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Autobiography/memoirs, Book 1, second draft, 1963?.

As I look back upon my political and economic attitudes, I believe that I should describe myself as a liberal. I was never a socialist, but I favored the welfare state, I was never a committed political or economic party man - but I have found certain constancies in my judgments. In 1929 I penned what I then called the Creed, which the untired and undaunted liberals of all times have lived by - ~~Franklin~~ the first person singular pronoun ~~for the~~ plural and the statement became what it in fact was a personal creed.



art and in literature. But it is unorganized and undirected. It lacks program and leadership. It is certainly not aggressive. At best it rallies around a few liberal magazines, or a new school of social work, or a few outstanding men noted for their liberal tendencies.

There is a creed which the untired and undaunted liberals of all times have lived by. *This is the creed I subscribe to*

We believe in Man, in his slow, ascendent progress, in the autonomy of his spirit and in the primacy of his claims over the claims of all forms of human organization.

We believe in freedom -- the fullest measure of freedom compatible with the fullest measure of responsibility.

We believe in authority -- but only in authority sanctioned by reason and consent.

We believe that the only tools of social progress are education, experimentation and cooperation.

We believe that to be well-governed is not as important as to be self-governed; that values bestowed are not as desirable as values achieved. Hence, we reject all manner of milleniums proffered to us at the spear-point of dictatorship.

We believe that all truth is made manifest through the contact and clash of diverse opinions and that the very motive power of progress is the free exchange of ideas and the exercised privilege of non-conformity.

We believe in tolerance but not in indifference, in enthusiasm but not in fanaticism, in convictions but not in obsessions, in independence but not in isolation, in conflict but not in hate.

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^{2nd} In the year that I came to Cleveland, 1917, the Communist Revolution took place in Russia. Throughout the succeeding years of struggle between what has come to be known as the East and the West, I had to define my own position toward Communism in its manifold manifestations. No religious leader could or would wish to by-pass this major challenge of the twentieth century. The pulpit would have relegated itself to irrelevancy in the modern world if it had failed to give men guidance on this powerful new phenomenon which was shaking the very foundations of our society. Religion could not ignore it--for it was attacking all religion. Democracy and liberalism could not ignore it, for it was destroying them both wherever it could. It would have been a simple matter to engage in wholesale condemnation and so find oneself praised and applauded. But there were factors in the Communist revolution which the religious leader was obligated to consider, and spiritual elements which he could not ignore. As between the East and the West it was not altogether a case of black or white--the perfectly good system against the utterly evil one.

In 1917, when Bolshevism first swept into power in Russia, I delivered a sermon at The Temple on "Bolshevism--How to Meet It". My central thought was "Kill Bolshevism with justice, kill it with love". That was very naive, quite as naive as were the teachings of the founders of our faith when they confronted the evils of their own day. Since then I have visited Russia three times, in 1926, 1935 and 1961. I have spoken often in and out of my pulpit on what our attitude towards the Soviet Union should be. ^{FROM MY LAST TRIP} UPON MY RETURN IN JULY OF 1961, I ISSUED A STATEMENT TO THE PRESS IN WHICH I SUMMARIZED WHAT I ^{HAD BEEN SAYING THROUGH THE YEARS} "I am convinced that we must learn to live on the same globe with the Soviet people and they with us. The Russians have adopted a way of life which is theirs. I would not choose it for myself or for America. It has stark and basic defects

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which we cannot ignore, and it has certain merits which we should not underestimate. But their way of life is theirs, and whatever is wrong with it they themselves will have to correct in the future. Neither they nor we are always in the right. ~~There is much, in my humble judgment, that each can learn from the other, though neither at the moment seems to be inclined to acknowledge it. Neither system has said the last word: Both have undergone changes in the past, and undoubtedly will do so in the future. The exigencies of life may bring them closer together, even though their dogmas and ideologies appear to be irreconcilable.~~ The leaders of both countries must try to reduce tensions. The peoples of the world are waiting for signs of a new and inspired statesmanship both in the



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Kremlin and the White House. The old is leading us nowhere, only from one crisis to another. Let us not be afraid to trade with each other in goods or in ideas. Let us compete in only one way -- which system can do more for its people.

"Certainly there are great differences between their system and our system, but these differences cannot be resolved by the sword. The problem before the world today is not which system is the better, but how the two can keep from destroying each other -- and mankind. Both are strongly entrenched and sufficiently powerful that one cannot destroy the other without destroying itself. The question is then not which will bury the other, but whether a war, once unleashed between the East and the West will not bury them both.

"The only alternative to annihilationist war is mutual accommodation. Many of the differences between us will have to be left to the solvent of time. The two systems will certainly persist concurrently for a long time. This should be accepted as an axiom by this generation and the next, and the next. Neither the communists nor we are getting off the globe. We must all, therefore, make every effort to free ourselves from the emotional climate of the cold war. This, of course, applies also to the communists, for the cold war cannot be ended unilaterally. As a people, we should learn to live more wisely and less excitedly, and to act more circumspectly and cooperatively in world affairs, exploring every avenue of possible agreement and bearing in mind that we can never have it all our own way. As a rule, it is better to

study our adversary -- at times even to learn from him -- than to abuse him. We should go about our national business without emotional tautness, certainly without self-righteousness, in the full knowledge that while the worst can happen, in all likelihood it will not; doing what we feel we ought to do at the behest of our own national traditions and principles, helping where we can, seeking no political compensation in return, craving no praise and deterred by no threats, looking first to the soundness and justice of our own economy and the well-being of our people. No one will rob us of our chosen way of life, nor will time rust our spiritual treasures, if we cherish them lovingly. "

I was, of course, widely criticized and attacked for the position which I took.

IN LINE WITH MY POSITION I FAVORED DIPLOMATIC
RECOGNITION OF RUSSIA IN THE 1930'S AND RUSSIA'S
ADMISSION TO THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS AND OUR
EARLY RECOGNITION OF RED CHINA AFTER WORLD
WAR II. I ~~HAD ALREADY~~ FELT THAT
OUR MILITARY INTERVENTION IN KOREA ^{WAS PRECIPITOUS} IN AN ADDRESS TITLED
"A LETTER TO MR. TRUMAN" WHICH I DELIVERED
ON DEC. 17, 1950 AND WHICH WAS REPRINTED
IN THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, LEAVING MY
REASONS

AND BORN MORE OF
IMPATIENCE THAN
STATESMANSHIP,

I favored our recognition of Red China, and was opposed to our military intervention in Korea. In an address titled, "A Letter to Mr. Truman", which I delivered in the Temple pulpit on December 17, 1950, I said:

"In his address to the country the other evening, President Truman summoned the American people to unity and self-sacrifice because of the grave danger in which our country finds itself. "Those of us who work for the government", he stated, "will do our best, but the outcome depends, as it has always depended, on the spirit and energy of our people".

"In my humble judgment there has been very little wrong with the spirit and energy of the American people. They did not fail, either in unity or in the spirit of sacrifice, either in the first World War or in the second World War. Whatever was asked of them they performed, competently and patriotically. They gave their sons to the war, and their daughters -- as many as the government demanded. On the battlefields our fighting men _____

gave an excellent account of themselves, and withdrew from no sacrifice in life or blood. Our shops, our mines, our mills were adequately manned. Whatever taxes our government imposed upon our people they paid. Whatever restrictions and rationings were imposed upon them were complied with. There never was and there is not now any reason to doubt the loyalty, the patriotism and the readiness to sacrifice on the part of the American people in defense of their country or their freedom. I doubt whether the proclamation of a state of national emergency was really required to make the American people aware of how serious the present situation is.

The American people is not illiterate. They read their newspapers, they listen to their radio, they know what is going on in Korea; they know what is going on in the United Nations. Their sons are even at this moment fighting and some of them dying in Korea.

But they, the American people, do not make our foreign policy. They did not send our armies unprepared into Korea. They were not consulted as to whether we should go into Korea. According to our Constitution, Congress, and Congress alone, has the power to declare war and make peace. The Congress of the United States was not consulted about sending our troops into Korea. President Truman alone decided this grave issue by the simple device of calling this intervention not a war, but a police action. This police action has already cost our people 40,000 casualties.

// Our allies likewise were not consulted. In his speech last Friday evening, the President said that we must work with a sense of real partnership and common purpose with the other free nations who need our help as we need theirs. These partners were ignored when President Truman ordered our troops into Korea. The question is, why?

// The United Nations, too, were not consulted. It is the prime responsibility of the United Nations, not of the United States, to resist aggression in the world. It was only after President Truman launched our military effort in Korea that the United States asked for the approval of the United Nations. This is not the procedure outlined in the Charter of the United Nations.

// Why did not our government wait for clear directives from the United Nations in the matter of Korea? Why did not our government ascertain before we moved in who else was going along and to what extent and with how many troops? Why did we not learn of the widespread reluctance of the other free nations of the world to become involved in Korea, as was later evidenced by the rather slim and purely token participation on the part of only a few of these nations? Why did we not learn about this widespread reluctance before we committed ourselves to what has proved to be one of the most costly and disastrous enterprises in all the military history of the United States? Why?

// The strong suspicion entertained by many Americans that the Korean move was inspired by domestic political considerations connected with an approaching fall election has not been satisfactorily resolved. The administration had for some time, prior to last June, been attacked and badgered, especially by the Republican opposition, with charges of Communist sympathies, with responsibility for the victory of the Communists in China and the defeat of Chiang-Kai-Shek, and with widespread infiltration of Communists in the State Department and other government departments. For weeks on end, before the Tydings Committee of the Senate, wild charges were made by irresponsible political gentry and by

publicity seekers of the type of Senator McCarthy. The administration found itself on the defensive, with an important Congressional election approaching. The invasion of South Korea by the North Koreans last June offered a tempting opportunity to demonstrate to the country that the administration was all-out anti-Communist, and that it was ready to strike at Communism wherever it raised its ugly head. It must have been assumed that the undertaking would be in the nature of a small-scale police action, that it would be brief and not too costly, and that the North Koreans would take to their heels as soon as they saw the American soldiers coming. President Truman also dispatched the Seventh Fleet to patrol the Strait of Formosa to see to it that the Chinese Communists did not take over Formosa, thereby intervening not alone in Korea, where a clear case of aggression could be established against the North Koreans, but also in the Chinese civil war, where the victorious Chinese regime had already been recognized by Great Britain, India and other countries. Along with the intervention in China, we also promised to send aid to the French in Indo-China where they were fighting to preserve French imperial interests in that country. The administration reversed its former line and permitted itself to be swayed by domestic political considerations and to be intimidated by the rantings of ex-Communists, ex-isolationists, pro-Fascists, and cranks of all kinds, and maneuvered itself and the American people into the disastrous Korean adventure.....

" There is always the tendency on the part of our political and military leaders, when their policies or their actions result in failure, to shift responsibility from their own shoulders to those of the American people. Somehow it is always the American people who are responsible for all that goes wrong.

" It is proper to alert the American people today to the grave dangers in which they find themselves, as the President has done, but more is needed to meet the dire emergency -- much more. In the first place, there must be self-examination at the top level. A sense of omniscience is not conducive to sound government, nor is impatience and irritability with suggestions and criticism, and narrow partisanship and a desire to make political capital out of grave international situations.

" There is in my judgment need for a re-examination of our entire foreign policy which has been going from bad to worse ever since President Truman, on his own responsibility, announced the so-called Truman Doctrine and pledged our country to resist Communism all over the world, a commitment on which we are simply not able to make good and one which our allies are unwilling to back up. A re-examination of our entire foreign policy is called for.....

" These are some of the things about which I should like to write to Mr. Truman. I should also like to draw his attention to some words which he himself uttered the other evening, and suggest that in those words, lies the right direction of statesmanship in these dire days. He said, "There is no conflict between the legitimate interests of the free world and those of the Soviet Union that cannot be settled by peaceful means, and we will continue to take every honorable step we can to avoid a general war." This is quite different from the dogmatism, the rantings and the war-mongering of so many others, which are so frequently heard these days.

" Stalin, too, has declared more than once that the communist world and the capitalist world could live side by side in one world. Truman does not

trust Stalin. Stalin does not trust Truman. Hence the impasse. It is clear that only in the direction of courageous and continuous exploration of every avenue for reaching understandings, if only piece-meal, only in the direction of negotiation, earnestly sought and welcomed, lies the hope of the world. Negotiation is not appeasement. Let not the American people be persuaded into closing their minds at the sound of the word appeasement. It is today a tabu device to paralyze thought and wise diplomatic action. There should be urgent and continuous exploration of every opportunity for the coming to an understanding with the Soviet, a nation which we cannot defeat in war any more than it can defeat us. . . .

"Our appeal to our national leadership in Washington, which we make in all good will, for we are all involved in one common destiny, is to be courageous and unafraid, not to be swayed by partisan political considerations and not to allow itself to be stampeded by war-mongers, fanatics and cranks, and by those who would push us into war for reasons which have nothing to do with love of country. There are those in our country who do not want an understanding with Russia. There are those even in high government posts who are ardently advocating a preventive war with Russia. There are those who will try to sabotage any possibility of agreement. These are our real enemies. "

Barr

I was also opposed to the re-arming of Germany. On March 4, 1951, I spoke at The Temple on "Shall We Re-arm Germany?" I said:

" At Potsdam in August, 1945, an agreement was reached between Truman, Churchill and Stalin for the complete demilitarization of Germany. They agreed that all war potentials of Germany should be destroyed -- war plants, warships, aircraft and arms -- so that Germany would never again be able to make war.

~~RIGHT ALONG~~

I have urged a friendlier attitude towards Communist Russia in spite of what I know about its attitude towards religion, towards Zionism and towards the Jewish people in the Soviet Union:

The regime in Russia is hostile to religion. Its leaders boastfully avow their atheism. They do not seem to be as rabid and gross in their opposition ~~as formerly~~,^{IN 1960 AND IN 1980} but everything that the government can do to eradicate it from among the people, short of completely closing down all places of public worship, is done.

As individuals, Jews have equal rights in the U.S.S.R., with all other citizens. It would be untrue, however, to say that all anti-Semitism has been eradicated there. This would be a Utopian assumption even for the United States. While officially, anti-Semitism is outlawed in the U.S.S.R., practice does not ~~always keep pace with what is written in the statute books.~~ Anti-Semitism in Russia has had a long and dark history and the October Revolution did not uproot it. Russian Jews, it is reported, are being steadily pushed out of positions in the top governing bodies of the State and the Central Committee of the Communist Party, the higher echelons of the Red Army, the diplomatic services, and the higher brackets of academic professions and plant management.

I do not know how widespread this type of anti-Semitism actually is in the U.S.S.R. today. Its existence is vigorously denied by the government. But, cultural and religious discriminations directed against the Jewish nationality group, as such, is certainly being practiced. The fundamental law of the U.S.S.R. grants cultural autonomy and equality to all nationality groups. They have a right to their own language, schools, press and other cultural activities. This has been one of the honorable and proud boasts of the Soviet Union. The Jewish group is recognized as a nationality. Every Jew in the Soviet Union is required to indicate

the purely pastoral phase of a Rabbi's work as of primary importance. In the tradition of the Rabbi, it never loomed large, though in the eyes of many members of modern congregations it is all-important. Historically, the Rabbi was the teacher, not the pastor.

I prepared my sermons carefully, writing them out in long-hand and then memorizing them. I seldom spoke extemporaneously. I was reverent of the spoken word. ~~I feared that~~ ^{the inspiration of the} moment may be late in coming. Only in recent years, or on occasions which called for scrupulous care in wording did I resort to a manuscript. In whatever I sought to accomplish, the spoken word was my most useful tool. My work through life has been principally a work of persuasion and I had to rely upon the proper word, the proper argument, the proper mode of delivery. Whether in the pulpit, the platform or at congresses or conferences, it was through the spoken word that I could best represent my cause and on it very much often depended.

As a rule, my sermons never exceeded thirty to forty minutes. Beyond that, both preacher and congregation reach a point of no return. ~~But~~ capsule sermons to satisfy the quick-lunch taste of modern Temple-goers never appealed to me. They are usually devoid of intellectual nutriment and free of spiritual calories.

One of the subjects which I stressed in the pulpit and platform ^{IN 1921} was the importance of Jewish education. I recall that in the keynote address which I delivered at the Golden Jubilee Convention of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations in ~~1923~~ in Carnegie Hall, I stated:

"In deference to ourselves let us be frank. Our religious schools are inadequate. Their curricula are rudimentary and faulty.

The time allotted to the religious education of our children is all too short. We cannot transmit a heritage of three thousand years, the learning and wisdom of thirty centuries, the history, religion, ethics and literature of a people, all in the one or two hours a week during the few years of the child's school life. We, Rabbis, frankly confess our inability to cope with this problem. You Jewish laymen must look to it. It is you who must take the initiative in this tremendously urgent work."

My deep concern with Jewish education led me to organize the Bureau of Jewish Education in Cleveland in 1924, with the aid of the Federation of Jewish Charities and with the cooperation of the other rabbis of the city. A survey had revealed the startling fact that 14,000 Jewish children of school age, out of 21,000 in our community, were receiving no religious training whatsoever, either in Religious Schools, Hebrew Schools or through private instruction. The Bureau applied itself to the establishment of schools in all parts of the city, to the support of the existing educational institutions which were not entirely self-supporting and to the training of Religious School and Hebrew School teachers. I was elected President of the Bureau and actively served in that capacity for seven years. The Bureau has served well through the years and today is an established educational agency in our community.

In my 45 years as rabbi of The Temple what was it that I tried to teach my people about Judaism? I was never enamoured of formal, systematic theology, though, of course, I had studied theology, not only as part of my training, in preparation for ordination, but subsequently to discover what new ideas and insights had been added. I

have found little new in the writings of the renowned theologians of our day. Some were more obscure than others, some more ponderous than others, but all ended ~~up~~ with the same few simple truths which are the essence of all the religions of the Western World, truths which the ancient seers and prophets of our religion had stated with greater clarity, conviction and eloquence.

In preaching Judaism I never extolled one type of Judaism over another. I never criticized Orthodox Judaism, nor deprecated Conservative Judaism, nor extolled Reform Judaism. I was never an "orthodox" Reform Jew. Denominational distinctions interested me very little.

In fact, I was rather critical of Reform Judaism though I was a Reform Rabbi, perhaps because I was a Reform Rabbi. I believed that the pioneer reformers and their disciples were too zealous to modernize Judaism, and too self-conscious about modernity. There was too much emphasis in their thought and speech upon "reform", "change", "progress", too little upon "rebirth", "return", "tracing back to God." Nothing is so shallow and ephemeral as modernity. The very word suggests a mode, a fashion, a ^{improvised and} passing version which has its practical utility, to be sure, but which must not be confused with that which is of the essence and of the eternal. They were too eager to accommodate, to facilitate, and, strange as it may seem, to conform--not to tradition, of course, but to the most recent thought and practice of their day--the tradition of recency. They were sufficiently intellectual in their critique, but religious reformation is achieved only by mystics who are concerned not with the recency of their doctrines, but with the immediacy of their religious experience.

modernized. This is not to suggest that many of the reforms were unnecessary. But looking at them from the perspective of history, which reformers frequently sacrifice for an apocalypse, they appear far less consequential than they seemed at first.

The need for this type of reform was over a long time ago. What is needed today is not the innovation or renovation or reformation or reconstruction of Judaism, but the conversion of the Jew to his faith. It is no longer a question of less or of more: ^{but of} Godlessness, secularism and materialism have blighted our people, along with all other peoples, but ^{which} we, because of our unique position in the world, can least of all submit. It is hopeless to try to reach the heart of our people or to serve them by reviving old slogans and battle-cries, or discarded rituals, or by confronting them with the competitive claims of Orthodoxy, Conservatism or Reform. None of these has scored any significant victory in our day, and life is now attacking them all.

And so, when I taught my people about Judaism, I spoke to them not of competitive denominational ideologies, but of ^{that which is carved} ~~the~~ ^{into the everlasting rock} ~~essentials~~ ^{of} and ~~the~~ ^{of} the eternal values of their historic faith. I spoke of an old religion, reaching across many centuries and many lands and reflecting ^{in each age the individual values of that society} ~~the great variety of~~ experiences of our people.

I tried to transmit to my people the core insights of Judaism which are easily recognizable in all stages of its development: that God is One, indwelling in all nature, and yet transcending it, near to man in all his needs and yet beyond man's comprehension; that God can never be represented and is never incarnated; that man, while fashioned out of the earth, is nevertheless made in the spiritual image of God; ^{that} while man is bound up by his physical and mental limitations, he is

As an historic faith, infused with the life experience of the Jewish people, Judaism naturally reflected in some of its customs, symbols, ceremonies, and festivals the special experiences and the special needs and hopes of the Jewish community, but the light of its spiritual and its ethical vision is intended for the whole of mankind. Judaism excluded no one from sharing in its faith because of race or of caste. In fact, no one needs to be formally admitted into its fold in order to be "saved."

This is the Judaism which I taught my people through the years--in sermon, lecture, address, or classroom instruction. This is the Judaism which I applied in interpreting the events of the day, from week to week, from year to year, not only to my own congregation but to the numerous other groups which I frequently addressed.

It is difficult to estimate the effectiveness of one's ministry. The minister deals in imponderables. A businessman can point to his profits, the doctor to the number of cases that he cured, the engineer to the number of structures or bridges which he built. The minister can point to no such tangible achievements. He does not know whether his teaching is followed or not, or whether his preaching has any influence whatsoever. You have to have faith that the seeds that you sow will, somewhere, ~~in some heart, and~~ in some soul, take root. ⁴ I have found a strengthening of the spirit in study and have managed to steal away the hours for some serious writing.

In 1927 I published my book, "Messianic Speculations in Israel, from the First through the Seventeenth Centuries." ⁵ ~~The nucleus of the book~~ was the doctoral thesis which I had presented to the faculty of the Hebrew Union College in 1925, which I now enlarged and completely

revised ~~for publication~~. It was well received in the scholarly world. In 1958, when a paperback edition of the book was published, I added a brief preface which carried the story of messianic speculations up to the time of the establishment of the State of Israel. I believe that Zionism and messianism tap the same spiritual sources. Loss of national independence, the will to live as a rehabilitated people in the national home, and an unfaltering faith in divine justice established the force of messianic belief in Israel. I found ~~these elements~~ ^{THE BECKONING VISION OF A} basic ^{REDEEMED} to Israel's way of life then and now--only now the will to live and ^{HUMANITY} the unyielding hold on divine justice led to a practical strategy ~~as~~ rather than to pious speculation.

The ~~messianic hope~~ sustained the Jewish people through centuries of darkness, homelessness, and persecution. In its prophetic expression, as the beckoning vision of a redeemed humanity, ~~it~~ ^{MESSIANISM} continues to guide, inspire, and sustain men of good will everywhere.

In 1931 I published a series of essays ^{UNDER THE SELF EXPLANATORY TITLE} on the ~~place of faith~~ in the modern world, ^{SITUATION} under the title, "Religion in a Changing World." The book was exceptionally well received. It was a "best seller" among such books in its day. I find in my files a selection of quotations, published by the Cleveland Press, which point the direction of my thought:

Man's true life does not take place in time or space but in the secret processes of spiritual growth.

One should not confuse that which is necessary with that which is ultimate.

Man does not require much to be happy. It is in his striving after the excessive that the roots of his unhappiness lie.

Man must have more than one world in which to live; for his one world may collapse and then he is totally bereft.

There is nothing new in novelty.

Man possesses no rights other than the right to do right.

Man's first duty is not to express himself but to perfect himself.

We are the richest nation in the world today and the richest nations were always the first to succumb to moral decadence.

The liberal regards democracy not as absolutely perfect but as progressively perfectible.

A man can be a blackguard even in Utopia.

Our age needs a form of good will which will not only tolerate differences but which gladly uses them for the enrichment of life.

On the plane of common human aspirations all men may meet without sacrificing their characteristic cultures or modes of life.

International good-will is not a legacy of the human race. It will be the achievement of those men and women throughout the world who can think with a minimum of bias and feel with a maximum of restraint.

Our modern pessimism is based on the belief not that knowledge will not increase, but that increased knowledge will not bring us increased happiness.

A trayful of mechanical toys, of engines, motors, radios, and airplanes is no adequate compensation for the loss of human freedom and dignity.

Not the least of the roles which religion should perform in the modern world is to resist change--change which is unintelligent, uninformed, and whimsical. One of religion's great opportunities is to tide mankind over its periods of confusion.

The flaunting of moral conventions, unaccompanied by a critical appraisal and by a readiness to substitute still higher conventions for them, is far from being a sign of moral advance.

At the heart of the atom, matter and energy become undistinguishable, merged into the one astounding miracle of creation, and the heart of knowledge, science, and religion become one in the everlasting mystery of mind.

In 1961 my book, "Moses and the Original Torah," was published. Moses has been relegated by higher Biblical critics to the vague legendary periphery of the history of Biblical times. It was argued that he lived so long ago that whatever he taught must have been

In 1956 "Where Judaism Differed" was published. It was an inquiry into the distinctiveness of ^{my} ~~my~~ faith and dwelt on the fundamental insights of Judaism, ^{These} to which I have already referred. It was well received, and in a short time six printings were issued. A Hebrew translation appeared in Israel in 1961.

In 1961 my book, "Moses and the Original Torah," was published. Moses has been relegated ^{by the prevailing schools of} ~~by higher~~ Biblical critics to the vague legendary periphery of ^{Scriptural} ~~the history of~~ ~~Biblical times~~. It ^{is} ~~was~~ argued that he lived so long ago that whatever he taught must have been rudimentary and imperfectly developed. ~~But~~ the doctrine of evolution can not ^T be applied to man's spiritual life in the same way it is applied to organic life. ~~What~~ is intrinsically exalted does not necessarily come late in time. ^{I added in this work that Moses in fact} The advance of spiritual ideas is not necessarily slow and gradual. ~~I showed in this book that~~ ^{Quaternary} The Torah ^{is a radical} cannot be laid to the literary prophets or to any other movement or ^{spiritual} event in later Biblical history. ^{revolution} Moses began Israel's spiritual revolution. I studied the original Torah of Moses to which the prophets of later time frequently refer--its uniqueness, where it is to be found in the Bible, and how it fared in pre-exilic times among the peoples of the northern and southern kingdoms. My approach was radical of current assumptions, and the book aroused considerable controversy, ~~both in traditional circles and among students of higher~~ ~~Biblical criticism.~~

Rabbis and social workers, Zionists and philanthropists, educators and labor leaders were not the only ones who were active in these years on the American scene. ^{The pulpit was not the only agency reaching out to the American Jew} There were also so-called Jewish "intellectuals" who sought to mold and influence Jewish life. The Menorah Movement which was founded in the Twenties was the creation of such a group of Jewish intellectuals and was directed primarily towards the Jewish College student. Its mouthpiece was the Menorah Journal which was founded by ~~Mr.~~ Henry Hurwitz in 1926.

Jewish "intellectuals" have always been a problem to the Jewish people. As a rule they are supercilious fringe-Jews, victims of a conscious or unconscious escapism. They entertain neither love nor reverence for their people's heritage. They have cut their moorings and are adrift.

The term "intelligentsia", like the terms "proletariat" and "peasant", is really not applicable to the structure of American society. They belong, or belonged, to the social stratifications of the Old World. When men speak of the Jewish "intellectuals" in the United States, they have in mind, presumably, Jewish authors, journalists, artists, philosophers, professors, etc., not necessarily all the educated, college-bred Jewish men and women of whom there are legion in our country.

Quite a number of this small group of alienated "intellectuals"--if and when they treat Jews and Judaism in their literary products--do so slightly, disparagingly and at times with acid and scorn. Some of them do so out of ignorance. But a goodly number of them hail from old-fashioned Jewish homes and from a distinctly Jewish environment where they received orthodox Jewish training. But they have removed themselves from positive Jewish life because they believe that there are sweeter

pastures elsewhere--higher rewards, both social and monetary. To belong to a distinguishable and, at times, disfavored minority group is too difficult a burden to bear. It is only after these intellectuals become disillusioned, when they discover that the rewards which they anticipated are not forthcoming, that some of them return to the welcoming fold of Israel, a bit saddened and embittered and a bit over-zealous...



From time to time these intellectuals are polled by some enterprising magazine as to their attitudes towards Jew and Judaism and the results are, of course, largely negative. These findings are then interpreted to mean that there is a sharp trend among all educated Jews in the United States away from Judaism and the Jewish people, and toward non-religion and assimilation.

Back in 1926, the Menorah Journal presented several such intellectuals in a survey of the Jewish cultural and religious scene in the United States. One was Professor Horace M. Kallen, another was Elliot E. Cohen, managing editor of the Menorah Journal and in later years, editor of Commentary, and the third was Henry Hurwitz, the founder and editor of the Menorah Journal.

These three "did a job" on American Judaism, the American rabbi and the Jewish theological schools in the United States. Their composite portrait of American Jewish life was one of lamentable inadequacy. There was but one hope for American Israel and that was in an adequately financed and endowed Menorah movement.

Especially free-wheeling and gross was the essay of Elliot E. Cohen, whose particular bête noire was the American rabbi, but whose distaste for Judaism generally was no less sharp. Among the rare pearls of wisdom with which his article was adorned were:

The Elders of Zion myth is a by no means distant cousin of the Jewish mission myth.

The little respect our culture receives is that paid to a people who stumbled (sic!) on some spiritual ideas capable of being incorporated, in a greatly improved form of course, in the culture of the West.

Lacking wisdom, our leaders take refuge in speech. Good Watsonian behaviorists, they discover the springs of thought in the voice box.

Speeches and sermons are born of the air and destined to vanish with the breath that gave them birth.

THE MENORAH MOVEMENT
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EARLY TWENTIES BY
A GROUP OF INTELLECTUALS TO REFORM JEWISH
FOR THE MODERN AGE
STUDENT -
WHO HAD
PREVIOUSLY
OUTGROWN
THE OLD
GRAND

But they (the rabbis) are guilty certainly of a too weak acquiescence in the degradation of the rabbinical function to that of a spokesman-- i. e. mouthpiece, of the ignorance, ambitions and fears of the influential Jewish laity.

Mr. Hurwitz requested me to write a rejoinder to these articles. "Let me repeat again most sincerely and urgently, my invitation to you to write an article for the Menorah Journal, as soon as may be, to present the situation as you see fit in answer to Kallen's and Cohen's articles. . . . You will be doing the Journal a very great service--I believe you will be doing the cause of Judaism in America a great service--if you will present your analysis of the situation, your description of what the rabbinate and the synagogue have so far had to build up in this country, and what you believe their future service should be. May I count on you for this?" I finally consented to write such an article. My article, "Why Do the Heathen Rage", was accepted by the Menorah Journal. Galley proofs were submitted to me which I corrected and returned. ~~The article was announced for publication in the Journal.~~ Mr. Hurwitz announced the forthcoming publication of my article as an indication of the broadmindedness and fairness of the Menorah Journal.

On the eve of my departure for Europe in July of that year, I was informed by Mr. Hurwitz that the article would not be published.

I immediately turned over the article to the Jewish Tribune of New York, which published it in four weekly installments, beginning with the issue of July 23, 1926.

Mr. Hurwitz attempted to justify the suppression of my article in a letter which he sent to the Jewish Tribune. Upon my return from Europe, I replied to it in the Tribune of August 20th.

"Upon my return from London today I read the letter which Henry Hurwitz wrote to you in explanation of the suppression of my article which had been requested and accepted by 'The Menorah Journal'."

Mr. Hurwitz states in his letter that I made two unacceptable conditions to its publication, one, that it should be printed in full, without change, and two, that no answer to it should appear in the same issue of the Journal.

This is correct. One will readily understand why these conditions were made when one remembers that two of the three authors whose papers I discussed are respectively the editor and the managing editor of the Menorah Journal. When I requested that no answer should be made in the same issue, I asked for my article the same privilege which the articles of Dr. Kallen, Mr. Cohen, and Mr. Hurwitz enjoyed. The editor indicated in a note which accompanied the galley proofs that a reply to it would appear in the following issue of the Journal, to which, of course, I raised absolutely no objections.

Mr. Hurwitz was free to reject my conditions. He did not reject them; rather he accepted them with alacrity and in writing.

Mr. Hurwitz refers to the title of my article, "Why Do the Heathen Rage" (a Biblical phrase, by the way) as "the elegant nomenclature of Rabbi Silver." Here again Mr. Hurwitz's memory seems to fail him. I submitted two titles for his consideration, the other being, "A Rabbi Makes Reply," and Mr. Hurwitz, himself, selected the former.

There is a subtle suggestion contained in Mr. Hurwitz's letter that my article did not fully measure up to the established standard of thought

and expression of the Menorah Journal. Of that the reader must judge. I am, however, again compelled to refresh Mr. Hurwitz's memory. Upon receipt of my article, he wrote that he was glad to get it "and glad even after reading it." This was in April. Four or five weeks later, during which time the editor undoubtedly had sufficient time to acquaint himself with the palpable deficiencies of the article, he sent me the galley proofs. Shortly thereafter, at a public meeting, he announced its forthcoming publication. In June, then, the article still measured up to the exacting standards of the Menorah Journal. In July it failed utterly. . . .

One must be a dour fellow indeed not to chuckle at the literary vagaries of this distinguished editor."

Thirteen years after I penned my critique of the Menorah Journal, ~~Rabbi~~ Milton Steinberg, the noted Rabbi of the Park Avenue Synagogue of New York, felt constrained to write a similar critique of the Commentary Magazine, a monthly journal of Jewish life, letters, and opinion, sponsored by the American Jewish Committee. Its editor at that time was the same Elliot E. Cohen, who brought to his new post the same aversion to Judaism and ^RRabbis, and the same predilection for secularist themes and writers. Only this time he preferred literary confections which had a touch here and there of the pornographic. ~~etc.~~

"I doubt," wrote Rabbi Steinberg, "whether either the editors or the inner communications Committee representative of the American Jewish Committee are aware of the extent and bitterness of the hostility they have awakened in broad sectors of American Jewry, especially among informed and committed Jews. . . My complaint is against the spirit which animates it as disclosed in three circumstances, that the magazine has

studiously ignored some of the most significant elements in Jewish life; that it has consistently given distorted presentation to certain others, no less crucial; and, finally, that all too frequently it takes on an air of condescension and superciliousness towards matters Jewish, including historic Jewish sanctities, and of offensiveness toward Jewish sanctities."

The Menorah Journal lacked a positive Jewish program and content. It made much of Jewish "culture" and catered to Jewish intellectuals but the culture was secularist in character, avoiding any positive identification with Judaism as a religion. Nor was it Hebraic in character or outright in its "nationalist" identification. It was neither Zionist nor anti-Zionist. Towards the end it became the mouthpiece of the American Council for Judaism... "Culture, with us," to quote Emerson, "ends in headache."

The Journal ceased being a monthly quite early. It became a bi-monthly, then a quarterly, and finally a semi-annual periodical. Although at first I was a member of the Board of Governors of the Menorah movement and had assisted it financially from time to time, this movement likewise began to disintegrate quite early. It is not possible to launch a vital movement of Jewish renaissance in the Diaspora which is purely secular in character. In my rejoinder, "Why Do the Heathen Rage," I commented on this fact

Religion was the sole reason why the Jew persisted in maintaining his identity in the world. I searched high and low in Jewish literature to discover evidences that the Jew struggled to remain a Jew amidst adverse circumstances in order that he might develop, to quote Mr. Hurwitz in his article, "Watchman, What of the Day?" a great "synagogue architecture, mural paintings and frescoes, and sculpture in wood and brass, works in silver, gold and other metals... and the old signboards of Polish Jewry." I find nowhere that the Jew objected to intermarriage with other peoples (a practice which would of course have destroyed him) on the ground that the resultant racial admixture would produce less gifted musicians or scientists or writers. There was but one reason throughout the ages: "Lest he will turn away thy son from following Me, that they may serve other gods."

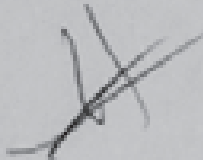
The Jew persisted in racial uniqueness in order to preserve the integrity of his faith. Loyalty to the faith spelled loyalty to the race. When the American Jew will abandon his faith he will swiftly and surely assimilate. He will intermarry with the peoples about him, and he will destroy himself racially, and no quantum of Jewish music and Jewish art or books on Jewish literature and philosophy will be potent enough to save him. The anti-religious Jew will be the first to go, as he always has been. The religiously indifferent Jews will linger on by sheer force of inertia until ~~the~~ the relentless assimilative forces will scatter and overwhelm them too. The secular nationalist will endure until such time as his ideology derived from the segregated and compact Jewish community life of eastern Europe is dissipated by the dissolving influences of American life. Even the strong appeal which Palestine is making today to many of our people will not prove sufficient to command their loyalty in the days to come. The establishment of a strong Jewish Commonwealth in Palestine will not accomplish the miracle of preservation for the American Jew. The existence of a great German Fatherland has not kept the Germans in the United States from assimilating. The Jew in the United States will not long remain either a Yiddishist or a Hebraist, in the technical sense in which the proponents of cultural pluralism understand the terms. Only the religious Jew who will continue steadfast to his faith will conserve and carry on the culture and the traditions of Israel. The rest will disappear, as they always have, as they inevitably must. In other words, Judaism, far from being "a small part of the total fullness of the life of the Jewish people which I am accustomed to call Hebraism" (Horace M. Kallen, in 'Can Judaism Survive in the United States?') is in reality its very heart and life blood.

^{Jew - Just As}
that he is a ~~Iranian~~, and every Georgian that he is a Georgian. But, unlike all the other nationality groups in ~~the Union~~, and there are many, the Jewish group enjoys none of the rights of these nationalities.

Because it is an extra-territorial community, ~~so to speak~~, not centered in any one territory or region, ~~of the Union~~, it has been denied these rights. Those who wish or wished to enjoy such rights, it is argued by the apologists of the regime, ^{That} could, or should have migrated to the autonomous Jewish region of Birobidjan in Eastern Siberia, which the Soviet established. This argument, of course, ignores the historic realities of the Jewish position in Russia. Jews, though widely scattered ~~over the country~~, always constituted a separate, ethnic and cultural group in Russia which, even in the darkest days of the Tzars, were free to exercise their religion, and free to teach and develop their own Hebrew and Yiddish culture. The argument also overlooks the fiasco of Birobidjan which ~~should have been foreseen~~.

I am inclined to the belief, ~~however~~, that progress in the direction of winning for the Jewish minority in the Soviet Union the same cultural and religious considerations which are accorded all other nationality and religious groups is not foreclosed, given an insistent world Jewish protest, but one which does not join the chorus of the Cold War.

Also I early favored our recognition of Red China.
^{Recognition} ~~It would~~ have been easier ^{than} it is today and might have changed the entire course of subsequent events. I was opposed to our military intervention in Korea. In an address titled, "A Letter to Mr. Truman", which I delivered in the Temple pulpit on December 17, 1950 and which was reprinted in the Congressional Record, I stated my reasons:



In 1932 I was given a sabbatical ~~year~~ leave of absence, by my congregation. I spent it abroad in Berlin, Paris, Prague, Rome, Geneva, and in Palestine. For the first time I came face to face with Fascism and Nazism in their native homes. The Fascist regime in Italy was then celebrating the tenth anniversary of Mussolini's March on Rome. While I was in Berlin in January, 1933, the Nazis took over the government of Germany. I also attended the sessions of the League of Nations in Geneva and was present when the critical debate on Manchuria took place.

Everybody knew that the Sino-Japanese conflict ~~over Manchuria~~ had brought the League to the first searching test of its career. Heretofore, the League had intervened more or less successfully in conflicts where only smaller nations were involved. Now one of the Big Five was vitally involved. The League must now reveal its true character. Was it really a competent international organization to ensure peace, resolved to enforce ^{its} ~~the~~ principles and agreements ~~of the~~ ~~past~~ upon all ~~the~~ signatories alike without fear or favor, or was it merely a creature of the great powers, who would allow it freedom of ~~opinion~~ action only when their own private interests were not jeopardized? All ~~possible~~ excuses for delay had ~~now~~ been exhausted. It was more than a year since China had appealed to the League against Japan's invasion of Manchuria. It was almost a year ~~now~~ since Japan, at the League's intercession, had agreed to an immediate cessation of hostilities and to the withdrawal of her troops. ^{— A} ~~Following that solemn pledge,~~ ^{HAS SOONER SPOKEN THEN IGNORED} ~~Japan had proceeded to ignore it and to do as she pleased.~~ The League had invoked no sanctions against Japan but had ~~resorted to the well-known device of appointing~~ ^A fact finding commission. The Lytton Commission ^{HAD BEEN} ~~was~~ appointed and, ^{TO GAIN TIME} after months of close investigation, its report ^{HAD BEEN} ~~was finally~~ submitted ~~to the Council of the League.~~ The report, remarkable for its thoroughness and unbiased judgment, found Japan's aggression in Manchuria unwarranted by any consideration of self-defense and furthermore declared that the new state of Manchukuo, which Japanese bayonets had carved out of China, was nothing more than a Japanese puppet state.

~~The Assembly was now meeting to make the final disposition of the case.~~ The hour of decision had arrived.

Many delegates took part in the momentous debate. Dr. Yen spoke for China. Matsuoka spoke for Japan. There were those who spoke for the smaller nations--for Ireland, Czecho-Slovakia, Sweden, Spain. These all spoke in defense of China and against Japan. If Japan were allowed to go unchecked and the League in this emergency were to be found powerless in checking the aggression of a great power, then their own security from aggression was gone and the League was a broken reed to lean on.

Everyone ~~now~~ waited to hear the spokesman of the Great Powers. Paul Boncour arose to speak for France. ^{I had} ~~One~~ never realized how pliant and flexible a language French ^{could} ~~can~~ be in the hands of one who wished to dodge and wriggle round a moral issue. ~~But~~ Boncour's speech was so finely spun, so dexterous, and so meaningless that men declared it to be diplomacy at its very best. He was followed by Sir John Simon, speaking for Great Britain. Sir John was ~~also~~ at his barrister's best. He could see both sides of the case. On the one hand, etc., but on the other hand, etc.; therefore, one must not proceed with undue haste.

✓ ~~And~~ so Great Britain, too, would not take sides. (It was all over.) The ^{high} ~~great~~ drama of Geneva had petered out into a sour comedy. One knew now that the League would do nothing in the Manchurian situation. ~~What took place that day in Geneva~~ ^{I SAW AND KNEW} ~~was~~ the beginning of the end of the League of Nations.

From Geneva I went to Rome, and there I had an interview with ~~the~~ ^{Il} Duce. Premier Mussolini was, at that time, riding high. He was celebrating triumphantly the tenth anniversary of Fascism in Italy, ~~which he established~~. Within another ten years, his battered and riddled body would be hanging face down from a lamp post in Milan, his empire gone, his country in total collapse. But on the day that I

PALAZZO?

saw him in the Pallazo Venezia in Rome, he looked and acted as if he were the favorite of the gods. ^{WHICH HE BELIEVED HIMSELF TO BE} In our conversation he prescribed ~~not~~ ^{FREELY} ~~only~~ ^{AND} for Italy, ~~but~~ for the United States as well. He thought that a central master mind and central economic planning and control were necessary in a country like America.

MUSSOLINI

He prided himself on the religious tolerance which existed in his country and declared that there was no anti-Semitism in Italy.

~~These~~ Jews occupied positions of high importance. He expressed the

thought that the increase in anti-Semitism in Europe in recent years ^{WAS} ~~was~~ a result of economic dislocations, ^{HE WAS BRINGING BETTER TIMES} and said that ~~he thought it~~

^{ANTI-SEMITISM} ~~ANTI-SEMITISM~~ would wane with the return of normal times. It would not be long

before Mussolini ~~would join the Nazis~~ and would abandon his religious tolerance and accept the racism of the Nazis and their shameful anti-Jewish program.

I arrived in Berlin on January 22, 1933, at the beginning of what turned out to be the most exciting fortnight in the political history of Germany. I found the city on edge. The Nazis were staging ^{A SERIES} ~~one of the~~ quasi-military demonstrations.

Three days later, in spite of bitter cold weather, fifty thousand Communists staged a counterdemonstration. "Berlin is ours," they cried.

On the following Sunday, a hundred thousand Social Democrats, with bands playing and banners flying, marched into the great Lustgarten Square shouting, "Berlin bleibt rot (Berlin remains Red)."

In the meantime, the political pot was boiling and spilling over. Von Schleicher's brief regime of less than two months as Chancellor seemed to be coming to an end.

On January 28th he resigned. Forty-eight hours of terrific suspense now followed. Who would succeed Von Schleicher?

Hindenburg now called upon the former Chancellor, Franz von Papen, to negotiate with the political party leaders for the formation of a new Cabinet "within the framework of the Constitution and in agreement with the Reichstag." Who would be the new Chancellor? Would it be Hitler?--Hitler, the firebrand, the agitator, who had promised his followers that heads would roll in the dust once he came into power. But Hindenburg had twice refused him the Chancellorship.

And then suddenly, with the force and speed of a thunderbolt, came the announcement that a new Cabinet had been formed and that Hitler was ~~made~~ Chancellor. Berlin was stunned. The Nazis were delirious with joy. Their long hoped for day of triumph had finally come.

Almost immediately, the Nazi newspaper appeared with screaming headlines: "Chancellor Hitler!" "German Berlin!" "Hang the flags out." A huge torchlight procession was held ~~in the evening~~. Thousands upon thousands of Hitler shock troops and Steel Helmets, carrying torches, marched, shouting, "Heil Hitler" and singing, "Deutschland, Deutschland über alles." Past the President's Palace they marched where the erstwhile insignificant Army Corporal, now Chancellor of the German Reich, received their homage.

I stood on the curb and watched ~~the procession~~.

I knew, of course, what the rise of Hitler to power would mean to the Jews of Germany, but I underestimated the ~~depth of~~ depravity of the man and his regime. I thought ~~at the time~~ that it was possible, and perhaps likely, that the Nazi leaders, now shouldered with

political responsibility, would be sobered by these responsibilities and would not attempt to carry out their fantastic schemes against the Jewish citizens of Germany. I was beguiled by the thought, as were ~~so~~ many German Jews at the time, that "one does not eat his soup as hot as it is cooked."

The German Jews with whom I spoke soon after the rise of Hitler to power were concerned, of course, but were not greatly frightened. They were preparing themselves for the storm which they knew was coming but which, they were confident, would ~~sooner or later~~ ^{in time} blow over.

This, ~~unfortunately~~ ^{happ}, was not to be.

~~After~~ ^{F.B.} I left Berlin I ~~went~~ ^{came} to Prague. Ever since the First World War I had entertained the hope of ~~some-day~~ visiting the new republic of Czecho-Slovakia, and particularly its President, Tomas G. Masaryk. I had long been an admirer of this wise and courageous leader, who towered majestically over all the political leaders and statesmen of Europe. I was very eager to learn what this man, the most authentic exponent of democratic ideals in ~~the modern world~~ ^{Europe}, had to say in ~~these~~ ^{such} confused and turbulent times.

I was received ~~by the~~ ^{by} ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~Old Man of Europe~~ in the audience chamber of the Hradcany Castle. He came in, tall, erect, impressive. His eighty-three years had not bent his back, dimmed his eye, nor abated his intellectual vigor. Very informally, but very earnestly, he spoke about many things for nearly an hour--politics, religion, the blind gropings of our age for a new order of things; and on all matters the President proved to be a keen and incisive commentator who spoke as one having the authority of ~~great~~ knowledge and ~~and~~ experience.

Around his democratic country which he, himself, had fashioned out of the chaos of war-shattered empires, now surged the raging waters of Fascism and Nazism. His land lay in the path of the political tornadoes. Everywhere about him, the democratic order was at handgrips with dictatorships and desperate experiments in absolutism.

"What do you, Mr. President, think of the future of democracy?"

We were holding our interview a few days after Hitler's rise to power in Germany. His answer came, without a moment's hesitation, clear and decisive, "Democracy is passing through a crisis, but crisis does not mean defeat. Democracy is safe. Mankind has known monarchical and all forms of autocratic government in countless ages. It has experienced democracy only for a very short time. In a sense, democracy is only just coming to be. Mankind has nothing to put in its place. All dictatorial experiments are impressive but ephemeral. It has been tried before. Democracy, however, needs a great moral content today. We have been exploiting it exclusively for capitalistic individualism and business purposes."

"What is really at the bottom of the world's ~~great~~ moral confusion? What is really wrong with our age?" He ~~replied~~, "The world is morally ill. The World War was not the cause of this moral illness, but only a tragic symptom of it. The world has come to worship the machine and force, which is an expression of the machine. The things which the machine creates are looked upon as the highest values of life; and men and nations have rushed into headlong pursuits after them. Human aspirations are all too frequently only the desire to possess some kind of machine, or some machine-made toy. The world needs a new mind and a new devotion to spiritual values bound up with a realistic program of social progress."

Here President Masaryk launched into a criticism of the churches for having failed in their spiritual mission throughout the world. This failure, he held, was one of the causes of our spiritual chaos. ~~The~~ churches today are bureaucratic and institutionalized. They do not go out into the highways and byways of life to reach and mold the personal lives of men. They have their institutions and their functionaries in every town and hamlet in the land. In many countries they have control of the education of the young, yet they fail to inspire the rising generation with enthusiasm for the moral and spiritual essentials of civilization.

There was something of the ancient prophet about this man who, in spite of the burden of more than four score years, was still battling as fearlessly and as confidently for what he regarded as the basic and indispensable ideals of humanity as he did in the years of his ~~youth and~~ early manhood.

I was greatly stirred ~~by the faith and the steady vision of this man~~. The years which were to follow would not vindicate his hope that democracy was safe in the world. His own beloved country would, after a second World War, fall into a ruthless communist dictatorship such as he could never have envisioned, and this dictatorship would engulf a third of the globe. But perhaps Professor Masaryk's outlook had wider perspectives. Perhaps he was thinking in larger epochs when he said that democracy was passing through a crisis. That crisis is still going on and the final outcome is not yet in sight.

With the coming of the Nazis to power the Jews of the world felt themselves mortally challenged. They reacted in many ways.

The American League for the Defense of Jewish Rights was organized in May, 1933, to fight the Nazi regime by means of a boycott. Its President was Samuel Untermyer, ^{A BRILLIANT LAWYER AND LAW PARTNER OF LOUIS MARSHALL.} I was the Chairman of the Administrative Committee. When it was incorporated in November, 1933 as a ~~membership corporation~~ ^{inc.} under the laws of the State of New York, "to champion human rights ~~and~~ to combat religious and racial discrimination and oppression" its name was changed to "The Non-Sectarian Anti-Nazi League to Champion Human Rights," and its officers were Samuel Untermyer, President; myself, along with James G. Gerard, Fiorello H. LaGuardia, Arthur S. Tompkins, and Col. Theodore Roosevelt as Vice-Presidents. A notable group of Americans from all walks of life constituted its Board of Directors.

The boycott was widely endorsed as the only weapon against Hitlerism, short of war. Organized labor, the liberal forces of the United States, and outstanding religious leaders in the nation advocated it. There was, however, considerable opposition to such a boycott, even on the part of organized Jewish bodies, such as the B'nai E'rith, the American Jewish Committee, the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, and others. Opinions differed sharply as to its practicability and its possible repercussions. ^{Parenthetically, the} ~~large~~ Jewishly-controlled department stores in New York City were far more reluctant to cooperate with the boycott movement than the non-Jewish stores.

While some friends of the boycott movement undoubtedly ~~entertained the hope~~ ^{ECONOMIC PENALTIES} that it would contribute to the fall of Hitler, the greater number ^{OF US} looked upon it as an effective weapon of protest, as a means of expressing the horror and abhorrence of the American people of ~~the~~ Nazi persecution and the shameless Nazi propaganda which was beginning to infiltrate our own cities.

I addressed many meetings in behalf of the boycott movement. Two ~~such meetings~~ stand out in my memory--one in December, 1933, in the Chicago Stadium, which was attended by some fifteen thousand people. The meeting was addressed by Dr. Paul Hutchinson, and Dr. Charles Clayton Morrison of the "Christian Century," Dr. John Haynes Holmes of the Community Church of New York, Col. Raymond Robins, Solomon O. Levinson, and others. A resolution was unanimously adopted at this meeting "to join in the condemnation of the inhuman conduct of the Nazi government and to aid and cooperate to remove this vital menace to liberty and civilization and to pledge ourselves to refrain from buying or dealing in any and all German materials, goods, and products, and to refuse to patronize or ride in German owned or controlled steamships or other means of transportation until the stigma and curse of Nazism were weeded out of the German government."

In addressing this boycott rally in Chicago, I stated:

"Just why are we so aroused, so deeply stirred? Just why are we so passionately indignant at what has happened and is happening in Germany? After all, we are not unaccustomed to persecution. Many pages of our history are red with the blood of Jewish martyrs. What makes this latest chapter in the story of the age-old persecution of Israel so much more horrible and dreadful? Why are we rallying to fight against this thing as men fight against death and the plague? There are other countries in the world today where the Jews do not as yet enjoy full equality. There are other lands in which our brethren suffer disabilities of one kind or another. What is the difference between them and Germany?

"The difference is a very vital one. In those countries especially of Eastern Europe where our people do not, as yet, possess

a full measure of equality, they are hopeful of achieving it. They have come out of the Dark Ages practically rightless but by dint of effort and struggle over many generations they have achieved a measure of it. They are hopeful that they will achieve more. There is, therefore, in their situation an upward climb, a constant ascent which gives hopefulness and confidence to their struggles and their sacrifices.

"But, in Germany, the process has been completely reversed. In Germany there has been a throwback; that which was already achieved through blood and struggle has been again wrested away. In Germany our people through many generations of struggle had reached a position of freedom. They succeeded in winning equality and they have used it worthily. From the days of Moses Mendelssohn to the days of Albert Einstein, they contributed to Germany's cultural, political, social, and economic life in fullest measure. In every department of human endeavor, the Jews gave to Germany, and through Germany to the world, men of genius, in science, art, literature, in the things of the mind and the spirit--pathfinders, pioneers, men who wrote the classic textbooks of the new sciences.

What, therefore, has happened in Germany concerns us not merely insofar as six hundred [?]thousand men, women, and children of our people are being trodden under the ruthless heel of tyranny because the security, wellbeing, and rights of Jews in the world are at stake. If Hitler succeeds (and there isn't the slightest doubt in my mind that he will not succeed), if Hitler succeeds in establishing himself and in using that great nation of sixty-five million people as a base for his anti-Semitic campaigns throughout the world, then Jews are facing an era of dread, uncertainty, and conflict all over the world. It is

because we want to avert that calamity that we are determined to crush Hitlerism at the outset. I don't want this great land of ours, which has been our hope and our dream, as it has been the hope and dream of mankind, this land which is built not upon one race but upon a hundred races, this nation into which all peoples have poured their blood and their dreams--I don't want this nation which was founded on the principle of the 'unalienable rights of all men to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, I don't want this land to be sullied, to be dirtied by Naziism and Hitlerism."

The second meeting which I recall was the testimonial dinner tendered to William Green, President of the American Federation of Labor, early in 1934. Mr. Green had given outstanding leadership to the boycott movement in the United States. He saw early and clearly ^{hate,} the dangerous Nazi assault on organized labor, ^{AND HE WAS OUTRAGED BY NAZI} Under his guidance, the American Federation of Labor ^{JUNED} ~~decided~~ by unanimous vote that ~~it would join with other public spirited organizations in officially~~ ^{he} ~~adopting a boycott against German-made goods and services until the~~ ~~German government recognized the right of the working people of Germany~~ ~~to organize into bona fide independent trade unions of their own~~ ~~choosing, and until Germany ceased its offensive policy of persecution~~ ~~of the Jewish people.~~

At this testimonial dinner I said, among other things:

"The same bloody hand which laid waste the Jewish community also destroyed all the agencies and institutions of mutual help and protection which organized labor had established in Germany over a period of many years, outlawed its unions, scattered its forces, imprisoned its leaders, confiscated its funds, and reduced the ~~working~~ workingmen to a condition of feudal vassalage.

"The Jewish people is fighting in self-defense against this rising tide of political reaction, national chauvinism, and racial intolerance. But other groups, too, must wage a similar defensive war against this selfsame menace, particularly trade unions which are the first to succumb whenever Fascism triumphs. It is, therefore, most logical that in the attack upon Hitlerism and Fascism, organized labor should form one unified front with the hosts of Israel against the common foe. For every anti-Semite is, under the skin, an enemy of freedom and of the working class."

When Samuel Untermyer resigned because of age from the presidency of the Anti-Nazi League, he requested that I succeed him. I could not, because of my many Zionist commitments. ^{THOUGH FROM PULPIT} Untermyer, a brilliant lawyer and law partner of Louis Marshall, came late to active service in the Jewish field, but thereafter worked with energy and effectiveness in many important undertakings.

Shortly before ^{Untermyer's} death in 1940, he made a request that I should officiate at his funeral. When he passed away I traveled to New York and conducted the funeral services at his home, Greystone, in Yonkers.



→ AND PLATFORM F CONTINUED TO ALERT ANY AND ALL TO THE
PENDING DANGER OF FASCISM,

AFTER THE WAR I

~~I was~~ also opposed to the re-arming of Germany. On March 4, 1951, I

spoke at The Temple on "Shall We Re-arm Germany?" I said:

In January, 1952, I joined Professor Albert Einstein and Stringfellow Barr in sponsoring a Report on Germany which was issued by the Faculty-Graduate Committee for Peace at the University of Chicago, whose conclusions were:

"The vital interest of both the United States and the Soviet Union will not permit Germany to become strategically allied with one against the other. The U.S. proposal to re-arm West Germany and to incorporate it into the Western bloc in fact threatens the peace.

"A peaceful solution of the German problem is possible only if the big powers come to some agreement that will provide for neutralizing Germany. Such agreement cannot be reached by unilateral conclusion of "peace contracts" or peace treaties. Negotiations should be immediately begun among the four occupying powers for the conclusion of a joint peace treaty with Germany, and providing for the withdrawal of occupation forces by East and West.

"Such a course could give an opportunity for the growth of democratic forces in Germany, and weaken the militarist elements. It would do this by measures against the re-creation of the Wehrmacht, in any form and by effective measures for decartelization and the elimination of Nazi influence from points of vantage in public life."

I know that no one's wisdom is adequate for the enormity and complexity of the political problems of our day, and no one can be absolutely sure of the correctness of the position which he takes on the fast-moving events of our day. But there are sound, moral principles of international relationship which have proved their enduring validity--and to these, in my darkness and confusion, I resolved to cling.

And I believe that our world is moving toward these same principles--the hard way.



In 1939, the Second World War broke out. It was to mark the end and the beginning ^{of} many things in the world. It was to affect the destinies of nations, of empires, of continents. The Jewish people suffered more during this war than any other people on the face of the earth. It was the blackest period in its long and checkered history. Out of it was to emerge the State of Israel.

In ~~1939~~, ~~Franklin D. Roosevelt~~ was the war-time leader of our nation. In many ways I admired ^{PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT} him greatly. He was the eloquent spokesman of some of the ^{highest} ~~very~~ ideals which inspired men of good-will in those searching and critical years. I had voted for him twice, but on March 31, 1941, addressing my congregation on a subject which was then widely discussed, "A Third Term for President Roosevelt?" ^{had} I stated:

"There are citizens who do not favor a third term for President Roosevelt, not because they are his foes--because they are his friends--the friends of the things he stands for. These people greatly admire him. They fully appreciate the monumental services which he has rendered this country during these last seven years... They remember that Mr. Roosevelt, in 1933, took over a bankrupt nation which had gone through the disaster of twelve years of boom and depression. He came in as the head of a people in panic, a people whose industry had been stalled, whose farms were languishing, a people prostrate not only materially, but even more so spiritually. They remember that Mr. Roosevelt succeeded in restoring their confidence and hope. He set about rebuilding what had been shaken or destroyed... They remember to this day, Mr. Roosevelt has not permitted the unemployed to starve, and has kept millions of our people from thoughts and acts of desperation. They bear in mind with gratitude the fact that he established measures of social security, security for the aged and for the unemployed...

"All these measures he attempted to achieve within the framework of our system of private enterprise. And through the enactment of these measures, he succeeded in averting a violent political and economic upheaval in our land.

"He has worked and is still working not alone for peace, but for a just peace.

"And yet, because of their very admiration for him, these friends of Mr. Roosevelt of whom I am one, would urge him not to stand for re-election. The Third Term, my friends, is not a law, but a tradition, a tradition which reflects the political views of the American people, a custom even more powerful than a law. It is a custom which has not been violated in one hundred fifty years, and during these one hundred fifty years there have been critical times, some of them more critical than the present."

"It is particularly important in these days, when the indispensable-one-man rule is exalted in so many parts of the world at the expense of the democratic faith in laws and institutions rather than in persons, that it should not be repudiated."

After ~~the two parties met in convention~~^{W. L. Wilkie} and Mr. Roosevelt was nominated by the ~~Democratic Party~~ for a third term, I was asked by The Cleveland Press whether I would wish to express myself on the nomination of Mr. Roosevelt or on Mr. Wendell L. Wilkie, who was nominated by the Republicans.

In reply, I stated: "My conviction as to the third term remains unchanged and so does my admiration for the policies and achievements of President Roosevelt. What I expressed in my March address represents a settled conviction. Only one consideration would have warranted a change of attitude, if the opposition candidate, in this case Mr. Wilkie, would have been an isolationist, representing a foreign policy at sharp variance with the sound and courageous one which President Roosevelt

has been presenting. In which case, the vital interests of civilization, now being threatened, would have outweighed any other consideration. Fortunately, Mr. Willkie has expressed himself clearly and unequivocally in favor of giving maximum aid, short of war, to Great Britain."

The Republican National Committee made extensive use of my statement. That was entirely proper. I was asked to become active in the campaign. I declined on the ground that it was an unvarying practice of mine not to participate in any political campaign.

I received a warm note from Mr. Willkie:

"Dear Rabbi Silver:

I am most appreciative of your statement released in the Cleveland Press of Tuesday, August 6, announcing your support of my candidacy for President of the United States.

"As one of the outstanding Jewish rabbis in the country, as well as a noted liberal and leader in the Zionist movement, I am proud to have your support, and I am deeply grateful for all you are doing in my behalf.

Cordially and sincerely,

Wendell L. Willkie"

Politics aside, I really admired this man whose vision in the midst of war reached out to the "One World", and whose deep humanity touched the hearts of men.

In 1944, when President Roosevelt ran for a fourth term, I again voted for the Republican candidate, Thomas Dewey. This was looked upon as heresy and was deeply resented by many Jews and Zionists. There were prominent Zionists, close to the Administration, who felt that my Republicanism would prove embarrassing to the Movement in Washington. My troubles in the Zionist Emergency Council in the next few years, to which I will refer later on, are in the main traceable to this fact.

Dissension soon developed within the ranks of the American Zionists. At a meeting of the National Executive Committee, held on September 29, 1920, a resolution "to approve the proceedings of the American delegation at the London Conference under the wise and competent leadership of the Honorary President (Brandeis) encountered considerable opposition. No vote was taken at this meeting. In the meantime, it was thought expedient that someone should approach Justice Brandeis and fully inform him concerning the criticism which had been voiced ~~at the meeting~~.

I was delegated to see Justice Brandeis. I saw him at his modest apartment in Stoneleigh Court in Washington on October 12th. ^{CONSEQUENTLY} I submitted a lengthy memorandum of our conversation to the Executive, ^{WHICH} ~~after~~ Justice Brandeis had ^{AS TO} approved of its accuracy.

Brandeis denied categorically that he had any intention of breaking with the World Zionist Organization. The so-called Brandeis plan which he presented to the leaders of the London Conference was his only in detail. It was Weizmann's as well.

After my conversation with the Justice, I was inclined to think that there was much more of misunderstanding concerning all that had transpired than was at first apparent, and that much of the conflict of opinion was due to it. The Justice apparently could not present certain important facts to the delegates at the time, nor could he explain in full the reasons for the position which he was at times compelled to take. Some of the delegation were accordingly led to certain conclusions, based on ignorance of the facts and on misunderstanding.

I had been critical of the Brandeis position in London but

had been made and irresponsible propaganda had been resorted to, to undermine the authority of the American Zionist leadership.

The rift in American Zionism did not do the Movement any good. Fortunately, it did not last ^{For} ~~very~~ long. Time and again in the many years of my association with the Movement, I observed its leaders, men of strong conviction and temperament, in the moment of sharp controversy act as if they would never speak to each other again or were about to quit the ^{WORK} ~~Movement~~. But the cause which they served always mastered them ~~in the end~~ and whipped them back into line. ^{Must} ~~They~~ were soon reconciled, ~~if only temporarily~~, to resume some controversy on some other issue ^{Another} ~~the next~~ time.

Thus ^N not long after the Cleveland split, when many harsh words had been spoken and serious charges made, the principal participants in the fray--Mack, Wise, ^{AND WEIZMANN} and Lipsky--met on the ~~same~~ platform ^{at} the National Conference on Palestine in Boston in November, 1926, ~~which~~ ~~was called to consider an enlarged Jewish Agency~~. Dr. Wise, in an impressive speech, declared: "The role of Disraeli in Britain is the role of Weizmann in Israel, and we, your fellow Zionists, bid you God-speed and say to you we will stand with you and will labor at your side." Dr. Weizmann, in an equally eloquent speech, affectionately addressed Dr. Wise as "my old comrade, collaborator, co-worker, and, if I may use the term, old war horse."

And so it was with all of us. We feuded but we never hated. Always we were driven into united action at the behest of the urgent needs of our common cause.

The so-called "Brandeis Group" which, of course, did not resign from the Zionist Organization, met in Pittsburgh on July 3-4 to plan its course of action. It resolved not to organize itself as

an opposition faction within the Zionist Organization of America, but to proceed forthwith to ^{SPUR INVESTMENT IN THE ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT OF} ~~initiate~~ ^{specific economic activities in} Palestine. It organized itself into a ~~Palestine Development Council~~, and a Central Committee of Palestine Development League ^{WAS TO} which would raise the funds and secure stock subscriptions for ^{FOR A PALESTINE DEVELOPMENT COUNCIL} ~~the corporations~~ ^{CORPORATE PROJECTS} ~~which would be founded by the Council.~~ ^{SPECIAL}

At this Pittsburgh Conference, I made an appeal for subscriptions towards the first project to be launched by the Council--a Palestine Cooperative Company to extend loans to credit unions and to cooperative consumers and producer societies, ~~in Palestine.~~ A sum close to a quarter of a million dollars was raised.

Other projects were to follow--a Building Loan Association and assistance in the financing of the Rutenberg Project for the creating of hydroelectric power. As president of the Central Committee of the Palestine Development League, I toured as far as the Pacific Coast during the months of August and September of 1922, in the interest of the Rutenberg project. The response was fairly good. I organized a number of Leagues in some of the principal cities of the United States and addressed numerous meetings. I succeeded in interesting the Central Conference of American Rabbis in the work of the Council. This was its first direct identification with any Palestine activity.

But the movement of the so-called "Brandeis Group" never really got off the ground. Lacking an adequate organizational apparatus and an adequate propaganda machine, it failed to get widespread support. From the beginning I had urged that an effective organization of paid ^{MUST} workers and organizers ~~should~~ be set up ~~as a basis for volunteer work,~~

Jewish National Fund and other Palestine causes, to form the United Palestine Appeal.

This was my first experience in the rough and tumble game of politics and I learned much. Everyone who ~~was~~ engaged in this bitter controversy was unquestionably a good Zionist, working for the good of the cause--but this did not preclude the all too human weaknesses of ambition, rivalry, and pique from entering into the situation. I saw how men rationalized their prejudices, and how truth was often rendered helpless by a sustained and skillful propaganda of misrepresentation. I saw how strong men stood up under attack and how others looked small even in their triumphs.

The First World War, which entailed so much suffering and tragedy for mankind, and the Communist Revolution, which shook the ~~very~~ foundations of Western society, also brought incalculable misery upon the Jewish people in Russia and Eastern Europe. Our ^{Jews} ~~people~~ in the United States, who ~~had escaped the ravages of war and revolution~~, moved swiftly to ^{their} aid ~~their less fortunate brothers~~.

The American Joint Distribution Committee conducted campaigns to raise funds to help these victims of war and persecution not only in Russia but in Eastern Europe and in many other lands. The ^{J.D.C.} ~~Joint~~ enjoyed splendid lay leadership and a competent and dedicated staff. Its services overseas won the commendation and confidence of American Jewry.

In 1925 the leaders of the J.D.C. became interested in a project of large scale Jewish colonization in southern Russia and in the Crimea. The father of the plan was Dr. Joseph A. Rosen. He urged colonization as the most expedient form of reconstruction ~~and~~ Aid

THERE WOULD BE LITTLE TRAN-
SLATION, NO DIFFICULTY IN LANGUAGE
OR CLIMATIC ADJUSTMENT AND
THE ~~SOVIET~~ GOVERNMENT WOULD
PROVIDE LAND AND OTHER MATERIAL

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for the J.D.C. to undertake. Jewish mass colonization in Russia, he ~~asserted~~
maintained, was feasible, ~~and the political and economic conditions~~
there favored such ~~colonization~~.
^{A PROJECT}

~~This colonization project had aroused much interest among~~ ^{WAS AROUSED}
American Jews, ^{ESPECIALLY AMONG THE WEALTHY} but also considerable opposition--especially among the
Zionist forces, who feared that ^{THE CRIMEAN VENTURE} it would be a severe competitor to
the colonization work in which the Movement was presently engaged in, ^{ON GOING}
in Palestine. ^{AND TO ALL CAMPAINING ON BEHALF OF PALESTINE} They were bringing thousands of Jewish refugees into
the country as part of their program to build the Jewish National Home.
^{EXECUTIVE APPROVED THE RUSSIAN PROJECT AND}
The J.D.C. planned a campaign to raise fifteen million dollars.

The first nine million dollars would be set aside ~~for these years~~
colonization work in Russia. A National Conference was held in
Philadelphia in September of ^{1925 TO PLAN A FIFTEEN MILLION DOLLAR CAMPAIGN} ~~that year~~ which was attended by hundreds
of delegates from all parts of the country. Many leaders of American
Jewry were present.

Zionist leaders also attended ~~this Conference~~ and expressed
their fears and misgivings about colonization undertakings in Russia.
"What about Jewish colonization in Palestine?" they asked. "Why
should not the two campaigns be combined?" "Wherein is the wisdom of
dealing with the Soviet Union, which the United States has not yet
recognized?"

Logically, of course, the ^{ON GOING} ~~two~~ ^{FOR RUSSIAN AND PALESTINIAN} campaigns should have been
merged. They both aimed at the resettlement of Jews, ~~the one in the~~
~~Crimea, the other in Palestine.~~ However, the leaders of American
Jewry were not yet ready for such a merger. It would take five more
years--the creation in Zurich of an enlarged Jewish Agency for Palestine,
and the bloody riots in Palestine in 1929--to bring about the formation

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I was later present in Zurich when the enlarged Jewish Agency was finally constituted amidst much ceremony and rejoicing. It was the second high point in Dr. Weizmann's diplomatic career, the first being the Balfour Declaration. He had worked for it hard for almost a decade. High hopes were fixed upon the consummation of the enlarged Jewish Agency, but when it was consummated, ^{These} ~~the high waters~~ began to recede ~~very~~ quickly. With the sudden death of Louis Marshall, and later of Lord Melchett, disintegration set in. The anticipation of large financial support which the "notables" would provide, never materialized.

~~materialized~~ Neither Dr. Weizmann nor ~~Justice~~ Brandeis ever succeeded in moving the "big givers" to large scale generosity. Actually, less money was collected by the Keren Hayesod during the decade which followed the creation of the enlarged Jewish Agency than in the decade preceding it. ~~A contributing factor to this sorry record was undoubtedly the disastrous economic depression which set in in the United States and in other parts of the world in 1929.~~

It would take another World War, Hitler, and the threatened extermination of European Jewry to open the floodgates of Jewish generosity, and here, again, generosity flowed principally from the masses of our people and from the middle classes.

This major effort of Dr. Weizmann, unsuccessful though it proved, was, however, not a total loss. The direct results were disappointing, but there were some valuable byproducts in terms of ~~A~~ ^{BROADER UNDERSTANDING} ~~propaganda~~ and increased prestige for the Movement. One is still left wondering, however, whether these byproducts justified the years of labor, struggle, and controversy which had been invested in this enterprise.

of an Allied Jewish Campaign ^{sponsoring both the} ~~for the combined~~ work of the J.D.C. in the Diaspora, and of the Zionist Organization in Palestine.

At the Philadelphia Conference, a ~~comprehensive~~ resolution was finally agreed upon. ^{which was to avert any possible rupture} A paragraph was included which stated that:

"The Conference regards it as self-evident that American Jewry, whenever called upon, is prepared generously to support the work of Jewish resettlement in Palestine. It is persuaded that through the Jewish Agency and other instrumentalities, the Jews of America will always give adequately and generously of their strength and substance to the performance of this great historic task."

David A. Brown of Detroit, a most dynamic campaigner, who had earlier successful campaigns to his credit, was appointed National Chairman.

The controversy over Russian colonization, however, was not to end there.

Prior to the Philadelphia Conference, I had written to Mr. Brown of my opposition ~~to the so-called Crimean project~~. He replied that he hoped that my final judgment would be based upon ^{the} facts as presented and not upon any prejudices ⁽²¹⁶⁾ which may come through my feeling for the Zionist cause.

~~"You are so vital to not only Cleveland and Ohio but to the balance of the country that I ask you again to withhold your judgment until all the facts are presented to you."~~ To this letter I replied:

"....It is naive to assume that the settlement of a few thousand families upon the soil and the expenditure of a few millions of American dollars will reconstruct Jewish life in Russia--as the grandiose publicity of the J.D.C. announced. The reconstruction of Russian Jewish life is contingent upon the reconstruction of Bolshevist Russia through the revision of its economic policies. This will come to pass sooner or later.

"The resolution which was adopted at the Philadelphia Conference is in the nature of a compromise. I am perfectly willing

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MY LETTER WAS EVIDENTLY BROUGHT TO THE ATTENTION
OF LOUIS MARSHALL. SAMUEL UNTCHENBERG REQUESTED OF
ME THE LOAN OF MY POSITION. I SUBMITTED TO HIM
THE FOLLOWING MEMORANDUM



OF HIS LAW OFFICE

MR MARSHALL HAD VIGOROUSLY
OPPOSED RUSSIAN COLONIZATION
AT THE CONFERENCE MR MARSHALL
WAS THE OUTSTANDING JEWISH



to abide by those decisions, although there seems to be room for various and opposing interpretations of these resolutions. If Mr. Rosenwald's position is to become the official interpretation of this resolution--that the first nine million raised must go for Russian colonization, and if Russian colonization will continue to be featured as the outstanding object of this campaign, many of us will find ourselves embarrassed when it comes to the task of assisting in raising the funds.

"I cannot free myself from the thought that for the price of a few thousand acres of confiscated land, Soviet Russia has purchased the finest propaganda machine in America. Marshall's address at the Philadelphia Conference was but one of the many apologies for Soviet Russia which the spokesmen of the J.D.C. will be compelled to make in order to justify their colonization project. I note that an attempt was even made at the Conference to stifle all criticism of Soviet Russia--a government which has proscribed the teaching of our religion and which is directly responsible for the godlessness and the appalling ignorance concerning our faith and our ~~deaths~~ ^{deaths} of half the Jewish youth of Russia today. . . ."

Not long after the Philadelphia Conference, David Brown sent out letters inviting a number of outstanding Jews in the United States to join a National Committee for the Campaign. In this letter he quoted the full text of the Resolution which had been adopted in Philadelphia but omitted the paragraph about the support for Palestine which was the very basis of the compromise.

When I received the invitation to join the National Committee, I wrote to Mr. Brown, stating that "I feel that until such time as it becomes apparent what you and your friends will do in a practical way this year for colonization in Palestine, I must refrain from participating in any campaign for Russian colonization."

~~My letter, in which I declined to serve as a National Chairman of the Campaign, was evidently brought to the attention of Louis Marshall, who so vigorously championed Russian colonization at the Conference. Mr. Marshall was the outstanding Jewish layman of his day. He was a vigorous champion of Jewish rights and was in sympathy with~~

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every constructive movement in Jewish life. He was a friend of Palestine and, within a few years, he was to become the prime non-Zionist mover in the formation of ^{THE} ~~an~~ enlarged Jewish Agency for Palestine which was consummated in Zurich in 1929. Mr. Marshall wrote me the following letter:

"The Kalenin statement bears out the prediction that the settlement of Jews in Crimea would create a menacing anti-Jewish movement among the Crimean peasants. That such a hostile movement has already taken on serious proportions is indicated by the fact that Kalenin himself found it necessary to counteract it by an official appeal to the people of Crimea.

"One is disturbed, too, by the fact that according to the statement of Kalenin, the land placed at the disposal of Jewish settlers in Crimea is of an inferior quality, such as the Russian peasants could not use and such as will require the investment of millions of dollars on the part of American Jews before it can be made available for cultivation."

The Soviet government originally intended to use the Crimean colonizations "as a base for a territorial center of the Jewish nation in the Soviet Union. ~~According to the plan of the economist, Lening,~~ ~~one of the leaders of the Komzet, more than two hundred thousand Jews were to be settled within several years in the middle section of Crimea.~~ However, ^{CHANGED ITS MIND AND} In 1928, the Soviet Executive Council decided to ^{ABANDONED} establish ^{TERRITORY THE SIBERIAN FRONTIER AT} a Jewish agricultural settlement in Biro-Bidjan, and this put an end to all large scaled plans for Jewish colonization in Crimea." (Universal Jewish Encyclopedia, Vol. 3, p. 292.)

^{SURPRISINGLY} As is well known, the Biro-Bidjan project likewise petered out. American Jewish philanthropists had become excited about this project, too, ^{IT TOO PETERED OUT} which was planned by the Soviet Union as a Jewish autonomous region in the Far Eastern provinces, not far from Manchukuo, on the Amur River.

(This was also to be the fate of the colonization project in

the Dominican Republic in 1939. ~~Tens of thousands of Jewish refugees were to be colonized there.~~ Agreements were entered into between a group of Jewish philanthropists in the United States and the government of ~~Generalissimo~~ Rafael L. Trujillo. The first thirty-two settlers arrived in May, 1940. By the end of that year, some two hundred and ten persons had been settled, and that was it! ~~Now~~ The Second World War practically put a stop to the transportation of Jewish refugees to the Dominican Republic, and when the war was over nobody seemed to care very much about the project altogether.

Zionism was making steady but rather slow progress in the first decade following the Balfour Declaration. The need for accelerating the pace was keenly felt, and efforts were made to bring this about.

Under the terms of the Palestine Mandate, provision was made for a Jewish Agency which was to act in an advisory and cooperative capacity to the mandatory government. The World Zionist Organization was recognized as this agency, but it was to take steps to secure the cooperation of all Jews who were willing to assist in the establishment of the Jewish National Home. ~~We~~ Weizmann was eager to enlarge this agency so as to include non-Zionists. His object was, of course, to involve the wealthier Jews of the United States and of other countries who did not wish to work through the Zionist Organization, in the economic development of Palestine and to tap additional resources for the Movement. To this end, he persuaded a group of prominent American Jewish leaders--Louis Marshall, Cyrus Adler, Horace Stern, and Herbert H. Lehman--to call a "Nonpartisan Conference to Consider Palestine Problems," on February 17, 1924, at the Astor Hotel in the City of New York.

My interest in Zionism led me to work among my rabbinical colleagues and to urge them to bring about a reorientation of the traditional position of the Central Conference of American Rabbis on the subject of Zionism.

The Central Conference of American Rabbis, the organized body of American Reform rabbis, was founded in 1889. Its founder was Isaac M. Wise, one of the leading Reform rabbis of his day. He also founded the Hebrew Union College for the training of rabbis. He, as

well as his colleagues of those early days, were strongly antinationalist or anti-Zionist and they set the tone for American Reform Judaism for the next two generations.

In fact, their confrères in Germany, where Reform Judaism originated in the early nineteenth century, had already set the tone. They confidently proclaimed that Germany was their Fatherland--a rather one-sided proclamation. They needed no other homeland. The early Reformers were riding the high tide of nineteenth century liberalism, but they failed to note the dangerous shoals of nineteenth century nationalism, the trend towards the centralizing state, and the threat to the Jewish minority of the fast deploying class struggle of their day. Especially dangerous ^{was} this oversight ^{was} in a land like Germany, which was only just then recovering, after two centuries, from the physical and spiritual devastations of wars of religion, among a people periodically swayed by waves of hysterical religiosity, hysterical metaphysics, and hysterical politics, whose foremost religious leader in the sixteenth century could indulge in an anti-Semitism which was matched only by the anti-Semitism of the foremost political leader of Germany in the twentieth century.

These early Reformers were thinking of progress, as most men of their day did, in terms of ~~a steady advance~~, an unbroken march forward, ^{IN TERMS BORROWED FROM THE PROGRESS OF THINGS SCIENTIFIC} rather than in terms of a succession of cyclical movements, which, over and over again, come again and which result only in a slight net ~~advance for mankind~~. There were ample warnings all around them, portents which less romantic eyes did appraise more realistically--signs of an irrecensilable opposition, an indurate racial, cultural, economic, and religious hostility which had not and would not accept

return to Palestine, nor a sacrificial worship under the sons of Aaron, nor the restoration of any of the laws concerning the Jewish State."

When the Balfour Declaration was issued in 1917, The Central Conference of American Rabbis went on record at its Convention in 1918: "We do not subscribe to the phrase in the Declaration which says: 'Palestine is to be a National Homeland for the Jewish people' . . . We are opposed to the idea that Palestine should be considered the Homeland of the Jews . . . The ideal of the Jew is not the establishment of a Jewish State--nor the reassertion of Jewish nationality which has long been outgrown."

The Central Conference of American Rabbis always favored the physical rehabilitation of Palestine for such Jews as may desire to go there and even urged upon Jews the duty to contribute to the reconstruction of the country, but it remained obdurately opposed to Zionism and to the establishment of a Jewish National Homeland.

But the sentiment of many of its members, especially of the younger generation, moved steadily away from this doctrinaire position.

~~I was at many a convention where a new platform was~~
Life was forcing them to a new orientation. The exponents of the
classical, anti-Zionist position in the Conference were soon fighting
a rear-guard action. The showdown came in 1935, at the Chicago
Convention. It was now fifty years since the Pittsburgh Platform had
been adopted. The Conference arranged for a re-evaluation of that
Platform, more particularly of its position on Zionism.

Dr. Samuel Schulman of Temple Emanuel, New York, and I were invited to present our contrasting views. ~~I had, from time to time, been honored by my colleagues by being invited to deliver a sermon or~~

~~The stability of Hitler's administration~~
~~AND OF HITLER'S POLICY~~

~~read a paper at their conventions on some subject related to~~ Judaism.
On ~~all such occasions~~, I urged a new attitude on the part of Reform
Judaism ~~toward Zionism~~. This turned out to be the last major debate
on the floor of the Conference on the subject of Reform Judaism and
Zionism.

Dr. Schulman, in a scholarly paper, in the main defended the
Pittsburgh pronouncement, ~~on Zionism~~, although he was far less dogmatic
than he himself had been in 1918, ~~at the Convention following the~~
~~issuance of the Balfour Declaration~~. After all, much had happened in
the intervening years. . . . Dr. Schulman acknowledged that the
strength of what he called the nationalist party, consisted in the
fact that it had emphasized the importance of Israel by calling it a
nation. Indirectly, ^{ZIONISM} ~~it~~ had strengthened the backbone of Jewish
consciousness, although it braced it artificially. . . . Its weakness
was that while it wanted to strengthen the backbone of Jewish conscious-
ness, it had assimilated away the Jewish soul by making Israel ~~"goy"~~
~~like other "goyim"~~ a nation like other nations.

He called for unity and not for bitter controversy ~~among Jews~~
over this issue. ~~Let~~ "Let us work together, we the religionists and
those who differ with us . . . Not to stand aloof is our aim, but
recognizing the value of Palestine for hundreds of thousands of our
brethren in Israel, let us help increase the settlement; at the same
time let us bravely uphold the truth that Israel is not a ^{NATION LIKE OTHER} ~~"goylike"~~
^{NATIONS} ~~other "goyim"~~. It always was, it is now, and, if it is to live at
all, will always be a witness to God." (C.C.A.R. Yearbook, 1935,
p. 309 ff.)

In my paper I took issue with the accepted thesis that the
Jewish people was nothing more than a religious community and that ^{our} ~~its~~
mission to humanity precluded the idea of national restoration.

American Council for Judaism, a notorious anti-Zionist group from which the ^{SRILAN} rabbinic constituency steadily withdrew, leaving it almost entirely in the hands of superpatriotic laymen whose chief interest was not Judaism but anti-Zionism.

The Central Conference of American Rabbis, in the critical years of the last quarter of a century, during which time the battle for the establishment of the State of Israel was waged, and its foundations laid, maintained a positive, constructive, and most helpful attitude. Many of its members were leading champions in the struggle.

I had the honor of being elected President of the Central Conference of American Rabbis in 1945 and 1946.

Rabbis and social workers, Zionists and philanthropists, educators and labor leaders were not the only ones who were active, in these years, on the American scene. There were also so-called Jewish "intellectuals," who sought to mold and influence Jewish life. The Menorah Movement, which was founded in the twenties, was the creation of such a group of Jewish intellectuals and was directed primarily towards the Jewish college student. Its mouthpiece was the Menorah Journal, which was founded by Henry Hurwitz in 1926.

Jewish "intellectuals" have always been a problem to the Jewish people. As a rule they are supercilious fringe-Jews, victims of a conscious or unconscious escapism. They entertain neither love nor reverence for their people's heritage. They have cut their moorings and are adrift.

The term "intelligentsia," like the terms "proletariat" and "peasant," is really not applicable to the structure of American society. They belong, or belonged, to the social stratifications of

THERE WERE 60,000 JEWS IN PALESTINE AT THE PROMULGATION
OF THE BALFOUR DECLARATION. THERE WERE 400,000 NINETEEN YEARS
LATER. THOSE YEARS SAW AN ^{ESTABLISHED} AMAZING RECORD OF CONQUEST
ACCOMPLISHMENT, IN THE FACE OF TERRIBLE OBSTACLES -
NON-COOPERATION ON THE PART OF THE MANDATORY
GOVERNMENT, VIOLENCE AND TERRORISM ON THE PART OF THE
ARABS, IN THE FACE OF A JEWISH WORLD A ROLLEN AND
IMPOVERISHED BY WAR, WITH MILLIONS OF OUR PEOPLE IN
EASTERN AND CENTRAL EUROPE DEMANDING THE
GREATEST SHARE OF ^{JEWISH} ~~OUR~~ RESOURCES AND EFFORTS
IN THE FACE OF A DISASTROUS ECONOMIC DEPRESSION.
ZIONISTS NEVERTHELESS SURVIVED IN ^{BRINGING} ~~THE~~ INTO
EXISTENCE A REMARKABLE JEWISH COMMUNITY -
HUNDREDS OF SETTLEMENTS AND COLONIES, SCHOOLS AND
HOSPITALS, INDUSTRY, A HEBREW LANGUAGE AND A
REVIVAL CULTURE.

^{CONCURRENT WITH OUR SUCCESS}
~~THIS~~ A DELIBERATE POLITICAL EFFORT WAS SET
IN BEING TO CUT THE JEWISH HOMELAND IN TWO, TO
CONSTRICT ITS BOUNDARIES TO WHAT COULD ONLY BE
DESCRIBED AS A POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC FETTER.
I LABELLED ENGLAND'S ADMINISTRATION OF PALESTINE WITHIN
THE TERMS OF THE MANDATE "A SERIES OF FAILURES,
BLUNDERS, INACTION AND NON-COOPERATION. GREAT
BRITAIN UNDERTOOK ^{"TO FACILITATE"} ~~TO~~ JEWISH IMMIGRATION
UNDER SUITABLE CONDITIONS "FAR FROM OPENING
THE DOOR WIDE, GREAT BRITAIN WRANGLLED AND

PICKED AND GAINED FOR MINIMUM SCHEDULE, GREAT
BRITAIN UNDERTOOK "TO ENCOURAGE IN COOPERATION
WITH THE JEWISH AGENCY CLOSE SETTLEMENT OF THE
JEWS ON THE LAND, INCLUDING STATE AND WASTE LAND
NOT REQUIRED FOR PUBLIC PURPOSES" NOT A FOOT OF
LAND WAS GRANTED TO JEWISH SETTLERS IN
PALESTINE, ON THE CONTRARY, ENDLESS DIFFICULTIES
WERE PUT IN THE WAY OF ACQUIRING LAND EVEN
BY PURCHASE, COMMISSION AFTER COMMISSION WAS
CALLED INTO EXISTENCE, ~~TO PROVE~~ THAT NO LAND
WAS AVAILABLE, AT THE VERY TIME WHEN JEWS,
BY DRAINING MARSHES AND IRRIGATING ~~DESERT~~
LAND, WERE DEMONSTRATING HOW MUCH AVAILABLE
LAND THERE ~~REALLY~~ WAS. GREAT BRITAIN UNDERTOOK
TO PROVIDE PHYSICAL PROTECTION AND SECURITY - YET
WAS BEHINDHAND IN LIMITING AND TARDY IN PURCHASING
~~THE~~ FOR A LARGE SCALE ARMED TERRORISTIC OFFENSIVE.

made the above general recommendations on the territorial division of the country.

At the Fortieth Annual Convention of the Zionist Organization of America, which met shortly after the issuance of the Royal Commission report, in New York City, the proposed scheme of partition was the chief subject of discussion.

I vigorously opposed it. *quoting* "Great Britain had failed to carry out the terms of the Mandate to facilitate Jewish immigration and the close settlement of Jews on the land. Great Britain had failed to provide physical protection and security for Jewish settlers during the recent Arab disorders. Great Britain had undertaken to build a Jewish Homeland in Palestine including both sides of the Jordan. Almost immediately Great Britain ~~had~~ cut off from the provisions of the Mandate the whole of Transjordan, a territory twice as large as the present Palestine.

"Now, twenty years after the Balfour Declaration, Great Britain was seeking to cut the Jewish Homeland still further, to constrict its boundaries and to consign an expanding Jewish Homeland to what must be a political and economic absurdity. The high spiritual exaltation of our people, in 1917, inspired by the Balfour Declaration, has been, through two decades, successively dampened, and chilled, not so much by terroristic resistance on the part of certain intransigent Arab elements in Palestine, as by the failure of the Mandatory Government to fulfill the obligations which it undertook under the terms of the Mandate. The whole record of the Administration of Palestine with reference to the upbuilding of the Jewish Homeland has been a series of failures, blunders, inaction, and non-cooperation.

made inevitable by the stubborn and inhuman policy of that government.

I publicly approved of this resistance both by the Haganah and the Irgun, and I tried to compose the bitter rivalry between the two.

At the National Conference for Palestine, called by the United Palestine Appeal which met in Washington in January, 1938, I was elected chairman to succeed ^{Dr. S. S. Wise} Dr. S. S. Wise, who had served in that capacity in 1936 and 1937. The Conference was held eighteen days after the issuance of the British White Paper. A feeling of depression pervaded the Conference. Zionist hopes had received a crushing blow.

In accepting the chairmanship of the United Palestine Appeal at a time of such low ebb, I felt that first and foremost it was essential to raise the morale of the delegates and workers and our Zionist constituency generally. Without confidence in our ultimate victory, the work of the United Palestine Appeal would suffer enormously.

I was always confident that the inescapable logic of events would, in due time, make Palestine a Jewish State. For a shorter or a longer time this may be halted or retarded, but the rebirth of Israel as a nation in its historic home was as sure to come to pass as God's word never returns empty until it has accomplished that for which it has been sent.

The inescapable logic of events! When all the doors of the world would be closed to our people, then the hand of destiny will force open the door of Palestine. And that hour, I believed, was rapidly approaching.

Accordingly, I made this the central theme of my speech of acceptance.

INSERT
P 124 LAST
PARAGRAPH
TO P 126
FIRST
PARAGRAPH

"This is one of the rare moments in my life. I am keenly aware that the burden involved is even greater than the honor. I am the spiritual leader of a large congregation which, of course, has the first claim upon my time and upon my energy. Nevertheless, I do not feel justified in declining, but I regard myself as a conscripted soldier. This is an hour of battle for Israel. We are fighting on all fronts. Never in our history have we had to fight on so many fronts at one and the same time. I shall give to this campaign during the coming year whatever energies I can command, whatever ability I can command, whatever time I can command. I shall try to be more than the nominal head of the campaign. I am assuming responsibility, and I assume, also, that you wish me to take on a full measure of authority.

"I shall try to benefit by the accumulated experiences of ours during the past years. I shall try a few new experiments, a few new ways. I shall make an effort, with your cooperation, during the coming year to capitalize on the widespread pro-Palestine sentiment which exists among our people everywhere. I have found that while ideologically all of our people may not be ready to commit themselves to our Zionist program, there are really few Jews in this country who are doing any thinking at all--and most Jews have been made to think in the last few years--who have not become Palestine-minded and Palestine-sympathizers. I shall try, as far as I can, to organize that sentiment and to capitalize upon it.

"I should like to see banished from our midst in these days the mood of defeatism, the mood of despair. No people is at its best when it is frightened. You cannot appeal to the generosity of people

"I appeal to you to go forward as the emissaries of that faith, courage, and vision which have not been dimmed in two thousand years!"

I served as chairman of the United Palestine Appeal for six years, relinquishing the position in January, 1944, to concentrate on the work of the American Zionist Emergency Council. In the course of those years I traveled all over the country, addressing hundreds of meetings, opening the campaigns in many of the principal cities in the nation and in the U.P.A. Conferences at the beginning of each annual campaign. The income of the U.P.A. grew from year to year. From direct contact with the Jewish communities of the United States I came to know their leaders and they came to know me. This was to prove a valuable asset to our work in the Emergency Council later on.

I also served as General Chairman of the Cleveland Jewish Welfare Fund for six years (1935-41). Cleveland, I am proud to state, now leads the entire country in its contribution to the United Jewish Appeal.

When the story of American Jewry during the Second World War is fully told, it will be found to be one of highlights and deep shadows. Many fine and noble things were done. Many sad mistakes were made. Great opportunities were missed. The errors were those of the mind, not of the heart. It will also be found that the masses were far ahead of their leaders. Their instinctive judgment was sounder, their demand and readiness for action more forthright and determined. The war matured American Jewry. It brought us close to the orbit of Jewish life and to the heart of the Jewish problem. Just as America became central to the world's political and economic

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life, and the decisive factor in the winning of the war, so American Jewry became central and indispensable to the total life of world Jewry. American Jewry was quick to grasp the new situation as well as the new challenge which confronted it, and to the best of its ability it tried hard to meet that challenge. As the true knowledge of European conditions came to be understood, the response of the Jews of America became increasingly more generous. It is difficult to estimate what the total public and private aid amounted to, but it is a creditable record. The Jews of America keenly felt the impact of the appalling tragedy which had overtaken their people, and reacted to the obligations of Jewish solidarity.

One of the secrets of our survival is that there never was ~~any isolationism amongst our people when disaster swept over any segment of our people anywhere.~~ The bond of Jewish unity was again tested during these years of wrath and was found strong and durable. But there was another factor. There were, in many instances, close family ties which bound together the Jews of America with those who were living and dying in the several hells of Europe. Deep called unto deep--and the hearts of men living in the security and freedom of a blessed land went out to ~~brother and sister, father and mother,~~ kith and kin, who lived in the shadow of death, languished in concentration camps, or walked the dolorous roads which led to death in the gas chambers or to other human slaughter pens. Myriads of personal anxieties and tragedies deepened and intensified the compassionate efforts of American Jews to sustain and to rescue the Jews of Europe.

A valuable byproduct of the numerous campaigns which were held in our country year after year was the education given to our people in the realities of Jewish survival. These campaigns made necessary the organization of Jews in every community and of all classes and elements of Jewry. In each community new leaders came to the front, many of them young, energetic, and forward-looking, who were proud to be associated with a vital Jewish service and who derived deep spiritual satisfaction from their new and chosen association with the life of their people.

During the time that I was Chairman of the United Palestine Appeal, ^{AN ATTEMPT WAS MADE TO USE} ~~a controversy~~ ^{TO LIMIT} ~~arose over the issue of national budgeting.~~ ^{THE POPULARITY AND EFFECTIVENESS OF 24 HOUR ENTERPRISE}
The Council of Jewish Federations and Welfare Funds was organized in 1933 to provide central services for Jewish community organizations and federations throughout the country and to enable them to exchange experiences and plans and to act together for joint purposes. Through the years, the Council rendered excellent service, ~~to the American Jewish community.~~

In 1940 a movement was set afoot among some of the members of the Council to set up a national budgeting committee in order to study national and overseas agencies, to obtain complete data from such agencies, to evaluate the work of each agency, and to recommend ~~to~~ ^{APPROPRIATELY} the ~~communities~~ ^{COMMITTEE} comparative allotments to the different agencies. A committee was appointed by the Board of the Council to study this ^{PROPOSAL} subject. The ~~members of the Council~~ ^{COMMITTEE}--Jacob Blaustein, William Schroeder, Sidney Hollander, and William Rosenwald--enthusiastically approved of the idea. The Board of the Council, meeting on October 26, 1940, approved the proposal to set up a national budgeting committee.

Underlying this action was the belief that local communities ~~in~~ themselves were not in a position to judge the relative needs and services of national and overseas agencies, that factual reports alone were not sufficient, and that it would be helpful ~~and desirable~~ to obtain ~~evaluations and~~ recommendations from a national committee representative of all federations and welfare funds that could examine and weigh the situation much more ~~closely and~~ intensively.

Tremendous opposition developed to this proposal, and a controversy raged among the Jewish communities in the United States over it. There were many, some within the Council itself, who regarded it as marking a sharp departure from the previous function of the Council, which was purely fact-finding. The Council had never undertaken to tell the communities how much they should give to this or that agency. Many felt that the new proposal presented the danger of putting too much power ultimately in the hands of a small group of people.

Despite the position of the proponents that recommendations to the communities would be purely advisory, the opponents felt that the recommendations in themselves would carry much weight and authority and would in actual fact be more than advisory.

This proposal was ~~finally~~ ^{SENT FOR} presented ^{FOR ADAPTATION TO A} ~~to~~ the General Assembly of the Council which met in Atlanta, Georgia on January 31, 1941.

Point was given to the arguments of those who favored national budgeting by the fact that the Joint Distribution Committee and the United Palestine Appeal had failed to agree on a joint campaign for 1941 and had announced independent campaigns. This gave the proponents

the Jewish Agency for Palestine--must see to it that at least its minimum requirements are not placed in the hands of a so-called neutral, non-Zionist body; that at least its minimum requirements are protected. While, therefore, we never opposed the principle of an allocations committee--in fact, it was the U.P.A. which suggested it--we must insist that at least its basic requirement should be earmarked at the outset so that a so-called neutral body, if it so desired, could not strangle the movement by the simple device of tightening the purse strings."

IT WAS A LONG STRUGGLE BUT IT DID SHOW THAT
~~There is a price one must not pay for unity.~~ THE WEALTHY FEW
COULD NO LONGER

Early in the year 1942 I received an invitation from Dr. Weizmann to visit England in behalf of the Palestine Appeal Campaign. I ~~accepted~~ ^{CONTINUED THE COMMUNIST} and, traveling by clipper, by way of Bermuda and Lisbon, I arrived in England on March 9th and was met by a committee headed by Dr. Weizmann in the Paddington Station. I stopped at the Dorchester Hotel and after dinner that evening I walked out into my first blackout in London. It was a weird and ghostly experience. I later stepped into the Underground shelters where men, women, and children were sleeping on iron cots in three tiers while passengers were waiting for their trains.

These were distressing times for England. ~~It had quite recently received staggering blows in the Far East.~~ The wounds of Malay, Singapore, Rangoon, Java, and Burma were still fresh. Those were dark days also for our people and trying days for our Movement.

While the full extent of our people's tragedy at the hands of the Nazis was as yet not known, enough was known of the Nazi's diabolic plans to exterminate European Jewry to fill us all with

horror. Our Movement was impaled on the horns of a tragic dilemma. Jews everywhere were, of course, solidly behind Great Britain and her allies in the war against the common enemy of civilization. But ~~our Movement~~ ^{we were} was compelled to resist Great Britain in Palestine because, as the Mandatory Government, it had shut the doors of Palestine against our refugees who were desperately seeking asylum from Hitler's concentration camps and gas chambers. Palestine Jews were loyally fighting in the armies of Great Britain, but the Haganah and Irgun, each in its own way, had to resist Great Britain in Palestine in the hope of saving the hapless remnants of our people from extermination.

Those were the days of the White Paper. I arrived in London just ten days after the sinking of the Struma--the ~~ship which carried~~ ^{REFUGEE SHIP "ARMYNE"} ~~seven hundred Jewish refugees.~~ ^{SEVEN HUNDRED FRIGHTENED FLEEING SOULS - WHICH} It had been turned away from the shores of Palestine and had ~~perished~~ ^{SUNK} in the Black Sea.

Upon my arrival, I met with the representatives of the press at the central Zionist office, 77 Great Russell Street. I spoke to them of the pressing and urgent problem of our Jewish refugees, the victims of our common enemy, and of Palestine, which should be open and available to them, for in Palestine the Jewish people had an internationally accredited legal status for which they had to thank Great Britain.

"The Balfour Declaration was a product of great political vision and statesmanship and emanated from the deep humanity and the fine spiritual sense of the English people; and the Jewish people will forever remain grateful to this act of statesmanship, humanity, and friendship.

Two important conferences were to be held in the next two years in the United States which were to prove decisive in the history of the Zionist Movement.

An extraordinary Conference was called by the Emergency Committee for Zionist Affairs in New York City, May 9-11, 1942, at the Biltmore Hotel. It was the first general conference of all the Zionist groupings in the United States since the outbreak of the war and the first important Zionist gathering since the World Zionist Congress in 1939. Chaim Weizmann and David Ben-Gurion were present.

The aims of the Conference were to bring about unity in Zionist ranks ~~in the United States~~ and to formulate Zionist aims in anticipation of the end of the war and the Peace Conference which was to follow. Both ~~Mr.~~ Weizmann and David Ben-Gurion delivered important programmatic addresses. I participated in this Conference.

The Biltmore Conference passed some important resolutions. Foremost among them was:

"The Conference urges that the gates of Palestine be opened; that the Jewish Agency be vested with control of immigration into Palestine and with the necessary authority for upbuilding the country, including the development of its unoccupied and uncultivated lands; and that Palestine be established as a Jewish Commonwealth integrated in the structure of the new democratic world."

This so-called Biltmore program constituted, as the American Jewish Yearbook for 1942 states, "a fundamental departure from traditional Zionist policy. Heretofore official Zionism steadfastly refused to formulate the ultimate aim of the Movement, preferring instead to concentrate on the practical task of building the Jewish

Home. We demanded now a Jewish Commonwealth within the commonwealth of free nations. The bitter experience of the British Mandate led to this insistence. Great Britain had undertaken the Mandate in full recognition "of the historical connection of the Jewish people with Palestine and the grounds for reconstituting their National Home in that country. . ." (Preamble to Mandate, November 2, 1917) This commitment had never been pursued with any energy. England tended to look upon local difficulties associated with the Jewish Homeland as unnecessary disturbances of the status quo, instead of as a natural part of the ^{her} task assigned, ^{Task} ~~task~~. No considered attempt had been made to bring home to the Arabs of Palestine the fact that the Balfour Declaration was inter-allied policy and, later, that the Mandate was international law, and the first evidence of recalcitrance on their part -- the riots of May 1921--were rewarded by a temporary suspension of Jewish immigration.

Concession led to concession. The White Paper of 1922 declared that "The terms of the Balfour Declaration do not contemplate that Palestine as a whole should be converted into a Jewish National Home, but that such a home should be established in Palestine." ^{Thus} ~~In 1922~~ Transjordan--three times the area of Cis-Jordan--was arbitrarily removed from the ^{homeland provisions} ~~terms~~ of the Mandate and closed by administrative decree to Jewish immigration. In 1927 a British commission, headed by Sir Walter Shaw, found Jewish immigration and Jewish land purchase the cause of political unrest--^{and} ~~so~~ further immigration ^{was} ~~had been~~ suspended until another report could be made. In 1930 the first of a series of British ^{immigration} ~~restrictions~~ (Sir John Hope Simpson) tried to justify immigration ^{quotas} ~~quotas~~ ^{on the basis of assumed absorptive limits} ~~on the basis of assumed absorptive limits~~. This policy of

^{Tight}
~~Revised~~
strict immigration ^{limitations} ~~limitations~~ had reached its unfortunate conclusion in the Macdonald White Paper of 1939 which ~~was~~, as we have seen, not only ^{limited} ~~fixed~~ all future Jewish immigration ^{to} ~~of~~ a total of seventy-five thousand ~~and had further~~ declared "It is not a part of their policy that Palestine should become part of a Jewish State."

This was a complete repudiation of the Balfour Declaration and was so characterized in June of 1939 by the Permanent Mandate's Commission of the League.

At the Biltmore Conference, Zionists looked ahead to the end of the war, determined that the Jewish National Home would not again ~~be~~ ^{not be} ~~subordinate to~~ ^{subordinate to} the foreign policy of another mandatory. Simply put, if the Jewish Homeland was to stand firm, its Jewish citizens must be vested with control of immigration. Any other control ^{would make} ~~makes~~ immigration a pawn in selfish political maneuvers which have no reference whatsoever to the rights and the needs of the Jewish people. This demand for a Jewish commonwealth was subsequently endorsed by the Inner Actions Committee of the Zionist Organization in Jerusalem and by all major Zionist groups.

SOON CALLED ~~THE~~ ^{THIS} POLICY ~~THE~~ BILTMORE PROGRAM CONSTITUTED A FUNDAMENTAL
NEW DEFINITION OF ZIONIST POLICY. HERETOFORE ^{ZIONISM} ~~ZIONISM~~ HAD
CONCENTRATED ON IMMIGRATION AND ECONOMIC SUFFICIENCY, NO
ATTEMPT HAD BEEN MADE TO DEFINE THE ULTIMATE POLITICAL
FORM OF THE JEWISH NATIONAL HOME. WE DEMANDED NOW
A JEWISH COMMONWEALTH WITHIN THE COMMONWEALTH OF FREE
NATIONS. THE BITTER EXPERIENCE OF THE BRITISH MANDATE
LED TO THIS INSISTENCE, GREAT BRITAIN HAD UNDERTAKEN
THE MANDATE IN FULL RECOGNITION "OF THE HISTORICAL CONNECTION
OF THE JEWISH PEOPLE WITH PALESTINE AND THE GROUNDS
FOR RECONSTITUTING THEIR NATIONAL HOME IN THAT
COUNTRY." (PREAMBLE TO MANDATE NOV 2, 1917) THE
COMMITMENT ^{HAD} ~~THE~~ ^{NEVER} ~~BEEN~~ ^{WITH ANY ENERGY} ~~PURSUED~~ ^{ENGLAND}
TENDED TO LOOK UPON LOCAL ^{DIFFICULTIES} ~~ASSOCIATED~~
WITH THE JEWISH HOMELAND AS AN NECESSARY DISTURBANCE
OF THE STATUS QUO, INSTEAD OF AS A NATURAL PART
OF THE TASK ASSIGNED TO THEM. NO CONSIDERED
ATTEMPT HAD BEEN MADE TO BRING HOME TO THE
ARAB OF PALESTINE THE FACT THAT THE BALFOUR
DECLARATION WAS INTER-NATIONAL POLICY AND, LATER,
THAT THE MANDATE WAS INTERNATIONAL LAW, AND
THE FIRST EVIDENCE OF RECALITRANCE ON THEIR
PART — THE RIOTS OF MAY 1921 — WERE
REWARDED BY A TEMPORARY SUSPENSION
OF JEWISH IMMIGRATION

CONCESSION LED TO CONCESSION. THE WHITE PAPER

OF 1922 DECLARED THAT "THE TERMS OF THE BALFOUR
DECLARATION DO NOT CONTEMPLATE THAT PALESTINE
AS A WHOLE SHOULD BE CONVERTED INTO A
JEWISH NATIONAL HOME, BUT THAT SUCH A HOME
SHOULD BE ESTABLISHED IN PALESTINE, IN 1922
TRANSJORDAN ^{-THREE TIMES THE AREA OF OLD JORDAN-} WAS ARBITRARILY REMOVED FROM THE
TERMS OF THE MANDATE AND CLOSED BY ADMINISTRATIVE
DECREE TO JEWISH IMMIGRATION. IN 1927 A BRITISH
COMMISSION LEADED BY SIR WALTER SHAW FOUND
JEWISH IMMIGRATION AND JEWISH LAND PURCHASE
THE CAUSE OF POLITICAL UNREST - SO FURTHER ~~THE~~
IMMIGRATION HAD BEEN ~~STOPPED~~ ^{SUSPENDED} UNTIL ANOTHER
REPORT COULD BE MADE. IN 1930 THE FIRST OF
A SERIES OF BRITISH COMMISSIONS (JOHN HUBB SIMPSON)
JUSTIFY IMMIGRATION RESTRICTIONS ON THE BASIS OF
ASSUMED ARABIC LIMITS, THE POLICY OF STRICT
IMMIGRATION LIMITATIONS HAD REACHED ITS UNFORTUNATE
CONCLUSION IN THE MACPINALD WHITE PAPER OF
1939 WHICH HAD, ~~FIXED ALL~~ ^{AS WE HAVE SEEN} ~~THE~~ ^{THE} NOT ONLY
FIXED ALL FUTURE JEWISH IMMIGRATION AT A TOTAL
OF 75,000 AND HAD FURTHER DECLARED "IT IS
NOT A PART OF THEIR POLICY THAT PALESTINE
SHOULD BECOME PART OF A JEWISH STATE",

THIS WAS A COMPLETE REPUDIATION OF
THE BALFOUR DECLARATION AND WAS SO
CHARACTERIZED IN JUNE OF 1939 BY THE

PERMANENT MANDATE'S COMMISSION OF THE LEAGUE

AT THE BALTIMORE CONFERENCE ZIONISTS LOOKED

AHEAD TO THE END OF THE WAR DETERMINED
THAT THE JEWISH NATIONAL HOME WOULD NOT
~~PALESTINE WOULD NOT AGAIN BECOME~~ THE

AGAIN SUFFER FROM THE FOREIGN POLICY OF ANOTHER
MANDATORY. ^{THE} DEMAND FOR A JEWISH COMMONWEALTH
WAS SUBSEQUENTLY ENDORSED BY THE INNER ACTIONS
COMMITTEE OF THE ZIONIST ORGANIZATION IN JERUSALEM
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SIMPLY PUT THE JEWISH HOMELAND WAS
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IN SELFISH POLITICAL MANOEUVRES WHICH
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PEOPLE

National Home. But the British White Paper of 1939, which interpreted the terms of the Mandate in a way that would freeze "the Jewish Community to a permanent minority status," and the war situation which would eventually bring international factors to bear upon the future of Palestine, prompted the Zionist leaders to take a firm unequivocal stand. This demand for a Jewish Commonwealth was subsequently endorsed by all major Zionist groups. . . . The Biltmore program was finally sanctioned also by the Inner Actions Committee of the Zionist Organization in Jerusalem. "In the absence of the World Zionist Congress, which met last in 1939 and may not meet again for the duration of the war, this may be regarded as the official Zionist stand on the ultimate aim of the Movement."

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ELABORATION

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On August 29, 1943 the American Jewish Conference met at the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel in New York City. It was held in anticipation of the problems that would face the Jewish people in the postwar period ~~in Europe and Palestine~~. It had been planned at a preliminary meeting of thirty-two national Jewish organizations which had been held in Pittsburgh earlier in the year and which had been convoked at the initiative of Henry Monsky, President of the B'nai B'rith, one of the truly great lay leaders which American Jewry produced. At this meeting it had been decided to summon an American Jewish Assembly (the name was later changed to the American Jewish Conference) ~~which~~ ~~would be~~ organized on democratic lines, to establish a common program of action in connection with postwar problems, relating to the rights and status of Jews in the postwar world, to consider and recommend

- AS I SHALL SHORTLY RELATE
SHORTLY BEFORE THE CONFERENCE, ~~I~~ ^I ACCEPTED THE
CHAIRMANSHIP OF THE A.Z.E.C. ~~AND~~ ^{AND} WITH IT RESPONSIBILITY
FOR THE LEADERSHIP OF ~~ZIONIST~~ ^{ZIONIST} POLITICAL WORK
IN THE UNITED STATES. MY MANDATE WAS A NEW
MOBILIZATION OF ZIONISTS - BUT IT WAS CLEAR
THAT IT WOULD NOT BE ENOUGH MERELY TO MOBILIZE
THE ENROLLED ZIONISTS. FORTUNATELY, THERE WAS
AMPLE EVIDENCE THAT AN OVERWHELMING MAJORITY
OF AMERICAN JEWS WAS PREPARED TO HELP IN
OUR WORK, THE TEST OF THIS CAME DURING
THE FOURTH PLenary SESSION OF THE CONFERENCE
ONCE AGAIN AMERICAN JEWS ~~HAD~~ ^{HAD} TO FACE SQUARELY
A DECISION TO SETTLE FOR ~~A~~ ^A ~~DECISION~~ ^{AND REHABILITATION}
PROGRAM ON WHICH ALL COULD AGREE - A FINE
HUMANITARIAN SERVICE BUT ONE WHICH OFFERED
NO CHANGE IN THE JEWISH WORLD POSITION - AND
A ZIONIST EMPHASIS ON A NATIONAL JEWISH HOME.
AT THIS CONFERENCE EVEN SOME LONG TIME ZIONIST
WERE TIMID IN ASKING ~~CONFERENCE~~ ^{CONFERENCE} UNITY ~~YET~~ ^{YET} WE
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BY DEFAULT

I WAS NOT DESIGNATED A
SPEAKER OF THE "ZIONIST BLOCK"

groupings were given proportional representation on each Conference committee, each group designating its own representatives and each committee electing its own officers.

Shortly before the Conference--as I shall shortly relate--I ~~had~~^{AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL} accepted the chairmanship of the A.Z.E.C. and with it responsibility for the leadership of Zionist political work in the United States. ~~My~~ mandate was a new mobilization of Zionists--but it was clear that it would not be enough merely to mobilize ~~the~~^{the necessary} enrolled Zionists. Fortunately, there was ample evidence that an overwhelming majority of American Jews was prepared to help in our work. The test of this came during the fourth plenary session of this Conference. Once again American Jewry had to face squarely a decision to settle for a rescue and rehabilitation program on which all could agree--a fine humanitarian service but one which offered no change in the Jewish world position--and a Zionist emphasis on a national Jewish home. At this Conference even some long-time Zionists were timid in rocking ^{through} Conference unity. I was not designated a speaker of the "Zionist Bloc," ~~yet we would not allow the Zionist cause to lose by default.~~

The fourth plenary session of the Conference, which was held on Monday night, August 30th, was devoted to a symposium on Palestine. It was at this session that I spoke. I was given the time allotted to the American Jewish Congress. The time of the General Zionists had been assigned to other speakers.

"My dear friends," I said, "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

action upon all matters looking to the implementation of the rights of the Jewish people with respect to Palestine, and to elect a delegation to carry out the program of the American Jewish Assembly in cooperation with the duly accredited representatives of Jews throughout the world.

Five hundred delegates attended the Waldorf-Astoria Conference, one hundred and twenty-five representing ^{ed} national organizations and three hundred and seventy-five ^{had been} ~~who were~~ elected by the communities. ~~Elections were held in every state of the Union.~~ At least two million, two hundred and fifty thousand Jews participated directly or indirectly in the local elections of delegates to ^{This} ~~the American Jewish~~ Conference. All shades of opinion in ~~the American Jewish~~ community were represented ~~at the Conference--~~ Zionists and non-Zionists, Orthodox, Conservative, and Reform Jews--labor leaders ^{The principle was} and many who belonged to no special group. All groupings were given proportional representation on each Conference committee, each group designating its own representatives and each committee electing its own officers. [Insert]

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