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When freedom comes, 1943.

WHEN FREEDOM COMES

April 1943

Without being unduly optimistic, one is justified in believing that deliverance is on the horizon. Even though it is as yet no bigger than a man's hand, the promise of it is unmistakable. The long war will end before very long in victory. Hard fighting is still to be faced, and the costliest battles, at least as far as our country is concerned, are still to be fought. But the Great Infamy is doomed! On the steppes of Russia and on the sands of Africa it is bleeding to death. The Nazi-Fascist gangsters know themselves to be beaten. They no longer boast of conquering the world or of establishing their reign for a thousand years. They now must goad their people on to continued resistance by the fear of being conquered and being subjected to the same treatment as they subjected the peoples whom they conquered. The invincible Wehrmacht can now win great victories only against helpless civilian populations. But Lidices and mass murdering Jews will not save the Nazis. These infamies only add to the already heavy score against them which will have to be settled when the day of retribution arrives.

There is dawn on the horizon! Our faith in civilization is being revived after many weary, bitter years of doubt bordering on despair. Tomorrow will not, of course, be the perfect day for mankind. Tomorrow will witness not the consummation but the approximation of our hearts' desires. For a quarter of a century mankind has been descending into the valley of death. At the close of the war it will begin the slow ascent to the higher plateaus, to the hills, where there is life and light and bracing winds and open vistas. New and great efforts will be made to reconstruct our world on juster and surer foundations of freedom and cooperation.

There is dawn on the horizon also for Israel! Though the night is still dark, the first faint glimmer of light is reaching us not only out of the prospect of the approaching Allied victory, but out of the new attitudes of peoples everywhere, and especially among the peoples under Nazi domination. There are significant manifestations, on the part of the conquered peoples, of sympathy and good will. Friendship

toward the Jews has become their way of expressing their hatred of the Nazis. Many are coming to understand that they had been duped and tricked by Anti-semitism, and that Anti-semitism has proved a terrible boomerang. Anti-semitism is not being liquidated in Europe, but in very important sections of the populations, in spite of all Nazi propaganda, it is being discredited. Men are relearning the essential unity of mankind, the unavoidable sharing of all in all the goodness and in all the evil of the world and the necessity for defending the rights of one's neighbors if one's own rights are to be safe-guarded.

The United Nations have begun very seriously to plan for the post-war world. Planning for tomorrow has now become a definite, a major task of all governments. In fact, broad and weighty decisions of political and economic moment are even now being made. Jewish statesmanship too, while deeply involved in the immediate problems of rescue and relief, should also proceed vigorously and systematically to plan for Jewish life after the war.

Our people will emerge from the Second World War ~~deeply~~ spiritually shaken, physically ravaged and seriously depleted in numbers and resources. Many old centers of Jewish life and many cultural and religious institutions will have been destroyed. The Jews who will be left in Central and Eastern Europe after the war will find themselves in a world of great social and economic tension, under pressures which will not be entirely lifted ~~overcome~~ by the restoration of their rights of citizenship. Jews ~~We~~ will be confronted with masses of uprooted and untransplanted Jews -- a floating population, as it were, of human misery.

Three major tasks will face responsible Jewish leadership in the years immediately following the war. Broken lives in the broken centers of war-ravaged Europe will have to be rebuilt. While European Jewry will probably never again recover the position of primary importance which it occupied in Jewish life before the war, it is unrealistic to assume that all Jews will evacuate European countries after the war. It is difficult to say how many European Jews will survive the war, or how many will be able to remain, or will care to remain there. But surely there

will be enough ^{left} ~~remaining~~ to necessitate large-scale and uninterrupted aid/over a considerable period of time. Whatever aid the United Nations will be able to give ^{to them} ~~as far as Jews will be concerned.~~ to the war stricken peoples of Europe will have to be supplemented by us. Our experience in the reconstruction period following the last war ~~has~~ taught us that Jews in war stricken countries have special and peculiar problems which can only be met by the supplementary aid of fellow Jews.

Jewish leadership must insist at the peace conferences that such political conditions be established and such international machinery ^{be} ~~set up~~ ^{as} ~~which~~ will protect the Jewish minority and all other minorities against a recurrence of those discriminatory activities which prevailed after the last war almost to the day when the Second World War began. A charter of human liberties must be proclaimed, and implemented by international action, by whatever global or regional international councils ~~which~~ will be created after the war, which will protect every human being in his right to life and to earn a livelihood in the land of his birth or adoption, subject to no restriction or cancellation by any government whatsoever.

The second task which will confront Jewish leadership is the rapid upbuilding of Palestine. There will be very large numbers of Jews who will have to emigrate from Europe after this war, and there will be no places for them to go. It is idle to expect that even well-disposed governments will consent to the admission of large numbers of impoverished Jewish immigrants into their countries. Their own populations will be faced with serious problems of employment and of reconstruction as their countries pass from a war to a peace-time economy. Surely no one in his right senses will suggest at this time new colonial adventures like Crimea, Biro Bidjan or Santa Domingo to meet the great immigration pressures after the war. It is too late in the day to indulge in what Sacher has so aptly called "ramblings in the irridescent nothingness of Outopia". Palestine has been readied by decades of Jewish labor and initiative for just such an emergency in Jewish life. Unless Jewish leadership, regardless of shades of opinion, concentrates its attention and

focusses whatever power our people still possesses upon securing this one possible refuge for our homeless ones, we will lose out even here. If the White Paper remains in force, Palestine must be written off as a place for large-scale immigration for our people. When the last of the 29,000 visas still available for distribution under the terms of the White Paper is issued it will mean the end of Jewish immigration into Palestine. Thereafter it will be the Arabs of Palestine who will determine whether more Jews ~~shall~~^{will} be permitted to enter. The Arabs in Palestine are opposed not only to a Jewish State, but also to Jewish immigration. Those who believe that by abandoning the Balfour Declaration or the Zionist program, the Arabs of Palestine ~~would~~^{might} be induced to welcome Jews into that country, are uninformed and naive. Similarly those Jews who believe that the neighboring Arab and Moslem lands -- Syria, Transjordan, Iraq and Saudi-Arabia -- will welcome Jews, for whom Christian lands could find no haven, and that a new diaspora can readily be created there, are beguiling themselves with wishful thinking. Those who are convinced that there will be great masses of Jews for whom a new home will have to be found after the war and who are seriously concerned with this problem, whether they be Zionist or non-Zionist, must understand that, things being what they are, it will either be Palestine, or nothing at all. In Palestine we have ^{an} internationally established and recognized -- and unique -- status -- that of a people in its National Homeland. This is the plain meaning of the Balfour Declaration, the Palestine Mandate and the endorsement which was given to both by the nations of the world and by our own country. Jewish statesmanship should ask for the full implementation of the letter and the spirit of the Palestine Mandate which has been internationally underwritten.

It is futile and fatuous at this time for responsible Jews to engage in theoretic disputations about nationalism versus universalism and what the Prophets of Israel said or did not say twenty-five hundred years ago, or to wage anew the ideologic battles of a generation ago which preceded the Balfour Declaration. The

historical claim of the Jewish people to Palestine has been recognized. The existence of a Jewish people has been recognized. Its right to rebuild its national home in Palestine has been recognized. Jews have, in the period between the two wars, invested life, energy, substance, blood and tears in the upbuilding of that national homeland. As a result, it was possible when the emergency arose to rescue a half million Jews from the hells of Europe. What remains now for Jewish leadership to do is to see that this work of upbuilding and salvation is continued uninterruptedly, and that illegal and morally unjustifiable obstacles such as the White Paper are removed from the path of Jewish progress in Palestine. If we surrender our national and historic claims to Palestine, the claims upon which the Declaration and the Mandate rest, and rely on a purely "philanthropic" appeal, we shall lose our case. Palestine has already taken in more than one-half of the total Jewish refugees of the world, and the Palestine Arabs, and their sympathizers elsewhere, have already declared that from a humanitarian standpoint Palestine has already done all that can be expected of a small country, and far more than most of the larger countries have done.

It is because Palestine is the Jewish Homeland that we have the right to insist upon unrestricted immigration, and the Mandatory Government, in pursuance of this fact and in recognition of the historical connection of the Jewish people with Palestine and the Mandate "to reconstitute their national home" there had undertaken, by solemn pledges, to facilitate Jewish immigration into that country and the "close settlement by Jews on that land".

The third task which will face Jewish leadership in America is not the least important. It is to vitalize the spiritual life of our people and to strengthen and expand all institutions of religion, learning and scholarship. The American Jewish community is ^{now} the largest in the world -- the largest in all our history. Great religious and cultural centers of our people in the Old World have been destroyed. The New World must now take their place. American Jewry, together with Palestine, must now become the Jabneh of the new day. Jewish cultural survival,

on a scale worthy of our heroic past, now depends upon what the Jews in this country and in Palestine will do. The center of our interests must shift from our over-emphasis upon the purely eleemosynary and philanthropic activities in our communities -- orphanages, hospitals, homes for the aged -- to the cultural, educational and spiritual. The religious life of our people in this country has been languishing. Our young people are not experiencing Judaism as a directive force in their lives, nor are their parents. Army experience has revealed that young people, Jews included, want religion and stand in need of it. In peace-time they had been given substitutes. The lay-leaders of Jewish communities of America, and those prominent in the councils of our national organizations, seldom if ever, enter a synagogue. They set the tone for the rest of the people. The last decade or two have channeled the energies and interests of many Jews into campaign activities for over-seas relief, refugee service, and civic protective causes ~~and~~ Palestine with the result that our synagogues and religious organizations have been denied their energetic interest, guidance and support.

nor on fighting Anti-semitism.

American Jewry can not survive on philanthropy alone. Its spiritual and intellectual life must be nourished. Definitely there is the possibility of achieving on the gracious shores of this free and blessed land, a Golden Age comparable to the best in our past, provided we plan intelligently on the basis of a total program, which experience has taught us will alone preserve us in worth and in dignity in the future.

Taken from
page 31
scrapbook
Jan 43 - Jan 2 1947

The Canadian Jewish Chronicle

AND THIS, TOO SHALL PASS OVER!

There will be two kinds of Jewry celebrating the Passover this year. There will be those, living in the democratic lands of freedom, who will, with perennial custom, go through the ritual and gestures of the Paschal ceremonial, commemorating even in the twentieth century, events and history which belong to the remote past. For these, the full poignancy of the Egyptian bondage, and the full thrill of the Passover emancipation, will be lived again in symbol and in gesture. The liberation will be vicarious; the oppression merely a historic reminiscence. Passover will be for them a fulfilment of the Talmudic injunction: every Jew alive should see himself as if he endured Egypt, as if he received the Torah personally.

But to many of our brethren there will be, alas, nothing vicarious, nothing second-hand, about the saga of Pharaonic tyranny. To those languishing in the contemporary prisons and concentration camps of a Hitler-dominated Europe, the full tragedy of the classic oppression is being lived through, personally, and in the flesh. There is no *as if* about it. Theirs truly is the bread of affliction; theirs literally the bitter herbs, and the cruel taskmasters.

B'chol dor v'dor

For million of Jews to-day, builders of roads and fortifications which serve but to prolong their won duress vile, builders of the Ramses and Pithom of our day, sense in their skins the bitter truth of the Haggadic dictum that in every generation there are the wicked who rise up to destroy us. The Haggadist, writing in an earlier age, naively painted Pharaoh as the most nefarious of the racial enemies. Before our eyes, there has risen one who puts Pharaoh to shame for the feebleness of his iniquity, one who has set himself the objective of destroying the Jewish tree, root and branch. No plate of bitter herbs, no unleavened bread, is required to remind them of the bitterness of slavery, and the sweet release of liberation. History itself has prepared a gruesome Passover ceremonial for them, and not for eight days, but already for years too agonizingly long.

The Plagues

The methods of liberation change from century to century. Once freedom was encompassed

by divine miracle working a multitude of plagues upon the oppressor. History repeats itself, with variations. The divine spirit of man, refusing to submit to the Egyptian darkness which Nazi Germany would impose upon the world, is also today, with nice inventions and curious instruments, working its plagues upon the tyrant and all his domains. We shall not, after the manner of the sons of Brak, calculate and enumerate the visitations which are falling upon the dominions of Hitler, — the hail that comes exploding from heaven, the lice that attach themselves to his armies in Russia, the blood of the innocent that boils over throughout his territories, the darkness palpable that has enveloped his lands. They are but a beginning, and with the magic of timing, and according to precedent, they multiply from ten to fifty, and from fifty to two hundred and fifty. At this writing the heart of the tyrant is still hardened, but there can be no doubt but that events march to their denouement — the denouement which will see the "first born" of the Herrenvolk expiating their own crimes.

"Let my people go"

In the meantime, it has been in vain that one has addressed oneself to the Nazis to let our people go. They will let none go, until they are in danger of imminent departure themselves. Only one factor can bring about the repetition of the exodus of liberation — and that is the multiplication of punishments visited upon the oppressor. The Passover history is to be repeated, in fact, in all its details; complete freedom and the beginning of a new era will take place only when Pharaoh and all his chariots are drowned in the sea.

In Egypt again — with a difference

We still recall the classic reply which Theodor Herzl made to Joe Chamberlain when the latter offered him a Jewish Homeland in a part of Egypt. "We have been there before," answered Herzl, by way of polite refusal. It is, however, a pleasant irony of contemporary history that sons of Israel are once more in the land of the Pharaohs, and its environs. The Jewish soldiers serving in the armies of General Montgomery, traversing land once trod by their ancestors, are repeating again, in their own way, a redemption from bondage, a redemption from an Egypt

not located on the Nile. Theirs, indeed, is a Passover Seder which is not merely reminiscent of the past but also cautions of the future.

The Four Questions — The Four Freedoms

In the turmoil and agony of the war, all the world, in its inquisitiveness, as to things to come, is reduced to infancy. Everybody asks of their elders its four questions. Only this time the four questions are not concerned with the manner and mode in which things happened in the past, but rather the manner and mode in which they will be encompassed in the future. Jewry, too, beset by present trials and tribulations, is curious about the four questions, the four freedoms. Will there come out of the sacrifice and agony of contemporary events, a freedom of thought for Israel, a freedom to continue these particular thought-ways which are the pride of Hebrew culture and the boon of world civilization? Will the thought of the prophets and the poets of Israel be free again? Will there be for Israel a freedom of speech, a return to its own tongue? Will the war, and its aftermath, establish firmly, in fact and not merely on paper, a freedom from want, an abolition of that process of disinheriting and pauperization which has been and is the bane of European Jewry? And will it indeed be fulfilled, that so-oft bespoken freedom from fear, when men shall dwell in peace together, and their periodic binges of hatred, that systematic running amok of nations will be a thing of the past?

He is a wise man who can answer these four questions.

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By Dr. Abba Hillel Silver

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There is dawn on the horizon also for Israel! Though the night is still dark, the first faint glimmer of light is reaching us not only out of the prospect of the approaching Allied victory, but out of the new attitudes of peoples everywhere, and especially among the peoples under Nazi domination. There are significant manifestations, on the part of the conquered peoples, of sympathy and good will. Friendship toward the Jews has become their way of expressing their hatred of the Nazis. Many are coming to understand that they had been duped and tricked by anti-Semitism, and that anti-Semitism has proved a terrible boomerang. Anti-Semitism is not being liquidated in Europe, but in very important sections of the populations, in spite of all Nazi propaganda, it is being discredited. Men are relearning the essential unity of mankind, the unavoidable sharing of all, in all the goodness and in all the evil of the world, and the necessity for defend-

ing the rights of one's neighbors if one's own rights are to be safeguarded.

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SILVER SAYS . . .

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Three Tasks For Leadership

THREE major tasks will face responsible Jewish leadership in the years immediately following the war. Broken lives in the broken centres of war-ravaged Europe will have to be rebuilt. While European Jewry will probably never again recover the position of primary importance which it occupied in Jewish life before the war, it is unrealistic to assume that all Jews will evacuate

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Jewish leadership must insist at the peace conferences that such political conditions be established and such international machinery be set up as will protect the Jewish minority and all other minorities against a recurrence of those discriminatory activities which prevailed after the last war almost to the day when the Second World War began. A charter of human liberties must be proclaimed, and implemented by international action, by whatever global or regional international councils will be created after the war, which will protect every human being in his right to life and to earn a livelihood in the land of his birth or adoption, subject to no restriction or cancellation by any government whatsoever.

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43-10

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Dr. Silver

Dawn on the Horizon

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(Continued on Page 35)

As United Nations drive forward to victory, Passover—the holiday of liberation—holds forth the promise of a new world of Freedom. Dr. Silver, eloquent, prophetic spokesman, suggests a program for American Jewry

It CAN HAPPEN Here

By LAWRENCE LIPTON

ONE of the most fatuous self-deceptions cherished by the better housed, better fed and better clothed one-third of our Jewish people in America is the notion that it can't happen here—not any more. They can permit themselves such comforting delusions only because they have never had the courage to open their eyes wide enough to see what "it" really is. No anti-Semitic hooligan has yet heaved a paving brick through their curtained windows, so there isn't any anti-Semitism—well, not enough to worry about, anyway.

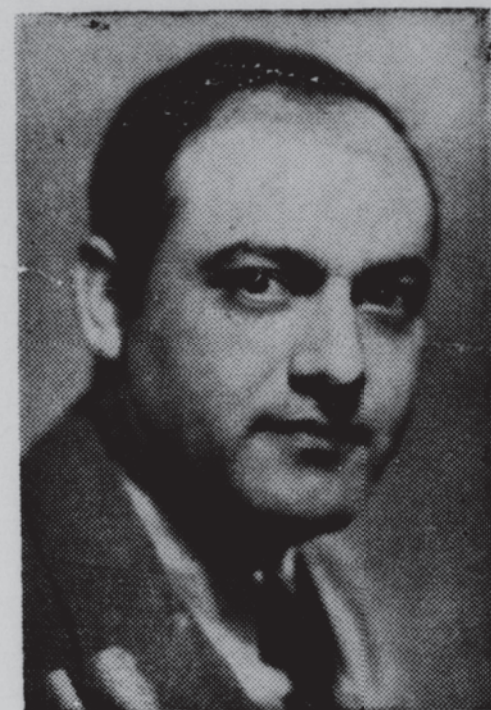
These "more fortunate" (that is, well-heeled) among our people still think about anti-Semitism as something that has to do with the relations between Jews and Gentiles. Anti-Semitism results when Jews and Gentiles fail to understand one another.

So they organize committees for "Better Understanding," and committees for "Better Relations," and conferences of Jews and Christians. These committees and conferences, mostly composed of rabbis and preachers, politicians and philanthropists, meet in fancy hotel dining rooms and butter

lowship, brotherhood, tolerance, better understanding, and still better understanding. Then they smile, shake hands all 'round, and go home glowing with love and virtue. And that's that—till the next conference.

What these better understanders fail to understand is that what Jews and Gentiles think about each other

Anti-Semitism is the 'Stop Thief' cry of any class or nation anxious to cover up something. Lipton says our best course is to enlist in the cause of Progress against Reaction



LAWRENCE LIPTON

has very little to do with anti-Semitism. Christians don't just take a sudden mass dislike for Jews and start persecuting or pogroming them—presumably because they don't "understand" them. Neither, on the other hand, do Jews "cause" anti-Semitism by anything they think about Gentiles, or say about them, or do to them. In fact, it would not be overstating the truth by much to say simply that anti-Semitism has nothing to do with Jews being Jews or Gentiles being Gentiles.

What these better understanders should have learned by now is the perfectly obvious fact that anti-Semitism is simply the stick to beat the dog. The stick may be anything from street corner insults to economic strangulation. The dog may be anything from the "Jewish business" competition of the corner grocer to the International Jew-Communist-Banker menace.

Anti-Semitism, in short, is the "Stop thief!" of any group, class or nation that is anxious to cover up something it is trying to get away with, and needs a scapegoat to divert attention. The Jew is not alone in this. He shares that distinction with other minority peoples—for example, the Negroes in the United States. But the Jew is Scapegoat No. 1, because he is more widely distributed, more accessible, more vulnerable. It "pays" to persecute the Jews, as Hitler's plunderers are proving all over Europe today.

That is why this writer, like other, like-minded Jews, continues to lay such heavy emphasis on the social and economic trends. They constitute our best clinical thermometer in the study of the social disease of anti-Semitism. And the signs are that the thermometer is still going up.

Signs of Political Reaction

The thing to watch for in any realistic diagnosis of the disease of anti-Semitism is political reaction. The reactionary is the carrier of the anti-Semitic germ. When he is lying low the germ is more or less dormant; when he is raising his head the germ is proliferating, the anti-Semitic fever is rising. Why should this be so? Because Reaction needs scapegoats, and Progress doesn't.

Last Fall, when this writer expressed the view that the Congressional elections indicated a trend toward political, social and economic reaction, there were some who preferred to draw more optimistic conclusions from the returns. However, events since then have borne out the more "pessimistic" analysis. It should now be clear to all that the trend toward reaction is not fanciful, nor local, nor sporadic. It is no longer confined to the political "outs," because the outs

(Continued on Page 39)



When Freedom Comes

(Continued from Page 3)

Upbuilding Palestine

The second task which will confront Jewish leadership is the rapid upbuilding of Palestine. There will be very large numbers of Jews who will have to emigrate from Europe after this war, and there will be no places for them to go. It is idle to expect that even well-disposed governments will consent to the admission of large numbers of impoverished Jewish immigrants into their countries. Their own populations will be faced with serious problems of employment and of reconstruction as their countries pass from a war to a peacetime economy.

Palestine has been readied by decades of Jewish labor and initiative for just such an emergency in Jewish life. Unless Jewish leadership, regardless of shades of opinion, concentrates its attention and focuses whatever power our people still possesses upon securing this one possible refuge for our homeless ones, we will lose out even here. If the White Paper remains in force, Palestine must be written off as a place for large-scale immigration for our people. When the last of the 29,000 visas still available for distribution under the terms of the White Paper is issued it will mean the end of Jewish immigration into Palestine. Thereafter it will be the Arab of Palestine who will determine whether more Jews will be permitted to enter.

The Arabs in Palestine are opposed not only to a Jewish State, but also to Jewish immigration. Those who believe that by abandoning the Balfour Declaration or the Zionist program, the Arabs of Palestine might be induced to welcome Jews into that country, are uninformed and naive. Similarly those Jews who believe that the neighboring Arab and Moslem lands—Syria, Transjordan, Iraq and Saudi-Arabia—will welcome Jews, for whom Christian lands could find no haven, and that a new diaspora can readily be created there, are beguiling themselves with wishful thinking.

Those who are convinced that there will be great masses of Jews to whom a new home will have to be found after the war and who are seriously concerned with this problem, whether they be Zionist or non-Zionist, must understand that, things being what they are, it will either be Palestine, or nothing at all. In Palestine we have an internationally established and recognized — and unique—status—that of a people in its National Homeland. This is the plain meaning of the Balfour Declaration, the Palestine Mandate and the endorsement which was given to both by the nations of the world and by our own country. Jewish statesmanship should ask for the full implementation of the letter and the spirit of the Palestine Mandate which has been internationally underwritten.

Theoretic Disputations

It is futile and fatuous at this time for responsible Jews to engage in theoretic disputations about nationalism versus universalism and what the Prophets of Israel said or did not say 2,500 years ago, or to wage anew the ideologic battles of a generation ago which preceded the Balfour Declaration. The historical claim of the Jewish people to Palestine has been recognized. The existence of a Jewish people has been recognized. Its right to rebuild its national home in Palestine has been recognized. Jews have, in the period between the two wars, invested life, energy, substance, blood and tears in the upbuilding of that national homeland. As a result, it was possible when the emergency arose to rescue a half million Jews from the hells of Europe.

What remains now for Jewish leadership to do is to see that this work of upbuilding and salvation is continued uninterruptedly, and that illegal and morally unjustifiable obstacles such as the White Paper are removed from the path of Jewish progress in Palestine. If we surrender our national and historic claims to Palestine, the claims upon which the Declaration and the Mandate rest, and rely on a purely "philanthropic" appeal, we shall lose our case.

A Golden Age

The third task which will face Jewish leadership in America is not the least important. It is to vitalize the spiritual life of our people and to strengthen and expand all institutions of religion, learning and scholarship. The American Jewish community is now the largest in the world—the largest in all our history. Great religious and cultural centers of our people in the Old World have been destroyed. The New World must now take their place.

American Jewry, together with Palestine, must now become the Jabneh of the new day. Jewish cultural survival, on a scale worthy of our heroic past, now depends upon what the Jews in this country and in Palestine will do. The center of our interests must shift from our over-emphasis upon the purely eleemosynary and philanthropic activities in our communities — orphanages, hospitals, homes for the aged—to the cultural, educational and spiritual.

The religious life of our peoples in this country has been languishing. Our young people are not experiencing Judaism as a directive force in their lives, nor are their parents. Army experience has revealed that young people, Jews included, want religion and stand in need of it. In peacetime they had been given substitutes. The lay-leaders of Jewish communities of America, and those prominent in the councils of our national organizations, seldom if ever, enter a synagogue. They set the tone for the rest of the people. The last decade or two have channeled the energies and interests of many Jews into campaign activities for overseas relief, refugee service,

Palestine and civil liberties, with the result that our synagogues and religious organizations have been denied their energetic interest, guidance and support.

American Jewry cannot survive on philanthropy alone nor on fighting anti-Semitism. Its spiritual and intellectual life must be nourished. Definitely there is the possibility of achieving on the gracious shores of this free and blessed land, a Golden Age comparable to the best in our past, provided we plan intelligently on the basis of a total program, which experience has taught us will alone preserve us in worth and in dignity in the future.—C

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