the outset, he pointed out that the truth of the reported exodus plan has been denied and probably was reported erroneously in various newspapers. But, he added, the situation presents an interesting problem, worthy of discussion.

"I confess that THE AMERICAN ISRAELITE editorial presents serious moral and political problems," he said. "But one does not solve such problems by writing in wrath, and by presenting one's personal point of view.

"Now just what are the real conditions regarding Germany's Jews? They are not so simple as outlined in THE ISRAELITE.

"Regardless of what may be said, Germany isn't persecuting her Jews because of the opinion of these Jews. Her Jews aren't communists.

"The anti-Semitic poison being spread in Germany (on bases of blood, race and cultural degradation) will be felt for generations. The plight of the Jews in Germany is more hopeless than that of Jews in many other countries—because, in Germany, a whole people is threatened with extinction.

"Why Sacrifice Them?"

"Why should we sacrifice these Jews in Germany?

"One of the sad features of modern Jews is that some of us are more enthusiastic for liberalism than are the liberals. 'We will not betray liberalism,' says THE ISRAELITE—but, I ask, where are the liberals?

"Now just what has the rest of the world done for Germany?

(Continued on Page 8)

Dr. Silver On Exodus

(Continued from Page 1)

ged to relent in their anti-German boycott in order to make possible the sale of these German goods in the name of Jewish charity and for the sake of saving Jewish capital.

"The plan will help to replenish the depleted gold reserves of the Nazi government with foreign currency which the Nazi regime can no longer obtain—a depletion which is undermining its economic position and threatening its very existence.

In Crucial Struggle

"This proposal is made by Jewish leaders at a time when the Jews of the world, united with other forces fighting against the bloody barbarism of Hitler, are engaged in a life and death struggle with the Nazi regime and are employing the boycott as the most effective weapon in their struggle. In the name of Jewish charity, these Jewish 'pushke diplomats' would unwittingly betray these forces which are now fighting the grimmest battle of modern times for civilization and for the elementary rights and decencies of men.

"What Madness"

"What madness has swept over these men who have assumed the grave responsibility of Jewish leadership in these serious times?

"Are they not aware that they are playing into Hitler's hands?

"Are they not aware that they are signing the death warrant not alone of the Jewish community in Germany but of all other communities in Eastern Europe who are today in the anti-Semitic danger zone?

"If the Nazis succeed in getting rid of the Jews of Germany through the ready and efficient co-operation of the Jews themselves, if they succeed in strengthening their own regime with money expropriated from their Jewish subjects and with foreign exchange brought into Germany via Jewish deportations, will not their admirers and would-be imitators in the neighboring countries—in Austria, Poland, Hungary, Roumania and elsewhere—be encouraged and inspired to do the same? It will pay those countries to drive out the Jews! It will be good business! And how easy! Jews themselves are at hand to offer their services to facilitate the work and to insure the success of the operation . . . How simple, how orderly, how legitimate and how profitable will Jewish expulsion become!

Sees Loss of Faith

"The Hitler regime is three

years old and already these leaders of the Jews have lost their faith, their courage and their morale. They have supinely accepted the Nazi thesis that there is no room for Jews in Germany and they are proceeding on that basis.

"What a staggering and frightening surrender!

"For if there is no room for the Jews in Germany, there is no room for the Jews anywhere in Europe, and for that matter, anywhere in the diaspora. It is the point of view of Herr George Karzki, the super-imposed head of the Jewish Kulturbund of Germany, now friend and tool of the Gestapo, who recently gave his apostatic benediction to the Nuremberg laws which disfranchised and degraded his people in Germany.

Worse Plight Recalled

"Jews have lived under all sorts of oppressions and tyrannies in the past in all parts of the world—under persecutions and disabilities far worse than those now visited upon our people in Germany.

"They suffered, endured and waited for the dawn of a better day.

"Whenever they were able, particularly in the last few decades, they joined the forces of the opposition and became the most active leaders and adherents of revolutionary movements aimed against the tyrannical governments which oppressed them.

"They resisted!

"The thesis which holds that as soon as a hostile political party gets into power in any country and proclaims that it does not like the Jews and proceeds to put pressure on them, the Jews must forthwith emigrate, is a startlingly new, most dangerous and cowardly one which, strange to say, the very people who gloried in the diaspora to the extent of scoffing at and deriding the need of a Jewish homeland, are now most ardently advocating.

"So Hopeless?"

"Is the situation of the Jews in Germany quite as hopeless as those leaders seem to assume?

"What information have they that is not available to the rest of the world which has led them to the conclusion that the present regime will remain in power indefinitely?

"Have they, perhaps, accepted the Nazi wish-thought that their regime will last for at least a thousand years? . . . Is anyone justified in setting in motion the liquidation of one of the great Jewish communities in Europe, with all its terrifying international repercussions, because of his conviction based on the sole fact that the Nazi regime has succeeded through terror and brutal oppression, to maintain itself in power for three short years?

"Are these Jewish leaders really convinced that the majority of the German people approves of Hitler's mad anti-Semitism and that, under a new regime, a new readjustment and a normalizing of the Jewish status will be quite impossible . . . ?

Seeks Motives

"What else is behind this agitation besides charity and a desire to help conserve some of the wealth of some of the Jewish emigres? Are certain of the upper classes of German Jewry, bankers and industrialists, hoping perhaps that by the removal of a hundred or two hundred thousand Jews from Germany, the pressure upon themselves will be relieved?

"Has the Nazi government, perhaps, in the hope of breaking the world boycott brought pressure to bear through the many channels available to it upon certain leaders of German Jewry to ask for such liquidation? General Goering's 'Essener National Zeitung' declared a few days ago that mass emigration of German Jews will be considered by Germany only 'if Jewish capitalists abroad exercise their influence to see that the Jewish boycott measures against Germany are completely stopped throughout the world'. Does this tell the story . . . ?

"Will Not Liquidate"

"The German Jewish community will not liquidate.

"Whatever financial relief is extended to it will prove of small significance in the ultimate solu-

tion of its problem.

"The ultimate solution lies in the overthrow of the Nazi regime.

"The greatest service which can be rendered to the Jewish community in Germany and to Jewry throughout the world is to concentrate every ounce of our energy upon the successful prosecution of our war against Hitlerism, upon the outcome of which the political, economic and social security of fifteen million Jews in the diaspora depends.

"The Jews of Germany are in the front line trenches, it is true. They are today bearing the major brunt of the attack. Their plight is serious. That is tragic but unavoidable.

"There have been other communities in the past who found themselves in such desperate situations.

"The Jewish people cannot capitulate to Hitlerism and to the Nazi International, and lay down its weapons, just because one section of the front is under deadly bombardment.

Urges Aid

"The Jews of Germany should be helped to maintain their institutions and their communal organizations within Germany.

"Every assistance should be rendered to enable them to maintain their morale and to ease their suffering during the period of their great tribulation until the day of their redemption—which may not be far off—will have come.

"Those Jews who must leave Germany should be helped through existing agencies to re-establish themselves in other parts of the world and to find opportunities for work and a livelihood. Generous financial assistance should be given to them in their new homes.

"No effort, however, should be made and no institution should be established to facilitate and to speed up Jewish emigration from Germany, and no ransom should be paid to their tormentors.

"The Jewish people should not be maneuvered by Hitler into becoming his sales-agents and bankers to recoup the squandered fortunes of Germany and to rehabilitate its broken-down domestic economy.

"This is statesmanship. All else is blind, piddling, penny-wise-pound-foolish trafficking with the enemy—dangerous as well as disgraceful.

"Bad Enough"

"The Palestine Transfer Agreement was bad enough. We yielded to it only on the plea that it was of no aid to the Hitler government in as much as it did not bring any foreign currency into Germany.

"The transfer arrangement was strictly limited to the one country—Palestine—whose economic absorptive capacity, it was argued, would be materially increased as a result of the Agreement, making it possible for many more thousands of German Jews to settle there.

"It was definitely understood that the German exports marketed by the 'Haavarah' would be strictly limited to the confines of Palestine. There was also the persuasive argument that a great historic national purpose, namely the upbuilding of a Jewish homeland—and not merely the interests of the individual emigres—would be advanced by this Transfer—without in any way strengthening the Hitler regime.

"An Exception"

"No one assumed or suspected that attempts would be made to universalize this practice and to convert what was clearly to be an exception into a rule.

"In the light of the new proposals which are now being made, which if carried into effect, will spell the doom of our concerted economic attack upon the Nazi regime, the Palestine Transfer Agreement itself might have to be reconsidered.

"The answer to the infamous Nuremberg decrees and to the shameful acts of blackmail and gangsterism to which the Nazi regime is now resorting must be a more determined and implacable boycott and a reinforced attack all along the front to harass, weaken and finally to crush this bloody 'toe' of civilization."

Dr. Heller On Exodus

(Continued from Page 1)

Jews? The answer is: Yes. First, there is the League of Nations Refugees Commission, whose chairmanship James G. McDonald recently resigned in a letter which revealed in striking fashion the League's failure to help. The League could help if it wished; it helped 12 or 13 years by lending some \$3,500,000 to a commission headed by Friedhof Nansen, by means of which many Greeks were rescued in an Asia Minor crisis.

"Europe Has Not Acted"

"Second, European diplomats have uttered 'fine words' against the Nazis—but they have not acted. It is untrue to say that nations cannot interfere in another nation's internal action; nations can interfere by so conducting their international relations as to reveal unmistakably their attitude. But 'real politik' and not ideals guide the attitude of European nations today.

"Let us not delude ourselves. No storm of reprobation—no unanimous opposition to Germany—exists.

"Had there been such good attitude, the nations could have endorsed the boycott, they could have admitted exiled Germans, they could have scotched anti-Semitism in other European lands.

Considers Financial Phase

"Now let us consider the financial phase of the 'exodus' report. Even if the Jews were allowed to take their money out of Germany, what could they do with it? They couldn't spend German money in France, the United States or other countries. There are but two choices: first, for the poorer German Jews, exile would have to be paid for by wealthy, non-German Jews; and second, moneyed German Jews are to take their wealth out of Germany, they could do it only by means of commodity-exchange.

"The Palestinian system is an illustration. It has been criticized and it is not entirely desirable, but no better plan has been offered.

"As to a second question—that of bolstering up Germany's finances—even if the 'exodus' plan were to give Germany one-fourth of a billion dollars, that would be giving her only one-fourth—or less—of what she spends on armaments in a year.

Arms—And The Rescue

"In other words, it is more important to rescue the Jews of Germany than it is to withhold from Germany the funds that might finance her cost of re-armament for three months.

"Such a plan is a chance we must take; it would not act as precedent for other anti-Semitic countries. In years past, we have sent millions of dollars to Roumania, Hungary, Poland and other countries for Jewish relief. Would anyone claim today that we should not have done so?

"Sometimes we must do two difficult things at once: one, save lives, bodies and souls; and two, continue the struggle for freedom, equality and justice.

"No sane person who understands the German situation will balance tenuous ideals against the lives and safeties of Germany's Jews.

"Let us get them out while we can. The situation involves the summation of the destinies of 100,000 persons—all their individual tragedies.

Sees Blow Via Rescue

"And if we brought them out of Germany, it might even speed the collapse of Nazism. For with the Jews once gone out of Germany, to what scapegoat could the Nazis then turn? With what victim of oppression could the Nazis divert their people from the latter's real problems?

"I believe in saving the people of Israel. We must not sacrifice some 2000 years of Jewish history.

"There are times when we must save ourselves. In this, there is no treachery—especially in a world which is not so anxious about us.

"We live in a world where we must 'save' what we can."

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POGROMS ARE NOT SUCH SIMPLE MATTERS

RABBI ABRA HILLEL SILVER

James W. Gerard, former Ambassador to Germany, has sounded a warning to the Jews of America:

"As a friend of the Jewish people, I want to state that if the American nation ever gets the idea that the Jewish race and communism are synonymous there is a possibility of a pogrom in the United States that will make those of the Czar's era in Russia look like a small parade. . . . I believe it is the duty of the responsible Jews of the country to devise some means of keeping the people of the United States from obtaining the idea that the Jews and the Communists are the same people by discouraging members of the race from embracing communism."

We appreciate this warning. We know that it comes from a friend who on more than one occasion has demonstrated his friendship to the Jewish people.

But there is really nothing that we can do about it. We have no one recognized authority in Jewish life that can issue orders which will be universally obeyed. This simple, rudimentary fact about Jewish life even the friendliest non-Jew of the type of ex-Ambassador Gerard seems unable to grasp.

Destiny has forced an inescapable group responsibility upon us without, at the same time, implementing us with the legislative or executive power with which to control the actions of any of our members. We have no way of "discouraging members of the race from embracing communism"—even if that were the proper thing to do—any more than we have ways of discouraging four Jews from running for Governor simultaneously in one State—a ridiculous performance, come to think of it, and one calculated to lend fuel to the myth of Jewish domination—any more than we have ways of discouraging too many Jews from accepting important positions in Washington at the invitation of the President—a fact which also causes considerable anti-Semitic backfiring, any more than we have ways of discouraging Jews from going into finance and international banking—another fact which is grist to the Jew-baiter's mill all over the world.

Even if we had such ways of controlling and directing the political and economic persuasion of all our people, we would be at a total loss to know in what direction and to what end to exercise that power. If it is to please the anti-Semites and to fend off the threat of pogroms, we would have to discourage our people from living. We would have to direct them to get off the face of the earth. For it is not our communists only who enrage the anti-Semite but our capitalists as well, our bankers, our professional people, our writers, our artists, our men in public life—in fact, *all of us*. . . .

It is clear to any impartial observer that Jews and communists are not the same people. The vast majority of Jews in this country, native or foreign born, are not communists. That is true of all other countries as well, including, one might add, Russia itself. In New York City, where there are close onto two million Jews, there were cast in the last municipal election, 26,564 Communist votes, which number, of course, included votes cast by non-Jews. . . .

This fact, however, as well as many others which may be adduced, has had and will have absolutely no weight with those sinister forces who are determined to exploit anti-Semitism in this country for purposes of political and economic reaction and with Nazi agents. Facts do not bother the propagandist. He distorts and falsifies facts or creates myths out of the old cloth and serves them up as facts. And when the propagandist is clever and ruthless, and the people are desperate because of prolonged economic depression, the desired results are obtained.