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The relationship between the American Jewish community and
Israel, 1952.

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMUNITY AND ISRAEL

ADDRESS BEFORE NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF JEWISH COMMUNAL SERVICE
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS, JUNE 3, 1952

BY
DR. ABBA HILLEL SILVER

I have spoken frequently, since the establishment of the State of Israel, about the relationship between it and the American Jewish community. I do not know that I have anything new to add to what I have already said. I can only recapitulate and bring into focus a few leading ideas of mine which many others, I am sure, share with me.

In 1948, a few months after Israel was established, I addressed the Biennial Assembly of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations which met in Boston. In that address I outlined my thinking on the subject of the future relationship between the State of Israel and the American Jewish community. In the years which have followed, I have filled in the outline, but I have had no reason to change or modify the basic position.

The establishment of the State of Israel is bound to have an effect upon the future course of the Jewish people throughout the world, and upon Judaism resembling analogous events in the history of our people in the past. The destruction and the restoration of the state in the 6th century before the Common Era, and again, the destruction in the year 70 of the Common Era are milestones in Jewish history as well as turning points. They forced political, social and spiritual adjustments on our people, and framed a new way of life for them. The reestablishment of the Jewish State in our day is destined to become just such a milestone and turning point. The year 1948 will take its place among the three or four most important dates in Jewish history.

We are too close to the event to evaluate it properly, but we can begin to discern some of its vast implications.

The first is a psychological one. After nineteen centuries the Jewish people has regained national status. It has rebuilt its national center in its ancestral home. The Third Commonwealth of the Jewish nation is an accomplished fact. The State of Israel exists.

As a result, the concept of the Wandering Jew is bound eventually to disappear along with the term "galut" - exile. When people can of their own free will return to their ancestral home, they are not in exile. Only compulsory banishment spells exile. All nations send forth immigrants to all parts of the world. People are continually moving from one country to another, and change their citizenship, but they are not regarded as exiles. This fact alone - the end of national exile for the Jewish people, as such - is destined to affect favorably the psyche of the Jew throughout the world. It will endow him, wherever he lives, with a self-respect and a normalcy long wanting in Jewish experience. Whatever the Jew is destined to create in the future in art or in literature, will, I believe, reflect this new attitude of dignity and confidence. There will be much less of strain and tension in his creative work, less of the spirit of dejection or of rebellion. There will be less obsession with anti-Semitism and with apologetics. This is not to suggest that as a member of a minority group the Jew will no longer be subject to those discriminations which, in varying degrees, are visited upon minority groups in most parts of the world. But in this regard he will share an identical but not a unique or aggravated lot. It was always the double liability of his predicament - that of being a minority group everywhere and possessed of a national center nowhere, which doubly exacerbated his position in the world. He will fight for his full and equal rights everywhere, more confidently and more resolutely, enheartened by the fact of the new status and dignity which have come to his people through the recreation of the State of Israel.

Another important consequence of the epochal event which has taken place so recently is the emergence of a major Jewish population center in the East and the regrouping of the world Jewish population. It is quite possible that if the present

rate of immigration continues, the Jewish population of Israel by 1960 will be 2,000,000 or more. It might substantially increase in subsequent years. Three to four million is not an excessive figure; so that, outside of the United States, the population of Israel will be the largest Jewish population in the world. Thus, a great concentration of our people will again take place in the East, the cradle of our people and of our faith, and the East rather than the West will again become the decisive cultural milieu of the creative Jewish life of tomorrow. An interesting blending of the East and the West will take place in that corner of the world which time and again has served both as an entrepot and crucible of cultures and religions. An imposing new synthesis might conceivably result when Jews bring into that land which in the past was the natural home of seers, prophets and mystics, the science, technology, and the political and economic conceptions of the West. Jews are coming and will come to Israel from all parts of the world just as peoples came to the United States from all parts of the world, and just as this country became a melting pot of peoples, so Israel is destined to become a melting pot of world Jewry. In a sense, it is that already. American life richly profited from the manifold gifts and talents which many peoples brought to it. Israel, too, is destined to profit from the skills, cultures and enthusiasms which Jews the world over will bring to it. The dynamism, the amazing outpouring of creative energy which is already in evidence in Israel, will increase in the years to come. Life in Israel will be characterized, I believe, by that same energy, initiative, and inventiveness which have characterized American life. So that a very exciting and promising new chapter in Jewish history is beginning.

What will be the political implications of the establishment of Israel for Jews living outside of Israel, and what will be the attitude of Diaspora Jews towards Israel? It is clear that the majority of the Jewish people will, in the foreseeable future, live outside of Israel. The idea of the ultimate disappearance of the Diaspora

may be theoretically held or even advocated. It is not practically valid. Assuming that Israel will, in the course of time, come to contain three or four or even five million Jews, the majority of the Jewish people will nevertheless still reside outside its borders. This was the case, also, during the Second Commonwealth, especially in the centuries immediately preceding the destruction in 70. It has been estimated that in the closing centuries of the Second Commonwealth about $2\frac{1}{2}$ million Jews lived in Palestine and about $5\frac{1}{2}$ million lived outside. There was a considerable dispersion of our people in the six centuries before the common era which extended from the borders of Persia in the East to Spain in the West, and from Ethiopia clear to the Black Sea. Important centers of Jewish life existed, simultaneously, with the Jewish State, in Babylon, Egypt, Syria and Asia Minor, in the islands of the mediterranean, in Greece and in Italy. It has been estimated that every tenth person living in the Roman Empire in the first century of the common era was a Jew, and every fifth person living in the Eastern Mediterranean world was a Jew. The great dispersion was not always the result of expulsions. It was not always involuntary. Jews emigrated from Palestine for reasons also of trade and commerce, of economic opportunities elsewhere, perhaps also because of crowded conditions in the homeland.

What was the relationship of the Jews who lived outside of Palestine to the Jewish State? They owed no political allegiance to the Jewish State, and the Jewish State exercised no political control over them. We have the testimony of the Jewish philosopher, Philo, who lived in Egypt in the first century, who writes:

No one country can contain the whole Jewish nation, by reason of its populousness; on which account they frequent all the most prosperous and fertile countries of Europe and Asia, whether islands or continents, looking indeed upon the holy city as their metropolis in which is erected the sacred temple of the most high God, but accounting those regions which have been occupied by their fathers and grandfathers and great-grandfathers and still more remote ancestors, in which they have been born and brought up, as their country.

The country in which they lived was their country. The existence of a Jewish State did not diminish by an iota their loyalty to the countries in which they lived and in which they and their children were born. There was no dual allegiance. Dual allegiance was never a fact in Jewish experience. It is the frightened and the insecure Jew, the one who is generally unhappy about his Jewish lineage who tries to curry favor with the non-Jewish world on the basis of self-effacement, who spreads the charge of dual allegiance against those fellow-Jews who are not so frightened and servile.

The Jews who lived outside of Palestine in those days nevertheless recognized Palestine as the non-political center of world Jewry, especially because it was the center of their religion. It was the Holy Land. In Jerusalem was the Temple dedicated to the God of Israel. They were mindful of the prophesy, "Out of Zion shall go forth the Law, and the word of the Lord from Jerusalem." Palestine was their ancestral home and the center of Jewish religious worship. They made frequent pilgrimages to Palestine. On the festivals of the pilgrimage, thousands of Jews from all parts of the world poured into Jerusalem. It was a revered custom of Jews everywhere to contribute annually a half-shekel, which at stated periods was collected and carried to Jerusalem, as their voluntary contribution towards the maintenance of their central religious institutions. They helped the nation to defend itself when Rome attacked it, and they supported the rebellion of Bar Kochba against Rome in the second century when the Jews of Palestine attempted to regain their independence. They wanted the Jewish State to survive. Even after the destruction of the Temple, they continued to recognize the authority of the religious and spiritual leaders of Palestine, of the Sanhedrin and of the great religious academies, and to send their self-imposed tax for the support of the office of the Nasi and of scholars. The Jewish communities in other parts of the world, which later on established their own academies and produced their own illustrious religious leaders, nevertheless accepted the

superior authority of the religious leaders and centers in Palestine. The authority of the patriarchate which existed to the 5th century and of the Palestinian academies and their prerogatives in such matters as the fixing of the calendar for world Jewry and the ordination of Rabbis was, with but occasional exceptions, accepted by all. The Jews fully understood the importance of maintaining a center, a unifying and organizing center of Jewish life, especially after the destruction both of the State and the Temple. They felt the need for some visible authority to hold them together against the forces which threatened to disintegrate them. They knew themselves to be and they wished to remain one people, one historic community, united by common sympathies, inspired by common memories, sharing many likenesses, and cooperating with each other for common purposes and against common enemies. Rome destroyed Carthage. It destroyed also the Carthaginian nation. Rome destroyed Judea. It could not destroy the Jewish nation. It only disrupted its political center and added to the dispersion of the people.

To sum up: there persisted throughout the centuries the liveliest interaction between Palestine and the Jews of the Diaspora which was a boon to both and which safeguarded the integrity of the people and the character of its faith. When the center in Palestine had become totally disrupted, and the Jews of the Diaspora were forced to turn to other centers for spiritual guidance - to Babylonia, Northern Africa, Spain and elsewhere - they nevertheless kept alive in their strong Messianic faith the hope of the return of the nation to Palestine and the restoration of its religious center there.

If history is any guide, the Jews of today who will continue to live in other lands will, by and large, maintain the same attitude towards the State of Israel as their forefathers did. Theirs will be a most sympathetic relationship towards that land. They will materially help it to absorb as many Jews as will wish to go there or may have to go there. They will help to build up its cultural, scientific and

spiritual institutions, as well as its economic life so that it may become a land of which Jews everywhere can be proud. For the eyes of the world will be on the land of Israel to see what Jews, as a people, can accomplish on their own. Israel will come to be again the non-political center of world Jewry. Pilgrims will go there as of old - and not merely the pious. There will be a free flow of manifold communications, of mutual stimulation, of give and take. Israel will again come to exercise a unifying and sustaining influence in Jewish life everywhere. We shall remain one people, one historic community, as of old. But the Jews of Israel will be Israeli citizens and the Jews of the United States will be citizens of the United States, and similarly with Jews in other lands. They will owe undivided allegiance to their respective countries and they will discharge loyally their full duties as citizens, and they will participate actively and whole-heartedly in the social and cultural life of the lands of their birth or adoption, as Jews have always done. But they will retain a special attachment to the land of Israel which will in no way interfere with their duties and obligations as citizens of their respective countries. It was Voltaire who said that every cultured man should have two fatherlands - his own and France. In an even more profound sense, but equally non-political, it may be applied to the Jew and Israel. Israel will be the Sabbath in the life of our people when, according to a beautiful tradition, an additional soul is vouchsafed unto man.

It is to the interest, not alone of the State of Israel, which will have to draw replenishment and economic and political support from the Diaspora reservoir for years to come, but of the Jewish people as a whole and of Judaism, the noblest creation of the Jewish people and its supreme gift to mankind, that Diaspora Jewry should remain vital, vigorous and spiritually sound. All talk, however patriotically motivated, which derogates Diaspora Jewry or altogether writes it off, is meaningless and harmful in the extreme.

It should never be forgotten that what our people possesses today of cultural and spiritual treasures is not exclusively the creation of the Jews of Palestine. The 4,000-year-old drama of the Jewish people was enacted on more than one world stage. Some of its principal actors, from Moses to Moses, never lived in Palestine. Even when there was a flourishing Jewish life in Palestine, there were also flourishing Jewish communities in other lands. Babylonian and Palestinian Jewry, for example, re-enforced and enriched one another, and both made significant if not comparable contributions to the sum total of Jewish life and thought.

What is clearly indicated today is the setting in motion of the liveliest possible spiritual and cultural intercommunications and interactions between Israel and the Diaspora, similar to that which existed during the period of the Second Commonwealth.

In fact, now that Theodore Herzl's political program has been triumphantly consummated and the work of state-building and the in-gathering of our people is proceeding apace, the restoration movement may well move into its spiritual and cultural orbit which was defined for our day and which is identified with the name of Ahad Ha-am, another great Zionist. The ultimate objectives both of Herzl and Ahah Ha-am were the same, though in practical life they frequently clashed. Herzl was impressed primarily with the physical and political problem of the Galut, and sought a political solution for it in the creation of a Jewish State. Ahad Ha-am saw the spiritual problem of the Galut in terms of the threatened cultural and spiritual disintegration of our people, and he sought a solution for it in the creation of a spiritual and cultural center for our people in Palestine.

It was fortunate that the sound political vision and program of Theodore Herzl governed the course of the movement until the State was established. A premature over-emphasis of the concept of a spiritual or cultural center would have found the Jewish people unprepared for the final political and military struggle without which

the State could not have been established, and without which the in-gathering of myriads of our people could not have been accomplished. Ahad Ha-am discounted too much the value of practical work in Palestine and of political and diplomatic action. He was too skeptical of the capacity of Palestine to absorb them quickly.

But Herzl's political triumph now paves the way for the vision which was Ahah Ha-am's - that of a radiating cultural center in a reconstituted Jewish State which would also serve as a unifying influence for world Jewry. Ahah Ha-am did not believe that a total kibbutz galuyoth, "a total in-gathering of all Jews", was feasible or necessary for the spiritual influence which a reconstructed Jewish State, true to the essential genius and character of historic Israel, could come to exercise in world Jewry.

The Jewish communities of the Diaspora will look eagerly for all stimulating influences which might emanate from Israel in the future. But Diaspora Jewry need not remain a mere passive recipient of Israeli cultural influences. It can become, as indeed so often in the past it did become, creative in its own right, wherever the religion, language and literature of the Jewish people were fostered.

Israel and the Diaspora should remain inter-dependent, spiritually inseparable, though politically separate and apart. Both should be helped to become strong and creative.

But in order that the Jewish community in the United States might become strong and creative, it is essential that we strengthen the basic agencies and institutions which alone can insure its growth and survival. And here, I crave your indulgence for I suspect that some of my views will not be entirely acceptable to some of you.

The world Jewish community is very old. It is perhaps more realistic to speak of world Jewish communities in the plural. These Jewish communities through the centuries took on a wide variety of organizational forms - in fact, almost every conceivable form, dictated by external political conditions or internal preferences.

There never was a single pattern. There could not be for a living organism which was determined to survive under all conditions. What was constant in their communal life, whether in the ancient world or the Graeco-Roman world or the Christian or Moslem world, was the will to live as a Jewish community and to perpetuate and transmit their religious faith. What energized that will was the conviction that they were bound by a covenant and charged with a mission, and the firm belief in the superiority and in the world-serving and world-conquering destiny of their faith and their way of life.

The American Jewish community is one of the more recent among the Jewish communities of history, albeit the largest and by far the most prosperous. It has many distinctive features. It is set in a distinctive environment. Nevertheless, its experiences are not entirely unique. Its organizational structure has precedents, and its problems of survival are not without parallel in Jewish history. In speculating, therefore, about its future, it would be well to take into account the experiences of other Jewish communities in the long past, and to consider well the years of many generations.

When I speak of the world Jewish community, I have in mind the historic ethnic-religious group which, whether as "Am Yisrael", the people of Israel, or "Beth Yisrael", the Household of Israel, or "Bene Yisrael", the Children of Israel, or "Adath Yisrael", the Assembly of Israel, or "Knesseth Yisrael", the Congregation of Israel, whether at home in Palestine or scattered in a great dispersion, was always inextricably bound up with its religion, always struggled to preserve its identity, and always remained one and indivisible. There was never a time in our recorded history when the concepts of faith and people were dissociated, though there were periods of great apostasy and threatening assimilation. Professor Pfeiffer is correct when he declared that only Jews among all peoples in antiquity "united nationalism and religion in a single ardent devotion". It is difficult to determine which motif is stronger - the ethnic or the religious. Even the Rabbis of old differed on this subject. Nor is it important.

It is sufficient to remember that with the collapse of the Jewish State and the exile of the people, both after the first and the second Destructions, neither the Jewish people nor its religion collapsed. The faith sustained the people. The people maintained their faith.

Up to the period of the Emancipation and for some time thereafter - in fact, up to the close of the 19th century - few if any questioned the basically and predominantly religious character of the Jewish community. With the spread of secularism and the rise of nationalism, efforts were made, particularly in Eastern Europe, to reconstruct the Jewish community into a secular nationality organization in which religion would occupy a tolerated position among numerous other cultural, educational and social activities. A philosophy of Diaspora nationalism was evolved by such thinkers as Simon Dubnow and Chaim Zhitlovsky which, opposed to Zionism, anticipated the continued existence of the Jewish people as a secular, national minority in the Diaspora, possessed of constitutional guarantees which would insure it nationality status, communal self-government, educational autonomy, and the right to employ its own language. There was a brief moment following the first World War when this seemed possible in some countries of Eastern Europe as a result of special provisions incorporated in the minority treaties of the Peace Conference. However, national minority rights soon ran into violent resistance on the part of governments and rapid nullification followed. Today, with the practical liquidation of these Eastern European Jewries, the subject of Diaspora nationalism has become purely academic. Western European and American Jewish communities have never asked nor do they desire any special status as national minorities. This concept is alien to the political structure of these countries, where Jews desire equal rights of citizenship and freedom from all forms of discrimination. No more, no less.

The American Jewish community of tomorrow will continue as it is today, and for as long as America remains free, on a purely voluntary basis of allegiance, re-enforced by no legal constraint, no guaranteed minority rights, and no quasi-governmental man-

dates like those which were enjoyed by the French and Belgian consistories organized by Napoleon, or similar community structures which derived some of their authority and protection from the state. It will be centered in Judaism or it will not survive. It will be as an ethnic-religious community that it will carry on in the American scene, or it will disintegrate in the course of time. The term ethnic-religious is broad enough to include all that we mean when we speak of the Jewish way of life - Jewish philanthropy, Jewish social service, Jewish culture - but it is not so broad as to give to these derivative activities priority over the synagogue and religious education. Our concentration in the last generation upon philanthropy, foreign relief and civil defense has persuaded many Jews, I am afraid, not alone that these represent the essence and totality of Judaism, but that they are also the true means of our survival. This is a dangerous delusion. These activities are commendable, necessary and worthy manifestations of wholesome Jewish life. But they are not its roots nor its nourishing strength. Jewish life in America will wither, and dry-rot will set in unless the tree sends its roots deep down into the rich soil of Jewish faith and Jewish learning. It should also be borne in mind that the State is steadily moving in on all fields of social and welfare services, pensions, socialized medicine, and all forms of security, and the importance of the private or denominational agency in these fields will progressively diminish. There will remain little which will be specifically Jewish in the field of organized social service. Likewise, campaigns for foreign relief will not continue indefinitely, and they cannot be counted upon to keep Jewish life permanently alerted and mobilized. Without a vital religion and a replenishing Jewish education and scholarship, the American Jewish community will linger on as a waning and decaying residuum of the past in a twilight zone of drift until some unforeseen storm breaks over it, attacks its weakened frame, and shatters it beyond repair.

The Jew survived in the Diaspora because he centered his life in the congregation, the school and the synagogue. The congregation and synagogue came into being in exile as surrogate for Temple, state and government. It proved so accordant to their needs and so consonant with their character that the returning exiles brought it back with them to restored Judea.. It remained, of course, with those Jewish communities who did not return, and it remained with our people as the sole sanctuary of its life and spirit throughout the exile.

In our day we saw the oldest and noblest centers of Jewish life in Europe practically destroyed. Providentially, two other important centers are arising today and are growing in strength and significance - the national center in Israel, and the Diaspora center in the United States. The American Jewish community owes it to itself and to history to take over its full measure of responsibility for carrying on the historic work of Judaism. For this mighty task it will have to find, in the future, the resources within itself. It will no longer be able to live on borrowing. It can no longer expect its spiritual and cultural provisions to come to it from the Old World. Old World Jewry no longer exists as a provisioning center. We shall have to prepare our own victuals.

Fortunately, we are not altogether unprepared or unequipped for this task, not alone in external facilities, but also, I believe in inner resources. American Jewry is organized, perhaps over-organized. At the moment it is somewhat helplessly enmeshed in a veritable network of organization. It possesses if not a sufficient, at least not a meager quota of synagogues, schools, libraries, Rabbinic seminaries, and social agencies. More are in the process of building. American Jews have also demonstrated a fine sense of solidarity and loyalty, particularly in these last desperate years when unprecedented disasters swept over their fellow-Jews in Europe and when the historic challenge reached them to assist in the restoration of the State of Israel. Their reactions were those of a sound and healthy organism. A great hour did not find them a small people. All this is good building material for the future.

The wise architects of the future of the American Jewish community will so well to use all this good human material, so readily available, of loyalty, pride and responsibility, of generosity and organizational skill, to strengthen the central and the indispensable institutions of the Jewish community, the synagogue and the school.

If our reasoning is correct, if the synagogue is to become the institution primarily responsible for the survival of the American Jewish community, then it must drastically re-orient itself. It must shift its emphasis from a place of worship to a place of serious religious education, far more extensive and far more intensive than anything which we have so far achieved. This is not the place nor the time to discuss the remedy, but a frank facing of this fact is in itself the first step in the direction of finding a solution.

Here is one fact which should be frankly faced. Failure to teach the Hebrew ^{adequately} language/in our schools is consigning the future American Jewish community to cultural sterility. No Jewish community ever contributed culturally or scholastically to Jewish life which did not foster the Hebrew language and literature. No Jewish community ever survived for long which ignored Hebrew. This is an ineluctable fact of our experience. We cannot survive without Jewish learning.

Our people frequently employed other language media for their religious-cultural expressions - Greek, Arabic, Aramaic, and many European languages. This was true especially in the fields of technical scholarship and philosophy. However, the language of prayer, poetry, ethics and Jewish law - the deepest and most vital - was nearly always in the Hebrew. In the philosophic field, too, only those books which were early translated into the Hebrew and became available to Jews everywhere exerted any influence upon Jewish life and thought. One simply cannot conceive of the great creative periods in our history, whether in Babylon, Spain, Italy, Northwestern or Eastern Europe without reference to the deliberate and extensive cultivation of the Hebrew language and literature in these centers.

I cannot conceive of a vital Jewish life in the Diaspora without an extensive study of the Hebrew language and literature among our people, without a knowledge of Judaism in its historic Hebraic manifestations. Furthermore, if we are thinking of any cultural link between Israel and the Jews of the Diaspora, between Yisrael and Tefuzot Yisrael, then we must be thinking in terms of the Hebrew language. We must raise a generation which will be able to read the language in which the future cultural creations of Israel will be cast.

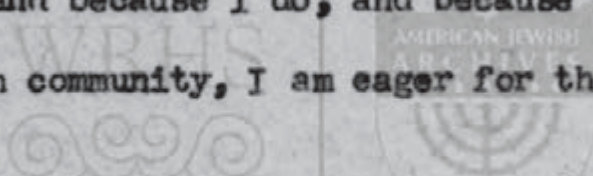
To sum up: There is much that we can give to the State of Israel - continued economic assistance until such time as it becomes self-sustaining, and manpower, especially in those skills and professions in which Americans excel - and that includes social work of all kinds in which the State of Israel stands in such great need as a result of the vast influx of unselected immigrants, nearly all of them destitute, many of them social casualties, difficult to integrate and adjust. We can give it continued defense and reenforcement in maintaining its just and proper status and position in the world. Whatever is best in the American experience and tradition, political, economic, social or cultural, which we can bring to Israel and which can advance and enrich its life, we must continue to regard both as mandate and privilege. We shall render these services not necessarily uncritically; nor without expressing our opinions and judgments touching the ways in which our assistance, financial or otherwise, is utilized. We shall insist upon exercising our freedom of expression at all times, but always constructively and responsibly. All wisdom resides neither with us nor with them, and the long view and the wiser statesmanship calls for an eager pooling of thought, experience and confidence.

There is much that Israel can give us - much that it has already given us. It has given us an haven for three-quarters of a million of our fellow-Jews for which the great world had no room. It has given us a new status and dignity, and our children, a new sense of self-esteem and equality. The beaten and languishing spirit of our people, ravaged by the appalling tragedies of the two world wars, it has infused

with a new hope and zest for life. Much else is destined to come out of that little land in historic guerdon and recompense.

In my address before the National Conference of the United Jewish Appeal last December, I said that it would be strange indeed if the Jews in Israel, reacting to the impact of their historic surroundings invested with prophecy and the example and promptings all about them of greatness and excellence of former generations of ancestors, challenged by their own good fortune in escaping from slavery to freedom and being reborn, as it were, into a new life, and eager to vindicate themselves and their people in the eyes of the whole world - it would be strange indeed if they would not in time produce incomparably precious values which will, again as in the early days, enrich and bless mankind.

I believe this truly, and because I do, and because I also believe in the future of the great American Jewish community, I am eager for their closest relationship and interaction.



National Conference of Jewish Community Service 52-1.
June 3 1952
Chicago

I have spoken frequently, since the establishment of the State of Israel, about the relationship between ^{it and} the American Jewish community ~~and Israel~~. I do not know that I have anything new to add to what I have already said. I can only recapitulate and bring into focus a few leading ideas of mine which many others, I am sure, share with me.

In 1948, a few months after Israel was established, I addressed the Biennial Assembly of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations which met in Boston. In that address I outlined my thinking on the subject of the future relationship between the ~~State~~ ^{State} of Israel and the American Jewish community. In the years which have followed, I ^{have} filled in the outline, but I have had no reason to change or modify the basic position.

~~I stated then that~~ The establishment of the State of Israel is bound to have an effect upon the future course of the Jewish people throughout the world, and upon Judaism resembling analogous events in the history of our people in the past. The destruction and the restoration of the state in the 6th century before the Common Era, and again, the destruction in the year 70 of the Common Era are milestones in Jewish history as well as turning points. They forced political, social, and spiritual adjustments on ^{our} the people, and framed a new way of life for them. The reestablishment of the Jewish State ^{in our day} is destined to become just such a milestone and turning point. The year 1948 will take its place among the three or four most important dates in Jewish history.

We are too close to the event to evaluate it properly, but we can begin to discern some of its vast implications.

The first is a psychological one. After nineteen centuries the Jewish people has regained national status. It has rebuilt its national center in its ancestral home. The Third Commonwealth of the Jewish nation is an accomplished fact. The State of Israel exists.

As a result, the concept of the Wandering Jew is bound eventually to disappear along with the term "galut" - exile. When people can of their own free will return to their ancestral home, they are not in exile. Only compulsory banishment spells exile. All nations send forth immigrants to all parts of the world. People are continually moving from one country to another, and change their citizenship, but they are not regarded as exiles. This fact alone - the end of national exile for the Jewish people, as such - is destined to affect favorably the psyche of the Jew throughout the world. It will endow ^{him} ~~the Jew~~, wherever he lives, with a self-respect and a ^{normalcy} ~~sense of~~ ~~security~~, a normal tone, long wanting in Jewish experience. Whatever the Jew is destined to create ^{in the future} ~~anywhere~~ in art or in literature will, I believe, ~~come to~~ reflect this new attitude of dignity and confidence. There will be much less of ~~the~~ strain and ~~the~~ tension in his creative work, less of the spirit of dejection or of rebellion. There will be less obsession with anti-Semitism and with apologetics. This is not to suggest that as a member of a minority group the Jew will no longer be subject ~~at~~ to those discriminations which, ⁱⁿ ~~to~~ varying degrees, are visited upon ~~most~~ minority groups in most parts of the world. But in this regard he will share an identical but not a unique or aggravated lot. It was always the double liability of his predicament - that of being a minority group everywhere and possessed of a national center nowhere, which doubly exacerbated his position in the world. He will fight for his full and equal rights everywhere, more confidently and more resolutely, enheartened by the fact of the new status and dignity which have come to his people through the recreation of the State of Israel.

Another important consequence of the epochal event which has taken place so recently is the emergence of a major Jewish population center in the East and the regrouping of the world Jewish population. It is quite possible that if the present rate of immigration continues, the Jewish population of Israel by 1960 will be 2,000,000 or more. It might substantiably increase in subsequent ~~the~~ years. Three to four million is not an excessive figure. So that, outside of the United States, the population

of Israel will be the largest Jewish population in the world. Thus, a great concentration of our people will again take place in the East, the cradle of our people and of our faith, and the East rather than the West will again become the decisive cultural milieu of the creative Jewish life of tomorrow. An interesting blending of the East and the West will take place in that corner of the world which time and again has served both as an entrepot and crucible of cultures and religions. An imposing new synthesis might conceivably result when Jews bring into that land which in the past was the natural home of seers, prophets and mystics the science, technology, and the political and economic conceptions of the West. ^{are coming and} Jews will come to Israel from all parts of the world just as peoples ^{came} have come to the United States from all parts of the world, ^{of peoples so Israel is destined to become a melting pot} and just as this country became a melting pot of world Jewry. In a sense, it is that already. American life richly profited from the manifold gifts and talents which many peoples brought to it, ^{too} ~~so~~ Israel is ~~likewise~~ destined to profit from the skills, cultures and enthusiasms which Jews the world over will bring to it. The dynamism, the amazing outpouring of creative energy which is already in evidence in Israel, will increase in the years to come. Life in Israel will be characterized, I believe, by that same energy, initiative, and inventiveness which have characterized American life. So that a very exciting and promising new chapter in Jewish history is beginning.

~~I raised the question, then, as to what~~ ^{will} ~~would~~ be the political implications of the establishment of Israel for Jews living outside of Israel, and what ^{will} ~~would~~ be the attitude of Diaspora Jews towards Israel. ^{It is clear} ~~I expressed the thought~~ that the majority of the Jewish people ~~will~~, in the foreseeable future, live outside of Israel. The idea of the ultimate disappearance of the Diaspora may be theoretically held or even ~~justified~~ ^{advocated}. It is not practically valid. Assuming that Israel will, in the course of time, come to contain three or four or even five million Jews, the majority of the Jewish people will nevertheless still reside outside its borders. This was the case,

also, during the Second Commonwealth, especially in the centuries immediately preceding the destruction in 70. It has been estimated that in the closing centuries of the Second Commonwealth about $2\frac{1}{2}$ million Jews lived in Palestine and about $5\frac{1}{2}$ million lived outside. There was a considerable dispersion of our people in the six centuries before the common era which extended from the borders of Persia in the East to Spain in the West, and from Ethiopia clear to the Black Sea. Important centers of Jewish life existed, simultaneously, with the Jewish State, in Babylon, Egypt, Syria and Asia Minor, in the islands of the Mediterranean, in Greece and in Italy. It has been estimated that every tenth person living in the Roman Empire in the first century of the common era was a Jew, and every fifth person living in the Eastern Mediterranean world was a Jew. The great dispersion was not always the result of expulsions. It was not always involuntary. Jews emigrated from Palestine for reasons also of trade and commerce, of economic opportunities elsewhere, perhaps also because of crowded conditions in the homeland.

What was the relationship of the Jews who lived outside of Palestine to the Jewish State? They owed no political allegiance to the Jewish State, and the Jewish States exercised no political control over them. We have the testimony of the Jewish philosopher, Philo, who lived in Egypt in the first century, who writes:

No one country can contain the whole Jewish nation, by reason of its populousness; on which account they frequent all the most prosperous and fertile countries of Europe and Asia, whether islands or continents, looking indeed upon the holy city as their metropolis in which is erected the sacred temple of the most high God, but accounting those regions which have been occupied by their fathers and grandfathers and great-grandfathers and still more remote ancestors, in which they have been born and brought up, as their country.

The country in which they lived was their country. The existence of a Jewish State did not diminish by an iota their loyalty to the countries in which they lived and in which they and their children were born. Theirs was no dual allegiance. Dual allegiance was never a fact in Jewish experience. It is the frightened and the insecure Jew, the one who is generally unhappy about his Jewish lineage ~~and who tried~~ to

curry favor with the non-Jewish world on the basis of self-effacement, ^{who} and spreads the charge of dual allegiance against those fellow-Jews who are not so frightened and servile.

The Jews who lived outside of Palestine in those days nevertheless recognized Palestine as the non-political center of world Jewry, especially because it was the center of ~~world Jewry, especially~~ their religion. It was the Holy Land. In Jerusalem was the Temple dedicated to the God of Israel. They were mindful of the prophecy, "Out of Zion shall go forth the Law, and the word of the Lord from Jerusalem." Palestine was their ancestral home and the center of Jewish religious worship. They made frequent pilgrimages to Palestine. On the festivals of the pilgrimage, thousands of Jews from all parts of the world poured into Jerusalem. It was a revered custom of Jews everywhere to contribute annually a half-shekel, which at stated periods was collected and carried to Jerusalem, as their voluntary contribution towards the maintenance of their central religious institutions. They ~~helped~~ helped the nation to defend itself when Rome attacked it, and they supported the rebellion of Bar Kochba against Rome in the second century when the Jews of Palestine attempted to regain their independence. They wanted the Jewish State to survive. Even after the destruction of the Temple, they continued to recognize the authority of the religious and spiritual leaders of Palestine, of the Sanhedrin and of the great religious academies, and to send their self-imposed tax for the support of the office of the Nasi and of scholars. The Jewish communities in other parts of the world, which later on established their own academies and produced their own illustrious religious leaders, nevertheless accepted the superior authority of the religious leaders and centers in Palestine. The authority of the patriarchate which existed to the 5th century and of the Palestinian academies and their prerogatives in such matters as the fixing of the calendar for world Jewry and the ordination of Rabbis was, with but occasional exceptions, accepted by all. The Jews fully understood the importance of maintaining a center, a unifying and organizing center of Jewish life, especially after the destruction both of the State and the Temple. They felt the need for some visible authority

to hold them together against the forces which threatened to disintegrate them. They knew themselves to be and they wished to remain one people, one historic community, united by common sympathies, inspired by common memories, sharing many likenesses, and cooperating with each other for common purposes and against common enemies. Rome destroyed Carthage. It destroyed also the Carthaginian nation. Rome destroyed Judeae. It could not destroy the Jewish nation. It only disrupted its political center and added to the dispersion of the people.

To sum up; there persisted throughout the centuries the liveliest interaction between Palestine and the Jews of the Diaspora which was a boon to both and which safeguarded the integrity of the people and the character of its faith. When the center in Palestine had become totally disrupted, and the Jews of the Diaspora were forced to turn to other centers for spiritual guidance - to Babylonia, Northern Africa, Spain and elsewhere - they nevertheless kept alive in their strong Messianic faith the hope of the return of the nation to Palestine and the restoration of its religious center there.

If history is any guide, the Jews of today who will continue to live in other lands will, by and large, maintain the same attitude towards the State of Israel as their forefathers did. Theirs will be a most sympathetic relationship towards that land. They will materially help it to absorb as many Jews as will wish to go there or may have to go there. They will help to build up its cultural, scientific, and spiritual institutions, as well as its economic life so that it may become a land of which Jews everywhere can be proud. For the eyes of the world will be on the land of Israel to see what Jews, as a people, can accomplish on their own. Israel will come to be again the non-political center of world Jewry. Pilgrims will go there as of old - and not merely the pious. There will be a free flow of manifold communications, of mutual stimulation, of give and take. Israel will again come to exercise a unifying and sustaining influence in Jewish life everywhere. We shall remain one

people, one historic community, as of old. But the Jews of Israel will be Israeli citizens and the Jews of the United States will be citizens of the United States, and similarly with Jews in other lands. They will owe undivided allegiance to their respective countries and they will discharge loyally their full duties as citizens, *and they will participate actively and whole heartedly in the social and cultural life of the lands; their birth or adoption* as Jews have always done. But they will retain a special attachment to the land of Israel which will in no way interfere with their duties and obligations as citizens of their respective countries. It was Voltaire who said that every cultured man should have two fatherlands - his own and France. In an even more profound sense, but equally non-political, it may be applied to the Jew and Israel. Israel will be the Sabbath in the life of our people when, according to a beautiful tradition, an additional soul is vouchsafed unto man.

~~I elaborated some of these ideas subsequently.~~

It is to the interest, not alone of the State of Israel, which will have to draw replenishment and economic and political support from the Diaspora reservoir for years to come, but of the Jewish people as a whole and of Judaism, the noblest creation of the Jewish people and its supreme gift to mankind, that Diaspora Jewry should remain vital, vigorous and spiritually sound. All talk, however patriotically motivated, which derogates Diaspora Jewry or altogether writes it off, is meaningless and harmful in the extreme.

It should never be forgotten that
What our people possessed today of cultural and spiritual treasures it not exclusively the creation of the Jews of Palestine. The 4,000-year-old drama of the Jewish people was enacted on more than one world stage. Some of its principal actors, from Moses to Moses, never lived in Palestine. Even when there was a flourishing Jewish life in Palestine, there were also flourishing Jewish communities in other lands. Babylonian and Palestinian Jewry, for example, re-enforced and enriched one another, and both made significant if not comparable contributions to the sum total of Jewish life and thought.

What is clearly indicated today is the setting in motion of the liveliest possible spiritual and cultural intercommunications and interactions between Israel and the Diaspora, similar to that which existed during ^{the} ~~periods~~ of the Second Commonwealth.

In fact, now that Theodore Herzl's political program has been triumphantly consummated and the ^{work} ~~world~~ of state-building and the in-gathering of our people is proceeding apace, the restoration movement may ~~now~~ well move into its spiritual and cultural orbit which was defined for our day and which is identified with the name of another great Zionist, Ahad-Ha-am. The ultimate objectives both of Herzl and Ahad-Ha-am were the same, though in practical life they frequently clashed. Herzl was impressed primarily with the physical and political problem of the Galut, and sought a political solution for it in the creation of a Jewish State. Ahad Ha-am saw the spiritual problem of the Galut in terms of the threatened cultural and spiritual disintegration of our people, and he sought a solution for it in the creation of a spiritual and cultural center for our people in Palestine.

It was fortunate that the sound political vision and program of Theodore Herzl governed the course of the movement until the State was established. A premature over-emphasis of the concept of a spiritual or cultural center would have found the Jewish people unprepared for the final political and military struggle without which the State could not have been established, and without which the in-gathering of myriads of our people could not have been accomplished. Ahad Ha-am discounted too much the value of practical work in Palestine and of political and diplomatic action. He was too skeptical of the capacity of Palestine to absorb them quickly.

But Herzl's political triumph now paves the way for the vision which was Ahad Ha-am's - that of ^{a cultural} ~~the~~ radiating center in a reconstituted Jewish State which would also serve as a unifying influence for world Jewry. Ahad Ha-am did not believe that a total kibbutz galuyoth, "a total in-gathering of all Jews", was feasible or necessary for the spiritual influence which a reconstructed Jewish State, true to the essential genius and character of historic Israel, could come to exercise in world Jewry.

The Jewish communities of the Diaspora will look eagerly for all stimulating influences which might emanate from Israel ^{in the future} ~~outside~~ ^{Israel} A But Diaspora Jewry need not remain a mere passive recipient of ~~outside~~ cultural influences. It can become, as indeed so often in the past it did become, creative in its own right, wherever the religion, language and literature of the Jewish people were fostered.

In 1909 Ahad Ha-am wrote in the Hashiloah: "It is necessary to improve and deepen our life as a people to the utmost possible degree in the Diaspora and, at the same time, to seek the complete and perfect solution beyond the Diaspora, in Palestine."

This is a good program for Jewish survival from here on. Israel and the Diaspora should remain inter-dependent, spiritually inseparable, though politically separate and apart. Both should be helped to become strong and creative.

But in order that the Jewish community in the United States ^{might} ~~should~~ become strong and creative, it is essential that we strengthen the basic agencies and institutions which alone can insure its growth and survival. And here, I shall restate my thinking ~~on~~ the subject of the future of the American Jewish community. I crave your indulgence for I suspect that some of my views will not be entirely accepted ^{able} ~~at~~ to some of you. I have expressed these views in the past before the American Association for Jewish Education and the Central Conference of American Rabbis and on numerous other occasions.

The world Jewish community is very old. It is perhaps more realistic to speak of world Jewish communities in the plural. These Jewish communities through the centuries took on a wide variety of organizational forms - in fact, almost every conceivable form, dictated by external political conditions or internal preferences. There never was a single pattern. There could not be for a living organism which was determined to survive under all conditions. What was constant in their communal life, whether in the ancient world or the Graeco-Roman world or the Christian or Moslem world, was the will to live as a Jewish community and to perpetuate and transmit

their religious faith. What energized that will was the conviction that they were bound by a covenant and charged with a mission, and the firm belief in the superiority and in the world-serving and world-conquering destiny of their faith and their way of life.

The American Jewish community is one of the more recent among the Jewish communities of history, albeit the largest and by far the most prosperous. It has many distinctive features. It is set in a distinctive environment. Nevertheless, its experiences are not entirely unique. Its organizational structure has precedents, and its problems of survival are not without parallel in Jewish history. In speculating, therefore, about its future, it would be well to take into account the experiences of other Jewish communities in the long past, and to consider well the years of many generations.

When I speak of the world Jewish community, I have in mind the historic ethnic-religious group which, whether as "Am Yisrael", the people of Israel, or "Beth Yisrael", the Household of Israel, or Bene Yisrael, the Children of Israel or "Adath Yisrael", the Assembly of Israel, or "Knesseth Yisrael", the Congregation of Israel, whether at home in Palestine or scattered in a great dispersion, was always inextricably bound up with its religion, always struggled to preserve its identity, and always remained one and indivisible. There was never a time in our recorded history when the concepts of faith and people were dissociated, though there were periods of great apostasy and threatening assimilation. Professor Pfeiffer is correct when he declares that only Jews among all peoples in antiquity "united nationalism and religion in a single ardent devotion." It is difficult to determine which motif is stronger - the ethnic or the religious. Even the Rabbis of old differed on this subject. Nor is it important. It is sufficient to remember that with the collapse of the Jewish state and the exile of the people, both after the first ~~time~~ and the second Destructions, neither the Jewish people nor its religion collapsed. The faith sustained the people. The people maintained their faith.

Up to the period of the Emancipation and for some thereafter - in fact, up to the close of the 19th century - few if any questioned the basically and predominantly religious character of the Jewish community. With the spread of secularism and the rise of nationalism, efforts were made, particularly in Eastern Europe, to reconstruct the Jewish community into a secular nationality organization in which religion would occupy a tolerated position among numerous other cultural, educational and social activities. A philosophy of Diaspora nationalism was evolved by such thinkers as Simon Dubnow and Chaim Zhitlovsky which, opposed to Zionism, anticipated the continued existence of the Jewish people as a secular, national minority in the Diaspora, possessed of constitutional guarantees which would insure it nationality status, communal self-government, educational autonomy, and the right to employ its own language. There was a brief moment following the first World War when this seemed possible in some countries of Eastern Europe as a result of special provisions incorporated in the minority treaties of the Peace Conference. However, national minority rights soon ran into violent resistance on the part of governments and rapid nullification followed. Today, with the practical liquidation of these Eastern European Jewries, the subject of Diaspora nationalism has become purely academic. Western European and American Jewish communities have never asked nor do they desire any special status as national minorities. This concept is alien to the political structure of these countries, where Jews desire equal rights of citizenship and freedom from all forms of discrimination. No more, no less.

The American Jewish community of tomorrow will continue as it is today, and for as long as America remains free, on a purely voluntary basis of allegiance, re-enforced by no legal constraint, no guaranteed minority rights, and no quasi-governmental mandates like those which were enjoyed by the French and Belgian consistories organized by Napoleon, or similar community structures which derived some of their authority and protection from the state. There have been many varieties of state-controlled and state-supervised Jewish communities in the past, and also many legally recognized communities which possessed fundamental privileges granting them not along religious

The American Jewish community will be centered in Judaism or it will not survive. It will be as an ethnic-religious community that it will carry on in the American scene, or it will disintegrate in the course of time. The term ethnic-religious is broad enough to include all that we mean when we speak of the Jewish way of life - Jewish philanthropy, Jewish social service, Jewish culture - but it is not so broad as to give to these derivative activities priority over the synagogue and religious education. Our concentration in the last generation upon philanthropy, foreign relief and civil defense has persuaded many Jews, I am afraid, not alone that these ~~are~~ represent the essence and totality of Judaism, but that they are also the true means of our survival. This is a dangerous delusion. These activities are commendable, necessary and worthy manifestations of wholesome Jewish life. But they are not its roots nor its nourishing strength. Jewish life in America will wither, and dry-rot will set in unless the tree sends its roots deep down into the rich soil of Jewish faith and Jewish learning. It should also be borne in mind that the state is steadily moving in on all fields of social and welfare services, pensions, socialized medicine, and all forms of security, and the importance of the private or denominational agency in these fields will progressively diminish. There will remain little which will be specifically Jewish in the field of organized social service. Likewise, campaigns for foreign relief will not continue indefinitely, and they cannot be counted upon to keep Jewish life permanently alerted and mobilized. Without a vital religion and a replenishing Jewish education and scholarship, the ~~xxx~~ American Jewish community will linger on as a waning and decaying residuum of the past in a twilight zone of drift until some unforeseen storm breaks over it, attacks its weakened frame, and shatters it beyond repair.

The Jew ~~xxx~~ survived in the Diaspora because he centered his life in the congregation, the school, and the synagogue. The congregation and synagogue came into being in exile as surrogate for Temple, state and government. It proved so accordant to

their needs and so consonant with their character that the returning exiles brought it back with them to restored Judea. It remained, of course, with those Jewish communities who did not return, and it remained with our people as the sole sanctuary of its life and spirit throughout the exile.

~~In the past, centers of Jewish life shifted from one part of the world to another. At times several important centers existed simultaneously.~~ ^{IP} In our day we saw the oldest and noblest centers of Jewish life in Europe practically destroyed. Providentially, two other important centers are arising today and are growing in strength and significance - the national center in Israel, and the Diaspora center in the United States. The American Jewish community owes it to itself and to history to take over its full measure of responsibility for carrying ^{on} ~~in~~ the historic work of Judaism. For this mighty task it will have to find, in the future, the resources within itself. It will no longer be able to live on borrowing. It can no longer expect its spiritual and cultural provisions to come to it from the Old World. Old World Jewry no longer exists as a provisioning center. We shall have to prepare our own victuals.

Fortunately, we are not altogether unprepared or unequipped for this task, not alone in external facilities, but also, I believe, in inner resources. American Jewry is organized, perhaps over-organized. At the moment it is somewhat helplessly enmeshed in a veritable network of organization. It possesses if not a sufficient, at least not a meager quota of synagogues, schools, libraries, Rabbinic seminaries, and social agencies. More are in the process of building. American Jews have also demonstrated a fine sense of solidarity and loyalty, particularly in these last desperate years when unprecedented disaster swept over their fellow-Jews in Europe and when the historic challenge reached them to assist in the restoration of the State of Israel. Their reactions were those of a sound and healthy organism. A great hour did not find them a small people. All this is ~~good~~ good building material for the future.

~~But~~ The wise architects of the future of the American Jewish community will do well to use all this good human material, so readily available, ~~of~~ loyalty, pride and responsibility, of generosity and organizational skill, to strengthen the central and the indispensable institution~~of~~ of the Jewish community, the synagogue, ~~which is~~ ^{and} ~~also~~ the school.

If our reasoning is correct, if the synagogue is to become the institution primarily responsible for the survival of the American Jewish community, then it must drastically re-orient itself. It must shift its emphasis from a place of worship to a place of serious religious education, far more extensive and far more intensive than anything which we, ~~at least we, of the liberal synagogue~~ have so far achieved. ~~Our Sunday Schools are simply not preparing Jews for the kind of an American Jewish community which we have in mind.~~ This is not the ^{place nor the time} ~~time~~ to discuss the remedy, but a frank facing of this fact is in itself the first step in the direction of finding a solution.

Here is ^{one fact, which} ~~one fact~~ ^{should be frankly faced.}

Failure to teach the Hebrew language in our schools is consigning the future American Jewish community, ~~I am afraid~~ ^{adequately} to cultural sterility. No Jewish community ever contributed culturally or ~~scholarly~~ scholastically to Jewish life which did not foster the Hebrew language and literature. No Jewish community ever survived for long which ignored Hebrew. This is an ineluctable fact of our experience. We cannot survive without Jewish learning.

Our people frequently employed other language media for their religious-cultural expressions - Greek, Arabic, Aramaic, and many European languages. This was true especially in the fields of technical scholarship and philosophy. However, the language of prayer, poetry, ethics and Jewish law - the deepest and most vital - was nearly always in the Hebrew. In the philosophic field, too, only those books which were early translated into the Hebrew and became available to Jews everywhere exerted any influence upon Jewish life and thought. One simply cannot conceive of the great creative periods in our history, whether in Babylon, Spain, Italy, North-western, or Eastern Europe without reference to the deliberate and extensive cultivation of the Hebrew language and literature in these centers.

I cannot conceive of a vital Jewish life in the Diaspora without an extensive study of the Hebrew language and literature among our people, without a knowledge of Judaism in its historic Hebraic manifestations. Furthermore, if we are thinking ~~in terms of the Hebrew language~~ of any cultural link between Israel and the Jews of the Diaspora, between Yisrael and Tefuzot ^TYisrael, then we must be thinking in terms of the Hebrew language. We must raise a generation which will be able to read the language in which the future cultural creations of Israel will be cast.

To sum up: -

There is much that we can give to the state of Israel - continued economic assistance until such time as ^{it} becomes self-sustaining ^{and} manpower, especially in those skills and professions in which Americans excel - and that includes social work of all kinds in which the State of Israel stands in ^{such great} ~~substantial~~ need as a result of the vast influx of ^{unselected} ~~unskilled~~ immigrants, nearly all of them destitute, many of them social casualties, difficult to integrate and adjust ^{we can give it continued} ~~and~~ defense and reenforcement in maintaining its ^{just and proper} status and position in the world. Whatever is best in the American experience and tradition, political, economic, social or cultural, ^{which} ~~they~~ we can bring to Israel ^{and which can} ~~to~~ advance and enrich its life, we ^{most continue to} ~~must~~ regard both as a mandate and a privilege. (over)

There is much that Israel can give us - much that it has already given us ^{It has given us} ~~It has given us~~ a haven for three-quarter of a million ^{of our fellow} Jews for which the great world had no room. A new status and ^{dignity} ~~dynasty~~ ^{for our people everywhere} ~~and~~ ^{and} for our children, a new sense of self-esteem and ^{equality} ~~self-respect~~. The beaten and languishing spirit of our people, ravaged by the appalling tragedies of the two world wars, ^{it} ~~has been~~ infused with a new hope and zest for life. Much else is destined to come out of that little land ~~land~~ in ^{historical} ~~historical~~ ^{guerdon} ~~guerdon~~ and recompense. ~~It would be strange~~ ~~at the~~

In my address before the the National Conference, the United Jewish Appeal last December, I said that it (add)

We ~~shall~~ ^{shall} render these services. not necessarily uncritically;
nor without expressing our opinions and judgments
~~about~~ ^{touching} the ways in which our assistance financial
or otherwise, ~~is~~ is utilized. We shall ^{insist upon} exercising our
freedom of expression at all times but always
constructively and responsibly. All wisdom ^{resides} ~~to~~ ^{with} neither
with us nor with them, and ~~the~~ ^{and the wise statesmen} the long view, ^{calls}
for an open probing of thought, ~~and~~ ^{and} experience and
confidence.



I believe this truly and mean, I do, and mean, I also (16)
believe in the future of the great American Jewish community,
I am eager for their closest relationship and interaction.



אמעריקאנער צייטונג און ישראל

מין ד-ר אבא הלל פילדער

19-3-52
Sonstliche
Sichtweise

ישראל צו דער יידישער מדינה? זיי האבן געגעבן זיי-
ער לאיאליטעט צו דער יידישער מדינה און די יידישע
מדינה האט נישט געפאדערט קיין פאליטישן קאנטראל
איבער די דאזיקע יידן. מיר האבן וועגן דעם אלס
עדות דעם יידישן פילאזאף פילא, וועלכער האט געלעבט
אין ערשטן יארהונדערט פון דער קריסטלעכער צייט-
רעכענונג אין אלעקסאנדריע, מצרים, און וועלכער האט
אזוי געשריבן:

"איין איינציקע מדינה קען נישט אויסגעמען די גאנ-
צע יידישע נאציע צוליב איר גרויסער צאל, דערפאר
האבן זיי יידן באזעצט אין די אנטוויקלטע און פרוכט-
בארע געגענטן פון אייראפע און אזיע, אויף די אינזלען
אדער קאנטינענטן, באטראכטנדיק די הייליקע שטאט
(ירושלים) אלס זייער מעטראפאליע, אין וועלכער עס
געפינט זיך דאס בית המקדש פון זייער גאט, אבער די
דאזיקע יידן זענען אין די לענדער, אין וועלכע עס האבן
שוין געלעבט זייערע אבות און אין וועלכע זיי לעבן
איצט און וו ס'זענען געבוירן און דערצויגן געווארן
זייערע קינדער — זיי זענען און באטראכטן זיי אלס
זייערע פאטערלענדער."

דאס לאנד, אין וועלכן יענע יידן האבן געלעבט, איז
געווען זייער לאנד, די עקזיסטענץ פון א יידישער מדי-
נה האט נישט פארמינדערט זייער לאיאליטעט צו די
לענדער, אין וועלכע זיי האבן געלעבט און אין וועלכע
זייערע קינדער זענען געבוירן געווארן. זיי האבן נישט
געהאט טאפלעטע לאיאליטעטן, וועלכע זענען קיינמאל
נישט געווען א פאקט אין דער יידישער דערפארונג. נאר
דער איבערגעשראקענער און דער אינערלעך נישט זי-
כערער ייד, וועלכער איז אומביליקלעך וועגן זיין יידי-
שער אפשטאמונג, פרווהט צו געווינען די צושטימונג
פון דער נישט-יידישער וועלט אויף דער באזע פון זיך
אלין אויסמעקן און נאר אונזלעכער ייד פארשפרייט דעם
פארווארף פון טאפלעטע לאיאליטעט קעגן אונזלעכע יידן.
וועלכע זענען נישט איבערגעשראקן און סערוואל.

די יידן, וועלכע האבן אין יענע צייטן געלעבט חוץ פון
ארץ-ישראל, האבן טראץ דעם באטראכט ארץ-ישראל אלס
דעם נישט פאליטישן צענטער פון וועלט-יידנטום. זיי
האבן געהאלפן די יידן אין ארץ-ישראל זיך צו פאר-
טיידיקן קעגן די אטאקירנדיקע רוימער און זיי האבן
אונטערשטיצט דעם אויפשטאנד פון בר כוכבה אין
צווייטן יארהונדערט, ווען די יידן אין ארץ-ישראל האבן
געפרוהט צו געווינען אויפסיין זייער וועלטסשטענד-
קייט. און אויך נאך דער צעשטערונג פון דעם בית
המקדש האבן די יידן חוץ ארץ-ישראל נישט אויפגע-
הערט אנצודערקענען די אויטאריטעט פון די רעליגיעזע
און גייסטיקע אנפירער אין ישראל און צו שיקן זייערע
פרייזליקע תרומות פאר דעם נשאי און פאר די תלמי-
דים אין ארץ-ישראל. די יידישע ישובים אין אנדערע
לענדער פון דער וועלט, וועלכע האבן שפעטער אנט-
וויקלט אייגענע אקאדעמיעס און געהאט אייגענע בא-
רימטע רעליגיעזע מנהיגים, האבן טראץ דעם אנערקענט
ארץ-ישראל אלס דעם רעליגיעזן צענטער.

די יידן האבן זייער גוט פארשטאנען די וויכטיקייט
צו האבן א צענטער פון יידישן לעבן, בפרט נאך דער
צעשטערונג הן פון דער מדינה און הן פון דעם בית
המקדש. זיי האבן געפילט די נויטווענדיקייט פון א
ממשותדיקן אויטאריטעט, כדי צו פארבינדן די יידן
איינעם מיטן אנדערן, קעגן די טענדענצן, וועלכע האבן
באדראט יידישקייט. זיי האבן זיך באטראכט אלס איין
פאלק און אלס א געשיכטלעכן קאלעקטיוו און זיי האבן
געוואלט דעם מצב באווארענען.

רוים האט צעשטערט קארטאגא און דערמיט האט זי
אויך צעשטערט די קארטאגישע נאציע. רוים האט
צעשטערט מלכות יהודה, אבער די יידישע נאציע האט
רוים נישט געקענט צעשטערן. זי האט נאר פארגיכ-
טעט דעם פאליטישן צענטער און האט פארגרעסערט די
שוין פאראן געוועזענע פארשפרייטונג פון די יידן.
אויב געשיכטע איז איבערהויפט א פירערין, וועלן די
היינטיקע יידן, וועלכע וועלן פארבלייבן אין זייערע איז-
טיקע ווינלענדער, אננעמען די וועלכע האלטונג לגבי
דער יידישער מדינה, זיי זייערע אבות אין די צייטן פון
פילא:

עס וועט זיך אנטוויקלען א זייער סימפאטישע באצי-
אונג לגבי ישראל. מען וועט העלפן מאטעריעל צו
אבסארבירן אזוי פיל יידן אין ישראל, וויפיל עס וועלן
וועלן זיך דארט באזעצן אדער וועלן זיין געצוונגען צו
עליה.

מען וועט העלפן אויפבויען קולטורעלע, וויסנשאפט-
לעכע און גייסטיקע אינסטיטוציעס און געזונטער עקא-
נאמיע אזוי, אז ישראל זאל ווערן א מדינה, מיט וועל-
כער יידן אין דער גאנצער וועלט וועלן קענען שטאל-
צירן.

דען די אויגן פון דער גאנצער וועלט וועלן קוקן
אויף ישראל, צו זעען, האט דאס יידישע פאלק קען
שאפן. ישראל וועט ווידער ווערן דער צענטער פון דעם
וועלט-יידנטום.

דאס אויסקומען פון מדינת ישראל מוז האבן א הש-
פעה אויף דער צוקונפטיקער אנטוויקלונג פון דעם יידישן
פאלק אין דער גאנצער וועלט און אויפן יהדות אלס
אזעלכע, וואס איז ענדלעך צו היסטארישע אנאלאגישע
געשעענישן אין אונזער פארגאנגענהייט. די צעשטערונג
און דער ווידעראויפבוי פון אונזער מדינה אין זעקסטן
יארהונדערט פאר קריסטוס און אויך די צעשטערונג
אין די צייטן פון טיטוס זענען געווען ווענדעפונקטן אין
דער יידישער געשיכטע. זיי האבן אויפגעצוונגען אויף
אונזער פאלק א פאליטישע, סאציאלע און גייסטיקע צו-
פאסונג צו נייע באדינגונגען און האבן פאר די יידן
באשאפן א ווייטע לעבנסשטייגער. די ווידעראבשאפונג
פון דער יידישער מדינה אין אונזערע טעג מוז זיך דער-
פאר אויך ארויסווייזן אלס א ווענדעפונקט. דאס יאר
1948 וועט פארגעמען א פלאץ צווישן די דריי וויכטיקע
דאטעס אין דער יידישער געשיכטע.

מיר זענען נאך צו נאענט צו דעם געשעעניש, כדי
מיר זאלן עס קענען געהעריק אפשאצן, אבער מיר הויבן
איצט אן צו באמערקן עפעס פון זיינע גרויסע ווירקונ-
גען. די ערשטע איז א פסיכאלאגישע. דער באגריף
פון דעם "אייביקן ייד" און די באצייכענונג "גלות" וועלן
פאמעלעך פארשיינדן. ווען מען קען פריי זיך אומקערן
אזוי און זיין אייגן אומאפהענגיק לאנד, איז מען נישט
מער אין גלות, ווייל נאר אן אויפגעצוונגענע דערוויי-
טערונג פון דעם אייגענעם לאנד איז גלות. דער פאקט
אלליין — דער סוף פון נאציאנאלן גלות פאר דעם יידישן
פאלק — וועט גינסטיק באאיינפלוסן דעם באווסטזיין
פון יעדן יידן אין דער גאנצער וועלט. דאס וועט געבן
יעדן יידישן יחיד, וו ער זאל זיך נישט געפינען,
וועלכעס-רעספעקט און גארמאליטעט, וועלכע האט אזוי
לאנג געפעלט אין דער יידישער דערפארונג. אין דער
צוקונפט וועט זיך אלץ, וואס א ייד וועט שאפן אויפן
געביט פון קינסט און אין ליטעראטור, אפשייגלען די
נייע האלטונג און ווירדע און דעם צוטרוי צו זיך אליין.
דאס הייסט אבער נישט, אז דער ייד וועט אלס א מיט-
גליד פון א מינאריטעטן-גרופע אויך אין דער צוקונפט
נישט זיין אויסגעזעצט אויף אונזלעכע דיסקרימינאציעס,
וואס עס האבן אויסגעשטיין אנדערע מינאריטעטן-גרופ-
עס אין די מיינסטע טיילן פון דער וועלט.

א הייטערע וויכטיקע קאנסעקוענץ פון דעם נייעם ע-
פאכע-מאכנדיקן געשעעניש איז די באשאפונג פון א
גרויסן יידישן באפעלקערונג-צענטער אין אריענט און
די אומגרויפונג פון דעם וועלט-יידנטום. ס'איז מעג-
לעך, אז ווען דער ריז פון דער איינציקער עליה וועט
ווייערן, וועלן אין יאר 1960 זיין אין ישראל צוויי מי-
ליאן אדער אפילו נאך מער יידן. אין די הייטערדיקע
יארן וועט די דאזיקע צאל אפשר נאך מער וואקסן. דריי
אדער פיר מיליאן זענען נישט קיין איבערגעטריבענע
צאלן. די יידישע באפעלקערונג אין ישראל, נאך די פאר-
אייניקטע שטאטן וועט זיין די גרעסטע אין דער וועלט.
אזוי ארום וועט ווידער פארקומען א גרויסע קאנצענטרא-
ציע פון אונזער פאלק אין מזרח, וו ס'איז געשטאנען די
הויב פון אונזער פאלק און פון אונזער רעליגיע, און
דער מזרח וועט ווידער ווערן דאס אנהייבנדיקע קול-
טורעלע ווינקל פון דעם צוקונפטיקן שאפערישן יידישן
לעבן. א ווונדערפול ניי קאפיטל פון דער יידישער גע-
שיכטע האט זיך אנגעהויבן.

וואס פארא פאליטישע ווירקונגען וועט די באשאפענע
יידישע מדינה האבן פאר יידן חוץ ישראל און זיי אזוי
וועט זיין די האלטונג פון די יידן אין דער גולה לגבי
ישראל? עס איז אנצונעמען, אז די מערהייט פון דעם
יידישן פאלק וועט אויך אין די נאענטע קומענדיקע יארן
לעבן חוץ מישראל, די אידעע וועגן דער פארשיינדונג
פון דער גולה קען מען האלטן פאר מעבלעך טעאָרעטיש
און אפילו דאס אויך פאדערן. זי האט אבער פראק-
טיש גענומען, קיין באדייטונג, אפילו ווען ישראל זאל
במשך פון א געוויסער צייט פאראייניקן אויף איר שטח
מיר אדער פינף מיליאן יידן, וועט נאך אלץ די מער-
הייט פון דעם יידישן פאלק לעבן אויסגעהאלבן ישראלס
גרענעצן.

אזוי איז עס אויך געווען בשעת דער צייט פון בית
שני, ספעציעל אין די יארהונדערטער פאר דער צעשטע-
רונג אין יאר 70. מען שאצט, אז אין די לעצטע צייטן
פון בית שני האבן געלעבט אין ארץ-ישראל צוויי מיט
א האלבן מיליאן יידן און חוץ ארץ-ישראל האבן גע-
לעבט 5 מיט א האלבן מיליאן. אין די זעקס יארהונ-
דערטער פאר קריסטוס זענען יידן געווען צעשפרייט
פון פערסיע ביז שפאניע און פון עטיאפיע ביז צום
שווארצן ים. גלייכצייטיק מיט דער יידישער מדינה האבן
עקזיסטירט וויכטיקע צענטערס אין בבל, מצרים, סיריע,
אין קליין-אזיע, אויף די אינזלען אין ים-התכון און
אין גריכנלאנד און איטאליע. מען האט געשאצט, אז יע-
דער צענטער בירגער אין דער רוימישער אימפעריע
און אין די מדינה-געביטן פון ים התכון איז יעדע פינפטע
פערזאן געווען א ייד.

וועלכע זענען די באצייאונגען פון די יידן חוץ ארץ-

(צווייטער ארטיקל אין אומענדיקן נומער).

א מיסיע פון גוטן זיין און א באז

צוקונפט

צדדים פון אלע ציוניסטישע שאטירונגען, כדי צו קומען צו אן עמק השווה און אויסגלייכן אלע קאנפליקטן, וואס זענען איינגעטלעך גאנץ נישטיקע לגבי דעם היכטיקן צוזעץ. ס'איז אבער כדאי דא אנצווייזן אויף צוויי מא- מענטשן, וועלכע זענען אין די רעדעס פון די חשובע מיטגלידער גאנץ עפיואדיש דערמאנט געווארן און וועל- כע זענען, לפי עניות דעתי, דער עיקר העיקרים פון ציו- ניסטישער צוקונפט. ה' באראץ האט דערמאנט די יידישע קינדער פון פראנקרייך, וואס האבן באזוכט יס- ראל און וואס זענען עלול צו זיין די אמבאסאדארן פון ציוניזם אין גלות. ד"ר וואלפסבערג האט גערעדט וועגן העברעאיש אלס די געמיינזאמע שפראך פון יידן, אלס מיטל צו שאפן אן איינהייטלעכע קולטור, וועלכע דאס פאלק דארף קענען.

לויט מיינ מיינונג זענען עס צוויי קאנדינאלע און פרינציפיעלע פראגן, די ביז איצטיקע מעטאדן פון פאר- ענטפערן זיי זענען נישט גענוגנדיק און וועלן אויגן ווייט נישט פארפירן. אונז איז זייער גוט, וואס די ציוניסטישע פעדעראציע האט ארויסגעשיקט קינדער און יונגטלעכע קיין ישראל אויף אן אויספולג, אונז איז זייער גוט, וואס די ציוניסטישע פעדעראציע האט אר- גאניזירט איינעם אדער צוויי אונט-קורסן פון עברית. נאך בעסער וועט זיין, ווען אונזלעכע אויספולגן קיין יס- ראל וועלן זיין עפטרעע און ווען אין זיי וועלן אנטהילן נעמען הונדערטער קינדער, אנטשטאט צענטליקער; נאך בעסער וועט זיין, ווען אנטשטאט צוויי העברעאישע קורסן וועלן זיין צען אדער פופצן. אבער דאס איז נישט אלץ, מיטן עלטערן דור פון פראנצויזישן יידנטום — און דאס קען מען אויך זאגן וועגן יידנטום פון אנדערע לענדער — וועט מען שוין קיין גרויסע זיבן זאכן נישט אויפשאפן. אמת, מדינת ישראל איז פאפולער ביי יידן און ציון איז גאנצט צו יעדן יידישן הארץ, אבער סענטימענטן לאזן זיך נישט אזוי שנעל אויסדריקן אין ממשותדיקע שריט. ראטעווען דארף מען הויפטזעכלעך און בעיקר דעם יוגן דור. ס'איז שוין וועגן דעם צו פיל גערעדט געווארן און כיוצא זיך דערפאר נאך בא- שרענקען צו דריי הערטער : א נאציאנאלע סענלעכע שולע, אט דאס איז גויטיק, דאס איז דער בראשית פון יעטועדער ציוניסטישער טעטיקייט און אן אזא שולע פאר קינדער אין גלות איז ארויסגעווארפן אלץ, וואס מ'רעדט און — זאל מיר דערלויבט זיין צו זיין אן אפיקורס — אפילו אלץ, וואס מען טוט. ס'איז גאר- נישט היכטיק, צי די מגבית אין פראנקרייך וועט אריי- ברענגען 5 מיליאן פראנק מער אדער 2 מיליאן פראנק

צי שטייען מיר ערב א ווענונג אין דער ציוניסטי- שער טעטיקייט ? צי וועלן ענדלעך די פארשידענע ציוניסטישע פארטייען געפינען א געמיינזאמע שפראך פארן גרויסן געמיינזאמען ציוניסטישן ציל און דערמיט הויבן דעם פרעסטיזש פון ציוניזם ביי די יידישע מאסן אין גלות און אין ישראל ?

די דאזיקע פראגן דערזעקן זיך אין צוזאמענהאנג מיטן אנקומען פון דער „מיסיע פון גוטן ווילן" אין פאריז.

ווייט אויס, אז אין די אנפירנדיקע ציוניסטישע קרייזן האט מען אנגעהויבן זיך ערנסט פארטראכטן איבער דער צוקונפט פון דער באוועגונג, וואס האט נאכן שכרות פון מדינה-נצחון ווארלוירן זייער א סך פון איר דינאמיש- קייט און שיוונג, פון איר פרעסטיזש און פאפולארי- טעט. נישט אומזיסט איז אנטשטאנען דער געדאנק פון „צוריק צום שורש" אדער „צוריק צו הערצלען" און אונז איז נישט אן באדייטונג איז די אידעע פון אן אידעע- לאגן-קאנסערווערן, וואס זאל זיך פארטראכטן וועגן די מיטלען צו פארטיפן דעם ציוניסטישן געדאנק און אים פארשפרייטן צווישן די יידישע מאסן. א ווייטערדיקער שריט צו דעם ווידעראויפבוי פון דער ציוניסטישער בא- וועגונג איז די איצטיקע אינציאטיוו פון ה' יוסף שפרינ- צאק, וואס איז נישט נאך כנסת-פארזיצער, נאך אויך יושב ראש פון אקציאנס-קאמיטעט, ארויסצושיקן אין די יידישע ישובים מיסיעס פון גוטן ווילן מיטן צוזעץ צו פארגלעטן די עקזיסטירנדיקע דיפערענצן אין ציוניס- טישן לאגער און דערמיטליקן די ציוניסטישע באוועגונג צו א באנייטער שוונגפולער טעטיקייט.

דער ערשטער פרוח פון אזא שליחות איז איצט גע- מאכט געווארן. קיין פאריז זענען אנגעקומען די דריי מלאכי השלום, וועלכע דער פארזיצער פון אקציאנס- קאמיטעט האט געשיקט : ה' יוסף העפטמאן, רעדאק- טאר פון „הבקר", פארזיצער פון ישראלדיקן זשורנאל- ליסטן-פאראיין און פרעזידענט פון פארטיי-ראש פון די ציונים כלליים; ה' יוסף באראץ, מיטגלידער פון דגניה, מיטגליד פון אקציאנס-קאמיטעט, געז. כנסת- דעפוטאט, מיטגליד פון צענטראל-קאמיטעט פון מפא"י און ד"ר ישעיהו וואלפסבערג, געז. ישראל-פארשטייער אין שוועדן, מיטגליד פון אקציאנס-קאמיטעט און איינער פון די אנפירער פון הפועל המזרחי. דער סעקרעטאר פון דער מיסיע איז ה' קרויטנער — א פארשטייער פון ארגאניזאציע-דעפארטאמענט פון דער יידישער אגענץ אין ירושלים און א מיטגליד פון דער פראגרעסיבער פארטיי.

די דערמאנטע דריי מלאכים פון גוטן ווילן, אנגעזע- ענע און אלט אויסגעפרוהטע ציוניסטישע פערזענלעכ- קייטן, פארטרעטן דא נישט זייערע פארטייען, נאך רע- פרעזענטירן א גוטן און ווייט אויס אויך א שטארקן ווילן צו באנייען און אפפרישן די, איך גלות א שפאר ביסל פארזאמלעטע, ציוניסטישע מאשין.

אויף א פרעסע-קאנסערווערן, וואס איז פארגעקומען אין דער היגער אגענץ-געביידע, האט די געקומענע „מיסיע פון גוטן ווילן" זיך פארגעשטעלט פאר די פרע- סע-פארשטייער און איבערגעגעבן וועגן ציל פון איר באזוך. די אפיציעל אנגעזאגטע פרעסע-קאנסערווערן האט זיך גאנץ שנעל פארהאנדלט אין א ווער געמיטלעכן און אנגענעמען שמועס. ווייל ווי אנדערש קען מען אן- רופן די דאזיקע עונג רוח-אטמאספער, וועלכע עס האט באוויזן צו שאפן דער גייסטרייכער רעדאקטאר העפטמאן מיט זיין שארפזיניקן, טיפיש יידיש-ישראלדיקן שמועס, וואס הגם לייבט אין פארם, איז ער אבער געווען ערנסט און מיט זארג דורכגעדרונגען אין איהאלט. פון אים איז נישט אפגעשטאנען דער העטערן פון חלוצישער און ציוניסטישער ארבעט יוסף באראץ, וועמענס אפ- געברענט געזיכט דערמאנט מער א קיבוץניק, ווי א פאר- לאמענטארישן שליח און וועמענס „קימוץ" — אויב מיר זאלן באנוצן א קיבוץניש לשון — איז געווען נישט נאך אינטערעסאנט, נאך קודם כל רעאל אין דער אויפ- פאסונג פון די פראגן, וועלכע ער האט בארירט. און דאן איז נאך צוגעקומען די קורץ-געפאסטע, אבער אומ- צוויידיטיק קלארע רעדע וועגן ציוניסטישן פרעסטיזש, וואס האט געהאלטן דער ירושלימער בעדיקער, שריפט- שטעלער און פאליטיקער ד"ר וואלפסבערג.

די פראבלעמען, וועלכע די דריי מיטגלידער פון ווילן- אין טאט האבן בארירט, זענען איינגעטלעך נישט ניי- יעדער ציוניסט קען זיי.

אונזער יונגע מדינה דארף בייקומען גרויסע נסיונות און אליין איז זי עס נישט בכוח צו האבן. די איצטיקע באפעלקערונג פון ישראל באשטייט פון א פארשידנפאר- ביקער מאסע נייע עולים און אלט איינגעוועסענע און די אלע מוז מען צונויפמישן אין איין פאלק. דערצו מוז דאס גלות-יידנטום העלפן. פון דער אנדערער זייט אבער איז ישראל אויך היכטיק פארן גלות-יידנטום, פאר זיין כבוד און לעבן. מיט דער פארשטארקונג פון דער מדינה, מיט איר סווערעניטעט און פעסטער פא- זיצע איז אויך שטארק די פאזיציע, דער גוטער נאמען און דער כבוד פון יעדן יידישן ישוב אויף דער העלט און פון יעדן איינצלנעם ייד. דערפון איז קלאר : עס מוז זיין א קענווייטיקע פארשטענדעניש צווישן מדינת ישראל און עם ישראל, אין די גלות-לענדער. עס גייט נישט נאך אין מאטעריעלער הילף פאר ישראל, נאך

מאקסימיליאן מויבנער

איך האב באשלאסן צו באזוכן חוץ, די שטאט פון מיינע חייטע, זארגלאזע קינדער-יארן. אינעם וואגאן, וואס האט מיך אהין געפירט, איז געווען א בארעדע- דיקע געזעלשאפט פון רייזנדיקע. די הויפט-טעמע פון די שמועסן זענען געווען פערזענלעכע „איבערלעבונגען" אדער איבערדערציילטע וועגן דער אזוי גערום. סאחטיש- שער דעמאקראציע-ליניע אין עסטרייך. דאס איז די גרענעץ-ליניע צווישן די אקופאציע-זאנעס און אויף וועלכער ס'קומט פאר א קאנטראל פון די רייזנדיקע דורך סאחטישע זעלנער. מיט א קאנטיקן ציסער דער- ווארטן די רייזנדיקע די דאזיקע קאנטראל. מען דער- ציילט אויך וועגן איר פון פינגער אויסגעוויגענע, פאג- טאסטישע לעגענדעס. א פאקט איז, אז עולם האט מורא און אז א לאנגע צייט פארן איבערפארן די ליניע הויבט מען זיך אן צוגרייטן צו דער קאנטראל. פאסא- זשירן מיט דערפארונג ראטן, געבן עצות, ווי צ"ב נישט פאראסן, אז מ'קען רוסיש אדער נישט אויסזאגן, אז מען שטאמט פון מזרח-איראפע אצ"ח. די פאסאזשירן האבן אויסגעטרייטלט זייערע קעשענעס און צעריסן אלע אי- בעריקע פאפירלעך, וואס קענען אויסווען פארדעכטיק... די באן האט זיך אפגעשטעלט און דער עסטרייכי- שער קאנדוקטאר האט אנגעזאגט א קאנטראל פון דא- קומענטן. א טויט-שטילקייט האט באהערשט דעם לאנגן צוג. אין דער שטילקייט האבן זיך דערהערט שווערע טריט, אויפן שוועל פון קופע האט זיך בא- וויזן א יונגער סאחטישער זעלנער אין א קיילעכדי- קער, שוין היינטערדיקער היטל און נישט ארויסרעדנ- דיק קיין ווארט גענומען די דאקומענטן אין זיין האנט, א בליק געטאן אויף זיי, איבערגעדרייט און הייטער גע- גאנגען. דאס איז געווען די שטילסטע קאנטראל, וואס איך האב ווען ס'איז דורכגעלעבט.

איך בין צוגעגאנגען צום פענצטער. אויפן באן-הויף האט א גרופע יונגע רוים-ארמיער געטרונקען ביר און פריילעך געלאכט. אויפן בנין פון וואקזאל איז געהא- נען א ריכטיק פארטרעט פון סאחטישן מיט א ריכטיק