



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
180

Box
67

Folder
630

American Jewish Conference, 1943.

43-13

ADDRESS BY DR. ABBA HILLEL SILVER
TO AMERICAN JEWISH CONFERENCE
Monday, August 30, 1943

My dear friends, ~~The~~ Jewish people is in danger of coming out of this war ~~as~~ the most ravaged of peoples and the least ~~helped~~ ^{healed} and restored. The stark tragedy of our ravage has been abundantly told - tragic, ghastly, unredeemed. To rehearse it again is only to flagellate one's self and to gash our souls ~~again~~ ^{again and again}. But what of the healing? What is beyond the rim of blood and tears? Frankly, nothing! We are being comforted with the hope that the Atlantic Charter and the Four Freedoms will bring the healing ~~of~~ ^{of} our people. I am afraid that we are again sacrificing cool, albeit ~~it~~ bitter, reasoning and logic to hopeful, beguiling, romancing in the void. We are again turning away from history to dreams and ~~xx~~ apocalypses which some of us choose to call amazingly enough, realism and statesmanship.

The last World War made the world safe for democracy and granted the Jews of Central and Eastern Europe not only the rights of citizenship, but even minority rights. But it brought also in its wake ~~the~~ most thoroughgoing, brutal, and annihilationist anti-Semitism that our people has ever experienced. Have you forgotten the story? of the crescendo of anti-Semitism in Europe between the two wars? Dare you forget it?! And now again in the second World War, many Jews are hoping to achieve through ~~an~~ ^{another} Allied victory what an Allied victory failed to give them after the last war, what a whole century of enlightenment, liberalism and progress failed to give them - peace and security. They are again confusing formal political equality with immunity from economic and social pressures. The immemorial problem of our national

homelessness, the principal source of our millennial tragedy, remains as stark and as menacing today as it ever was. Yet some Jews are again trying to circumvent it with wishful thinking. ^{TP} There is a tragic fact which seems to escape so many students of anti-Semitism; the story of Jewish emancipation in Europe from the day after the French Revolution to the day before the Nazi revolution is the story of political positions captured in the face of stubborn and sullen opposition which left our emancipated minority encamped within an unbeaten and unreconciled opposition.

(At the slightest provocation and as soon as things got out of order, the opposition returned to the attack and inflicted grievous wounds. In our day, stirred by the political and economic struggles which ^{have torn} ~~are tearing~~ nations apart, this never-failing, never-reconciled opposition swept over the Jewish political and economic positions in Europe and completely demolished them. There is a stout black cord which connects the era of Fichte in Germany with its feral cry of "hep! hep!" and the era of Hitler with its cry of "Judah Verrecke!", and so for the rest of Europe. The Damascus affair of 1840 links up with the widespread reaction after the revolution of 1848; the Mortara Affair of Italy; the Christian Socialist movement in the era of Bismarck; the Tisza-Eszlar Affair in Hungary; the revival of blood accusations in Bohemia; the pogroms in the '80's in Russia; "La France Juive" and the Dreyfus Affair in France; the pogroms of 1903; the Ukrainian blood baths after the last war and the human-slaughterhouses of Poland in this war.

This is our persistent problem. This is our "immediate emergency" - a term used last evening - which unfortunately has been immediate almost to every generation of our people and in almost every country. What we are confronted with today is the frightful aggravation of a situation which has continuously darkened the pages of our history since the beginning of our dispersion.

What is the solution? There is but one solution for national homelessness, and that is a national home. Not new immigration opportunities or new colonization schemes, many of which were so hopefully attempted in the last few decades and with such little success. The only solution is to normalize the political status of the Jewish people in the world by giving it a national basis in its national and historic home.

The world finally came to acknowledge the validity of this solution, and in 1917 Great Britain issued the Balfour Declaration. This Declaration was not intended to be an immigrant aid scheme, an effort to open up a new avenue for Jewish immigration. Shortly before its issuance and for many years prior thereto, Jews in very large numbers were finding opportunities for immigration in many parts of the world, especially in the Western hemisphere.

The Balfour Declaration was a political national act designed to rebuild the national life of Israel in its own land.

Is this my own interpretation or that of Zionists only? Not at all. It was the universally accepted interpreting of the statesmen of the world and of those who were responsible for its issuance in the first place.

They were thinking in terms of a Jewish Commonwealth or of a Jewish State. The Jewish Commonwealth or the Jewish State was to be the natural outgrowth of the national Jewish Homeland.

Mr. Lloyd George who was Prime Minister at the time stated ~~spoke~~ ^{gave}

~~"The idea was ^{and} ~~that~~ this was the interpretation put upon it at the time that a Jewish State was not to be set up immediately by the Peace Treaty without reference to the wishes of the majority of the inhabitants. On the other hand, it was contemplated that when the time arrived for according representative institutions to Palestine, if the Jews had meanwhile responded to the opportunity afforded them by the idea of a national home and had become a definite majority of the inhabitants, then Palestine would thus become a Jewish Commonwealth."~~

*gave
Jewish
Commonwealth*

President Wilson in 1919 stated "I am persuaded that the Allied Nations with the fullest concurrence of our own government and people are agreed that in Palestine shall be laid the foundations of a Jewish Commonwealth".

General Smuts, who had been a member of the Imperial War Cabinet when the Declaration was published, declared in 1919 that he envisaged an increasing stream of Jewish immigration into Palestine ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ "and in generations to come, a great Jewish State rising there once more".

Mr. Winston Churchill in 1920 when he was Secretary of State for War, declared, "if as may well happen, there should be created in our lifetime by the banks of the Jordan a Jewish

State under the protection of the British Crown which might comprise three or four millions of Jews, an event will have occurred in the history of the world which would from every point of view be beneficial and would be especially in harmony with the truest interests of the British Empire." In 1939 in the House of Commons, Mr. Churchill declared "that the establishment of self-governing institutions in Palestine was to be subordinated to the paramount pledge and obligation of establishing a Jewish National Home in Palestine".

And how did our own American Jews of that day interpret that document? When the first American Jewish Congress met in Philadelphia in 1918, in which both Zionists and non-Zionists participated, it elected a delegation to represent American Jewry at the Peace Conference and the delegation was given instructions formulated as follows: "To cooperate with the representatives of other Jewish organizations, specifically with the World Zionist Organization, to the end that the Peace Conference might recognize the aspirations and historic claims of the Jewish people in regard to Palestine, and might declare in accordance with the British Government's declaration there should be established such political, administrative and economic conditions in Palestine as would assure under the trusteeship of Great Britain acting on behalf of such League of Nations as might be formed, the development of Palestine into a Jewish Commonwealth."

^{among us}
Why has there arisen/today this mortal fear of the term "Jewish Commonwealth", which both British and American statesmen took in their stride, as it were, and which our fellow-Jews of both camps ~~appreciated?~~ ^{endorsed?} Why are anti-Zionists and non-Zionists today determined

to excise not merely the phrase but the hope? And why are they asking us on the plea of unity to surrender ^a ~~that~~ basic political concept which was so much a part of the whole pattern of the Balfour Declaration and the Palestine Mandate? It is simply because they have never reconciled themselves to ~~the fact that~~ both ^d the Declaration and the Mandate ~~are real facts of history.~~ They would like to forget about them or wish them out of existence. Of course, they have no objections to Jews going to Palestine any more than they have objections to Jews going to New Zealand or Australia or any other part of the world. It is amazing to me that Jews are moved to applaud when ^{a fellow} ~~other~~ Jew consent that ~~their fellow~~ Jews should have the right to immigrate into Palestine. And having made this monumental concession, ^{the Zionists} ~~they~~ feel justified in asking the Zionists to make ^a ~~the~~ concession ^{on their part - to} ~~of surrendering~~ that for which they and their fathers hoped and prayed ^{for so long} and which is already in the process of fulfillment - the Jewish Commonwealth in Palestine.

We are told that our insistence on this is an insistence on an ideology. And why should ^{one} ~~you~~ create disunity over an ideology? Is the natural instinct of a homeless people to find a home for itself after centuries of homelessness and to lead a normal national existence an ideology? Is it an ideology for an Englishman to want an England or for a Frenchman to want a France, a free France, and when exiled from it to wish ardently to return to it? Why is it an ideology for the people of Israel to want the Land of Israel, from which it had been driven centuries ago, and so lost its peace, its rest and its joy of life? ^{Was it an ideology} ~~Was it an ideology~~ which kept alive the hope of national restoration among our people ~~on ideologies. We are insisting on the faithful fulfillment of~~ for 19 centuries? Was it not rather the hard, bitter facts of ~~obligations internationally assumed toward our people and our~~ our existence written in repeated exiles, massacres, pogroms.

and indignities all the way from 70 A.D. to 1943? We are not insisting on ideologies. We are insisting on the faithful fulfillment of obligations internationally assumed towards our people and on the honoring of covenants made with us. We ask for nothing new! It is they, ^{which have already been acknowledged in international law} who tell us to surrender these demands, ^{sanctions} who are motivated by ideologies - not we! It is they who are ^{forcing} ~~framing~~ a reopening of the question, ^{which ~~was~~ should have been closed in 1917.}

No, my good friends, we are not concerned here with ideologies. The reconstitution of the Jewish people as a nation in its homeland is not a playful political conceit of ours, an intellectual divertissement calculated to satisfy a national vanity. It is the cry of despair of a people driven to the wall, fighting for its very life. It is the pressing urgency of instant and current suffering and of besetting dangers and disabilities. From the infested, typhus-ridden ghettos of Warsaw and Krakow, now finally buried in death, from the death-block of Nazi-occupied lands where myriads of our people are awaiting execution by the slow or the quick method, from 100 concentration camps which befoul the map of Europe, from the pitiful ranks of our wandering hosts over the entire face of the earth comes the cry, "Enough! There must be an end to all this! A sure and certain end!"

How long is the immemorial crucifixion of Israel to last? Time and again we have been stretched upon the racks for other people's sins. Time and again we have been made the whipping-boy for blundering governments, the scapegoat for defeat in war, for misery and depressions, for conflict among classes. How long is it to last? Are we forever to live a homeless people on the world's crumbs of sympathy, forever in need of defenders,

forever doomed to thought of refugees and relief?

Should not the incalculable and unspeakable suffering of our people and the oceans of blood shed in this war, its ~~unsung~~ ^{unsung} ~~and~~ ^{and} martyrs, the magnificent ~~heroism~~ ^{fighting} and vast sacrifices of its brave soldier sons ^{on} all the ~~fighting~~ ^{battle} fronts of the world, should not all this be compensated for finally and at long last with the re-establishment of a ~~few~~ Jewish Commonwealth in Israel's ancient home? Is not this historic justice? Are we not deserving of it?

- You are for unity - if you agree with ~~unity~~ ^{unity}

I am for unity in Israel, but unity for what? For the realization of a total program of Jewish life - relief, rescue, reconstruction and national restoration in Palestine. I am not for unity on a fragment of the program, for a fragment of the program is a betrayal of the rest of the program, and a tragic futility besides. We cannot rescue the Jews of Europe unless we have free immigration into Palestine. We cannot have free immigration into Palestine unless our political rights are recognized there. Our political rights cannot be recognized unless our historic connection with the country is acknowledged and our

right to rebuild our national life there. These are ^{inseparable} links in ^{the} chain. The whole chain breaks when one of the links is missing. Do not beguile yourselves with the thought that the Arabs will consent to large-scale immigration into Palestine as soon as we give up our idea of a Jewish Commonwealth. They are opposed both to a Jewish Commonwealth and to Jewish immigration. If we surrender our national and historic claims to Palestine and rely solely on philanthropic refugee appeals, we shall lose our case as well as do violence to the historic hopes of our people. On the basis of philanthropy, of satisfying pressing immigration needs, Palestine has already done its full share for Jewish refugees. It has taken in more than one-half of the total Jewish refugees of the world. The Palestine Arabs and their sympathizers elsewhere have been quick to point out that Palestine has already done all that can be expected from 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. It is because of the historic connection of the Jewish people with Palestine that the Mandatory Government undertook to reconstitute it as the national home of the Jewish people and pledged itself "to facilitate Jewish immigration and the close settlement of Jews on the land". In other words, it is on the national idea that the upbuilding of Palestine as a place of large-scale Jewish immigration has always rested and can alone continue to rest. ^{Our right to immigration in Palestine is based on an irrevocable covenant} To ask therefore, the Jewish people to abdicate the political ^{positions which after centuries it finally acquired in Palestine,}

or by remaining silent about them to suggest to the world that we have abandoned them, on the vain assumption that this would lead to the opening of the doors of Palestine for large-scale Jewish immigration, is utterly fantastic.

I am for unity, but unity of action in a democratic organization depends ^{not} upon unanimity but upon the willingness of the minority to submit to the decision of the majority. It is folly to expect universal agreement among 5,000,000 Jews of America or among their chosen representatives on all basic problems affecting Jewish life. But this is no reason for avoiding these basic problems or for preventing the majority from endorsing a program which the minority may not be inclined to endorse. If the overwhelming majority of the American Jewish people believe in the upbuilding of a Jewish Commonwealth, they should have the right through the medium of a conference such as this to say so, and to make that demand upon the world. The minority, if it is wise and responsible and responsive to the democratic process, will abide by that decision and accept the role of a loyal opposition. We are not a government and we have no authority to impose decisions, but there is tremendous moral authority in a solemn conclave such as this of the chosen representatives of our people, and when after due deliberation it speaks in overwhelming endorsement of a certain program, its decision cannot be lightly disregarded.

We do not seek to shape your collection - But don't offend them!

The heroic Yishuv in Palestine has prayerfully appealed to us to uphold its hands. It is fighting a desperate fight against enemies who are determined to strangle its further development and to extinguish the great hope of national freedom

which has sustained the faith and ^{courage} ~~XXXXX~~ of those/splendid men and women who are building the Jewish Commonwealth. They have appealed to their brothers and sisters in America to approve of their struggle, to defend their rights, and to appeal to the political leaders and statesmen of this great and free land, To help them now in this dire hour of decision with the same sympathy and understanding as the Presidents of the United States from Wilson down and the Congress of the United States helped them in earlier years. Shall we let them down? Shall we pass a Palestine resolution here which will mention nothing about the historic Balfour Declaration and its intent and underlying purpose - the building of the Jewish Commonwealth? Or Will it be our purpose to send a delegation to a Peace Conference which will simply ask for the rights of Jews to go to Palestine, with nothing more than an immigrant aid plea to let them go to Palestine as if it were another Santo Domingo? Are we to ask merely for the right of an asylum in our historic home which homeless people may claim in any part of the world, though unfortunately such claims are only infrequently recognized? Is this statesmanship? Is this Jewish vision, courage and faith? - JN/G

Or are we to declare - *overwhelmingly urgent*
in *human* -
not taking counsel / Fear

ADDRESS OF DR. ABBA HILLEL SILVER DELIVERED SEPTEMBER 1, 1943, AT THE AMERICAN JEWISH CONFERENCE HELD AT THE HOTEL WALDORF ASTORIA, NEW YORK CITY

My dear friends, the Jewish people is in danger of coming out of this war the most ^{of} ravaged/peoples and the least healed and restored.

The stark tragedy of our ravage has been abundantly told here and elsewhere -- tragic, ghastly, unredeemed. To rehearse it again is only to glagellate one's self and to gash our souls again and again. But what of the healing? What is beyond the rim of blood and tears? Frankly, to some of us, nothing. We are being comforted at the moment with the hope that the Atlantic Charter and the Four Freedoms and Victory will bring the healing of our people.

I am afraid that we are again sacrificing cool, albeit bitter reasoning and logic, to beguiling romancing in the void. We are again turning away from a history to dreams and to Apocalypses which some of us amazingly enough choose to call realism and statesmanship.

The last World War made the world safe for democracy and granted the Jews of Central and Eastern Europe not only the rights of citizenship, but even minority rights. But you remember, or have you forgotten? It brought also in its wake the most thoroughgoing, brutal and annihilationist anti-Semitism that our people has ever experienced.

Have you already forgotten the story between the two World Wars? Dare you forget it? And now again, in the second World War, many Jews are hoping to achieve through another Allied Victory what an Allied Victory failed to give them after the last war, what a whole century of enlightenment, liberalism and progress failed to give them -- peace and security -- there again confusing formal political equality with immunity from economic and social pressures.

The immemorial problem of our national homelessness, which is the principal source of our millennial tragedy remains as stark and as menacing today as it ever was. Yet some Jews are again trying to circumvent it with wishful thinking and to hide the real problem, the nettling, perplexing, insistent problem crying for expression and solution under the thick blanket of appeals to Jewish unity and Jewish affability.

It is a tragic fact which seems to escape so many students of anti-Semitism. The story of Jewish emancipation in Europe from the day after the French Revolution to the day before the Nazi revolution is the story of political positions captured in the face of stubborn and sullen opposition, which left our emancipated minority in each country encamped within an unbeaten and unreconciled opposition, and at the slightest provocation, as soon as things got out of order, the opposition returned to the attack and inflicted grievous wounds.

And in our day, stirred by the political and economic struggles which have torn nations apart, this never-failing, never-reconciled opposition swept over the Jewish political and economic positions in Europe and completely demolished them. There is a stout black cord which connects the era of Fichte in Germany with its feral cry of "hep, hep", and the era of Hitler with its cry of "Jude verrecke". And so far they rest. The Damascus affair of 1840 links up with the widespread reaction after the Revolution of 1848; the Mortara affair of Italy; the Christian Socialist Movement in the era of Bismarck; the Tisza-Ezlar affair in Hungary; the revival of blood accusations in Bohemia; the pogroms in the 80's in Russia; La France Juive and the Dreyfus affair in France; the pogroms of 1903; the Ukrainian blood baths after the last war and the human slaughter houses of Poland in this war.

This, my friends, is our persistent problem. This is our immediate emergency which, unfortunately, has been immediate almost to every generation of our people in almost every country. What we are confronted with today is the frightful aggravation of a situation which has continuously darkened the pages of our history since the beginning of our dispersion.

Now, what is the solution of this persistent emergency in Jewish life? There is but one solution for national homelessness, which is the source, I repeat, of our millennial tragedy. There is but one solution for national homelessness. That is a national home! Not new immigration opportunities to other countries for fleeing refugees, for new colonization schemes in other parts of the world, many of which were so hopefully

attempted in the last few decades, down to our very own day, and with such little success. The only solution is to normalize the political status of the Jewish people in the world by giving it a national basis in its national and historic home.

The world finally came to acknowledge the validity of this solution. In 1917, Great Britain issued the Balfour Declaration. This Declaration was not intended to be an immigrant aid scheme, an effort to open us a new avenue for Jewish immigration. Shortly before its issuance, and for many years prior thereto, Jews in very large numbers were finding opportunities for immigration in many parts of the world, especially in the Western Hemisphere. The Balfour Declaration was a political national act designed to rebuild the national life of the Jewish people in its homeland.

Now, is this my interpretation or is that the interpretation of the Zionists only? Not at all. It was the universally accepted interpretation of the statesmen of the world and of those who were responsible in the first place for the issuance of this Declaration. They were thinking in terms of a Jewish Commonwealth, or as many of them called it, the Jewish state, which was to be the natural outgrowth and evolution of the National Jewish Home.

Mr. Lloyd George was Prime Minister at the time the Declaration was issued. He spoke of a Jewish Commonwealth. President Wilson in 1919 stated:

"I am persuaded that the Allied Nations, with the fullest concurrence of our government and people are agreed that in Palestine shall be laid the foundations of a Jewish Commonwealth."

General Smuts, who had been a member of the Imperial War Cabinet when the Declaration was published, declared in 1919 that he envisaged an increasing stream of Jewish immigration into Palestine and in generations to come a great Jewish State rising there once more.

The great Winston Churchill, when he was Secretary of State in 1920, declared - and these are beautiful words -

"If, as may well happen, there should be created in our lifetime by the banks of the Jordan a Jewish State under the protection of the British Crown, which might comprise three million or four million Jews, an event will have occurred in the history of the world which would from every point of view be beneficial and would be especially in harmony with the truest interests of the British Empire."

And how did our American Jews in those days interpret that document? When the first American Jewish Congress met in Philadelphia in 1918 - and this has already been pointed out, but I repeat it to drive my point home, and it is the only point which I wish to make this evening - when the first American Jewish Congress met after the last war, 25 years ago, a Congress in which Zionists and non-Zionists participated, as in this Conference, it elected a delegation to represent American Jewry at the Peace Conference, and the delegation was given instructions formulated as follows:

"They were to cooperate with the representatives of other Jewish organizations, specifically with the World Zionist Organization, to the end that the Peace Conference might recognize the aspirations and historic claims of the Jewish people in regard to Palestine and might declare, in accordance with the British Government's political, administrative and economic conditions in Palestine as would assure, under the trusteeship of Great Britain, acting on behalf of such a League of Nations as might be formed, the development of Palestine into a Jewish Commonwealth."

Why has there arisen among us today this mortal fear of the term "Jewish Commonwealth" which both British and American statesmen took in their stride, as it were, and which our own fellow-Jews of both camps endorsed a quarter of a century ago? Why are anti-Zionists or non-Zionists, or neutrals - why are they determined to excise that phrase - and I suspect in some instances at least, the hope?

Why are they asking us on the plea of unity to surrender a basic political concept which was so much a part of the whole pattern of the Balfour Declaration? I suspect that because they, or some of them, or most of them, have never really reconciled themselves to the fact both of the Declaration and of the Mandate. They would like to for-

get about them or have the world forget about them or wish them out of existence. Of course, they have no objections to Jews going to Palestine any more than they would have any objections to Jews going to New Zealand, to Australia or any other part of the world.

It is amazing to me, I frankly confess, that Jews are moved to applaud a fellow-Jew when he consents that Jews should have the right to go to Palestine. Once having made this monumental concession that Jews have a right to go to Palestine and that that right should not be restricted, they feel justified in asking the Zionists to make a little concession of their own - just a little concession - namely, to surrender that for which they and their fathers hoped and prayed through the centuries and which is already in the process of fulfillment - a Commonwealth of Palestine.

We are told that our insistence on this Jewish Commonwealth is an insistence on an ideology, and why should one create disunity in the ranks of American Israel over an ideology?

In all sincerity, friends, I ask you to think along with me - is it an ideology? Is the natural, normal instinct of a homeless people to find a home for itself after centuries of homelessness and to lead a normal, natural existence an ideology? Is it an ideology for an Englishman to want an England, or for a Frenchman to want a France, a Free France, and when exiled from it to wish ardently to return to it?

Why is it an "ideology" for the people of Israel to want the Land of Israel from which it had been driven centuries ago and so lost its peace and its rest and its joy of life?

Was it an ideology which kept alive the hope of national restoration among our people for 19 centuries? Was it not rather the hard, cruel facts of our existence, written and repeated, exiles, massacres, pogroms, indignities, all the way along the black stout cord of disaster, never broken from 1917 to 1943?

We are not insisting on ideologies; we are insisting on the faithful fulfillment of obligations internationally assumed towards our people and on the honoring of covenants made with us. We ask for nothing new; it is they who tell us to surrender these demands which have already been acknowledged in international sanctions. It is they who are motivated by ideologies, not we. It is they who are forcing the reopening of a question which should have in all conscience been closed in 1917.

So, my good friends, we are not concerned here with ideologies. The reconstitution of the Jewish people as a nation in its homeland is not a playful political conceit of ours, a sort of intellectual thing calculated to satisfy some national vanity of ours. It is the cry of despair of a people driven to the wall, fighting for its very life. It is the pressing urgency of instant and current suffering and of the besetting dangers and disabilities today and, I am afraid, tomorrow.

From the infested typhus-ridden Ghettos of Warsaw, from the death-block of Nazi-occupied lands where pyramids of our people are awaiting execution by the slow or the quick method, from a hundred concentration camps which befoul the map of Europe, from the pitiful ranks of our wandering hosts over the entire face of the earth, comes the cry: "Enough; there must be a final end to all this, a sure and certain end!"

How long is the crucifixion of Israel to last? Time and again we have been stretched upon the rack for other peoples' sins. Time and again we have been made the whipping boy for blundering governments, the scapegoat for defeat in war, for misery and depressions, for conflict among classes.

How long is it to last? Are we forever to live a homeless people on the world's crumbs of sympathy, forever in need of defenders, forever doomed to thoughts of refugees and relief? Should not, I ask you fellow-Jews, ought not the incalculable and unspeakable suffering of our people and the oceans of blood which we have shed in this war and in all the wars of the centuries, the myriad martyrs of our people, as well as the magnificent heroism and the vast sacrifices of our brave soldier sons who are today fighting on all the battle fronts of the world - should not all this be compensated for finally and at long last with the reestablishment of a free Jewish Commonwealth?

Is not this historic justice and is this world today not reaching out so desperately and so pathetically for a new world order of justice? Should we not be included in that world order of justice? Are we not deserving of it? I am for unity in Israel, but unity for what? It is strange; frequently, I am bewildered. If I agree with certain people, that's unity. If I ask them to agree with me, that is disunity.

I am for unity in Israel, for the realization of the total program of Jewish life; relief, rescue, reconstruction, and the national restoration in Palestine. I am not for unity on a fragment of the program, for a fragment of the program is a betrayal of the rest of the program and a tragic futility besides. We cannot truly rescue the Jews of Europe unless we have free immigration into Palestine. We cannot have free immigration into Palestine unless our political rights are recognized there. Our political rights cannot be recognized there unless our historic connection with the country is acknowledged and our right to rebuild our national home is reaffirmed. These are inseparable links in the chain. The whole chain breaks if one of the links is missing. Do not beguile yourselves. Do not let anyone beguile you with the thought that the Arabs in Palestine or the British Colonial Office, for that matter - which at the moment seems to be synonymous - that the Arabs in Palestine will consent to large scale immigration into Palestine as soon as we give up our idea of a Jewish Commonwealth. They are not that naive, they are opposed both to a Jewish Commonwealth and to Jewish immigration.

If we surrender our national and historic claim to Palestine and rely solely on the refugee philanthropic appeal, we shall lose our case as well as do violence to the historic hopes of our people. On the basis of sheer philanthropy, of satisfying pressing immigration needs, Palestine has already done its full share for Jewish refugees. It has taken in more than one-half of the total Jewish refugees of the world, and the Palestine Arabs and their sympathizers in England and here have been quick to

point out that Palestine has already done all that can be expected from 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. It is because of the historic connection of the Jewish people with that land that the Mandatory Government in the first place undertook to reconstitute it as a National Home and pledged itself to facilitate Jewish immigration and the close settlement of the Jews upon the land. In other words, it is on the national idea, that the upbuilding of Palestine as a place of large scale Jewish immigration has always rested and can alone continue to rest. Our right to immigration in the last analysis is predicated upon the right to build the Jewish Commonwealth in Palestine. They are interlinked and inseparable.

To ask, therefore, the Jewish people to abdicate the political positions which after centuries it finally acquired in Palestine, or by remaining silent about them, to suggest to the world that we have abandoned them, on the vain assumption that this would lead to the opening of the doors of Palestine to large-scale Jewish immigration is utterly fantastic. I am for unity, but here I must point out in all humility that unity of action in democratic organization depends not upon unanimity but upon the willingness of the minority to submit to the decisions of the majority.

It is folly to expect universal agreement among five million Jews of America, or among their chosen representatives here, on all basic problems affecting Jewish life. It is folly to expect to. It is naive to anticipate it. However, this is no reason for avoiding these basic problems. This is no reason for preventing the majority from endorsing the program which the minority may not be inclined to endorse. If the overwhelming majority of the American Jewish people believe in the upbuilding of a Jewish Commonwealth, they should have the right, through the medium of this solemn conclave, to say so and to make their demand upon the world. A strange thing has occurred here. We are asked not to relinquish our convictions but at the same time not to express them.

The minority, if it is wise, as I believe it is, and responsible as I know that it is, and responsive to the democratic process, will abide by the decision and accept the role of a loyal opposition. We are not a government and we have no authority to impose decisions, but there is a tremendous moral authority in a solemn conclave such as this of the chosen representatives of our people, and when after due deliberation it speaks in overwhelming endorsement of a certain program, its decision ought not to be lightly disregarded.

I close with this word, my friends. The heroic Yishuv in Palestine has prayerfully appealed to us to uphold its hands. You have read it in the public press. Our Yishuv today is fighting a desperate fight against enemies which are stretched all the way from Jerusalem through Cairo, through newspaper offices in the city of New York. They are fighting a desperate fight against enemies who are organizing another conspiracy at the moment to strangle its further development and to extinguish the great hope of national freedom which has sustained the faith and courage of those splendid men and women who are building today the Jewish commonwealth. They have appealed to us, their brothers and sisters in America, to approve of their struggle, to defend their rights and to appeal to the political leaders and statesmen of this great and free and blessed land to help them now in this, the approaching hour of decision with the same sympathy and the same understanding as the Presidents of the United States from Wilson down, and the Congress of the United States, helped them in the earlier years. I ask you, good friends, shall we let them down?

Shall we pass a Palestine resolution here which will mention nothing about the historic Balfour Declaration and its clear intent and underlying purpose, the upbuilding of the Jewish Commonwealth? Will it be perhaps our purpose to send a delegation to the peace conference with nothing more than an immigration aid plea, to let Jews go to Palestine, as if Palestine were for us another Santo Domingo?

Are we to ask merely for the right of asylum in our historic home, the right which any people may claim in any part of the world though, unfortunately, such claims are only infrequently recognized? Is this Jewish statesmanship, Is this Jewish vision, courage, faith, or are we to declare in this great assembly, when the proper time comes, that we stand by those who have given their tears and their blood and their sweat to build for them and for us and the future generation, at long last, after the weary centuries a home, a National Home, a Jewish Commonwealth, where the spirit of our people can finally be at rest as well as the body of many of our persecuted people?

Are we going to take counsel here of fear of what this one or that one might say, of how our actions are likely to be misinterpreted; or are we to take counsel of our inner moral convictions, of our faith, of our history, of our achievements, and go forward in faith to build and to heal?



CHAIRMAN LEVINTHAL: Ladies and gentle-

men, the next speaker is Dr. Abba Hillel Silver.

(Applause)

DR. SILVER: My dear friends, the Jewish people is in danger of coming out of this war the most ravaged of peoples and the least healed and restored.

The stark tragedy of our ravage has been abundantly told. ^{It is} ~~here, elsewhere,~~ tragic, ^{ghastly} ~~unredeemed.~~ To rehearse it again is only to flagellate one's self and to gash our souls again and again. But what of the healing? What is beyond the rim of blood and tears? Frankly, to some of us, nothing. We are being comforted at the moment with the hope that the Atlantic Charter and the Four Freedoms and victory will bring the healing of our people.

I am afraid that we are again sacrificing cool, albeit, bitter reasoning and logic, to ^{hopeful} ~~beginning~~ beguiling romancing in the void. We are again turning away from history to dreams and to Apocolypses which some of us amazingly enough choose to call realism and statesmanship.

The last World War made the world safe for democracy and granted the Jews of Central and Eastern Europe not only the rights of citizenship, but even minority rights. But you remember, or have you forgotten, it brought also in its wake the most thoroughgoing, brutal and annihilationist anti-Semitism that our people has ever experienced.

Have you already forgotten the story ~~which~~ between the two World Wars? Dare you forget it? And now again, in the second World War, many Jews are hoping to achieve through another Allied Victory what an Allied Victory failed to give them after the last

But it brought
also in its wake
the worst thing
going, brutal and
annihilationist
anti-Semitism that
our people has
ever experienced.
Have we forgotten
the story?

SAS-2

war, what a whole century of enlightenment, liberalism and progress failed to give them, peace and security.

There again confusing formal political equality with immunity from economic and social pressures. The immemorial problem of our national homelessness, which is the principal source of our millennial tragedy remains as stark and as menacing today as it ever was. Yet some Jews are again trying to circumvent it with wishful thinking, and to hide the real problem, the nettling, perplexing, insistent problem crying for expression and solution under the thick blanket of appeals to Jewish unity and Jewish affability.

~~It~~ ^{How} is a tragic fact which seems to escape so many students of anti-Semitism. The story of Jewish emancipation in Europe from the day after the French Revolution to the day before the Nazi Revolution is the story of political positions captured in the face of stubborn and sullen opposition which left our emancipated minority in each country encamped within an unbeaten and unreconciled opposition. ~~and~~ At the slightest provocation, and as soon as things got out of order, the opposition returned to the attack and inflicted grievous wounds.

And in our day, stirred by the political and economic struggles which have torn nations apart, this never-failing, never-reconciled opposition swept over the Jewish political and economic positions in Europe and completely demolished them. There is a stout block cord which connects the era of Fichte in Germany with its feral cry of hep, hep, and the era of Hitler with its cry of "Jude Verrecke." And so for the rest of ^{Europe} ~~you~~.

The Damascus affair of 1840 links up with the widespread reaction after the Revolution of 1848; the Mortara affair of Italy; the Christian Socialist Movement in the era of Bismarck; the Tisza-Ezlar affair in Hungary; the revival of blood accusations in Bohemia; the pogroms in the 80's in Russia; La France Juive and the Dreyfus affair in France; the pogroms of 1903; the Ukrainian blood baths after the last war and the human slaughter houses of Poland in this war.

This, my friends, is our persistent problem. This is our immediate emergency which, unfortunately, has been immediate almost to every generation of our people in almost every country. What we are confronted with today is the frightful aggravation of a situation which has continuously darkened the pages of our history since the beginning of our dispersion.

Now, what is the solution of this persistent emergency in Jewish life? There is but one solution for national homelessness, which is the source, I repeat, of our millennial tragedy. There is but one solution for national homelessness. That is a

national home, not new immigration opportunities to other countries for fleeing refugees, ~~for~~^{new} new colonization schemes in other parts of the world, many of which were so hopefully attempted in the last few decades, down to our very own day, and with such little success.

The only solution is to normalize the political status of the Jewish people in the world by giving it a national basis in its national and historic home. ^{TP} The world finally came to acknowledge the validity of this solution.

In 1917 Great Britain issued the Balfour Declaration. This Declaration was not intended to be an immigrant aid scheme, an effort to open up a new avenue for Jewish immigration. Shortly before its issuance, and for many years prior thereto, Jews in very large numbers were finding opportunities for immigration in many parts of the world, especially in the Western Hemisphere.

The Balfour Declaration was a political national act designed to rebuild the national life of the Jewish people in its homeland.

Now, is this my interpretation or is that the interpretation of the Zionists only? Not at all.

It was the universally-accepted interpretation of the statements of the world and of those who were responsible in the first place for the issuance of this Declaration. They were thinking in terms of a Jewish Commonwealth, the Jewish Commonwealth, or, as many of them called it, the Jewish state was to be the natural outgrowth and evolution of the National Jewish Homeland.

Mr. Lloyd George was Prime Minister at the time the Declaration was issued. He spoke of a Jewish Commonwealth. President Wilson in 1919 stated:

"I am persuaded that the Allied Nations, with the fullest concurrence of our government and people, are agreed that in Palestine shall be laid the

foundations of a Jewish Commonwealth.

General Smuts, who had been a member of the Imperial War Cabinet when the Declaration was published, declared in 1919 that he envisaged an increasing stream of Jewish immigration into Palestine and in generations to come a great Jewish state rising there once more.

The great Winston Churchill, when he was Secretary of State in 1920, declared -- and these are beautiful words --

"If, as may well happen, there should be created in our lifetime by the banks of the Jordan a Jewish State under the protection of the British Crown, which might comprise three million or four million Jews, an event will have occurred in the history of the world which would from every point of view be beneficial and would be especially in harmony with the truest interests of the British Empire."

And how did our American Jews in those days interpret that document? When the First American Jewish Congress met in Philadelphia in 1918 -- and this has already been pointed out, but I repeat it to drive my point home, and it is the only point which I wish to make this evening -- when the first American Jewish Congress met after the last war, 25 years ago, a Congress in which Zionists and non-Zionists participated, as in this Conference, it elected a delegation to represent American Jewry at the Peace Conference, and the delegation was given instructions formulated as follows: -- and this was the first item formulated:

"They were to cooperate with the representatives of other Jewish organizations, specifically with the World Zionist Organization, to the end that the Peace Conference might recognize the aspirations and historic claims of the Jewish people in regard to Palestine and might declare, in accordance with the British Government's Declaration, that there should be established such

PF-4

political, administrative and economic conditions in Palestine as would assure, under the trusteeship of Great Britain, acting on behalf of such a League of Nations as might be formed, the development of Palestine into a Jewish Commonwealth."

Why has there arisen among us today this mortal fear of the term "Jewish Commonwealth," which both British and American statesmen took in their stride, as it were, and which our own fellow-Jews of both camps endorsed a quarter of a century ago? Why are anti-Zionists or non-Zionists, or neutrals -- why are they determined to excise that phrase and I suspect in some instances at least, the hope?

Why are they asking us on the plea of unity to surrender a basic political concept which was so much a part of the whole pattern of the Balfour Declaration? I suspect that because they, or some of them, or most of them, have never really reconciled themselves to the fact both of the Declaration and of the Mandate.

They would like to forget about them or have the world forget about them or wish them out of existence. Of course, they have no objections to Jews going to Palestine, any more than they would have any objections to Jews going to New Zealand, to Australia or any other part of the world.

It is amazing to me, I frankly confess, that Jews are moved to applaud a fellow-Jew when he consents that Jews should have the right to go to Palestine. (Laughter) Once having made this monumental concession that Jews have a right to go to Palestine and that that right should not be restricted, they feel justified in asking the Zionists

to make a little concession of their own, just a little concession, ~~xxxxxxx~~ namely, to surrender that for which they and their fathers hoped and prayed through the centuries and which is already in the process of fulfillment -- ~~as~~ a Commonwealth of Palestine. (Applause)

We are told that our insistence on this Jewish Commonwealth is an insistence on an ideology, and why should one create disunity in the ranks of American Israel-lover an Ideology?

In all sincerity, friends, I ask you -- and think along with me -- is it an ideology? Is the natural, normal instinct of a homeless people to find a home for itself after centuries of homelessness and to lead a normal, natural existence, an ideology? Is it an ideology for an Englishman to want an England, or for a Frenchman to want a France, a Free France, and when exiled from it to wish ardently to return to it?

Why, is it an ideology for the people of Israel to want the Land of Israel, from which it had been driven centuries ago and so lost its peace and its rest and its joy of life?

Was it an ideology which kept alive the hope of national restoration among ^{our peoples} ~~xxxxxxx~~ for 19 centuries? Was it not rather the hard, cruel facts of our existence, written and repeated, exiles, massacres, pogroms, indignities, all the way along the black stout cord of disaster, never broken from 1917 to 1943?

This is what the Jewish people are asking for to-day.
~~We are not insisting on ideologies; we are~~
 insisting on the faithful fulfillment of obligations internationally assumed towards our people and on the honoring of covenants made with us. We ask for nothing new; it is they who tell us to surrender these demands

which have already been acknowledged in international sanctions. It is they who are motivated by ideologies, not we. (Applause) It is they who are forcing the reopening of a question which should have in all conscience been closed in 1917.

^{No}
So, my good friends, we are not concerned here with ideologies. The reconstitution of the Jewish people as a nation in its homeland is not a playful political conceit of ours, a sort of intellectual thing calculated to satisfy some national vanity of ours. It is the cry of despair of a people driven to the wall, fighting for its very life. It is the pressing urgency of instant and current suffering and of the besetting dangers and disabilities today and, I am afraid, tomorrow.

From the infested typhus-ridden Ghettos of Warsaw. From the death block of Nazi-occupied lands where ^{the} pyramids of our people are awaiting execution by the slow or the quick method, from a hundred concentration camps which befoul the map of Europe, from the pitiful ranks of our wandering hosts over the entire face of the earth, comes the cry: "Enough; there must be a final end to all this, a sure and certain end."

How long is the crucifixion of Israel to last? Time and again we have been stretched upon the rack for their peoples' sins. Time and again we have made the whipping boy for blundering governments, the scapegoat for defeat in war, for misery and depressions, for conflict among classes.

How long is it to last? Are we forever to live a homeless people on the world's crumbs of sympathy, forever in need of defenders, forever doomed to thoughts of refugees and relief? Should not, I ask you fellow-Jews, ought not, the incalculable and unspeakable suffering of our people and the oceans of blood which we have shed in this war and in all the wars of the centuries, the myriad martyrs of our people,

PF1

as well as the magnificent heroism and the vast sacrifices of our brave soldier sons who are today fighting on all the battle fronts of the world -- should not all this be compensated for finally and at long last with re-establishment of a free Jewish commonwealth.

(The audience arose and applauded.)

Is not this historic justice and is this world today not reaching out so desperately and so pathetically for a new world order of justice? Should we not be included in that world order of justice? Are we not deserving of it? I am for unity in Israel, but unity for what? It is strange. Frequently, I am bewildered. If I agree with certain people, that's unity. If I ask them to agree with me, that is disunity. (Laughter and applause.)

I am for unity in Israel, for the realization of the total program of Jewish life. Relief, rescue, reconstruction, and the national restoration in Palestine.

(Applause.) I am not for unity on a fragment of the program, for a fragment of the program is a betrayal of the rest of the program and a tragic futility besides.

(Applause.) We can not truly rescue the Jews of Europe unless we have free immigration into Palestine. We can not have free immigration into Palestine unless our political rights are recognized there. Our political rights cannot be recognized there unless our historic connection with the country is acknowledged and our right to rebuild, our national home is reaffirmed. These are inseparable links in the chain. The whole chain breaks if one of the links is missing. Do not beguile yourselves. Do not let anyone beguile you with the thought that the Arabs in Palestine or the colonial office, for that matter, which at the moment seems to be synonymous -- that the Arabs in Palestine will

consent to large scale immigration into Palestine as soon as we give up our idea of a Jewish commonwealth. They are not that naive, they are opposed both to a Jewish commonwealth and to Jewish immigration.

If we surrender our national and historic claim to Palestine and rely solely on the refugee philanthropic appeal, we shall lose our case as well as do violence to the historic hopes of our people. On the basis of sheer philanthropy of, of satisfying pressing immigration needs, Palestine has already done its full share for Jewish refugees. It has taken in more than one-half of the total Jewish refugees of the world, and the Palestine Arabs and their sympathizers in England and here have been quick to point out that Palestine has already done all that can be expected from 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. It is because of the historic connection of the Jewish people with that land of the mandatory government in the first place undertook to reconstitute it as a national home and pledged itself to facilitate Jewish immigration and the close settlement of the Jews upon the land; in other words, it is on the national idea that the upbuilding of Palestine as a place of large scale Jewish immigration has always rested and can alone continue to rest. Our right to immigration in the last analysis is predicated upon the right to build the Jewish commonwealth in Palestine. They are interlinked and inseparable. To ask therefore, the Jewish people to abdicate the political positions which after centuries it finally acquired in Palestine, or by remaining silent about them, to suggest to the world that we have abandoned them, on the vain assumption that this would

lead to the opening of the doors of Palestine, to large-scale Jewish immigration is utterly fantastic. I am for unity, but here I must point out in all humility that unity of action in democratic organization depends not upon unanimity but upon the willingness of the minority to submit to the decisions of the majority. (Applause.)

It is folly to expect universal agreement among five million Jews of America or among their chosen representatives here on all basic problems affecting Jewish life. It is folly to expect it. It is naive to anticipate it. However, this is no reason for avoiding these basic problems. This is no reason for preventing the majority from endorsing the program which the minority may not be inclined to endorse. If the overwhelming majority of the American Jewish people believe in the upbuilding of a Jewish commonwealth, they should have the right, through the medium of this solemn conclave, to say so and to make their demand upon the world. A strange thing has occurred here. We are asked not to relinquish our convictions but at the same time not to express them

The minority, if it is wise, as I believe it is, and responsible as I know that it is, and responsive to the democratic process, will abide by the decision and accept the role of a loyal opposition. We are not a government and we have no authority to impose decisions, but there is a tremendous moral authority in a solemn conclave such as this of the chosen representatives of our people and when, after due deliberation it speaks in overwhelming endorsement of a certain program, its decision ought not to be lightly disregarded. (Applause.)

I close with this word, my friends. The heroic Yishuv in Palestine has prayerfully appealed to us to uphold its hands. You have read it in the public press. Our Yishuv today is fighting a desperate fight against enemies which are stretched all the way from Jerusalem through Cairo, through newspaper offices in the city of New York (laughter). They are fighting a desperate fight against enemies who are organizing another conspiracy at the moment to strangle its further development and to extinguish the great hope of national freedom which has sustained the faith and courage of those splendid men and women who are building today the Jewish commonwealth. They have appealed to us, their brothers, and sisters in America, to approve of their struggle, to defend their rights and to appeal to the political leaders and statesmen of this great and free and blessed land to help them now in this, the approaching hour of decision, with the same sympathy and the same understanding as the presidents of the United States from Wilson down and the Congress of the United States helped them in the earlier years. I ask you good friends shall we let them down?

VOICES: No.

DR. SILVER: Shall we pass a Palestine Resolution

here which will mention nothing about the historic Balfour Declaration and its clear intent and underlying purpose, the upbuilding of the Jewish commonwealth?

VOICES: No.

DR. SILVER: Will it be perhaps our purpose to send a delegation to the Peace Conference with nothing more than an immigration aid plea, to let Jews go to Palestine as if Palestine were for us another Santo Domingo?

VOICES: No.

DR. SILVER: Are we to ask merely for the right of asylum in our historic home, the right which any people may claim in any part of the world, though, unfortunately, such claims are only infrequently recognized? Is this Jewish statesmanship? Is this Jewish vision, courage, faith, or are we to declare in this great assembly when the proper time comes that we stand by those who have given their tears and their blood and their sweat to build for them and for us and for the future generation, at long-last, after the weary centuries, a home, a national home, a Jewish commonwealth, where the spirit of our people can finally be at rest as well as the body of many of our persecuted people?

Are we going to take counsel here of fear of what this one or that one might say, of how our actions are likely to be misinterpreted; or are we to take counsel of our inner moral convictions, of our faith, of our history, of our achievements, and go forward in faith to build and to heal?

(The audience rose applauded and cheered and sang the "Hatikvah".)

CHAIRMAN LEVINTHAL: Ladies and gentlemen, I want to announce the session tomorrow afternoon at three o'clock

SAS3

will be devoted to a continuation of the discussions of the Palestine problem.

The speakers who were scheduled as the designated spokesmen of the various groups include Rabbi Maurice Eisengrad for the reformed group; Dr. Robert Gordis for the conservative group; Mrs. Judith Epstein for Hadassah; Chaim Greenberg for the Labor Zionist group; Rabbi Wolf Gold for the Mizrahi National Religious group.

All committees will meet tomorrow morning at 9:30. The names and the rooms will be posted on the bulletin board.

This session is now adjourned.

(Whereupon, at 11:30 P. M., the session was adjourned.)

Palestine Intended as Jewish Commonwealth Declares Abba H. Silver in Historic Address

(The following is an address delivered by Dr. Abba Hillel Silver at the American Jewish Conference held in New York.)

The Jewish people is in danger of coming out of this war the most ravaged of peoples and the least healed and restored.

The stark tragedy of our ravage has been abundantly told here and elsewhere



A. H. SILVER

—tragic, ghastly unredeemed. To rehearse it again is only to flagellate one's self and to gash our souls again and again. But what of the healing? What is beyond the rim of blood and tears? Frankly, to some of us, nothing. We are being comforted at the moment with the hope that the Atlantic Charter and the Four Freedoms and Victory will bring the healing of our people.

I am afraid that we are again sacrificing cool, albeit bitter reasoning and logic, to beguiling romancing in the void. We are again turning away from a history to dreams and to Apocalypses which some of us amazingly enough choose to call realism and statesmanship.

The last World War made the world safe for democracy and granted the Jews of Central and Eastern Europe not only the rights of citizenship, but even minority rights. But you remember, or have you forgotten? It brought also in its wake the most thorough-going brutal and annihilationist anti-Semitism that our people has ever experienced.

Social Pressure Counteracts Political Equality

Have you already forgotten the story between the two World Wars? Dare you forget it? And now again, in the second World War, many Jews are hoping to achieve through another Allied Victory what an Allied Victory failed to give them after the last war, what a whole century of enlightenment, liberalism and progress failed to give them—peace and security—there again confusing formal political equality with immunity from economic and social pressures.

The immemorial problem of our national homelessness, which is the principal source of our millennial tragedy remains as stark and as menacing today as it ever was. Yet some Jews are again trying to circumvent it with wishful thinking and to hide the real problem, the nettling, perplexing, insistent problem crying for expression and solution, under the thick blanket of appeals to Jewish unity and Jewish affability.

It is a tragic fact which seems to escape so many students of anti-Semitism. The story of Jewish emancipation in Europe from the day after the French Revolution to the day before the Nazi revolution is the story of political positions captured in the face of stubborn and sullen opposition, which left our emancipated minority in each country

encamped within an unbeaten and unreconciled opposition, and at the slightest provocation, as soon as things got out of order, the opposition returned to the attack and inflicted grievous wounds.

And in our day, stirred by the political and economic struggles which have torn nations apart, this never-failing, never-reconciled opposition swept over the Jewish political and economic positions in Europe and completely demolished them. There is a stout black cord which connects the era of Fichte in Germany with its feral cry of "hep, hep", and the era of Hitler with its cry of "Jude Verrecke". And so far the rest.

The Damascus affair of 1840 links up with the widespread reaction after the Revolution of 1848; the Mortara affair of Italy; the Christian Socialist Movement in the era of Mismarck; the Tisza-Ezlar affair in Hungary; the revival of blood accusations in Bohemia; the pogroms in the 80's in Russia; La France Juive and the Dreyfus affair in France; the pogroms of 1903; the Ukrainian blood baths after the last war and the human slaughter houses of Poland in this war.

Life in Diaspora a Continuous Emergency

This is our persistent problem. This is our immediate emergency which, unfortunately, has been immediate almost to every generation of our people in almost every country. What we are confronted with today is the frightful aggravation of a situation which has continuously darkened the pages of our history since the beginning our dispersion.

Now, what is the solution of this persistent emergency in Jewish life? There is but one solution for national homelessness, which is the source, I repeat, of our millennial tragedy. There is but one solution for national homelessness. That is a national home! Not new immigration opportunities to other countries for fleeing refugees, for new colonization schemes in other parts of the world, many of which were so hopefully attempted in the last few decades, down to our very own day, and with such little success.

The only solution is to normalize the political status of the Jewish people in the world by giving it a national basis in its national and historic home.

The world finally came to acknowledge the validity of this solution. In 1917, Great Britain issued the Balfour Declaration. This Declaration was not intended to be an immigrant aid scheme, an effort to open up a new avenue for Jewish immigration. Shortly before its issuance, and for many years prior thereto, Jews in very large numbers were finding opportunities for immigration in many parts of the world, especially in the Western Hemisphere. The Balfour Declaration was a political national act designed to rebuild the national life of the Jewish people in its homeland.

Now, is this my interpretation or is that the interpretation of the Zionists only? Not at all. It was the universally accepted interpretation of the statesmen of the world and of those who were responsible in the first place for the issuance of this Declaration. They were

thinking in terms of a Jewish Commonwealth, or as many of them called it, the Jewish state, which was to be the natural outgrowth and evolution of the National Jewish Home.

Mr. Lloyd George was Prime Minister at the time the Declaration was issued. He spoke of a Jewish Commonwealth. President Wilson in 1919 stated;

"I am persuaded that the Allied Nations, with the fullest concurrence of our government and people are agreed that in Palestine shall be laid the foundations of a Jewish Commonwealth."

General Smuts, who had been a member of the Imperial War Cabinet when the Declaration was published, declared in 1919 that he envisaged an increasing stream of Jewish immigration into Palestine and in generations to come a great Jewish State rising there once more.

The great Winston Churchill, when he was Secretary of State, in 1920, declared—and these are beautiful words—

"If, as may well happen, there should be created in our lifetime by the banks of the Jordan a Jewish State under the protection of the British Crown, which might comprise three million or four million Jews, an event will have occurred in the history of the world which would from every point of view be beneficial and would be especially in harmony with the truest interests of the British Empire."

And how did our American Jews in those days interpret that document? When the first American Jewish Congress met in Philadelphia in 1918—and this has already been pointed out, but I repeat it to drive my point home, and it is the only point which I wish to make this evening—when the first American Jewish Congress met after the last war, 25 years ago, a Congress in which Zionists and non-Zionists participated, as in this Conference, it elected a delegation to represent American Jewry at the Peace Conference, and the delegation was given instructions formulated as follows:

"They were to co-operate with the representatives of other Jewish organizations, specifically with the World Zionist Organization, to the end that the Peace Conference might recognize the aspirations and historic claims of the Jewish people in regard to Palestine and might declare, in accordance with the British Government's political, administrative and economic conditions in Palestine as would assure, under the trusteeship of Great Britain, acting on behalf of such a League of Nations as might be formed, the development of Palestine into a Jewish Commonwealth."

Jewish Timidity Decried

Why has there arisen among us today this mortal fear of the term "Jewish Commonwealth," which both British and American statesmen took in their stride, as it were, and which our own fellow-Jews of both camps endorsed a quarter of a century ago? Why are anti-Zionists or non-Zionists, or neutrals—why are they determined to excise that phrase—and I suspect in some instances at least, the hope?

Why are they asking us on the plea of unity to surrender a basic political concept which was so much a part of the whole pattern of the Balfour Declaration? I suspect that because they, or some of them, or most of them, have never really reconciled themselves to the fact both of the Declaration and of the Mandate. They would like to forget about them or have the world forget about them or wish them out of existence. Of course, they have no objections to Jews going to Palestine, any more than they would have any objections to Jews going to New Zealand, to Australia or any other part of the world.

It is amazing to me, I frankly con-



When on leave, soldiers of the Allied Nations who are stationed in the Middle East, flock to Tel Aviv, the leading cultural and amusement centre. "Desert Victory" is the attraction for the line-up outside of the Ruppin Theatre.

fess, that Jews are moved to applaud a fellow-Jew when he consents that Jews should have the right to go to Palestine. Once having made this monumental concession that Jews have the right to go to Palestine and that that right should not be restricted, they feel justified in asking the Zionists to make a little concession of their own—just a little concession—namely, to surrender that for which they and their fathers hoped and prayed through the centuries and which is already in the process of fulfillment—a Commonwealth of Palestine.

We are told that our insistence—this Jewish Commonwealth is an insistence—on an ideology, and why should one create disunity in the ranks of American Israel over an ideology?

In all sincerity, friends, I ask you to think along with me—is it an ideology? Is the natural, normal instinct of a homeless people to find a home for itself after centuries of homelessness and to lead a normal, natural existence, an ideology? Is it an ideology for an Englishman to want an England, or for a Frenchman to want a France, a Free France, and when exiled from it to wish ardently to return to it?

Why is it an "ideology" for the people of Israel to want the Land of Israel, from which it has been driven centuries ago and so lost its peace and its rest and its joy of life?

Was it an ideology which kept alive the hope of national restoration among our people for 19 centuries? Was it not rather the hard, cruel facts of our existence, written and repeated, exiles, massacres, pogroms, indignities, all the way along the black stout cord of disaster, never broken from 1917 to 1943?

We are not insisting on ideologies; we are insisting on the faithful fulfillment of obligations internationally assumed towards our people and on the honouring of covenants made with us. We ask for nothing new; it is they who tell us to surrender these demands which have already been acknowledged in international sanctions. It is they who are motivated by ideologies, not we. It is they who are forcing the reopening of a question which should have in all conscience been closed in 1917.

So, my good friends, we are not concerned here with ideologies. The reconstitution of the Jewish people as a nation in its homeland is not a playful political conceit of ours, a sort of intellectual thing calculated to satisfy some national vanity of ours. It is the cry of despair of a people driven to the wall, fighting for its very life. It is the pressing urgency of instant and current suffering and of the besetting dangers and disabilities today and, I am afraid, tomorrow.

End To Homelessness Is Cry Of Jewish People

From the infested typhus-ridden Ghettos of Warsaw, from the death-block of Nazi-occupied lands where pyramids of our people are awaiting execution by the slow or the quick method, from a hundred concentration camps which befoul the map of Europe, from the pitiful ranks of our wandering hosts over the entire face of the earth, comes the cry: "Enough; there must be a final end to all this, a sure and certain end!"

How long is the crucifixion of Israel to last? Time and again we have been stretched upon the rack for other peoples' sins. Time and again we have been made the whipping boy for blundering governments, the scapegoat for defeat in war, for misery and depressions, for conflict among classes.

How long is it to last? Are we forever to live, a homeless people on the world's crumbs of sympathy, forever doomed to thoughts of refugees and relief? Should not, I ask you fellow-Jews, ought not, the incalculable and unspeakable suffering of our people and the oceans of blood which we have shed in this war and in all the wars of the centuries, the myriad martyrs of our people, as well as the magnificent heroism and the vast sacrifices of our

brave soldier sons who are today fighting on all the battle fronts of the world—should not all this be compensated for finally and at long last with re-establishment of a free Jewish Commonwealth?

Is not this historic justice and is this world today not reaching out so desperately and so pathetically for a new world order of justice? Should we not be included in that world order of justice? Are we not deserving of it? I ask for unity in Israel, but unity for what? It is strange; frequently, I am bewildered. If I agree with certain people, that's unity. If I ask them to agree with me, that is disunity.

I am for unity in Israel, for the realization of the total program of Jewish life: relief, rescue, reconstruction, and the national restoration in Palestine. I am not for unity on a fragment of the program, for a fragment of the program is a betrayal of the rest of the program and a tragic futility besides. We can not truly rescue the Jews of Europe unless we have free immigration into Palestine. We can not truly rescue the Jews of Europe unless we have free immigration into Palestine, unless our political rights are recognized there. Our political rights cannot be recognized there unless our historic connection with the country is acknowledged and our right to rebuild our national home is reaffirmed.

These are inseparable links in the chain. The whole chain breaks if one of the links is missing. Do not beguile yourselves. Do not let anyone beguile you with the thought that the Arabs in Palestine or the British Colonial Office, for that matter—which at the moment seems to be synonymous—that the Arabs in Palestine will consent to large scale immigration into Palestine as soon as we give up our idea of a Jewish Commonwealth. They are not that naive, they are opposed both to a Jewish Commonwealth and to Jewish immigration.

If we surrender our national and historic claim to Palestine and rely solely on the refugee philanthropic appeal, we shall lose our case as well as do violence to the historic hopes of our people. On the basis of sheer philanthropy, of satisfying pressing immigration needs, Palestine has already done its full share for Jewish refugees. It has taken in more than one-half of the total Jewish refugees of the world, and the Palestine Arabs and their sympathizers in England and here have been quick to point out that Palestine has already done all that can be expected from a small country and far more than most of the larger countries have done.

Free Immigration Based on Historical Rights

It is because Palestine is the Jewish Homeland that we have the right to insist upon unrestricted immigration. It is because of the historic connection of the Jewish people with that land, that the Mandatory Government in the first place undertook to reconstitute it as a National Home and pledged itself to facilitate Jewish immigration and the close settlement of the Jews upon the land. In other words, it is on the national idea, that the upbuilding of Palestine as a place of large scale Jewish immigration has always rested and can alone continue to rest. Our right to immigration in the last analysis is predicted upon the right to build the Jewish Commonwealth in Palestine. They are interlinked and inseparable.

To ask, therefore, the Jewish people to abdicate the political positions which after centuries it finally acquired in Palestine, or by remaining silent about them, to suggest to the world that we have abandoned them, on the vain assumption that this would lead to the opening of the doors of Palestine to large-scale Jewish immigration is utterly fantastic. I am for unity, but here I must point out in all humility that unity of action in democratic organization depends not upon unanimity but upon the willingness of the minority to submit to the decisions of the majority.

It is folly to expect agreement among

five million Jews of America, or among their chosen representatives here, on all basic problems affecting Jewish life. It is folly to expect to. It is naive to anticipate it. However, this is no reason for avoiding these basic problems. This is no reason for preventing the majority from endorsing the program which the minority may not be inclined to endorse. If the overwhelming majority of the American Jewish people believe in the upbuilding of a Jewish Commonwealth, they should have the right, through the medium of this solemn conclave, to say so and make their demand upon the world. A strange thing has occurred here. We are asked not to relinquish our convictions but at the same time not to express them.

The minority, if it is wise, as I believe it is, and responsible, as I know that it is, and responsive to the democratic process, will abide by the decision and accept the role of a loyal opposition. We are not a government and we have no authority to impose decisions, but there is a tremendous moral authority in a solemn conclave such as this of the chosen representatives of our people, and when, after due deliberation it speaks in overwhelming endorsement of a certain program, its decision ought to not to be lightly disregarded.

People of Yishuv Call For Support

The heroic Yishuv in Palestine has prayerfully appealed to us to uphold its hands. You have read it in the public press. Our Yishuv today is fighting a desperate fight against enemies which are stretched all the way from Jerusalem through Cairo, through newspaper offices in the city of New York.

They are fighting a desperate fight against enemies who are organizing another conspiracy at the moment to strangle its further development and to extinguish the great hope of national freedom which has sustained the faith and courage of those splendid men and women who are building today the Jewish commonwealth. They have appealed to us, their brothers and sisters in America, to approve of their struggle, to defend their right and to appeal to the political leaders and statesmen of this great and free and blessed land to help them now in this, the approaching hour of decision, with the same sympathy and the same understanding as the Presidents of the United States from Wilson down, and the Congress of the United States, helped them in the earlier years. I ask you, good friends, shall we let them down?

Shall we pass a Palestine resolution here which will mention nothing about the historic Balfour Declaration and its clear intent and underlying purpose, the upbuilding of the Jewish Commonwealth? Will it be perhaps our purpose to send a delegation to the peace conference with nothing more than an immigration aid plea, to let Jews go to Palestine, as if Palestine were for us another Santo Domingo?

Are we to ask merely for the right of asylum in our historic home, the right which any people may claim in any part of the world, though unfortunately, such claims are only infrequently recognized? Is this Jewish statesmanship? Is this Jewish vision, courage, faith, or are we to declare in this great assembly, when the proper time comes, that we stand by those who have given their tears and their blood and their sweat to build for them, and for us and the future generation, at long last, after the weary centuries a home, a National Home, a Jewish Commonwealth, where the spirit of our people can finally be at rest as well as the body of many of our persecuted people?

Are we going to take counsel here of fear of what this one or that one might say, of how our actions are likely to be misinterpreted; or are we to take counsel of our inner moral convictions, of our faith, of our history, of our achievements, and go forward in faith to build and to heal?

Open Letter To Western Jews

In the name of the Canadian Zionist Federation, as well as myself I wish to express my sincere appreciation to all the Jews throughout the scattered set-



E. HANSON

lements of Saskatchewan, Alberta and British Columbia, that I visited in the interests of the U.P.A.

Everywhere without exception I met with a ready response to the dire need of Eretz Israel. Your heartwarming reception to the messenger of the U.P.A. proved your deep interest in the problems of the Yishuv in Palestine, as well as your fraternal feelings for our persecuted brethren in the occupied countries under the Nazi oppressor and exterminator.

I consider it a privilege and honor to be chosen as the messenger for such a great cause and I have endeavored to the best of my ability to be worthy of that trust. Nevertheless without your wonderful cooperation and collaboration I would not have been able to achieve such gratifying results in my campaigns among you, financially as well as morally.

Considerably over \$12,000,000 was raised and I hope that the committees appointed in the various communities who undertook to contact individual Jews who were impossible for me to reach, will do their duties for the sacred cause and will thereby assist substantially in increasing the above-mentioned contributions. No single Jew should be overlooked, and each and every one must contribute his full share to the U.P.A.

On the threshold of our New Year 5704, I want to wish every one of you a Shonah-Torah, a Happy New Year! May we all live to see Eretz Israel rebuilt for a reborn Israel.

With many thanks and Zion's Greetings, I remain,

Sincerely yours,

E. HANSON, (Elbanon)
EDMONTON, Alberta.

Research at Rehovoth Discovers "Citrus Leather"

REHOVOTH (Palcor) — "Citrus leather", the name given locally to the dried citrus produced by the Jewish Agency's Agricultural Experiment Station is the latest dehydrated product in the news. The process has been the subject of research at Rehovoth for some time. Samples, intended mainly for the manufacture of marmalade, have been sent to England for tests by manufacturers.

The dehydration is believed to preserve the vitamin content and flavor of the fruit; and, if successful, will mean a great saving of shipping space and expense. After the war, the process should make it possible to "stagger" the marmalade-making season over the whole year: it has had to be concentrated into a few weeks in the past owing to the perishability of the fruit.

Dr. Silver's Address

(Continued from page four)

Jewish State under the protection of the British Crown, which might comprise three million or four million Jews, an event will have occurred in the history of the world which would from every point of view be beneficial and would be especially in harmony with the truest interests of the British Empire."

And how did our American Jews in those days interpret that document? When the first American Jewish Congress met in Philadelphia in 1918 — and this has already been pointed out, but I repeat it to drive my point home, and it is the only point which I wish to make this evening—when the first American Jewish Congress met after the last war, 25 years ago, a Congress in which Zionists and non-Zionists participated, as in this Conference, it elected a delegation to represent American Jewry at the Peace Conference, and the delegation was given instructions formulated as follows:

"They were to cooperate with the representatives of other Jewish organizations, specifically with the World Zionist Organization, to the end that the Peace Conference might recognize the aspirations and historic claims of the Jewish people in regard to Palestine and might declare, in accordance with the British Government's political, administrative and economic conditions in Palestine as would assure, under the trusteeship of Great Britain, acting on behalf of such a League of Nations as might be formed, the development of Palestine into a Jewish Commonwealth."

Why has there arisen among us today this mortal fear of the term "Jewish Commonwealth," which both British and American statesmen took in their stride, as it were, and which our own fellow-Jews of both camps endorsed a quarter of a century ago? Why are anti-Zionists or non-Zionists, or neutrals — why are they determined to excise that phrase — and I suspect in some instances at least, the hope?

Why are they asking us on the plea of unity to surrender a basic political concept which was so much a part of the whole pattern of the Balfour Declaration? I suspect that because they, or some of them, or most of them, have never really reconciled themselves to the fact both of the Declaration and of the Mandate. They would like to forget about them or have the world forget about them or wish them out of existence. Of course, they have no objections to Jews going to Palestine, any more than they would have any objections to Jews going to New Zealand, to Australia or any other part of the world.

It is amazing to me, I frankly confess, that Jews are moved to applaud a fellow-Jew when he consents that Jews should have the right to go to Palestine. Once having made this monumental concession that Jews have a right to go to Palestine and that that right should not be restricted, they feel justified in asking the Zionists to make a little concession of their own — just a little concession — namely, to surrender that for which they and their fathers hoped and prayed through the centuries and which is already in the process of fulfillment — a Commonwealth of Palestine.

We are told that our insistence on this Jewish Commonwealth is an insistence on an ideology, and why should one create disunity in the ranks of American Israel over an ideology?

In all sincerity, friends, I ask you to think along with me — is it an ideology? Is the natural, normal instinct of a homeless people to find a home for itself after centuries of homelessness and to lead a normal, natural existence,

an ideology? Is it an ideology for an Englishman to want an England, or for a Frenchman to want a France, a Free France, and when exiled from it to wish ardently to return to it?

Why is it an "ideology" for the people of Israel to want the Land of Israel, from which it had been driven centuries ago and so lost its peace and its rest and its joy of life?

Was it an ideology which kept alive the hope of national restoration among our people for 19 centuries? Was it not rather the hard, cruel facts of our existence, written and repeated, exiles, massacres, pogroms, indignities, all the way along the black stout cord of disaster, never broken from 1917 to 1943?

We are not insisting on ideologies; we are insisting on the faithful fulfillment of obligations internationally assumed towards our people and on the honoring of covenants made with us. We ask for nothing new; it is they who tell us to surrender these demands which have already been acknowledged in international sanctions. It is they who are motivated by ideologies, not we. It is they who are forcing the reopening of a question which should have in all conscience been closed in 1917.

So, my good friends, we are not concerned here with ideologies. The reconstitution of the Jewish people as a nation in its homeland is not a playful political conceit of ours, a sort of intellectual thing calculated to satisfy some national vanity of ours. It is the cry of despair of a people driven to the wall, fighting for its very life. It is the pressing urgency of instant and current suffering and of the besetting dangers and disabilities today and, I am afraid, tomorrow.

From the infested typhus-ridden Ghettos of Warsaw, from the death-block of Nazi-occupied lands where pyramids of our people are awaiting execution by the slow or the quick method, from a hundred concentration camps which befoul the map of Europe, from the pitiful ranks of our wandering hosts over the entire face of the earth, comes the cry: "Enough; there must be a final end to all this, a sure and certain end!"

How long is the crucifixion of Israel to last? Time and again we have been stretched upon the rack for other peoples' sins. Time and again we have been made the whipping boy for blundering governments, the scapegoat for defeat in war, for misery and depressions, for conflict among classes.

How long is it to last? Are we forever to live a homeless people on the world's crumbs of sympathy, forever in need of defenders, forever doomed to thoughts of refugees and relief? Should not, I ask you fellow-Jews, ought not, the incalculable and unspeakable suffering of our people and the oceans of blood which we have shed in this war and in all the wars of the centuries, the myriad martyrs of our people, as well as the magnificent heroism and the vast sacrifices of our brave soldier sons who are today fighting on all the battle fronts of the world — should not all this be compensated for finally and at long last with re-establishment of a free Jewish Commonwealth?

Is not this historic justice and is this world today not reaching out so desperately and so pathetically for a new world order of justice? Should we not be included in that world order of justice? Are we not deserving of it? I am for unity in Israel, but unity for what? It is strange; frequently, I am bewildered. If I agree with certain people, that's unity. If I ask them to agree with me, that is disunity.

I am for unity in Israel, for the realization of the total program of Jewish life: relief, res-

cue, reconstruction, and the national restoration in Palestine. I am not for unity on a fragment of the program, for a fragment of the program is a betrayal of the rest of the program and a tragic futility besides. We can not truly rescue the Jews of Europe unless we have free immigration into Palestine. We can not have free immigration into Palestine unless our political rights are recognized there. Our political rights cannot be recognized there unless our historic connection with the country is acknowledged and our right to rebuild our national home is reaffirmed. These are inseparable links in the chain. The whole chain breaks if one of the links is missing. Do not beguile yourselves. Do not let anyone beguile you with the thought that the Arabs in Palestine or the British Colonial Office, for that matter — which at the moment seems to be synonymous — that the Arabs in Palestine will consent to large scale immigration into Palestine as soon as we give up our idea of a Jewish Commonwealth. They are not that naive, they are opposed both to a Jewish Commonwealth and to Jewish immigration.

If we surrender our national and historic claim to Palestine and rely solely on the refugee philanthropic appeal, we shall lose our case as well as do violence to the historic hopes of our people. On the basis of sheer philanthropy, of satisfying pressing immigration needs, Palestine has already done its full share for Jewish refugees. It has taken in more than one-half of the total Jewish refugees of the world, and the Palestine Arabs and their sympathizers in England and here have been quick to point out that Palestine has already done all that can be expected from 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. It is because of the historic connection of the Jewish people with that land, that the Mandatory Government in the first place undertook to reconstitute it as a National Home and pledged itself to facilitate Jewish immigration and the close settlement of the Jews upon the land. In other words, it is on the national idea, that the upbuilding of Palestine as a place of large scale Jewish immigration has always rested and can alone continue to rest. Our right to immigration in the last analysis is predicated

upon the right to build the Jewish Commonwealth in Palestine. They are interlinked and inseparable. To ask, therefore, the Jewish people to abdicate the political positions which after centuries it finally acquired in Palestine, or by remaining silent about them, to suggest to the world that we have abandoned them, on the vain assumption that this would lead to the opening of the doors of Palestine to large-scale Jewish immigration is utterly fantastic. I am for unity, but here I must point out in all humility that unity of action in democratic organization depends not upon unanimity but upon the willingness of the minority to submit to the decisions of the majority. It is folly to expect universal agreement among five million Jews of America, or among their chosen representatives here, on all basic problems affecting Jewish life. It is folly to expect to. It is naive to anticipate it. However, this is no reason for avoiding these basic problems. This is no reason for preventing the majority from endorsing the program which the minority may not be inclined to endorse. If the overwhelming majority of the American Jewish people believe in the upbuilding of a Jewish Commonwealth, they should have the right, through the medium of this solemn convocation, to say so and to make their demand upon the world. A strange thing has occurred here. We are asked not to relinquish our convictions but at the same time not to express them. The minority, if it is wise, as I believe it is, and responsible as I know that it is, and responsive to the democratic process,

through my choice I came to this Conference, not as a representative of the Zionist organization, out of the Central Conference of American Rabbis, an organization which is not committed to a Zionist program. I was asked to become a member of the non-partisan group with the explicit statement that that group has no program and that every member of it is entitled to his own opinion and to the free expression of it upon the floor of this convention and in the various votes which may be taken in the future. I should like also to add this way of explanation. I did not now that I was to participate in this discussion until immediately before its launching tonight, and I do not chance to belong to those people who have such great powers of improvisation or extemporization that I believe I can do justice to my own point of

view, reconstruction, and the national restoration in Palestine. I am not for unity on a fragment of the program, for a fragment of the program is a betrayal of the rest of the program and a tragic futility besides. We can not truly rescue the Jews of Europe unless we have free immigration into Palestine. We can not have free immigration into Palestine unless our political rights are recognized there. Our political rights cannot be recognized there unless our historic connection with the country is acknowledged and our right to rebuild our national home is reaffirmed. These are inseparable links in the chain. The whole chain breaks if one of the links is missing. Do not beguile yourselves. Do not let anyone beguile you with the thought that the Arabs in Palestine or the British Colonial Office, for that matter — which at the moment seems to be synonymous — that the Arabs in Palestine will consent to large scale immigration into Palestine as soon as we give up our idea of a Jewish Commonwealth. They are not that naive, they are opposed both to a Jewish Commonwealth and to Jewish immigration.

If we surrender our national and historic claim to Palestine and rely solely on the refugee philanthropic appeal, we shall lose our case as well as do violence to the historic hopes of our people. On the basis of sheer philanthropy, of satisfying pressing immigration needs, Palestine has already done its full share for Jewish refugees. It has taken in more than one-half of the total Jewish refugees of the world, and the Palestine Arabs and their sympathizers in England and here have been quick to point out that Palestine has already done all that can be expected from 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. It is because of the historic connection of the Jewish people with that land, that the Mandatory Government in the first place undertook to reconstitute it as a National Home and pledged itself to facilitate Jewish immigration and the close settlement of the Jews upon the land. In other words, it is on the national idea, that the upbuilding of Palestine as a place of large scale Jewish immigration has always rested and can alone continue to rest. Our right to immigration in the last analysis is predicated

upon the right to build the Jewish Commonwealth in Palestine. They are interlinked and inseparable. To ask, therefore, the Jewish people to abdicate the political positions which after centuries it finally acquired in Palestine, or by remaining silent about them, to suggest to the world that we have abandoned them, on the vain assumption that this would lead to the opening of the doors of Palestine to large-scale Jewish immigration is utterly fantastic. I am for unity, but here I must point out in all humility that unity of action in democratic organization depends not upon unanimity but upon the willingness of the minority to submit to the decisions of the majority. It is folly to expect universal agreement among five million Jews of America, or among their chosen representatives here, on all basic problems affecting Jewish life. It is folly to expect to. It is naive to anticipate it. However, this is no reason for avoiding these basic problems. This is no reason for preventing the majority from endorsing the program which the minority may not be inclined to endorse. If the overwhelming majority of the American Jewish people believe in the upbuilding of a Jewish Commonwealth, they should have the right, through the medium of this solemn convocation, to say so and to make their demand upon the world. A strange thing has occurred here. We are asked not to relinquish our convictions but at the same time not to express them. The minority, if it is wise, as I believe it is, and responsible as I know that it is, and responsive to the democratic process,

through my choice I came to this Conference, not as a representative of the Zionist organization, out of the Central Conference of American Rabbis, an organization which is not committed to a Zionist program. I was asked to become a member of the non-partisan group with the explicit statement that that group has no program and that every member of it is entitled to his own opinion and to the free expression of it upon the floor of this convention and in the various votes which may be taken in the future. I should like also to add this way of explanation. I did not now that I was to participate in this discussion until immediately before its launching tonight, and I do not chance to belong to those people who have such great powers of improvisation or extemporization that I believe I can do justice to my own point of

view, reconstruction, and the national restoration in Palestine. I am not for unity on a fragment of the program, for a fragment of the program is a betrayal of the rest of the program and a tragic futility besides. We can not truly rescue the Jews of Europe unless we have free immigration into Palestine. We can not have free immigration into Palestine unless our political rights are recognized there. Our political rights cannot be recognized there unless our historic connection with the country is acknowledged and our right to rebuild our national home is reaffirmed. These are inseparable links in the chain. The whole chain breaks if one of the links is missing. Do not beguile yourselves. Do not let anyone beguile you with the thought that the Arabs in Palestine or the British Colonial Office, for that matter — which at the moment seems to be synonymous — that the Arabs in Palestine will consent to large scale immigration into Palestine as soon as we give up our idea of a Jewish Commonwealth. They are not that naive, they are opposed both to a Jewish Commonwealth and to Jewish immigration.

If we surrender our national and historic claim to Palestine and rely solely on the refugee philanthropic appeal, we shall lose our case as well as do violence to the historic hopes of our people. On the basis of sheer philanthropy, of satisfying pressing immigration needs, Palestine has already done its full share for Jewish refugees. It has taken in more than one-half of the total Jewish refugees of the world, and the Palestine Arabs and their sympathizers in England and here have been quick to point out that Palestine has already done all that can be expected from 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. It is because of the historic connection of the Jewish people with that land, that the Mandatory Government in the first place undertook to reconstitute it as a National Home and pledged itself to facilitate Jewish immigration and the close settlement of the Jews upon the land. In other words, it is on the national idea, that the upbuilding of Palestine as a place of large scale Jewish immigration has always rested and can alone continue to rest. Our right to immigration in the last analysis is predicated

upon the right to build the Jewish Commonwealth in Palestine. They are interlinked and inseparable. To ask, therefore, the Jewish people to abdicate the political positions which after centuries it finally acquired in Palestine, or by remaining silent about them, to suggest to the world that we have abandoned them, on the vain assumption that this would lead to the opening of the doors of Palestine to large-scale Jewish immigration is utterly fantastic. I am for unity, but here I must point out in all humility that unity of action in democratic organization depends not upon unanimity but upon the willingness of the minority to submit to the decisions of the majority. It is folly to expect universal agreement among five million Jews of America, or among their chosen representatives here, on all basic problems affecting Jewish life. It is folly to expect to. It is naive to anticipate it. However, this is no reason for avoiding these basic problems. This is no reason for preventing the majority from endorsing the program which the minority may not be inclined to endorse. If the overwhelming majority of the American Jewish people believe in the upbuilding of a Jewish Commonwealth, they should have the right, through the medium of this solemn convocation, to say so and to make their demand upon the world. A strange thing has occurred here. We are asked not to relinquish our convictions but at the same time not to express them. The minority, if it is wise, as I believe it is, and responsible as I know that it is, and responsive to the democratic process,

through my choice I came to this Conference, not as a representative of the Zionist organization, out of the Central Conference of American Rabbis, an organization which is not committed to a Zionist program. I was asked to become a member of the non-partisan group with the explicit statement that that group has no program and that every member of it is entitled to his own opinion and to the free expression of it upon the floor of this convention and in the various votes which may be taken in the future. I should like also to add this way of explanation. I did not now that I was to participate in this discussion until immediately before its launching tonight, and I do not chance to belong to those people who have such great powers of improvisation or extemporization that I believe I can do justice to my own point of

view, reconstruction, and the national restoration in Palestine. I am not for unity on a fragment of the program, for a fragment of the program is a betrayal of the rest of the program and a tragic futility besides. We can not truly rescue the Jews of Europe unless we have free immigration into Palestine. We can not have free immigration into Palestine unless our political rights are recognized there. Our political rights cannot be recognized there unless our historic connection with the country is acknowledged and our right to rebuild our national home is reaffirmed. These are inseparable links in the chain. The whole chain breaks if one of the links is missing. Do not beguile yourselves. Do not let anyone beguile you with the thought that the Arabs in Palestine or the British Colonial Office, for that matter — which at the moment seems to be synonymous — that the Arabs in Palestine will consent to large scale immigration into Palestine as soon as we give up our idea of a Jewish Commonwealth. They are not that naive, they are opposed both to a Jewish Commonwealth and to Jewish immigration.



DR. ABBA HILLEL SILVER

Freedoms and Victory will bring the healing of our people.

I am afraid that we are again sacrificing cool, albeit bitter reasoning and logic, to beguiling romancing in the void. We are again turning away from a history to dreams and to Apocalypses which some of us amazingly enough choose to call realism and statesmanship.

The last World War made the world safe for democracy and granted the Jews of Central and Eastern Europe not only the rights of citizenship, but even minority rights. But you remember, or have you forgotten? It brought also in its wake the most thorough-going, brutal and annihilationist anti-Semitism that our people has ever experienced.

Have you already forgotten the story between the two World Wars? Dare you forget it? And now again, in the second World War, many Jews are hoping to achieve through another Allied Victory what an Allied Victory failed to give them after the last war, what a whole century of enlightenment, liberalism and progress failed to give them—peace and security — there again confusing formal political equality with immunity from economic and social pressures.

The immemorial problem of our rational homelessness, which is the principal source of our millennial tragedy remains as stark and as menacing today as it ever was. Yet some Jews are again trying to circumvent it with wishful thinking and to hide the real problem, the nettling, perplexing, insistent problem crying for expression and solution, under the thick blanket of appeals to Jewish unity and Jewish affability.

It is a tragic fact which seems to escape so many students of anti-Semitism. The story of Jewish emancipation in Europe from the day after the French Revolution to the day before the Nazi revolution is the story of political positions captured in the face of stubborn and sullen opposition, which left our emancipated minority in each country encamped within an unbeaten and unreconciled opposition, and at the slightest provocation, as soon as things got out of order, the opposition returned to the attack and inflicted grievous wounds.

And in our day, stirred by the political and economic struggles which have torn nations apart, this never-failing, never-reconciled opposition swept over the Jewish political and economic positions in Europe and completely

demolished them. There is a stout black cord which connects the era of Fichte in Germany with its feral cry of "hep, hep," and the era of Hitler with its cry of "Jude verrecke." And so far the rest. The Damascus affair of 1840 links up with the widespread reaction after the Revolution of 1848; the Mortara affair of Italy; the Christian Socialist Movement in the era of Bismarck; the Tisza-Ezlar affair in Hungary; the revival of blood accusations in Bohemia; the pogroms in the 80's in Russia; La France Juive and the Dreyfus affair in France; the pogroms of 1903; the Ukrainian blood baths after the last war and the human slaughter houses of Poland in this war.

This, my friends, is our persistent problem. This is our immediate emergency which, unfortunately, has been immediate almost to every generation of our people in almost every country. What we are confronted with today is the frightful aggravation of a situation which has continuously darkened the pages of our history since the beginning of our dispersion.

Now, what is the solution of this persistent emergency in Jewish life? There is but one solution for national homelessness, which is the source, I repeat, of our millennial tragedy. There is but one solution for national homelessness. That is a national home! Not new immigration opportunities to other countries for fleeing refugees, for new colonization schemes in other parts of the world, many of which were so hopefully attempted in the last few decades, down to our very own day, and with such little success. The only solution is to normalize the political status of the Jewish people in the world by giving it a national basis in its national and historic home.

The world finally came to acknowledge the validity of this solution. In 1917, Great Britain issued the Balfour Declaration. This Declaration was not intended to be an immigrant aid scheme, an effort to open up a new avenue for Jewish immigration. Shortly before its issuance, and for many years prior thereto, Jews in very large numbers were finding opportunities for immigration in many parts of the world, especially in the Western Hemisphere. The Balfour Declaration was a political national act designed to rebuild the national life of the Jewish people in its homeland.

Now, is this my interpretation or is that the interpretation of the Zionists only? Not at all. It was the universally accepted interpretation of the statesmen of the world and of those who were responsible in the first place for the issuance of this Declaration. They were thinking in terms of a Jewish Commonwealth, or as many of them called it, the Jewish state, which was to be the natural outgrowth and evolution of the National Jewish Home.

Mr. Lloyd George was Prime Minister at the time the Declaration was issued. He spoke of a Jewish Commonwealth. President Wilson in 1919 stated:

"I am persuaded that the Allied Nations, with the fullest concurrence of our government and people are agreed that in Palestine shall be laid the foundations of a Jewish Commonwealth."

General Smuts, who had been a member of the Imperial War Cabinet when the Declaration was published, declared in 1919 that he envisaged an increasing stream of Jewish immigration into Palestine and in generations to come a great Jewish State rising there once more.

The great Winston Churchill, when he was Secretary of State in 1920, declared — and these are beautiful words—

"If, as may well happen, there should be created in our lifetime by the banks of the Jordan a
(Continued on page five)

Address by Dr. Silver

CHAIRMAN LEVINTHAL: Ladies and gentlemen, the next speaker is Dr. Abba Hillel Silver.

DR. SILVER: My dear friends, the Jewish people is in danger of coming out of this war the most ravaged of peoples and the least healed and restored.

The stark tragedy of our ravage has been abundantly told here and elsewhere — tragic, ghastly unredeemed. To rehearse it again is only to flagellate one's self and to gash our souls again and again. But what of the healing? What is beyond the rim of blood and tears? Frankly, to some of us, nothing. We are being comforted at the moment with the hope that the Atlantic Charter and the Four

פֶּלַע יֵאָר מִלְחָמָה אֵלָּא וְאִם מִלְחָמָה
פֶּלַע יֵאָר מִלְחָמָה אֵלָּא וְאִם מִלְחָמָה

THE NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY
ASTOR LENOX TILDEN FOUNDATION
500 5TH AVENUE
NEW YORK 17, N.Y.

[illegible][illegible][illegible][illegible]

ספר דברי הימים

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40	41	42	43	44	45	46	47	48	49	50	51	52	53	54	55	56	57	58	59	60	61	62	63	64	65	66	67	68	69	70	71	72	73	74	75	76	77	78	79	80	81	82	83	84	85	86	87	88	89	90	91	92	93	94	95	96	97	98	99	100
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40	41	42	43	44	45	46	47	48	49	50	51	52	53	54	55	56	57	58	59	60	61	62	63	64	65	66	67	68	69	70	71	72	73	74	75	76	77	78	79	80	81	82	83	84	85	86	87	88	89	90	91	92	93	94	95	96	97	98	99	100

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40	41	42	43	44	45	46	47	48	49	50	51	52	53	54	55	56	57	58	59	60	61	62	63	64	65	66	67	68	69	70	71	72	73	74	75	76	77	78	79	80	81	82	83	84	85	86	87	88	89	90	91	92	93	94	95	96	97	98	99	100
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40	41	42	43	44	45	46	47	48	49	50	51	52	53	54	55	56	57	58	59	60	61	62	63	64	65	66	67	68	69	70	71	72	73	74	75	76	77	78	79	80	81	82	83	84	85	86	87	88	89	90	91	92	93	94	95	96	97	98	99	100

[illegible]

THESE ARE THE RESULTS OF THE RESEARCH
CONDUCTED BY THE RESEARCHERS OF THE
RESEARCH INSTITUTE OF THE UNIVERSITY OF
THE SOUTH PACIFIC IN THE YEAR 1964
AND 1965. THE RESEARCH WAS CONDUCTED
IN THE FOLLOWING AREAS: (1) THE
ECONOMY OF THE SOUTH PACIFIC
ISLANDS, (2) THE SOCIAL STRUCTURE
OF THE SOUTH PACIFIC ISLANDS,
AND (3) THE CULTURE OF THE SOUTH
PACIFIC ISLANDS. THE RESEARCH WAS
CONDUCTED IN THE FOLLOWING AREAS:
(1) THE ECONOMY OF THE SOUTH PACIFIC
ISLANDS, (2) THE SOCIAL STRUCTURE
OF THE SOUTH PACIFIC ISLANDS,
AND (3) THE CULTURE OF THE SOUTH
PACIFIC ISLANDS.

[illegible][illegible][illegible][illegible]

1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28. 29. 30. 31. 32. 33. 34. 35. 36. 37. 38. 39. 40. 41. 42. 43. 44. 45. 46. 47. 48. 49. 50. 51. 52. 53. 54. 55. 56. 57. 58. 59. 60. 61. 62. 63. 64. 65. 66. 67. 68. 69. 70. 71. 72. 73. 74. 75. 76. 77. 78. 79. 80. 81. 82. 83. 84. 85. 86. 87. 88. 89. 90. 91. 92. 93. 94. 95. 96. 97. 98. 99. 100. 101. 102. 103. 104. 105. 106. 107. 108. 109. 110. 111. 112. 113. 114. 115. 116. 117. 118. 119. 120. 121. 122. 123. 124. 125. 126. 127. 128. 129. 130. 131. 132. 133. 134. 135. 136. 137. 138. 139. 140. 141. 142. 143. 144. 145. 146. 147. 148. 149. 150. 151. 152. 153. 154. 155. 156. 157. 158. 159. 160. 161. 162. 163. 164. 165. 166. 167. 168. 169. 170. 171. 172. 173. 174. 175. 176. 177. 178. 179. 180. 181. 182. 183. 184. 185. 186. 187. 188. 189. 190. 191. 192. 193. 194. 195. 196. 197. 198. 199. 200. 201. 202. 203. 204. 205. 206. 207. 208. 209. 210. 211. 212. 213. 214. 215. 216. 217. 218. 219. 220. 221. 222. 223. 224. 225. 226. 227. 228. 229. 230. 231. 232. 233. 234. 235. 236. 237. 238. 239. 240. 241. 242. 243. 244. 245. 246. 247. 248. 249. 250. 251. 252. 253. 254. 255. 256. 257. 258. 259. 260. 261. 262. 263. 264. 265. 266. 267. 268. 269. 270. 271. 272. 273. 274. 275. 276. 277. 278. 279. 280. 281. 282. 283. 284. 285. 286. 287. 288. 289. 290. 291. 292. 293. 294. 295. 296. 297. 298. 299. 300. 301. 302. 303. 304. 305. 306. 307. 308. 309. 310. 311. 312. 313. 314. 315. 316. 317. 318. 319. 320. 321. 322. 323. 324. 325. 326. 327. 328. 329. 330. 331. 332. 333. 334. 335. 336. 337. 338. 339. 340. 341. 342. 343. 344. 345. 346. 347. 348. 349. 350. 351. 352. 353. 354. 355. 356. 357. 358. 359. 360. 361. 362. 363. 364. 365. 366. 367. 368. 369. 370. 371. 372. 373. 374. 375. 376. 377. 378. 379. 380. 381. 382. 383. 384. 385. 386. 387. 388. 389. 390. 391. 392. 393. 394. 395. 396. 397. 398. 399. 400. 401. 402. 403. 404. 405. 406. 407. 408. 409. 410. 411. 412. 413. 414. 415. 416. 417. 418. 419. 420. 421. 422. 423. 424. 425. 426. 427. 428. 429. 430. 431. 432. 433. 434. 435. 436. 437. 438. 439. 440. 441. 442. 443. 444. 445. 446. 447. 448. 449. 450. 451. 452. 453. 454. 455. 456. 457. 458. 459. 460. 461. 462. 463. 464. 465. 466. 467. 468. 469. 470. 471. 472. 473. 474. 475. 476. 477. 478. 479. 480. 481. 482. 483. 484. 485. 486. 487. 488. 489. 490. 491. 492. 493. 494. 495. 496. 497. 498. 499. 500. 501. 502. 503. 504. 505. 506. 507. 508. 509. 510. 511. 512. 513. 514. 515. 516. 517. 518. 519. 520. 521. 522. 523. 524. 525. 526. 527. 528. 529. 530. 531. 532. 533. 534. 535. 536. 537. 538. 539. 540. 541. 542. 543. 544. 545. 546. 547. 548. 549. 550. 551. 552. 553. 554. 555. 556. 557. 558. 559. 560. 561. 562. 563. 564. 565. 566. 567. 568. 569. 570. 571. 572. 573. 574. 575. 576. 577. 578. 579. 580. 581. 582. 583. 584. 585. 586. 587. 588. 589. 590. 591. 592. 593. 594. 595. 596. 597. 598. 599. 600. 601. 602. 603. 604. 605. 606. 607. 608. 609. 610. 611. 612. 613. 614. 615. 616. 617. 618. 619. 620. 621. 622. 623. 624. 625. 626. 627. 628. 629. 630. 631. 632. 633. 634. 635. 636. 637. 638. 639. 640. 641. 642. 643. 644. 645. 646. 647. 648. 649. 650. 651. 652. 653. 654. 655. 656. 657. 658. 659. 660. 661. 662. 663. 664. 665. 666. 667. 668. 669. 670. 671. 672. 673. 674. 675. 676. 677. 678. 679. 680. 681. 682. 683. 684. 685. 686. 687. 688. 689. 690. 691. 692. 693. 694. 695. 696. 697. 698. 699. 700. 701. 702. 703. 704. 705. 706. 707. 708. 709. 710. 711. 712. 713. 714. 715. 716. 717. 718. 719. 720. 721. 722. 723. 724. 725. 726. 727. 728. 729. 730. 731. 732. 733. 734. 735. 736. 737. 738. 739. 740. 741. 742. 743. 744. 745. 746. 747. 748. 749. 750. 751. 752. 753. 754. 755. 756. 757. 758. 759. 760. 761. 762. 763. 764. 765. 766. 767. 768. 769. 770. 771. 772. 773. 774. 775. 776. 777. 778. 779. 780. 781. 782. 783. 784. 785. 786. 787. 788. 789. 790. 791. 792. 793. 794. 795. 796. 797. 798. 799. 800. 801. 802. 803. 804. 805. 806. 807. 808. 809. 810. 811. 812. 813. 814. 815. 816. 817. 818. 819. 820. 821. 822. 823. 824. 825. 826. 827. 828. 829. 830. 831. 832. 833. 834. 835. 836. 837. 838. 839. 840.

[illegible][illegible]

פולער טעקסט פון ראביי אבא הלל סילווער'ס רעדע אויף דער אידישער קאנפערענץ

מיינע ליבע פריינט :

דאס אידישע נאָלד איז אין סכנה
אויסצוקומען פֿון דער אינזשעניר
עלעמח דאס צו מייסט־פארפֿינגעט
און צעשלאגענע פֿון אלע פעלקער,
אבער מיט די קענסטע אויסצושטען
אויף היילונג און ווידעראוּפֿבוּ.

דא איז שוין גענוג דערמאנט גע-
ווארען וועגען אונזער טראגעדיע,
וועגען די קלעפ און די צרות. אבער
נאך איז מכת היילונג?

אין דעם אינטימען מאמענט
גרייטט מען אינז מיט דער האפנונג,
אז דער אטלאנטיק שטארטערד
זי פיער פרויזשעטען און דער זיג
וועלען ברענגען די תרופה פאר אונז
דער פאלק. איד האט מורא, אז מיר
וויינען סתרים קאמעט און ביזערע
אגיקס צוליב א פארפֿלענדערטיגען,
אמאנטישען מיראזש אין א פוינטען
וואלט. מיר נעמען ווידער אוועק פון
עשיבטע צו דלומות, און דאס
עקסטרעווידיגע איז וואס א טייל פון
וואו רופען דאס טאג אן רעאליזאצאן
אמאנטישען אטלאנטיק.

אין דער לעצטער וועלט-מלחמה
אמען די אידען פון ענטראל און
זוהד-איראק פאקומען נישט נאך
ינגערערעכט נאך אויך מלאריטעט
עכט. אבער איז געלעבט דאס
אדער האט איז פארגעסען ?
זו נאך העם איז דוקא געקומען דער
דינליכסטער, ברוטאליסטער, פאר-
יכטענדיגסטער אנטיעמיטיום וואס
זונער פאלק האט געהאט אויסצו-
טענה.

איצט, בעת דער צווייטער וועלט
וועלטער זיינען ווידער פאראן אידען
זאגן האפען, דורך א צווייטען אליי
ווייטערע זיג צו דערגרייכען דאס,
זאגן דער ערשטער זיג און א נאך
ער דור פון ליבעראליזם און פרא-
דעם האט אונז נישט געגעבען: פריי
זען און וויבלייט.

עס איז א טראגישער פאקט, וואס
ילע פאגישער פון אנטוועמפטיזם
אבען איהם נישט דערזעהן, אי די
מאציפאציע פון די אידען איז אוי
אפ פון נאך דער פארנעמוווישער
שטאנצונג פון צו דער נאצי רעד
ארויפ. האט ויך כסדר אנגעשטוי
ען אויף א פארביסענער אפאזיציע
צו שטעה צו אונז כמעט אין אלע
ענדער. און די אפאזיציע איז גע
אסען שטארקער מיט יעדער נייער
אויפגאב וואס מיר האבען געקעמפט
צו געוואנדל

און אין אונזערע טעג איז די דא-
נע פאזיציע אין שנה — אן
יובערייזשע דורך פאליטישע און
עאנאמישע קאמפען וואס האבען
אנגערעגט אונזערע פאלקער — איז
אסאלען, אטאליענדיג די אידישע
אלטטישע און עקאנאמישע פאזי-
יעס אין אירעם ביז זיי האבען
פולשטענדיג פארניכטעט.

עס איז דא א דירעקטע פארבינדונג אויף אנטוויקלונג פון דער פייכער עקספאזשער, ווען מען האט דעם אידען אנגעשטעלט, "העם, העם", ביי צו ערעבן די היטלעך-דעקלונג מיט ווייניגער רייזע פערעקטע" (איד פאר). ער בלוט בלבול פון דעם פון 1841 פונדט ווי מיט דער עקספאזשער פון נאך דער רעוואלוציע פון 1848. ער מארגאנער פאל אין אימאליע, קריסטליד-סאציאלע באוועגונג אין ווישלאנד, די פליכטליכקייט אין וואנאן, אין טשעכע; אין פארגאסען פון 80-ער יארען אין וואלאנד; די רייזעס אפערע אין פראנקרייך, פערטורא שטייט אין אוקראינע, דאס אלץ אין איין קייט וואס וועט זיך פון צו די איינציגע שטייט טעגשט און מיטעוואך-אין פון פון פון דער איינציגער מלחמה

דאס איז אינאדער סכסוך/דינגער אידן
זענען פראבלעם. אינאדער סכסוך/דינגער
וויסנשיפטלער און אידן זענען לעבען.
וואס איז דאס? לייזונג פון דעם
אינאדער פראבלעם איז נויטדיק
סאטנא? עס איז פאראן בלויז איין
לייזונג פאר אינאדער וויסנשיפטלער.
לייזונג דאס איז א נאציאנאלע היים
און נישט קיין נייע אימיגראציע
עקולאגישען פאר אידן. זענען
נייגע אדער נייע קאלאניזאציע פלען
זיך אנטהאלטן זיך אנטהאלטן
זייער האפנונגען און גענעדיגט מיט
לייזונגען דערפאר.

די איינציגע לייוונג צו נאכדאסלען
ווען דעם פאליטישע סטאטוס פון
אידישען פאלט אין דער וועלט דורך
א נאציאנאלער כאאס אין זיין נא-
ציאנאלער היסטארישער היים. די
וועלט האט ענדליך איינגעזעהן די
וויסנשאפטליכע און וויכטיקייט פון
דער דאזיקער לייוונג.

ווען ענגלאנד האט אין 1917
דיאסאנעציען די באמביר דעקלאראציע
געט אין דאס נישט געניעט עפעס א
פלאן פון אויסגראציע אדער א פלאן
צו דעלעטן אידישע קאלאניזאציע.
די באמביר דעקלאראציע איז געווען א
פארטייטשנאציאנאלער אקט וואס איז
אנשטויט געווארען ווייטער איבער
יידן דאס נאציאנאלע לעבען פון
דישען פאלק אין זיין היימלאנד.
אין דאס גען פארשטענדענע אונז

A black and white portrait of a middle-aged man with dark, wavy hair, wearing glasses, a white shirt, a dark tie, and a dark suit jacket. He is looking slightly to the right of the camera with a serious expression. The background is dark and out of focus, suggesting an indoor setting like a library or office.

דאזיי אבא הלל סילווער

פראנצוויז וויל פראנקרייך. צו רעדען
וועגען דעם ווי ווענען אידעאלאגיע
איז כמעט ווי פטלנות. מיר רעדען
נאָשט ווענען אידעאלאגיעס, מיר מאַ
כען אויף אן אלטע חוב, וואָס מיר
באמערקט שוין 1900 יאָהר.
ווענען "אידעאלאגיעס" רעדען
דוקא ווי היינטיגע יידן. ביים אפ
צוואנציק יור פון אינזערע העכט, וואָס
מען האט אונז שוין באשטעטיגט אין
1917.

וואס פארנעמען מיר זיך איצט מיט נאכמאל איבער'הערן און אויסדרעסען די אזוי קלארע גראנע. די טרענות פון די פוילישע געזאם און די פארשיינענע אידען פון די אנדערע צענטראלייזירטע אישע לעבן-דער שרייען צו אונז, מענע! עס מוז זיין א סוף צו דעם אלעמען. זאל עס נעמען א סוף וואס זאל זיין קלאר און באשטימט."

און מיר אליין פרעגען ווי לאנג
וועלעך ענינים רעזירעווען איז איר
דעם קרויצגען און מאכען פון איין
צווישן שיער עוואל פאר די פאלד-
טישע פעלדערען וואס זיי פאנעמען
פאר ווערע אייגענע אינעוואוינאסטע
רויסערען עווישען ווערע קלאסען.
צילם קאנאאטישע נויטען און קרי-
טיקען ?

איר בין אומעראשט צו הערשן, און
אונזערע גערעכטע אידישע פאדערונג
גען האטען נאך הילף שטערען די
אויסגאנגס צווישען אידען אליין, ווי
געוויסע דריטע טענה'ן.
איר זאגט: וואס איר בין פאר איר
ניקייט אין פאלס ישראל, ווייל איר
זינט פאר דער פארזארגליכונג פון

פילען פראגראם אין אידענטיש לעבען
הילף, לעטענדיג אפרייט, אבער אויך
אנצואנאלע אפפובן אין ארץ ישראל
אט דאס וואס איז וויל, מיר
אמאנען נישט ראטעווען די אידענ
אין איראלא סידען וועלען הא-
בען א פרייע אימיגראציע מיין ארץ
ישראל, אין פרייע אימיגראציע
גען מיר האבען בלויז דאן ווען איר
ווערע פאליטישע רעכט וועלען אנער-
קענט ווערען, אבער אונזערע פאלי-
טישע רעכט אבען בלויז דאן אנער-
קענט ווערען, ווען מען וועט אנער-
קענט אונזערע היסטארישע פארבריי-

דיגענע מיט'ן לאנד און דאס רעכט פאר א נאציאנאלע חיים.
עס זיינע פארא מענטשן וואס
קענען און זיי האבען געלעבן צו-
שטימען צו א פרויער אידישער איד
מיטאזע קיין ארץ ישראל, וועט מיר
וועלען זיך אפזאגע פון דעם אידעע
פון א אידישער קאמאנעלט. עס
האבען מענטשן זיינע נאכזי. זיי
און זיכער אז אויס מיר וועלען זיך
אפזאגע פון אונזערע נאציאנאלע
היסטארישע פארערגענע און וועלען
פארן וועג צו טאפען אין ארץ ישר-
אעל א צופולטשטאפען באזונט יודיש-
צדקה. וועלען מיר פארלירען אלץ
מיט אונזער, ווארום מיט פרויער
צדקה און חסידות פאר מען נאך-
נישט בייען דאס באזונדערס אין ארץ
ישראל וואו מיר האבען שוין געזיך

[illegible]

ווייזען מסכים אז אין ארץ ישראל
זאל געלעגט ווערען דער גרונדשטיין
פון א אידישער סאטמארשולע.
פֿעלדראמאטאל סטאטוס, דער איינ-
ציגער פרעמיער פון ווידאפּראַמא-
האט דאן געזעצט נישט בלויז וועגען
א גרויסער פרייער אידישער אייגן-
וואנדערונג קיין ארץ ישראל נאר ער
האט פֿאראומגעזעהן א אידישע
מלוכה נאר פֿירן.

דער גרויסער ווינטערסאן שטורמטשע
מעתער אויף אין 1920 געווען בעסער
רעטערן אויף שטויטן, האט אין
פרעכטיגע ווערטער אין יענער צייט
זאגט: „אויס, עס וועט געשעהן!
ווי עס איז טאקע מעגליך אז עס
זאל גליעהן, אז מיר דו ברענגען
פון דירן זאל איינשטעהן א אידישע
לייזע, וואס וועט זיין דאס געזעץ

[illegible]

ווי האט דאז דאס אפערמאנט
אדערטום אדער רעאקט?
עס איז אזוי צוויי זייטן 25
יאָר צוריק איינגעדפונען געווארען
דער אפערמאנט אידישער קאמפניע
כדי צו שיטען שלוחים צו דער שול
קאמפניע, האט דאז דאז דעקלאר
טען ביים אפערמאנט אידישער קאמ
ניעס, צווייטעס אזוי גוט ווי נישט
צווייטעס, אנגענומען א באשליס
ונגען "טיטעל" דעם פראיעקט פון א
אידישער קאמפניעלעס אונטער דער
אויפזיכט פון דער ליג און ניישאנס
און דער מאדארנע אפערמאנט.

והאשכנזי איז אפילו
פארוואס ערערען און
דען ווען מען דערמאנט
דינעס פאפאליטעט?
אין פארוואס איז דאס וואס ער
ס'אידען וועלכע וועט זיין געני
געגעבען, אז מען דארף סאנע
פרייע איינמאנדערען, נאר ווי פאר
לאזען פון אונז ערשטען א האנט
עסעס, א קליינע האנעסעס אונז
געגעבן אונזערע האפער, דעם הויז
און די פירלות פון אינזערע אבות
אויפגעגעבן אונזערע רעכט אויף א
האפאליטעט.
ווי רעדען וועמען אידעאלאגיי איז
עס אידעאלאגיי פון א אידען צו
פאררען ארץ ישראל? אויב און
איז דאס עס אן אידעאלאגיי ווען
אן ענגלענדער וויל ענגלאנד און

אויך קענען די ארגאניזירטע שווארץ
וואס ווילען אויסלעזען זיינע האפ-
נונגען אויף א אידישער קאמאנוועלט,
וואס זיי שאפען באמת מיט שוויים
און בלוט אין טרערען. דער דאזיקער
שוב האט ארויסגעליקט א רוף צו
אינו איהם צו ברענגען אונזער הילף.
זיי בעטען אונז צו אפעלירען צו אונז
דערע אמעריקאנער שטאטסלייט און
נאציאנאלע פירערען מען זאל זיי גע-
נען די ערשטע הילף און סימפאטיע און
אויסשטעלערעניש ווי עס איז געמא-
עווארען אין די צייטען פון פרעזי-
ענט ווילסאן און פון אונזער גאנץ
דעם איז מיר פון א רייכע "אדערע".
דען איך אויך זאלען מיר זיך נישט
ווערענען צום רוף פון אונזער ישוב
ין ארץ ישראל און זיי לאזען פאלען?
(שטימען: נין).

זאלטן מיר אפשר אננעמען א דע-
מאנציע וועגען ארץ ישראל און ניט
ערמאנען די באלפור דעקלאראציע
וון דאס רעכט אויף א אידישער קא-
מונעלט?
(שטימען: נין).

ואלען מיר אפשר שיקען א דעלע-
אציע צו דער שלום קאנפערענץ און
עסטען מען זאל לאזען אירען אייג-
אנדערען קיין ארץ ישראל. ווי ארץ
ישראל וואלט געווען א מין סאנטא
אמינא?

(שטימען: ניין).
 אזא צוגאנג אזא שטעלונג וואלט
 בער נישט געווען קיין סימן פון
 אליטשיער חכמה און שטאטסמאן
 נאכט. פאר אונז אליין, פאר אונז
 גער קומענדיגע דייטש און פאר אונז

אנצער אדרייטשען פאלק, וואס אזוי מיר
זיין צופראכען פון דורט-לאנגע ליי-
דער, דארפן מיר וועלען א היים,
נאציאנאלע היים, אז איר'ס פאר-
מאכטעלעך, יא צו ניין? וואס עס
וועט אן עייכען אונזער מיט און
ווייטע און גלויבן ווען די דאזיגע
יינגלעך פארזאמלונג זאל זיך אפ-
מאכען דערפון? וואס וואלטען מיר
עקאנט ענטפערען זיך אליין אז איר-
עך קומט צוריק צו דיר?

זאלען מיר זיך רעכענען מיט דער
מזל וואס די אדער יענע קרייזען
וועלען אויסמישען שלעכט אונזערע
בנות און וואס זיי ווייזען פארנישט
אדער זאלען מיר זיך רעכענען מיט
אונזער מאדאלישער איבערצייגונג
מיט אונזער גלויבען, אונזער געשעכ-
טע, אונזערע דערהייבונגען און אג-
אג.

נעוהו ווייסער, מיט פילע אמונה,
מיט ווירעראויפבו און מיט היילען
די וואנדעל פון אונזער פאלק ?