



Abba Hillel Silver Collection Digitization Project

Featuring collections from the Western Reserve Historical Society and
The Jacob Rader Marcus Center of the American Jewish Archives

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

Series V: Writings, 1909-1963, undated.

Reel
177

Box
65

Folder
403

National Conference for Palestine, Hotel Willard, Washington,
D.C., talk re: Jewish exile and persecution, 1936.

hostility & persecution in many part, the world. Dr J. Bent.
to hold the way seen to be placed along side, the
crucial - as events which sharply present the course
of an history in the world away from status &
security towards insecurity and disabilities.

The Jew is harassed to-day not only here. the world is
unsettled and fully turbulent though. That is a factor.
Whenever there is unrest and conflict bet. nations or bet.
groups within a nation, the J. community - part. it is
a minority - will suffer. It is caught bet. opposing
parties, or ~~from~~ peoples, or social forces it is
inevitably victimized (700 700)

But the causes, the J's present harassment are
much more fundamental.

(1) War impoverished many nations in Europe. Wiped
out wealth of classes. Disrupted their nat. economies.
Created vast unemployment. & intensified the bitterness
of the econ. struggle. The newer forms of capital large scale
econ. activities are crowding out the middle class, many
(whose members are being forced ^{down the econ. scale} into the proletarian
classes, where standards are low and even there, there
is unemployment & no opportunity for a livelihood. The intellig.
classes, too, are finding the ^{prosperity} ~~prosperity~~ ^{crisis} ~~crisis~~
when econ. comp. becomes intense, the J. community
groups will be sure to be hated. They are unwelcome -
and unwanted competitors. ~~Highly sensitive~~ The spokesmen
of this econ. rivalry will ^{as a rule} ~~of course~~ not put forward
this explanation for their hatred of Jew. They will
naturalize. They will discover & present explicit
racial, national, cultural or religious reasons for wishing to

get rid of Jew. The measures are really not important. They depend upon their particular appeal at a given time within a given nation. The cold, hard, all-too-human part of man more than jobs - ~~that~~ more apprehensions than pleasures - that is at the basis of much of modern resistance to Jew.

(2) Trend towards State Concentration. - Since world war more & more of econ. life of nations has come under Govt. control or supervision. This is true even of forest ^{govt} ~~countries~~ which supposedly came into existence to defend private cap. against communism. The free econ. involved - the 19c. - which gave Jew his great opport. econ. - Golden Age - War-to-war - is going away into the dust to various forms of partial or total state control over econ. processes.

This will prove disturbingly disadvantageous to a minority group. For the State, ^{i.e. the Government} ~~the majority~~ will cater to the interests of the majority - esp. when there is a minority - and its "people" as in want.

Poland to-day is in a desperate, pitiful, & severe. Appalling econ. tragedy, P.P. has been eclipsed by the German situation. But the econ. plight ^{the majority of} ~~the majority of~~ Jew. - is intolerable - and their pop. situation is getting worse from day to day. There is a pogrom - word in the air. A frightful antis. propaganda, fed by the planes & Nazis across the border is sweeping over the country - and a weak and helpless Govt. is unable to counter it. Acts of physical violence, attacks upon Jews in shops, in the universities, on the street are not infrequent.

Shaking, throwing & bricks with young men, women, the
many & of hours, the pushing, & stones, by with
and attempts at separating J. students and withdrawing
J. professors - the students are imitating the Nazis.

(3) Trend towards totalitarianism - also witnessed by Jews.

The Fr. Rev. established by law, Man - you know Man was
foreigner - areas prohibited - "Inalienable" rights

Constitutional guarantees - Charter, liberty.

Jews had Security - Schutz - Whom - ~~before~~ ^{Germany} Italy
Defenceless was, Midol Eyes.

(4) Even in Russia - Govt. by ~~defeating~~ invading
all spheres - has destroyed judicial - ing. J.
life - What was once "a fountain, long water"
dry disturbance...

From pit, using J. survival - this is one, the
major catastrophe, in history.

(4) Still a 4th factor. - Struggle bet. Right & Left.

Militant Cap. A.T.L. Sec.

Communism facing each other - &

Jews on both sides - but J. people in between. "No man's land"

Part. Reaction - explicit latent J. hatred to desecrate
his world - Nazis

(5) Our own Country - defensive
used to be found - "for them"
1937 1938

Rebunked ourselves - into normal & complete out life -
Remain on place as an indep. people - make, it
our destiny - not land when we will be Magnity -
To ^{not stand alone - differ ways, life} exist on language - an idea - an authentic
H. culture.

To normally an econ. life is as a production
people

To express in new econ form - serving the ideals
of our prophetic tradition -

To be members - vitally joined - at peace with our destiny.

6. These notions of 2. should not be overlooked - a wanted
They are the continuing impulses ~~from~~ back of it.

We preached them to J. curr. that was preparation
to serve in their line - we must continue.

2. We should not give 2. to our people as on the
basis that dispute is legitimate.
Bec. if the dispute is really legitimate Pal. is
not prepared to talk can, the 16 m. year, the
world. - Even at the present rate of rising. which
is slow - it will take 100 yrs - before we could
harsh 1/2, our people in Pal. And who can
realistically assume that this mass immigration
can continue at this pace - uninterruptedly -
in a physically limited country like P. Even
if we include Tracer J.

8. The majority of our people - for generations to come - will remain substantially who they are — and whenever they are so well be - they must fight & must be helped in their fight for their human rights - for solidarity with all other peoples —

9. 2. We are always ⁱⁿ the vanguard a champion of J. rights in the world - even as they labor for Homeland. One party does not exclude the other —

10. There is not a nation in W. world that has not millions of its people living in other lands - enjoying rights & citizenship - & many instances of rights movements people in other lands.

We join all for that same stake - ^{for Jewish people} we are one less - a Nat. Homeland plus full or partial rights & citizenship for ^{Jews} ~~people~~ who live or will live elsewhere!

11. It will be easier to make these claims once we have a large or many Homeland people —

Our struggle - will lose its character of desperation which it now has —

Violent disputes in Polish circles -

Also petty Schlachters ^{joined together} - struggling regime - wanted
collection / revenue which was in hands of
Jews -

Boyer class - made up of largely of serfdom,

tho it developed Peasants class - around
Jews.

Schlesinger - poisoning patients

1623 "A Clear Argument Conc. J. Physicians

McC. - Victim anti-J. literature - pamphlets,
Students - Scholars into 17C.

Middle 17C - sharp & long decline

(1) Class struggle

(2) Racial antagon. R. & J.

(3) Southern R.

trad. merchant guilds

From Soliloquies in England and
Later Soliloquies
by George Santayana

① The more reasonable theorists of German Kultur introduce another qualification, which, if admitted, is of the greatest importance, namely, that German Kultur is not to be extended to other nations. Some make a special point of contrasting the universal claims of the Roman and Napoleonic empires and of the Catholic church with the aspirations of German genius, which, they say, is infinite inwardly, being capable of endless growth and modification by men of Teutonic blood, yet is limited externally or in space, in that it is not communicable to other races. Non-Teutons should never be summoned, therefore, to acquire the German spirit, which they would only pollute. Their proper role is rather to stand by, no doubt overawed and filled with admiration, but left without hope or fear of being assimilated. Yet as the church could admit that there might be unconscious and virtual Christians among the heathen, who might by exception be saved, so there may be sporadic manifestations of Teutonic genius in unforeseen quarters. Shakespeare, Dante, and Christ were virtual and unconscious Germans.

② The admission that German Kultur is merely national, which might seem to promise peace and goodwill, may be turned in this way into a sinister claim to absolute dominion. The ancients and the church had supposed that all men, though endowed with talent and goodness in the most various degrees, had qualitatively the same nature. The same passions, the same arts, and the same salvation were proper to them all. The servant, in furthering the aims of his betters, served what his own soul potentially loved and was capable of appropriating; there could be religion and love in his subordination. Reciprocally the master could feel respect and affection for his servants, who were his wards and his god-children. The best things in classic life -- religion, poetry, comradeship, moral sagacity -- were shared by the humblest classes and expressed their genius. The temple, the church, the agora, the theatre, Socrates, and the saints were of the people.

③ German Kultur, on the contrary, boasts that it is not the expression of diffused human nature, but the product of a special and concentrated free will. It is therefore incommunicable, unrepresentative. It is not felt by any one else to realize his ideal, but seems foreign to him, forced and unamiable. Every nation loves its idiosyncrasies and, until it reflects, thinks its own balance of faculties, like its language, more natural than other people's. But the prophets of Germanism have turned this blameless love of home and its sanctities into a deliberate dogma that everything German has a divine superiority. This dogma they have foisted on a flattered and trustful nation, with the command to foist it on the rest of the world. The fatuity of this is nothing new, many nations and religions having shared it in their day, and we could afford to laugh at it, if by direct and indirect coercion it did not threaten to trespass upon our liberties.

More than one million Jews fled from Russia during the last two decades of the 19th century.

Governmental endeavors to speed Jewish departure - Poland at Geneva - Jews in Poland for hundreds of years helped to build it up, fought for its freedom.

Emigrants not wanted anywhere - Italy can take Ethiopia by force - Japan, Manchukuo for surplus population.

Between 1830 and 1930 $4\frac{1}{2}$ million Jews emigrated from historical Poland - yet the cry is for more emigration.

Jewish problem must be settled where Jews now are.

From National Tragedy to National Salvation

Rabbi Silver Sees Palestine Meeting World Jewish Crisis

Full text of the address by Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver at the National Conference for Palestine.

I believe I would be uttering a platitude, but also one of those dynamic platitudes, if I were to say that we meet today in a tremendously solemn moment in our history, and that the task in which we are engaged is the most solemn and the most significant task in our history; that upon the failure or success of our work depends the future course of our history.

Some eight hundred years ago, there swept over Europe a movement known as the Crusades, which shook Europe to its very foundations, and which shook Jewish life in Europe to its very foundation. From that moment there begins a movement of decline in the fortunes of our people. That movement unleashed passions and created political, social and economic ferment in the world, which affected adversely the course of Jewish history practically up to the time of the French Revolution. The darkest period in our history of the middle ages begins with the Crusades and culminates four hundred years later in the disaster of the Spanish expulsion. I am persuaded that the world war, which has also shaken the foundations of Jewish life, has created repercussions which will be felt in Jewish history for generations, if not for centuries to come. The world war also unleashed passions and forces which have already changed the political complexion of many of the countries of the world, which have set into motion new forms of social and economic organization.

An Age of Menace

The war was not an episode. It was the crash and the doom of an epoch in Western European civilization, and it marked the beginning of a new epoch. This new age, is, of course, only at its beginning today. Its ultimate formation we cannot discern. The age is still as it were on the anvil being beaten and fashioned by personal and impersonal forces, but this is already clear to us, to those of us who see not only things but are able to see a little through things; that as far as we Jews are concerned, this new age which has been ushered in by the world war is an age ominous and full of menace for us. The world war may come to be placed in our future history alongside of the Crusades as an event which marked the turning point in Jewish history away from security and stability, in the direction of insecurity, of instability, of disabilities throughout the Western World. It is clear to us that the Jew is being harassed in the world today, not only because the age is restless and full of turmoil,—a restless and disturbed age always works disadvantageously upon a minority. The Jewish minority particularly has always been caught between opposing forces and has always been victimized. "The pitcher falls on the rock; the pitcher is broken. When the rock falls on the pitcher, the pitcher is broken. Either way, woe unto the pitcher!" But the Jewish people is being harassed in the world today for causes much more fundamental, and it is these causes which we fear, which are likely to affect our future history disadvantageously for a long time to come.

In the first place, the world war has impoverished many of the peoples of Europe, destroyed their national economy. Classes have lost their former wealth. Members of the middle class in many of the countries of Western Europe find themselves being forced steadily downward in the scale of the economic life of their peoples into the

proletarian world in which, too, there is vast unemployment, denying them even there the opportunity of a livelihood. The intellectual classes, too, find professions overcrowded and are faced with the same prospect of being ground down into economic dependence. At such times, a minority which differs from the majority religiously, racially, culturally, is always regarded by this troubled and perplexed majority as unwelcome and unwanted intruders into the national economy. The spokesmen of this economic rivalry will rationalize this discontent and this hatred. They will base it upon the plea of racial purity or national homogeneity or cultural identity, or what-not. The reasons do not matter, they are not important. The cold, hard important fact is that there are more people in many of those countries than there are jobs available, and more applicants than there are positions open, and that members belonging to a minority group are looked upon as intruding competitors.

Another tendency which has developed in the world since the war has been the tendency toward State concentration. The golden period in Jewish history, economically speaking, was the Nineteenth Century, in which the individual had fullest opportunity for the display of his economic spirit of enterprise with a minimum interference or control on the part of the State. Since the world war, state concentration and state corporateness have been proceeding at rapid pace, not only in Communist lands, not only in Fascist lands, but even in democracies. Now, in such condition, a minority is gravely disadvantaged, because the government, with the best intentions in the world, working through its bureaucracy, must cater first and foremost to the interest of the majority population. Take the case in Poland. Wherever the government establishes a monopoly over an economic enterprise, almost inevitably the Jewish group is forced out of that monopoly to make room for Poles, and the situation in Poland, may I say in passing, economically speaking, is far more serious than the position of the Jews in Germany, and it is a pity that an over-absorption in the tragic plight of our brothers in Germany has caused us to forget the desperate, tragic plight of three million Jews, six times the population of the Jewish community in Germany. And Poland seems to be moving rapidly to a pogrom mood, not only because the Endees are being inflamed by Nazi propaganda across the border, but because of these economic factors which are involved in the economic position of Poland.

The Trend Toward Dictatorships

Another factor which is seriously affecting our position in the world today, and might in the future, is the trend towards dictatorships. The French Revolution established the rights of the individual *per se*, man *qua* man. It established rights as a human being, it granted him what we called in our Declaration of Independence, a few years before the French Revolution, the inalienable rights of man, rights over which the State had no power of veto. There were areas in a man's life which were his own, sacred unto himself, which could not be trespassed by any organized group or by government. Human beings as human beings were given constitutional guarantees, charters of liberty, to protect them against the mass, the group, the State,—and the Jew benefited from these rights. Under the new dispensation, constitutional guarantees and charters of liberties and inalienable rights have been scrapped, with the result that members in a minority group, especially members of the Jewish minor-



RABBI A. H. SILVER

ity group, now find themselves as rightless, as defenseless as they were in the Middle Ages.

Even in Russia, where you have not a Capitalist, Fascist dictatorship, but a proletarian dictatorship, the same philosophy of totalitarianism—that is to say, that there are no areas in the life of a man or a group sacred to it, over which the dominant majority has no power—has worked not to the destruction of the individual Jew in Russia, but to the destruction of the Jewish people in Russia. And I look upon the disintegration of that marvelous Russian Jewish community of three million which used to be such a fertile field for Jewish life and thought as one of the major catastrophes in Jewish history. It is a tragic thing. What was once a well of living water for us and for Jewry throughout the Diaspora, has become dried cistern.

There is still another factor which is worsening our position throughout the world, and that is this: The struggle today, and the struggle tomorrow, as any observant person can know it, is the struggle between the right and the left, between militant Capitalism and militant Socialism. Now, Jews will belong to both wings, but the Jewish people in this struggle between these mightily arrayed forces of the right and the left will find itself in no man's land, fired at by both sides, and particularly by the forces of reaction, who have always, and do now, and will in the future, exploit the latent anti-Jewish prejudices as means of in-orientating all forms of liberalism and human progress in the world. They have always done it. Bismarck did it, his henchmen did it. They supplied the whole ideology which present-day Nazis borrowed, and the whole program of how to make liberal ideals, democratic ideals, ideals of social justice hateful to the masses of the people by identifying them with the Jewish group, and thereby transferring an age-old prejudice against these ideals. In our own country that tendency is developing, not as sharply as in some of the countries of the old world, but reaction in this country, when it finds itself really menaced, will use the same weapon and the same technique, and we Jews have already found it necessary to put ourselves on the defensive.

Fifteen, twenty, thirty years ago we used to proclaim proudly to our non-Jewish citizens of America, that this Jew or that Jew has won a position of eminence in the political life or the economic life, in the social life of our country. Today we are grateful if an important non-Jewish magazine in this country publishes the news that we are not so important; that we are insignificant. That, then, is already a terrible set-back for our people. We are already beginning to mute our life and to hide ourselves into comparative insignificance and anonymity, in order to defend or protect ourselves in this country.

Answering the Problem

Now, this is the kind of a world

we face today, and which we and our children are likely to face tomorrow. What are we going to do about it? I, for one, assume, because I am a man of faith, and I believe in human progress, that this is not the last word; that this age of rampant nationalism and racial antagonism and intolerance and bigotry and dictatorship is a transition age. I believe that mankind ultimately will return to the classic ideals which have at all times formed civilization. But I am also living in 1936. This is the world in which I live and this is the world in which my children are growing up,—a world of stern realities. What are we going to do about that?

Well, in the first place, the Zionists have given an answer, at least, to a part of this problem. The Zionists have maintained long before the days of Hitler that the Jewish people needs a homeland,—that is the Zionists' answer and that is the classic Jewish answer throughout the ages. We need a homeland to which those of our people here or there who find themselves no longer able to establish themselves within the economic life of the nations where they are,—a home to which they can go to resume life, to rehabilitate themselves, to reestablish themselves.

We used to argue the very same thing in the days of comparative peace and prosperity of our people. We were not listened to. We were called visionaries; we were called people who had no faith in human progress. When Dr. Theodor Herzl wanted to convoke the first Zionist Congress in Munich, that Jewish community rose in wrath and indignation and said, "What? Shall we allow these crazy Eastern European visionaries to come into Munich and to talk to us about the need of a national homeland for the Jewish people, when Germany is our homeland, and Berlin is our Jerusalem?" Thirty-nine years later the Jews of Munich thank God daily that these crazy visionaries were not deterred from their labor, but that they proceeded with bleeding hands, with the sweat of their bodies and their souls to build a homeland to which their children, sons and daughters of Munich, could now go for refuge.

That which is impossible in history, my friends, is extremely probable in Jewish history. I recall reading a few years ago a book by the well known and beloved Zionist, Dr. Ruppin, and in this book he wrote that "Today and in the future it is and will be inconceivable that any Western European power will legislate against any group of citizens on the basis of race or religion." Dr. Ruppin recently published a second edition of his volume and that sentence is, of course omitted. That which is improbable in history, is probable in Jewish history.

Sixty-two thousand Jews in 1935 entered Palestine, forty-five thousand Jews in 1934. Why? Because the constellation of world events made that immigration inevitable, and that, my friends, is what is meant by *Moshiach's* *zeiten*. When the inexorable, relentless facts of history bring about a situation when Jews must migrate and can migrate to no other country than Palestine, as it is the situation today,—that is Messianic Times. But, I believe that we would be making a grave mistake if we base our Zionism today exclusively and entirely upon the motive of persecution, as some Zionists unfortunately have begun to do. Let us not lose sight in this hour of tribulation of the basic and the classic ideals of our movement.

The Purposes of Zionism

Zionism was more than an escape from persecution. Zionism was a positive movement towards something. It was a movement towards national auto-emancipation. It was a movement towards the upbuilding of a complete Jewish life. It was a movement towards resuming our rightful place, after two thousand years of exile, as an independent

people at home, master of its own destinies, fashioner of its own way of life. It was a movement towards the revitalizing of our Hebrew speech and our Hebrew literature and our Hebrew culture. It was a movement towards rationalizing the economic life of at least that portion of our people which will go to Palestine, so that we shall become not a people of *luft-menschen*, but a people of builders and workers and producers. It was a movement towards an ideal wished for, namely, that in our own land we might try to express in concrete forms, to give a local habitation and a name to some of the great economic ideals of our prophets, ideals of social justice and righteousness.

And I maintain, friends, that these reasons are just as valid and potent and real today as they were before the invasion of Hitlerism into Jewish life, which seems to many of us to have given a new approach to the Jewish problem. This brings me to the one thought that I would like to stress. It would be much better, my friends, if in our Zionist preachments today we talk less about liquidating the *Galut*. The *Galut* is not being liquidated. Even if we should continue,—and I pray that we might—to send sixty thousand Jews every year into Palestine uninterruptedly, and perhaps at an even accelerated tempo, it would take more than a hundred years before less than half of the Jewish population will find a home there, even if its present constricted physical limitations are extended to include Trans-Jordania. Those Jews who are remaining or will continue to remain in the *Galut* are also our brothers and we are interested in defending their civil status and their political rights now and in the future, wherever they are.

Responsibility for the Galut

And we Zionists have always looked upon that as one of our great responsibilities. The men who went to the Versailles Conference after the world war to champion Jewish political rights, to demand minority rights for certain groups of our people who wanted minority rights, were foremost leaders in that interest, the Wisas, the Macks, the Sokolows, who else? What other group in Jewish life is to be the spokesmen of the political destinies of Israel in the *Galut*? Shall we leave this work to be done by assimilationists? Shall we leave the work to be done by our *pushke-diplomats*, by the people who have no other answer to Jewish problems but collecting charity, "bread for the hungry and shrouds for the dead?" Or shall we leave it to those who have always demanded two things of the world, and have a right to demand—namely, a Jewish homeland for the Jewish people and equal rights for Jews living in all parts of the world?

There isn't a nation in the world that hasn't millions of its nationals living in other lands and that does not demand for those nationals equal rights in those other lands. We ask for that same status for the Jewish people—no more, and no less. Therefore, we regard it as apostasy, we regard it as a betrayal, we regard it as madness to utilize Zionism as an excuse for disfranchising the Jew in any part of the world. Sokolow called the act of Keresky in Berlin "a covenant with the devil," and that is what it is. The Zionist has never maintained that the Jew in the Diaspora shall live in a Ghetto. The Zionist has always asked for his people a national, independent existence, and for the Jew, the right to walk as a free man, unafraid upon the face of the whole earth.

This remains on our program today. We have migrated much in the last two thousand years, but we never exploited Jewish emigration for national salvation. Sixteen thousand Jews were exiled from England in 1290. They scattered to other lands from which later they or their descendants were again exiled.

(Continued on page 11)

Palestine Is Decisive In Wandering of Jewish People

Prejudices Forced to Give Way to Reality of Homeland

Text of Address by Louis Lipsky at the Sunday afternoon session of the conference.

To this extraordinary gathering, representing the leadership and following of the largest national Jewish organizations in America, of the entire Zionist Organization and several hundreds of Jewish communities (with varied activities, varied ideals and views) all absorbed in devotion and purpose to the historic task of recovering and rebuilding the Jewish National Home in Palestine, the United Palestine Appeal, which includes the Keren Hayesod and the Keren Kayemeth, extends a hearty welcome.

One year ago, substantially the same forces in American Jewry, now more aware of the crucial situation that confronts us than they were then, met in conference also at Washington and registered their determination to give added support to a planned economic upbuilding of the Homeland in Palestine. The Conference of 1935 realized that if Palestine is to become the Sanctuary of the creative powers of the Jewish people, if it is to broaden the base of its opportunities for the thousands of Jews fleeing from the lands where they were born, order and plan, the organization of resources, the enlistment of all possible creative talents, would have to be brought into play in the task of rebuilding.

For some time it has been recognized that the leisurely, evolutionary methods of the early days of Zionism could not possibly be maintained in the face of recurring conditions that make demand for emergency action. The hurried pace of forced exodus dictated greater energy and speed. An inner unrest spread over all Jewish life; created agitation; the quest for immediate panaceas, demanded something be done of a revolutionary character; from all of which Zionism could not be kept immune. The solution born of inner spiritual unrest was forced to join partnership with dire necessity. Zionism has had to face the bitter reality at every turn of Jewish misfortune and to avoid the crossing of purpose by fusion of Zionist interests with the needs of Jewish life.

It is, in reality, a conflict between the thought of self-emancipation and the thought of rescue from oppression. The first depends upon evolution; the slow growth of an idea; the spiritual and intellectual unrest that forces action; the gradual ascent to achievement. The second is a matter of outer pressure; it is a matter of accident; it produces improvisation; the sacri-

fice of conversion for physical liberation. It is unrelated to spiritual or intellectual chance of personality. The one is the idea of self-realization through pain and struggle of the Homeland as the vessel in which the conversion is finally consummated. The second is the idea of salvaging victims of race hatred and prejudice from conditions which become unbearable, from which flight seems to be the only order of the day.

You think of Zionism in its pure state as the symbol of a people's regeneration. The need for inner harmony is the driver. You think of freedom with the chains struck off by the captive himself. You think of spiritual slavery which the slave himself discards, throwing off his bonds because they do not any longer fit him.

That phase of Zionism is the reverse of the suggestion that the captives must be freed. It regards the crushing influence of alien violence as incidental to the processes of self-emancipation. You think of national recovery through struggle with only such handicaps as nature may present, or the unavoidable social and political displacements involved in the peaceful redemption of the Land and the People of Israel. If there is to be an exodus, it is to be the determined undertaking of free human beings who have achieved the climax of freedom through identity with their ideal.

But we are living in a world filled with confusion. There is no order. There is no normal pace to life. There is no corner in which Jewish life under cover, masked as you will, can through processes of its own making achieve emancipation. The Zionist movement is being molded more and more, to an ever larger extent, by accidents and emergencies, and less and less through the free expression of the inner revolt against intolerable spiritual and intellectual servitude.

From a practical aspect it may be said that the Zionist movement has never been able to maintain an isolation of its own, a separation between Zion and Galuth, and the building of Palestine is constantly being determined not so much by what Jews feel and desire, but by the pressure which is brought to bear upon Jewish life by hostile alien forces. Redemption has had to turn back constantly to aid in redeeming the captives of every Galuth that becomes intolerable. The larger part of our effort is conditioned by, and made contingent upon, the circumstances of immediate catastrophe, the implacable urgings of the emergency of the day.

Rare is the personality that can maintain the stoic ideal and hold in the center of his thought as the heart of his action, the basic, national good, the pure ideal of Zion, the prophetic admonitions of perfection.

For there is no escape from compassion. There is no escape from the tears of suffering and from the tragedies and the miseries of Jewish life. In this great world of tribulation, there is none that acts the part of the good Samaritan to those of the House of Israel that linger in captivity. There is no tribunal in which their claims for redress may be lodged. There is no justice, and not even compassion.

And thus Zionism, the hosts that are part of the far-flung Zionist Organization, inevitably join hands and hearts with the entire House of Israel in making Palestine serve not only that great ideal which was the vision of the prophets and the aspiration of the spiritual among us, but also to serve to the maximum the purposes of rescue, the need of providing homes for the homeless and the broken in spirit.

All Israel is one, and that is why every Jew in Palestine, and every Zionist the world over, joins in the demand, (Let the demand register where it will!) Open the doors of Palestine to all of Israel that suffer! Let all the rejected be gathered in and find a refuge and a home, find brotherly tenderness and understanding, in the Homeland, (the Land of Promise, the Palestine of today), in order that they may be cleansed and healed of wounds, spiritual and physical, that have been inflicted upon them by a cruel world.

The appeal that the door of Zion be opened is addressed to the Guardian at the Gate who scrutinizes with legalistic obstinacy every attempt to pry the door open further; and to those who sit in council of what we once regarded as the confederation of nations at Geneva, and which has become merely a clearing house for mutual hatreds and interests.

And if that entrance will not serve adequately under the appalling conditions that confront us, or if the victims of oppression and panic are unable to crowd in in time to save themselves, there is no Zionist who will not join in finding other doors that may be opened, near or far, in order that the victims may be given a breathing spell of freedom from apprehension, freedom from threat, freedom from calumny and violence.

The distinguished guests who have come to us as representatives of British Jewry (to whom we extend fraternal greetings, to whom have been given the assurances of our unreserved support) are to tell us of plans that seem to project an enlarged exodus from the present center of persecution. In their

plans, we rejoice to announce, Palestine, the Jewish homeland, occupies a large and determining part. It seems to be the only certain and definite factor in their schemes. In the nineteen hundred years of the Jewish dispersion, this is the first time that Palestine has played so decisive a part in the wanderings of the Jewish people. Prejudice of Jews, habits of thinking of Jews, are forced to give way to the growing reality of the Homeland.

Not only as a matter of courtesy do we express our gratitude to the delegation which is with us. Through their utterances, privately and publicly, they have succeeded in creating among the Jews of America a feeling of unrest, of retarded contrition. They have revealed the minds of the Jews of Germany, what action should be taken to help the departure of those who must go, with a feeling that an organized Jewry is concerned in their destination. The delegation has made the Jews of America realize, by their presence, by the prestige they bring with them, that American Jewry has not done all that could be expected of it in connection with the dreadful tragedy which is taking place in Germany. We are grateful to them for having created an agitation and a discussion even though they may have suffered by reason of unfair criticism, by malicious report, and by partisan controversy; for they have made possible a reconsideration by American Jewry of what means it should put at the disposal of the agencies that are engaged in dealing with the terrible situation.

Looking over the record of the past three years, it must be confessed that American Jewry has not risen to the height of that sacrifice which could have been expected of it in the light of the continuing displacement of Jewish life in European countries. The Jewish cause has become a matter of routine. The campaigns are being federated, forged into the Procrustean bed of Welfare Chests, regularized and attritized of all emotion, of all agitation. The appeals made have been received by persons in a mood of comparative comfort, without a realization, to any large extent, of the significance of the events that were poison to the life of Jews in Germany. Too many of us have looked upon what is going on in Germany as a matter of sympathy and philanthropy unrelated to the vital Jewish interests.

It is gratifying to register the fact that better understanding has been created, a larger willingness to co-operate has been achieved than has prevailed during the past three years, for which our distinguished guests are largely responsible.

I have no doubt that the United Palestine Appeal will give its fullest support to the larger program

of rescue work which the Delegation has submitted to American Jewry. Such a program envisages an increase of economic opportunities in Palestine. It includes special attention to the Jewish youth of Germany, which has been made an integral part of Zionist work in Palestine. Whatever may be projected for development in Palestine to serve the needs of the Jews of Germany will find in the Jewish Agency an instrument of experience, with an efficient administration, and with plans that can be made to cover the needs of any emergency. It has a generation of experience in agricultural colonization. It knows the land and its problems. It is in a strong position to give effective cooperation and to undertake such new phases of work as may be suggested, and which have not been undertaken thus far because of a lack of funds.

With a concerted effort on the part of larger circles of American Jews, with a more generous financial support to cover the budget asked for by our distinguished guests, there is no doubt that the Jewish Agency will be in a position to cope with the necessary work of rescue which has to be done in connection with the Jews of Germany, in addition to all its other activities calculated to serve other sources of immigration that are also engaged in building up the Homeland.

This Conference has been called to enlarge the effort of the United Palestine Appeal. The response to the call is most gratifying. The nation-wide campaign of the United Palestine Appeal will be launched under the auspices of this Conference. The delegates will be the instructors of the American Jewish community upon their return to their homes. Their generous cooperation will assure the success of the United Palestine Appeal for 1936.

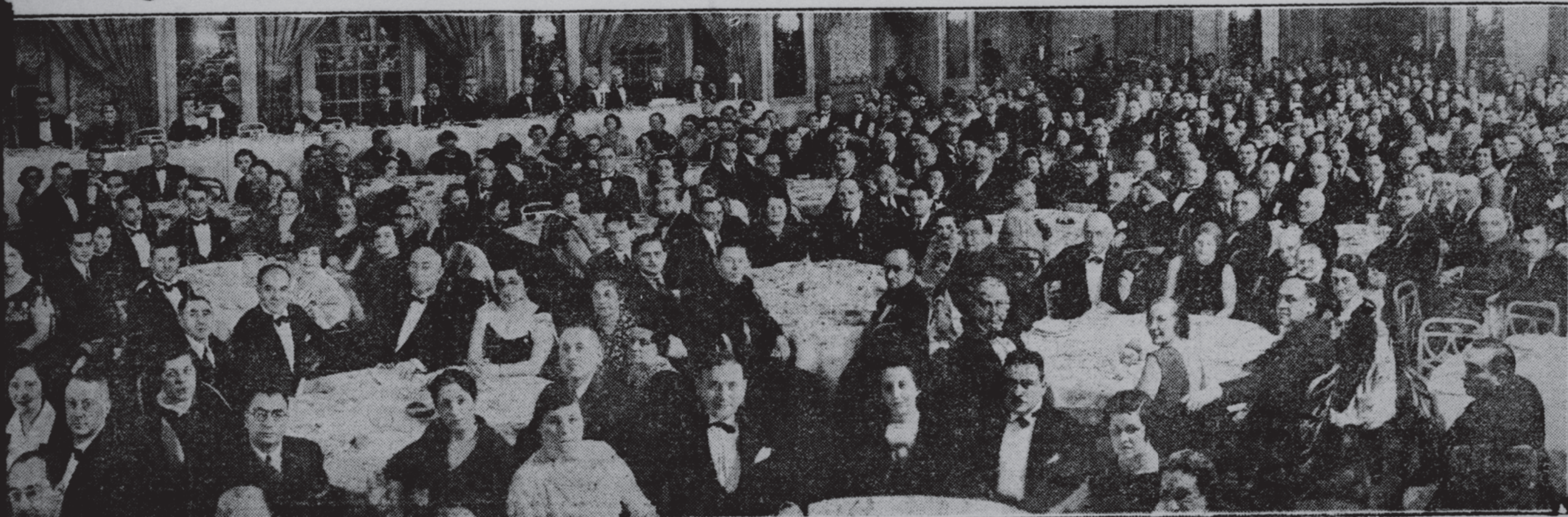
Speech by Simon Marks

(Continued from page 8)

way to the consolidation of the National Fund Debts, and at a later date, when the new assets are created, the raising of a large development loan for agricultural and urban activities should be considered. The possibility of a large national loan depends on the pursuit of a policy of creating physical assets which yield an income.

At the present time our task as Zionists is clear. We must make the Agency as strong as possible and we must attract as many partners as possible. The greater the capital invested in the country, the greater will be its absorptive capacity. The need of German Jewry and the need of Polish Jewry is so great that we must take the lead in inspiring all Jews and all Jewish organizations to do their utmost to settle as many as possible in the National Home.

Evening, February 2nd, 1936, at the Hotel Willard, Washington, D. C.



Address of Rabbi A. H. Silver

(Continued from page 10)

Tens of thousands of Jews were exiled from France in 1394. Hundreds of thousands of Jews from Spain in 1492. Numerous other migrations of a smaller character took place throughout Western Europe. At no time did we know how to wrest a blessing from this Dark Angel, how to capitalize Jewish migration so as to help build up our own homeland. The first feeble attempt was made when the migrations began in Russia in the 80's—the first feeble attempt to use a national emergency and convert it into a national blessing. This is the first time in our history that we have learned how to exploit a national tragedy for national salvation. This is the first time when an enormous flow of Jewish immigrants has turned to Palestine, and our task is to keep that flow undiminished, to fertilize our national life; our task is to see that the country will absorb as many of them as possible, and no dykes be placed in the way of this migration. And our task is to do it ourselves.

No Need for Independent Body

The Jewish Agency for Palestine is the Agency charged with the grave responsibility of welcoming these immigrants, of settling them in Palestine, of adjusting them to the life of Palestine. We need no independent bodies to do it for us. We have the man-power; we have the experience; we have the training; we have the understanding of the problem; we have the love of the country. We have taken care of 30,000 Jews from Germany without the intervention of independent organizations, and we will take care of fifty or seventy-five or a hundred thousand more if the occasion requires.

This is an age of tension for all

of us, tension not only in the Diaspora, tension also in Palestine. I sit back sometimes and smile at these idyllic pictures which are being painted of Palestine, for the edification of our people, as if Palestine were free of problems, as if Palestine were free of conflicts, as if we will not have our grave problems in our own Homeland. Of course, we will! What people has not? A people that wants to live, a people that wants to build a national life has to be ready for suffering, for disillusionments, for conflict, for struggle. That is how we got Palestine in the first place. We fought for it, foot by foot, and inch by inch, and we will have to do it again. But, in the days of tension, it is well to remember the undying conviction of our people. It is a tree which is always burning, always in tension, always strained, but a tree which is not being consumed.

Dr. Wise this morning told of what Hitler prophesied on the day he became Chancellor of Germany, that he will destroy, uproot the Jewish people of Germany and he will teach other nations how to do it. I was in Berlin, in January, 1933, when Hindenburg made Hitler Chancellor. I knew, as many Jews, particularly those who lived outside of Germany knew, what that meant. I was terribly depressed. I could see what a cloud, what a pall was settling over this fine and noble Jewish community of Germany, which gave so much in the past to Jewish scholarship and to Jewish enterprise. And on the Sabbath of that week, which happened to be the Sabbath of my birthday, my Bar-Mitzvah, I went to the Synagogue in Uranamburg Strasse, and I saw a little boy—himself Bar-Mitzvah—come up to the pulpit, and I heard

his juvenile cracked voice repeating the blessings over the *Haftorah*, and then he began to read the *Haftorah* which I, years and years before when I was Bar-Mitzvah, had read in the Synagogue. And one of the last sentences came over to me across the heads of that worshipful congregation, in a message of consolation and comfort, "*For just like the new heavens and the new earth which I am creating will endure in my sight forever, sayeth the Lord, so will your seed and your name endure forever.*"