



Abba Hillel Silver Collection Digitization Project

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

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

Series VII: Personal Miscellaneous, 1908-1989, undated.

Sub-series D: Writings, 1915-1963, undated.

Reel
218

Box
81

Folder
70

Miscellaneous writings and speeches, 1917-1963.

6
INSTALLATION PRAYER

*Installation prayer
Oct 1917*

AT THIS SACRED HOUR I WOULD PRAY TO HIM WHO IS MY STRENGTH AND MY FORTRESS AND MY REFUGE, THAT I MIGHT PROVE WORTHY OF THE SERVICE TO WHICH I HAVE BEEN CALLED, AND DESERVING OF THE FAITH WHICH MEN HAVE PLACED IN ME; THAT HIS SPIRIT MIGHT DESCEND UPON ME, GRANTING TO MY WORK AND MY MINISTRY AN ABIDING VALUE AND AN ENKINDLING ENTHUSIASM AND A POWER WHICH WILL ENABLE ME TO TOUCH THE LIVES OF SOME OF YOU, WIN SOME SOUL TO HIGHER ASPIRATIONS, AND GUIDE SOME HAND IN ITS OUTREACHINGS FOR THE HIGHER GIFTS OF GOD. I WOULD PRAY FOR THE MEN AND WOMEN OF THIS CONGREGATION, AND FOR THEIR EARNEST EFFORTS TO RISE AND TO RAISE TO EVER HIGHER ALTITUDES, TO WIDEN THE CIRCLE OF THEIR LIFE'S INTERESTS SO AS TO INCLUDE A SEGMENT OF THE INFINITE. I WOULD PRAY THAT THEIR LOYALTIES AND SINCERITIES MAY REVEAL UNTO THEM THE PURPOSEFULNESS OF LIFE AND THE GLORY OF SERVICE, THAT THEY MAY DRINK DEEP OF THE WATERS OF CONTENTMENT AT THE FOUNTAINS OF SPIRITUAL SALVATION; AND I WOULD PRAY THAT TIFERETH ISRAEL, REDEDICATED AND RECONSECRATED, MAY IN A STILL LARGER MEASURE SERVE THE CAUSE OF ISRAEL AND OF ISRAEL'S FAITH, THAT IT MAY CONTINUE TO BE A BLESSING UNTO MEN, REACHING OUT INTO THEIR LIVES, MELLOWING THEIR HIGHER AMBITIONS AND INSPIRING THEIR FINER

-2- 71

MOTIVES; THAT THE YOUNG MEN AND WOMEN WHO SHALL BE REARED
UNDER ITS INFLUENCE MAY GROW INTO SPLENDID MANHOOD AND WOMAN-
HOOD, AND INTO A SUPREME AND TRANSCENDENT DEVOTION TO THEIR
PEOPLE AND TO ITS GREAT, IMPERISHABLE MISSION.

October 14, 1917

Patience



Friends Intelligencer

A Quaker Message

IN the face of the amazing pretensions of the state, it behooves all religious disciples to insist that man possesses certain rights over which the state, however noble its purposes and however exalted its program, has no power whatsoever. There are sovereign rights which are man's own by virtue of his humanity and not by virtue of his citizenship in a given political group. Man has other relationships and other obligations than those to his country. There is the whole of mankind. There is the universe as a whole. There is his own inner spiritual microcosm. There is God."

—RABBI ABRA HILLEL SILVER, in Address at Cape May Conference on "The Decline of the Individual."

THE CAPE MAY CONFERENCE

With Courage and Faith

New U. P. A. Head Calls for Abandonment of Despair And Renewed Hope

Text of Address by DR. ABRAHAM SILVER

I should like to say at the outset that the prime reason which moved me to assume the leadership of the 1938 campaign of the U.P.A. was the thought that by so doing I might relieve Dr. Wise of some of the heavy burdens which have fallen upon his shoulders in recent years, far beyond the measure which any human being, even as gifted and energetic and resourceful and inspired as Dr. Wise is, it was my thought that, by coming in his aid in this work, some of his time and some of his energies might be released for greater concentration upon the other activities in which he is engaged on behalf of our people. He has generously offered me—my younger colleague—the fullest measure of his cooperation, and symbolized that offer by accepting the chairmanship of the executive committee of the U.P.A. We shall thus have continuously the benefit of his seasoned counsel, of his wise guidance and of his enkindling inspiration.

I do not think that this is the time to pay our fullest measure of tribute to Dr. Wise, not merely for the leadership which he gave to U.P.A. in the last two years, but for the leadership which he gave to the Jewish people in the last forty years. It was said of another great Jewish leader who also lived and labored in desperate times for his people that he was the Ner Israel—a Light in Israel; that he was an Amos Nerve—a Pillar of Strength—of Israel; that he was a Polish Rosh—a Powerful Headman. I know of no leader in Jewish life in our generation to whom these three attributes are more justly and accurately ascribed. In darkness, a light in Israel; in hours of need, a pillar of strength; and in the midst of sorrow and struggle, a hummer, a power of great and persistent energy.

My dear Dr. Wise, this is one of the rare moments in my life; it is a great honor for me to take this torch from your hands in this cause at this hour. 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, when the summons came I did not feel justified in refusing or declining, but I regarded myself at this hour 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. Others are called upon to make far greater sacrifices. This which was asked of me is the least. 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 the fullest measure of such responsibility and a measure of authority.

Sees Wider Opportunities

I shall try to benefit by the accumulated experience of more during the period of years. I shall also try to experiment, perhaps trying 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 thinking at all—and most Jews have been made to think in the last few years—who have not become Palestine-minded and Palestine-sympathetic. I shall try, as far as I can, to organize that sentiment and to capitalize upon it, perhaps by decentralizing our work a bit, so as to de-

volve locally and regionally some additional lay Jewish leadership for Palestine.

I want to make just one or two requests of you, my fellow co-workers. I would like to ask you in your respective communities to clear the way for the U.P.A. I should like to ask all those who are identified with one Zionist group or another, which groups may have their own particular projects which involve financial undertakings, to give the U.P.A. in their communities the right of way. I should like to utter one word of caution to all of you that in this work of raising money for Palestine, there is such a thing as being penny-wise and pound-foolish, that in initiating and launching numerous small projects for Palestine you do not benefit Palestine but in the long run hurt it. There is a real danger—and I have travelled this country from coast to coast visiting many communities, and I have for three years been chairman of the Jewish Welfare Fund in Cleveland—there is the real danger of scurrying our Jewish communities because of these numerous small petty projects for Palestine which have been launched. There is also a danger of fragmenting our Palestine activities. The trend in our communities and the demand of our Jews is for centralization, coordination. They get weary quickly and resentful of being approached time and again during the year for this Palestine project and for that Palestine project. If a fund is worthy, some way ought to be found of incorporating it in the total Palestine budget. I ask for your co-operation, friends, synagogues, rabbis, members of the staff and the press. Most particularly, the men who are out in the field—our representatives—who are working day in and day out, and for whom I wish your utmost good will, co-operation and helpfulness.

It is to me a truism and a repeated platitude that these are times of recession for our people politically and economically. But it is in times such as these that spiritually our people progress. That is the philosophy of Jewish history and that is one of the secrets of Jewish survival. Our people is very much like one of those evil springs—the more pressure you put upon them, the greater the resistance. In the last few years we have again seen this miracle which always amazes this world, that in the times when we are being hounded upon the anvil of history, we increase spiritually, and we multiply the acts of our sacrificial loyalties.

Deplores Defeatism

I do not approve, I deplore the constant chastizing of our people. I deplore the constant beating of our breasts—we have sinned, we have transgressed, we have not done enough. I think something should be said for our people, for what it did do for the sacrifices which it has made in the last twenty years, colossal sacrifices, astounding sacrifices. Please remember that Palestine was not the only problem which claimed it in a great deal in terms of substance and time, and energy and labor and care and anxiety. In fifteen-twenty years the American Jews have had to send over \$125,000,000 to rescue their people in Eastern Europe, and more of that money did not come out of the pockets of the few—the rich—but from the sweat and the labor of the masses of our people. And not only these tens of millions of dollars which were collected from campaigns, but even larger sums which were sent abroad by a child to a parent, by a brother to a sister. Now our people, through no fault of their own, have had to spend this, in order to keep their people alive in foreign lands. Why do we always castigate ourselves? Is there any



LEFT TO RIGHT: LUDWIG LEWISHOHN, LOUIS LIPSKY, ABRAHAM GOLDBERG

people on the face of God's earth today that has shown and exhibited greater heroism under duress, a greater spirit of sacrifice, greater loyalty to its weaker and most suffering brothers, a deeper sense of solidarity than our people? Why don't we, when we assemble and when we enumerate the things which we might do and should do, or fail to do, also build up the morale of our people and inspire them in these horrible days when the whole world seems to be organized against them, and strengthen them by reminding them of what they have done and what they are doing in the world today?

When I come to a community and ask for funds for Palestine, or for Poland or for Germany, I do not go with a scorpion whip, with words of bitterness and denunciation. I go to that community with words of consolation, comfort and hope, praising them for what they have done and urging upon them that as long as this great need exists, to make even more and greater sacrifices for our cause.

I should like to see banished from our ranks in these times 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 a people when you terrify them. The reaction to fright is flight and hoarding. Bring your people that sort of message which the prophets of Israel always brought to their people in the dark nights of suffering: "Al tira, andi Yashak"—do not be afraid. Jewish life is not liquidating anywhere on the face of the earth. Bring them the message of the prophets: "Even when thou shalt pass through the deep waters, I shall be with thee and the fire which are kindled against thee will not consume thee." Bring them that message.

A Message of Hope

You have every reason to bring them that message—because it is not merely wishful thinking, which is in itself a great act of salvation in an hour of crisis, but on the basis of what we have actually done and achieved and builded in these desperate post-bellum years. We have reason to speak to our people in confidence and in hope of the future.

Following the World War, when more than half of our people were broken and shattered in Eastern Europe with their life disorganized, their economic resources at a vanishing point, following the World War, which set in motion out of the greatest migration known in the history of our people, when so much of our energies and resources had to be devoted to the elementary work of binding wounds, of providing bread for the starving and shrouds for the dead—the Jewish people had, nevertheless, the tenacity, the courage, the vision, the heroism to apply themselves to this colossal job in Palestine of rebuilding the Jewish national life. With their own hands and their own resources in this critical period and in this short space of time they took a land neglected, stripped, desolate and, in fifteen-twenty short years, populated it

ZIONIST LEADERS AT THE CONFERENCE

built towns and cities, and schools and hospitals and a university; and a backward, Oriental province became one of the greatest civilized, cultural centers in the Near East. Is that a record of which we need be ashamed? Why do our leaders go about intoning this elegy of doom all the time? Jewish life in Germany is doomed—Jewish life in Poland is doomed—Jewish life in Rumania is doomed? What right has any Jew to pronounce the Kaddish over the lives of millions of Jews in any country of the world?

Palestine will not be built up upon the doom of these Jewish communities. It is a vigorous, prosperous Jewish life in the Diaspora which will feed and strengthen and develop the Jewish Homeland in Palestine.

I appeal to you, my friends, as you go to your communities—you lay leaders, you rabbis, you members of the staff and the personnel of the U.P.A. Go forward as the spokesmen, as the emissaries of a faith, of courage, of vision, which has become undimmed in two thousand years. Do you think that this upbuilding of Palestine which our forefathers began the very day that the Temple lay in ruins, which continued to the period of the Crusades and the crescent, through Rome, Islam, the crusades and the Turks, do you think that that

project with which the life of our people has been intertwined now for nearly two thousand years will be abandoned now because of the political uncertainties, because of these sporadic riots which are taking place in the country? Do you think that that dream will be abandoned now, after our soil in Palestine has been innamated with our blood? Do you think that now, after we have vindicated anew our thrice justified claims upon Palestine by weeks of labor of building, that we will abandon it today? Partition or no partition, we go on! If partition goes through, then certainly we will need ten times the funds that we raised last year. If partition does not go through, surely our work does not stop. There is the Mandate and the work of continuing to bring Jews into Palestine. Let us clear our minds of dualities and our hearts of metaphysical ideologies. Let us clear ourselves of that morbidity of analyzing ourselves to find out who some people do not like us. Let us face the simple problem in a simple way.

Friends, there is the Jewish people, there is the Jewish nation which needs a national homeland. There is a Jewish national homeland in Palestine. Let us determine to rebuild it.

RESOLUTION ON QUOTA

THE National Conference for Palestine, composed of representatives of American Jewish communities gathered in Washington, D. C., on January 23, 1938;

Realizing that the increasing economic and political oppression and persecution of Jews in European lands makes it essential that a broader and more extensive program of reconstruction and rebuilding of Jewish life be adopted, and that homes and opportunities for an increasing number of homeless Jews must be found, and

Recognizing that the rebuilding of the Jewish National Home in Palestine has not merely given security and freedom to 30,000 Jews and opportunities for self-realization and self-emancipation, but has also demonstrated the capacity of the Jewish Homeland to absorb tens and hundreds of thousands of Jews provided funds for the development are made available, and

Believing that without in any way yielding in our demands for complete social, political and economic equality for Jews in all the lands of their birth and residence we must facilitate the settlement of masses of Jews forced into exile, driven to despair and destruction by the forces of reaction, hatred and racial prejudice,

Registers its convention that a primary responsibility rests upon the Jews of America to carry on with greater purpose and energy the rebuilding of the Jewish Homeland in Palestine through wholehearted and generous cooperation with the United Palestine Appeal, the sole fund-raising instrument of American Jewry to further the national reconstruction program in Palestine, and

Calls upon the Jews of America to raise through the United Palestine Appeal during 1938 the sum of \$4,500,000 for the settlement in Palestine of Jews of Poland, Rumania, Germany and other lands of persecution, and for the maintenance and expansion of the great colonization projects already initiated and for the support of the vital institutions and agencies which have been created to develop the economic, social and cultural life of the national homeland in Palestine.

Expresses the hope that the gifts of each individual and community will be measured by the knowledge that in Palestine Jews are creating for our people a permanent future grounded in free and creative enterprise.

Dr. Silver Pleads for Rededication To U. P. A. on Eve of New Year

Says Need for Home in Palestine for Jews Is Written in Blood and Fire Across Face of Europe

In a ringing Rosh Hashanah message graphically describing the accumulation of new tragedies in the year which is about to end, and pointing with pride to the steadfast and undaunted spirit of the Jewish community in Palestine in the face of constant attack, Dr. Abba Hillel Silver, National Chairman of the United Palestine Appeal, addressed an urgent plea to Jews throughout the United States to dedicate themselves with the greatest sacrifice to the most urgent task before the Jewish people—the building of a home in Palestine for the Jews who have been crushed by the increasing spread of anti-Semitism in Central and Eastern Europe.

Referring to the hardships that are confronting the Jews in Palestine at the present time Dr. Silver emphasized that the building of the Jewish National Home "is not the work of a year, a decade or of a single generation" and for that reason cannot be evaluated on the basis of isolated periods of stress or development. Asserting that the work in Palestine must not be delayed because of any temporary unfavorable condition, Dr. Silver reminded the Jews of America that "we are engaged in an historic enterprise of long duration, calling for wide perspectives and long-range planning, demanding patience and resoluteness and above all unflinching and generous offering of substance and manpower."

In this connection Dr. Silver said that if a fraction of the resources and energy which Jewish communities invested in other lands from which they are now being driven had been invested in Palestine in recent years the Jewish Homeland would now be a reality and that the tempo of upbuilding would have been more rapid if the Jews had had greater vision and had made greater contributions.

Recent events in Europe, particularly the destruction of the Jewish community of Austria and the rise of anti-Semitism in Italy which was climaxed by an order of expulsion against Jews who took up residence in that country since 1919 have demonstrated conclusively, Dr. Silver said, that the Jews need a national status and a national homeland. He described this need as being written in letters of fire and blood across the face of two-thirds of Europe.

While Palestine cannot claim exclusive allegiance or devotion, it does claim priority because it is not merely another worthy project in Jewish life but "the most vital and crucial need of our people at this time and at all times," he declared.

Dr. Silver concluded his stirring appeal to American Jewry with the following call for increased support for the United Palestine Appeal:

"Fellow Jews! On the threshold of the New Year I transmit to you the appeal of the Yishuv in Palestine for a brotherly strengthening of their hands and hearts, for reassurance for a just sharing in sacrifice and for tools and materials with which to build the temple of our national life and of our imperishable ideals."

"Jewish communities in the United States which have not yet organized their efforts for the United Palestine Appeal, are urged to do so at once. Those which have had their campaigns during the year and are conscious that they have not met their full responsibility in the present year are urged to supplement

Stress Need for Self-Taxation

Executive of Jewish Agency Asks That \$5,000,000 Be Raised in 1939

JERUSALEM (Palestine Agency).—The Jews of America as of every land were called upon by the Jewish Agency Executive, under the signatures of Dr. Chaim Weizmann and its other members, to engage in "sacrificial, national self-taxation" that would provide for the Jewish Agency a minimum of \$5,000,000 during the coming year for the needs of Palestine, among which defense and security are listed first.

Striking the keynote that "every individual has a share of responsibility for the common Jewish fate," the Jewish Agency Executive emphasizes that the Jewish community in Palestine stands firm in the face of the present onslaught and calls upon the Jewish people to give funds freely to those "fighting in the front line."

The manifesto, which also bears the signatures of the members of the Board of Directors of the Keren Hayesod, was drawn up by the Executive in accordance with the decision of the conference held in Antwerp early this month with the participation of many of the leading figures in all lands associated with the raising of funds for Palestine.

It was urged by the Executive that communities begin preparations at once that would enable the Jewish Agency to plan its activities immediately and for 1939 on the basis of the expected response to the present appeal.

The "appeal to the Jewish people" reads as follows:

"The Jewish people in Palestine are engaged in a struggle for a life of freedom in the land to which they are bound by the ties of history and the longing of many generations."

"We always knew that freedom (Continued on page 9)

Poland and Rumania Demand Britain Open Palestine Doors

Tell League Council Constructive Solution of Jewish Emigration Problem Impossible Without Immigration Into Palestine

GENEVA, (Palestine Agency).—Emphasis upon Great Britain's obligation to open the doors of Palestine wide for Jewish immigration in view of intensified Jewish difficulties was the keynote of addresses delivered last Saturday at a session of the Council of the League of Nations.

While the British representative heard this softly couched criticism, he seemed unmoved by it for in his answer, Mr. A. R. Butler, Undersecretary for Foreign Affairs, told the Council that there was nothing in the League Mandate to prohibit temporary restriction of Jewish immigration. Talking on the larger aspects of British policy in Palestine he reiterated his Government's belief that partition remains the best and most hopeful solution of the

Women Give Rings For Defense Fund

JERUSALEM (Palestine Agency).—Palestine Jewry, conscious that it is in the midst of a war which it must not lose, gave another indication that it was prepared to make every sacrifice for self-defense.

Responding to the appeal of the Kofar Hayishuv, the campaign for self-defense funds launched by the Jewish community, individuals began pouring out their jewelry into the treasury. Included among the pieces were numerous wedding rings.

The directors of the Kofar Hayishuv decided to present substitute rings with the inscription "Tikvah Magen" to the donors of the gold rings.

JEWS MOUNT GUARD TO REPLACE ARABS

170 Ghaffirs Ordered to Patrol Strategic Points in Jerusalem

JERUSALEM (Palestine Agency).—After months of proof that Arab officers are either unwilling or unable to stand at their posts in times of danger, the Palestine Government has at last called upon Jews in large measure to replace them in strategic points.

Most significant proof of this was found in Jerusalem last week as 170 Jewish ghaffirs were ordered to guard the most important buildings in the city, including the Jerusalem police stations, all central Government department offices and the General Post Office. A special detail was also assigned to patrol the Judean hills alongside the Jerusalem-Jaffa road. Fifty other ghaffirs were posted at the isolated water supply pumping stations on the same route.

The increasing reliance by the Government on Jewish assistance was also reflected in orders given today for the replacement of Arab constables with Jews in seven police posts in various parts of the country.

With the enlistment during the past few days of 904 additional Jewish ghaffirs, the total of Jewish ghaffirs and special police today reached the total of 7,800, having at their disposal 4,600 rifles exclusively for the use of the Jewish police.

Dr. Goldman Solicits For Future 2

Dinners in New York and Antwerp on Return from Tour

More than 1,000 Zionists in New York and 1,000 in Chicago extended an enthusiastic welcome to Dr. Solomon Goldman, President of the Zionist Organization of America, on his return from a tour of Europe and Palestine last week. During his trip abroad Dr. Goldman visited Jewish communities in Austria, Poland and Italy, spent more than a week studying conditions in Palestine and prior to his return to the United States participated in the World Conference of the Keren Hayesod in Antwerp.



Successor and Predecessor to

the head of the American Zionist. Arriving on the Aquitania Tuesday Dr. Goldman reported the Jews in Europe and Poland were the target of a work attack by the forces of Semitism, but emphasized that Palestine Jews were defending selves with honor and setting example of courage in the struggle for Jewish rights.

On Wednesday evening, Dr. Goldman presided over a meeting Executive of the Z. O. A. at important problems relating to future policy were discussed. The following night New York City paid a warm tribute to Dr. Goldman at a dinner which his first public appearance in this capacity.

Not only the leaders of all groups in the city but many and leaders in Jewish education in welcoming Dr. Goldman, presented to the guests Stephen S. Wise, his predecessor. In praising Dr. Goldman's utterances at the Antwerp conference Dr. Wise observed his successor had spoken rightly against a spirit of which was nothing more than a version to pre-Hitlerian. Wise said that Dr. Goldman's patience with defeatism tolerance for Jewish characterizing him as "chaim" fighting to bring dignity into American Zionism. (Excerpts from Dr. Wise appear on page 1.)

When Dr. Goldman returned he was too deeply disturbed by the European situation and by the terrorism of the Palestine to deliver a full report but presented a series of graphic vignettes.

and the Executive of the United Jewish Appeal, Mr. David Kaufman, President of the Federation, Dr. Jacob A. M. Jacobson, President of the United Jewish Appeal, and Mr. Jacobson are among the Directors of the Campaign. Dr. Jacobson, one of the members of the Company, was set as its president until January of this year.

They have many quirks. They have purchased land in the course of the campaign, and means of strengthening the Jewish family in the Homeland, and part of that was to desire Jewish family.

When they took many of these countries where they had their homes, bereft of most of their possessions, they found that the land purchased originally out of the Homeland, and became their sole remaining and enabled them to start in the Homeland. A number of American Jews had the same idea in the critical years following the purchase of land. The purchase of land turned out to be a first step.

Jews still want to have their homes in Palestine. They may be hesitant in purchasing land, but the PLDC offers an opportunity for men and women to invest in Palestine through the official purchasing agency which guarantees the properties it offers, and position to deliver kushans at all times. Through its office which it has now established in New York, it will offer opportunity to American Jews to invest in selected suburban properties in Jerusalem, Haifa, and Hedera.

OF THE
HOTEL
EM
hana Greetings
s, and Invites
unities of a
in Jerusalem

NE LAND
CO., LTD.

Co-Ed Zionist Organization
HAIFA, LONDON
Office for America at
NEW YORK CITY
Suite 1700

able men and women
of the company in
an properties located
Haifa, on convenient
guaranteed.

leadership of Leon C. Sunstein, chairman and Robert M. Bernstein, vice-chairman of the Allied Jewish Appeal. All sections of Philadelphia Jewry will be enrolled in the most intensive campaign that has ever been waged in this city.

Prior to the opening of the drive in Philadelphia, Dr. Joachim Prinz will visit the city on Wednesday, October 12th to set up a preliminary campaign meeting. On September 28th, Abraham Goldberg went to Philadelphia to stimulate united support on the part of Jewish organizations for the forthcoming campaign.

In addition to Messrs. Sunstein and Bernstein, the other officers of the Philadelphia campaign are: Arthur A. Fleisher, treasurer, and Kurt Peiser, treasurer, and David J. Gatter, secretary. Judge William M. Lewis has been named head of the Committee on Organizations, and Judge Theodore Rosen is Chairman of the Speakers' Committee.

Addressing himself to Jews throughout the city, Mr. Sunstein issued a statement in which he deplored the fact that there are some elements which have not yet fully realized the desperate plight of Jews in various European lands. In the course of his statement, Mr. Sunstein said:

"The Jewish community in Philadelphia is the third largest in this country. It may sound strange, but it is nevertheless true, that there are people among us who are not fully mindful of the gravity of the situation. These people have a rather vague idea of the relief and rehabilitation program carried on by our national organizations.

Best Wishes for
the New Year

Rosoffs
RESTAURANTS
....HOTEL....

147-151 West 43rd Street
152-154 West 44th Street
AT TIMES SQUARE
NEW YORK

Sea Food Our Specialty
BRyant 9-5480

B. ALTMAN & CO.
FIFTH AVENUE 34TH STREET

wishes you

a happy

and prosperous

New Year

September 21, 1938.

The following contributions to the Z.O.A. of \$1,000 each from individuals were announced at the dinner in the Hotel Commodore in New York: Barney Balaban, Morris Diagash, Irving Manacher, Mrs. Morris Weinberg.

The members of the Finance Committee announced their contribution of \$3,000.

District No. 22, Flatbush, through Samuel Brown, pledged \$1,000. Anonymous contribution, through Charles Cowen, \$1,000. Congregation Shaare Torah of Flatbush through S. E. Bernstein, \$1,000. The

Washington Heights, through Marcus M. Zetkin, \$100. District No. 19, Bronx, through Israel Malin, \$100. District No. 39, Bronx, \$100. Richmond Hill District through Sol Cohen, \$100. Mt. Vernon District, through Harry P. Fierst, \$100. Plainfield, N. J., District, through Mr. Rosenbaum, \$100. Davidson Bros. through Sol Cohen \$300. Jacob Rand, \$100.

Individual contributions of \$100 each were announced from Dr. S. S. Wise and Capt. A. Tolia.

A complete list of all contributions will be published in the next issue of THE NEW PALESTINE.

Dr. Silver Pleads for Rededication to U. P. A.

(Continued from page 1)

mual effort, are urged to make their direct and individual contributions to the cause.

"May the coming year be a better year for our people. May it witness the lifting of the dark clouds from over the lives of those who are at present in tribulation and suffering. For Palestine may it be a year of redemption, progress and peace." (The full text of Dr. Silver's message appears on Page 3.)

The keynote of a year of greater sacrifice in behalf of the United Palestine Appeal sounded by Dr. Silver was echoed in many communities which made preparations to launch their campaigns during the High Holiday period with a new and profounder grasp of the gravity of the Jewish position abroad and the greater responsibilities of American Jewry to halt the spread of Jewish homelessness and tragedy.

Yesterday Dr. Joachim Prinz visited Dayton, Ohio, to address a workers' meeting of the United Jewish Council in that city on the eve of the opening of the campaign for the United Palestine Appeal and other agencies. The Dayton drive is being conducted under the leadership of Sidney J. Kusworm, chairman.

On Wednesday evening, September 28, Dr. Prinz will visit Greenwich, Conn., to be the guest speaker at the opening of the combined drive in that community. I. J. Weiss is co-chairman, together with Rabbi Meyer Miller and Meyer Cohen.

Dr. Prinz will also go to Montgomery, Ala., on Friday, September 30, to occupy the pulpit of Temple Beth Or on Friday night and to speak in Rabbi Blachshleger's synagogue on Saturday morning for the purpose of inaugurating the local campaign. The drive in Montgomery is to be conducted under the leadership of the following: Walter Lobman, president of the Jewish Federation of Montgomery; Miron J. Rothschild, vice-president and chairman of the Budget Committee; Ber-

nard F. Gerson, treasurer; Rabbi Eugene Blachshleger; Max S. Baum, campaign director; and Mrs. Sanford Marcus, secretary.

The Jewish community of Easton, Pa., will inaugurate its combined campaign in behalf of the United Palestine Appeal and Joint Distribution Committee at a dinner on Wednesday evening, September 28. Pierre van Paassen will visit Easton on Thursday evening, October 4, to speak at a public meeting to stimulate maximum support of the drive of which Chief Louis Levin is chairman; Louis M. Ralph, honorary chairman; and Jack Sher, secretary.

Mr. van Paassen will also go to Wilmington, N. C., on Sunday, October 23, to usher in the beginning of the campaign in that community. The officers of the Wilmington drive are: B. May, chairman; Harry Solomon, co-chairman; Benjamin King-off, vice-chairman; B. D. Schwartz, secretary and treasurer; William Block, L. Schwartz, Rabbi Mordecai Thurman, Rabbi Joseph Goldberg, committee members.

Weisgal Off to Palestine To Arrange Fair Exhibits

Bound for Palestine, where he will arrange for additional exhibits to be presented at the Jewish Palestine Pavilion at the New York World's Fair next year, Meyer W. Weisgal, Director of the Pavilion, called this week on the S S Queen Mary for Southampton. His plan is to proceed to Palestine by plane immediately after his arrival in England.

While in Jerusalem Mr. Weisgal will convey to High Commissioner Harold MacMichael a personal invitation from Grover T. Whalen, President of the New York World's Fair 1939, to attend the Fair and, in particular, the Jewish Palestine Pavilion there, the first such exhibit ever to form part of an international exposition in the United States.

In the course of his stay in Palestine Mr. Weisgal will inspect the construction work now being done at the Levant Fair Studios on the various exhibits to be displayed at the Pavilion. When this work, supervised by Arie El-Hanani, Chief Architect of the Pavilion, is completed the exhibits will be brought to the United States, to be assembled in the World's Fair grounds at Flushing Meadows L. I.

Upon his return to this country, scheduled for October 12th, Mr. Weisgal will embark on a nationwide tour to acquaint American Jewry with the plans for the Pavilion, which will reflect every phase of the agricultural, industrial, commercial, cultural, political or social life of Eretz Israel.

UPA
1938

(130)

This hour in Jewish history is as grave as any which our people have experienced in two thousand years. A wave of reaction has swept over the Western world which has already shattered two great Jewish communities in Germany and Austria and which is threatening with a similar fate other Jewish communities in Central and Eastern Europe.

Three million Jews in Poland live in the midst of almost continuous attack and harassment. They are subjected to numerous restrictions and intolerable hostile propaganda while the economic plight of more than a million of them beggars description. They live in the direst and most abject poverty.

It is a time of great affliction for Israel because it is a time of great affliction for mankind. An unclean spirit, a plague of diseased ideas risen from the ten million graves of the last war has come to dwell in the habitation of mankind. The ghosts of the Dark Ages - tyranny, oppression, hatred, intolerance and sheer cold brutality - cast their horrible shadows over the lives of men and nations. The rights of the individual are trampled under foot. The rights of races, religions and minorities are flaunted. The human mind is shackled and the spirit of free inquiry is outlawed. Vicious propaganda is poisoning the well-springs of human thought. An ingrown and war-breeding nationalism is rampant and the youth of the world is indoctrinated with a hateful, truculent and arrogant provincialism. In Central Europe the racial state is rising upon the ruins of the state built upon law and citizens who do not belong to the racial stock of the majority are disfranchised, degraded, denied the right to practice their professions and callings and doomed to poverty, exile or suicide.

In such a world of reaction and recrudescant barbarism the Jewish people everywhere a minority finds itself a high helpless victim. Nations

gone mad with Chauvinism and militarism, torn by internal economic strife and embittered by defeat, frustration and impoverishment, are turning upon the Jews in their midst and are making of them a scapegoat for all their sins and miseries.

Our position seems desperate in many parts of the world today. However, while we face the present with deep concern and with profound sorrow over the fate which has overtaken so many of our people, we do not despair. It is not characteristic of our people to despair or to succumb to persecution. Our long history which records so many triumphs over calamity and misfortune keeps us from losing faith in our ultimate triumph and vindication. We shall wait patiently and work heroically until the present madness shall have passed from the earth, until mankind shall have rediscovered its basic sanity and decency and, returning from the jungles into which it has strayed, it will resume its march upon the highway of human progress towards freedom, justice, tolerance, brotherhood and peace.

For the present, our task is a twofold one. We must render maximum aid to our fellow Jews in the lands of persecution. We must save them from physical want and suffering as far as that is possible. We must help those over whom the storm has swept who now find themselves without any means of livelihood. We must help Jewish communities abroad to maintain their communal institutions. The sense of Jewish solidarity which has stood us in such good stead throughout all these weary centuries must assert itself today as never before if great sections of our people are to be saved from utter physical and spiritual collapse.

We must not accept even though for the present we are compelled to yield to the solution of the Jewish problem in Central and Eastern Europe

which is proffered by the enemies of Israel. A deceptive slogan has been coined by some of the governments hostile to our people in an effort to rationalize their intolerance - the slogan of surplus population. Thus, the Polish Government as well as the Rumanian have suddenly announced that their countries suffer from excess population. This excess population is of course the Jewish population. In order to relieve the pressure upon their countries the Jewish population must emigrate. This is tantamount to the Medieval edicts of expulsion under twentieth century cynical pseudo-economic camouflage.

Some Jewish leaders, have fatuously toyed with this self-same idea of the evacuation of whole Jewish communities as a means of solving the problems caused by anti-Semitism. An eminent delegation of British Jews came to the United States a few years ago to persuade American Jewry that a large scale exodus of German Jewry should be arranged for and financed by the Jews of the world. Within a few weeks of that widely publicized visit, the governments of some of the countries adjacent to Germany, likewise eager to get rid of their Jews, quickly announced that they too would like to have the Jews of the world arrange for the exodus of their Jewish populations. Today it is clear that the solution by evacuation is fantastic in the extreme and impossible of realization. Today it is no longer a question of evacuating 500,000 Jews, who are under pressure from hostile governments, as was the case in 1933, but of 5,000,000 Jews in Germany, Austria, Rumania and Poland and no one knows when Czechoslovakia and Hungary will join the constellation of these lands of Jewish misfortune and disabilities.

At best, and at the cost of heroic sacrifices, and only with the aid of the democratic governments of the world, which aid our own government recently solicited, will it be possible to transfer to new

homes a small percentage of these Jews. The present economic condition of the world is not favorable to large-scale migrations. Every country is today discouraging rather than encouraging immigration.

We must, of course, do all that we possibly can to help those who must and can get out and enable them to re-establish themselves elsewhere in new lands. We must also do our utmost to assist those who must remain behind. But to hope for a permanent solution of the vast and tragic problem of Central and East European Jewries through emigration or relief is vain and futile. We should face this hard and unpleasant fact without blinking.

And we must bring home this fact very simply and very clearly to those governments which are today proposing to solve the economic problems of their countries by forcing their Jewish minorities to emigrate. We must leave them in no doubt as to what we can do or propose to do.

We may not be able to persuade them that a country cannot solve its economic problems by artificially reducing its population through enforced emigration. Such drastic surgery frequently leads to a still more serious impoverishment of a country.

No essential relationship has, as yet, been established between population and prosperity. In our own country we experienced disastrous economic depressions when our population was one-half, one-third or one-fourth its present size. And we enjoyed periods of prosperity when immigrants were pouring into our country by the hundreds of thousands.

It is just as logical for Poland to try to solve its economic problem by compelling three million Jews to emigrate, as it would be for the United States to attempt to solve its present depression by sending back to Poland the 1,400,000 foreign-born Poles who are here, and to Germany the 1,600,000 foreign-born Germans who are here, and to Italy the 1,800,000

foreign-born Italians who are here, and to Great Britain the 1,000,000 foreign-born Englishmen who are here, and to Ireland the 800,000 foreign-born Irish who are here. There are fourteen million of such foreign-born in the United States, not to speak of the twenty-five million more of foreign or mixed parentage. Would such a forcible emigration set the wheels of our industries running again?...

Again, you do not solve the economic problem of a country by taking away opportunities to earn a living from one group in the population and giving it to another. By so doing, you succeed only in diminishing or destroying opportunities for all.

It is only by a sound reorganization of its economic life, and by the creation of new opportunities through more intelligent planning that an economic solution can be approximated.

I say that we may not be able to persuade the governments of Poland and Rumania and elsewhere of these very simple truths. But we ought to leave them in no doubt whatsoever about our ability or our readiness to cooperate with them in any scheme for wholesale and enforced Jewish emigration. We are not able. We are not ready. We are not willing.

Poland will have to reconcile itself to its Jewish minority of three million and to its other minorities. They cannot be evacuated. It is impossible under present conditions, with the doors of the world closed, to effect the transference even of a million people at a rate fast enough to overcome the normal increase in the population through births. Even if there existed facilities and opportunities for moving fifty thousand Jews annually out of Poland, after a generation of such emigration, Poland would still have three million Jews.

In Poland, and for that matter, in Rumania and in all Eastern European countries, the Jews will continue to remain, as they have for

centuries - whether they are made to suffer or not, whether they are pogromized or not - for the simple reason that they cannot go elsewhere. The question then arises: Is it more statesmanlike for these countries to allow the Jews full political and economic equality so that through their talents and abilities and services they may help to develop and enrich the economic life of those countries - or will they remain an harassed and discriminated minority group, a source of constant conflict and embitterment and the breeding centers of revolution?

For these three million Jews in Poland and the one million in Rumania, even as all underprivileged minorities, will not forever take it lying down. It is not human nature. They will seek to undermine the governments which oppress them and in the long run they will succeed, even as they succeeded in Czarist Russia.

I sometimes hear men wonder at the fact that there were so many Communist Jews in Russia. The number has, of course, been grossly exaggerated by anti-Semites. The overwhelming number of Jews in Russia were democratic, or constitutionalists. But all of them wanted the Czarist regime destroyed. Is there any wonder? Think of the life of degradation and infamy and disabilities under which they were compelled to live! Can you find it in your heart to blame if many of them were driven into the most extreme revolutionary movements? Would you act differently? Not if you are a man and not a coward!

Any government which in the twentieth century sets about singling out men, on account of their race or religion, for political disfranchisement, or economic discriminations, or social degradation, is prescribing its own doom. It is doing its best to raise, train and equip the malcontents and revolutionaries of tomorrow who will destroy it root and branch.

You can hold such persecuted people down for a time with bayonets, or what is more effective than bayonets, with lying propaganda among the enclaving majority. But propaganda, sooner or later, must succumb to truth, and as far as bayonets are concerned, it was Napoleon who declared that there is one thing you cannot do with them - you cannot sit on them.....

I said at the outset that our task is a twofold one: first to render maximum aid to our fellow Jews in the lands of persecution. Secondly, to make the maximum sacrifice for the upbuilding of the Jewish homeland in Palestine. Not because Palestine is the solution of the Jewish problem. There is no one Jewish problem and there is no one solution. Nor yet because Palestine will become the home for all the persecuted Jews of Europe. Palestine can become and has become the home of tens of thousands of Jews who have been driven out from their former homes. In fact, between the years 1931 and 1936, Palestine absorbed 71% of the total world Jewish immigration. Since the rise of Hitler to power, almost 200,000 Jews have entered Palestine, over 40,000 from Germany alone.

Thousands of Jewish children whom the infamous Hitler Regime would have consigned in their adult life to the status of outcasts and pariahs, have been rescued and taken from Germany to Palestine and in the colonies, villages and towns they have been ~~girt~~ given loving care and shelter and they are being trained for useful and joyous careers in the midst of their own people and in a Jewish land. The plight of Jewry today would be immeasurably more tragic but for the fact of the new life, the new hope and the new opportunities which Palestine is offering to hundreds of thousands of our people.

Due to the political uncertainties in Palestine today, produced by the indecision of the British Government and its delay in acting one way

or another on the report of the Royal Commission touching the Partition of the country, immigration into Palestine last year sharply declined. But Palestine has had such periods of decline in immigration before in recent years, and they were invariably followed by periods of great expansion. Perhaps as a result of the international conference for political refugees convoked by Secretary Hull, the British Government may be persuaded as an emergency measure and before final disposition is made of the Royal Commission Report, to permit a much larger immigration schedule for the year 1933 than it has already assigned.

In so far as Palestine does drain off a substantial number of Jews from the hard-pressed centers of Jewish population in Eastern and Central Europe, it will ease to that extent the pressure in those countries and will make the condition of our people there somewhat less harrowing and less hopeless.

But Palestine's major contribution to Jewish life is that of offering a national home for our people, a land to which Jews will come as a matter of right and not of sufferance, a place where they will be in the majority and therefore in control of their own political and economic destiny, a place where Jewish life will be able to develop normally as does the life of any other people in its own land, a place where Jewish culture will develop along its own authentic traditions, drawing strength from its own native soil. A national home in Palestine will give to our people that which it has lacked for two thousand years - national status in the world. The importance of it is incalculable. There is no people on the face of the earth which does not reach for and fight for such status. It is the elementary prerequisite for a people's normal existence. Our bi-millennial tragedy has been that we did not have it.

It is twenty years now since Great Britain issued the Balfour

Declaration. It is forty years now since the great man of dreams and visions, Dr. Theodore Herzl, convoked the first Zionist Congress at Basel. Much water has run under the bridges since that time. Many revolutionary changes have come over Jewish life. Many political volcanoes have shaken our people. The world War and its shattering consequences, the rise of Communism in the Soviet Union which isolated a great section of world Jewry, the large-scale new migrations of Jews which have created a new Jewish diaspora and the upsurging of the most determined and relentless official anti-Semitism known to our history - all these epochal events have swept over our people in the last few decades. But the thesis which Herzl proclaimed in 1897 has, in spite of these upheavals and perhaps because of them, been vindicated in a three-fold way.

In the first place, his program was vindicated in fact - in that the nations of the world recognized its validity and gave it international sanction. They acknowledged the claim of the Jewish people to a national existence and to a national home, and they established a mandatory regime over Palestine charged with the responsibility of facilitating the upbuilding of a Jewish national homeland there.

Herzl's thesis was further vindicated by the tragic experiences of our people. Emancipation and enlightenment did not fully achieve or protect the rights of our people in Europe. Force of circumstances and not logic has compelled those who originally resented violently the Palestine movement to accept it as a new hope, if not for themselves and their own children, then for those who live in lands where formerly it was thought their position was secure and their rights of citizenship permanently established.

And finally, Herzl's dream has been vindicated by Jewish enterprise and Jewish sacrifice in and for Palestine. People said it couldn't be done. They reasoned quite logically and cogently that Palestine had not the physical resources to maintain a substantial Jewish population, that it was a backward and forsaken land, and that the Jew was not a pioneer. They reasoned well, these practical people, but they failed to take into account the power of an ideal, the drive of circumstances and the amazing initiative and sacrificial valor of the Jews. What the Jews achieved in Palestine in two short decades constitutes an amazing and glorious chapter in Jewish history.

At this time when so many governments and parties have set in motion high-gearred propaganda machines which daily pour out scurrilous denunciations and derogations of our people calculated to undermine our morale and to justify the withdrawal of our civil and political rights in the world, it is important for the sake of ourselves and our children to recount simply and factually the amazing story of Jewish pioneering work and achievement in Palestine, the like of which mankind has not witnessed in this century. All too frequently we accept our enemies' low estimate of ourselves. This is one of the tragic by-products of the Galut. Decidedly we should recount today with justifiable pride what Jewish initiative, courage, and sacrifice have achieved in a land which Mark Twain once described as "leagues of blasted, blighted, sandy, rocky, sunburnt, ugly, dreary, infamous country." To such a land, neglected for centuries by Arab and Turk, shot through with malaria and trachoma, these pioneers came and brought healing and redemption. They drained the marshes. They cleared the swamps. They introduced sanitation. They revived agriculture. They built orchards and gardens. They built roads and highways and power stations. They dotted the plains of Sharon and Jezreel with settlements

and villages. They built schools and high schools and a Hebrew University. They revived a language and a culture. They erected hospitals and clinics and opened them for the service of all - Jew and Arab and Christian alike. Whereas twenty-five years ago there were only sand dunes in the suburbs of Jaffa there rises today a modern thriving city of 150,000 souls.

And all this was achieved to the hurt of none and the blessing of all. The Jews who came to Palestine did not expropriate a single Arab. They did not take away a single dunam of land from any one. They received no free grants from the government. Every acre of land was bought and paid for. Much of the land was poor land and had to be irrigated or drained or wells had to be dug for water. No sacrifice was too great for these builders of a new life in the ancient land of their fathers.

During the past year, in spite of the unsettled political conditions in Palestine, nineteen new settlements were founded. Many new buildings were constructed. New land was acquired. A new port was built at Tel Aviv. The exports of Palestine were substantially increased. With the return of security to the country and with the investment of substantial public funds, such as the United Palestine Appeal is endeavoring to raise in the United States, the economic activities of Palestine will be greatly stimulated and increased opportunities will be created for a much larger Jewish immigration. There are literally tens of thousands of trained young Jews and Jewesses in many parts of Europe who are anxiously and prayerfully waiting for the opportunity to emigrate to Palestine.

The World Budget which was set up by the Jewish Agency for Palestine, composed of Zionists and non-Zionists alike, calls for seven and three-quarters millions of dollars. This Budget provides for the purchase of land, afforestation, immigration, the promotion of business and industry and education. An important part of the Budget is for the settlement of German and Austrian Jews in Palestine. The American share of this Budget is

four and one-half million dollars. American Jewry represents more than half of the total Jewish community of the world which is not now dependent upon relief.

It is my profoundest hope that American Jewry, in its traditional generosity, will rise to the challenge of this grave hour and make possible the upbuilding of the land which was the cradle of our race, the place of our great historic achievements, and now the Promised Land of myriads of our people who seek a new life for themselves and their children. The upbuilding of Palestine is the expression of an immemorial hope as well as of a desperate emergency. The United Palestine Appeal aims to meet this emergency and to realize this immemorial hope.



ABSTRACT OF ADDRESS BY DR. ABBA HILLEL SILVER OF CLEVELAND AT THE NATIONAL
CONFERENCE FOR PALESTINE IN WASHINGTON, D.C. ON JANUARY 14, 1939.

The two proposals, Tanganyika and British Guiana, made by the British Government seem to offer very little prospect for the early settlement of a substantial number of refugees. Other large areas for mass colonization, such as Lower California, Madagascar, etc., much discussed in Jewish circles, have as yet not been offered by any government.

These considerations give point to our contention that Palestine alone in the present crisis offers reasonable prospects for a large-scale Jewish immigration provided the British Government can be persuaded to do its clear duty and open wide the doors of that country. The Intergovernmental Committee on Refugees, all well-intentioned governments, and public opinion throughout the world, should concentrate on this task. Palestine is prepared today because of decades of preparatory pioneering work and hundreds of millions of dollars invested in it, to absorb one hundred thousand Jewish settlers immediately and tens of thousands more annually thereafter. There is no longer any need for preliminary and prolonged survey studies, for the initial, costly and difficult work of clearing jungles, or draining marshes, or constructing roads, or bringing into existence the indispensable health-protection agencies or educational and training facilities which would be required elsewhere. All of this has already been done. The country is already equipt to receive a mass immigration. It is not over-populated, and in spite of the severe economic strain under which it labored in the last three years due to the curtailment of immigration and the politically inspired disorders, agriculture, industry and the labor situation have definitely improved.

A policy on the part of Great Britain favoring a free and unrestricted admission of Jewish refugees into Palestine, in view of the unprecedented disasters which have already overtaken large Jewish communities in Europe and which threaten to engulf many others, would be welcomed and applauded by all

the fair-minded governments of the world. Such a policy would be predicated not only on the basis of obligations freely and publicly assumed by Great Britain under the terms of the Balfour Declaration and the Mandate, but also on the even stronger moral basis - the desperate emergency confronting hundreds of thousands of helpless human beings and the mandates of humanity and justice. The intransigence of Arab extremism which has been fostered in recent years by totalitarian governments hostile not only to the Jews but to Great Britain as well, should not be permitted to stand in the way of this great human service of rescue and salvation, especially since the coming of Jews into Palestine will not only not harm the Arabs, but will bring them increased prosperity and well-being. This is established by the experience of the last twenty years and by all official reports.

Jewish thought, energy and diplomacy ought therefore to be exercised at the present moment, not so much in the direction of trying to find vacant and unexplored territories for Jewish mass settlement, but in the direction of bringing the maximum moral pressure on the present British Government to do that which it is legally obligated to do - make possible the swift incoming into Palestine of the maximum number of our exiles seeking new homes. It is almost unbelievable that, at the time when some nations, like the United States, which have serious unemployment problems of their own, are willing to admit substantial numbers of Jewish refugees, the way of refuge to the Jewish Homeland should be barred by Great Britain which had undertaken to facilitate Jewish immigration into it, and had proclaimed that Jews could come to Palestine as of right and not on sufferance.

If Palestine is not to be permitted to admit large numbers of immigrants one cannot but face the future with gravest fear and misgiving. To dangle before the eyes of our helpless refugees the glamorous prospects of vague and alluring colonial settlements may prove an unconscious but cruel act of deception. It might also inspire other governments who are only waiting for a chance to emulate Nazi Germany to do with their Jewish minority what the Nazis have done.

Jewish leadership should make it unmistakably clear to all the governments of Europe that it is impossible to evacuate six million Jews, that there are no countries prepared to receive them, no colonies available for their settlement, and no financial means at hand for effectuating such a program even if it were feasible. The overwhelmingly large number of Jews in Central and Eastern Europe will have to remain exactly where they are, and their problem must ultimately be solved along with the entire minority problem of Europe. A solution was found after the World War but it has now been scrapped along with the whole post-bellum system of collective security and the rights of minorities. Some day soon this problem will surge to the front again and will loom up again as the most dangerous and pressing issue of international politics, demanding an intelligent, practical and permanent solution.

Until that time comes, it is the part of good sense, statesmanship and brotherliness for Jews more fortunately situated than others to assist Jewish refugees in whatever way found practical and helpful. They should urge governments throughout the world to admit as many refugees as possible. Not a single dominion of the British Empire, outside of Australia, has done anything about it. Also the great proletarian countries - the Soviet Union and Mexico - have been strangely indifferent. They should work especially for the admission of most of the refugees into Palestine, the one country which is prepared to receive them in large numbers, which can absorb them more swiftly and at less cost, and which can give them all an adequate cultural and social environment.

ABSTRACT OF ADDRESS BY DR. ABBA HILLEL SILVER OF CLEVELAND AT THE NATIONAL
CONFERENCE FOR PALESTINE IN WASHINGTON, D.C. ON JANUARY 14, 1939.

The two proposals, Tanganyika and British Guiana, made by the British Government seem to offer very little prospect for the early settlement of a substantial number of refugees. Other large areas for mass colonization, such as Lower California, Madagascar, etc., much discussed in Jewish circles, have as yet not been offered by any government.

These considerations give point to our contention that Palestine alone in the present crisis offers reasonable prospects for a large-scale Jewish immigration provided the British Government can be persuaded to do its clear duty and open wide the doors of that country. The Intergovernmental Committee on Refugees, all well-intentioned governments, and public opinion throughout the world, should concentrate on this task. Palestine is prepared today, because of decades of preparatory pioneering work and hundreds of millions of dollars invested in it, to absorb one hundred thousand Jewish settlers immediately and tens of thousands more annually thereafter. There is no longer any need for preliminary and prolonged survey studies, for the initial, costly and difficult work of clearing jungles, or draining marshes, or constructing roads, or bringing into existence the indispensable health-protection agencies or educational and training facilities which would be required elsewhere. All of this has already been done. The country is already equipt to receive a mass immigration. It is not over-populated, and in spite of the severe economic strain under which it labored in the last three years due to the curtailment of immigration and the politically inspired disorders, agriculture, industry and the labor situation have definitely improved.

A policy on the part of Great Britain favoring a free and unrestricted admission of Jewish refugees into Palestine, in view of the unprecedented disasters which have already overtaken large Jewish communities in Europe and which threaten to engulf many others, would be welcomed and applauded by all

the fair-minded governments of the world. Such a policy would be predicated not only on the basis of obligations freely and publicly assumed by Great Britain under the terms of the Balfour Declaration and the Mandate, but also on the even stronger moral basis - the desperate emergency confronting hundreds of thousands of helpless human beings and the mandates of humanity and justice. The intransigence of Arab extremism which has been fostered in recent years by totalitarian governments hostile not only to the Jews but to Great Britain as well, should not be permitted to stand in the way of this great human service of rescue and salvation, especially since the coming of Jews into Palestine will not only not harm the Arabs, but will bring them increased prosperity and well-being. This is established by the experience of the last twenty years and by all official reports.

Jewish thought, energy and diplomacy ought therefore to be exercised at the present moment, not so much in the direction of trying to find vacant and unexplored territories for Jewish mass settlement, but in the direction of bringing the maximum moral pressure on the present British Government to do that which it is legally obligated to do - make possible the swift incoming into Palestine of the maximum number of our exiles seeking new homes. It is almost unbelievable that, at the time when some nations, like the United States, which have serious unemployment problems of their own, are willing to admit substantial numbers of Jewish refugees, the way of refuge to the Jewish Homeland should be barred by Great Britain which had undertaken to facilitate Jewish immigration into it, and had proclaimed that Jews could come to Palestine as of right and not on sufferance.

If Palestine is not to be permitted to admit large numbers of immigrants one cannot but face the future with gravest fear and misgiving. To dangle before the eyes of our helpless refugees the glamorous prospects of vague and alluring colonial settlements may prove an unconscious but cruel act of deception. It might also inspire other governments who are only waiting for a chance to emulate Nazi Germany to do with their Jewish minority what the Nazis have done.

Jewish leadership should make it unmistakably clear to all the governments of Europe that it is impossible to evacuate six million Jews, that there are no countries prepared to receive them, no colonies available for their settlement, and no financial means at hand for effectuating such a program even if it were feasible. The overwhelmingly large number of Jews in Central and Eastern Europe will have to remain exactly where they are, and their problem must ultimately be solved along with the entire minority problem of Europe. A solution was found after the World War but it has now been scrapped along with the whole post-bellum system of collective security and the rights of minorities. Some day soon this problem will surge to the front again and will loom up again as the most dangerous and pressing issue of international politics, demanding an intelligent, practical and permanent solution.

Until that time comes, it is the part of good sense, statesmanship and brotherliness for Jews more fortunately situated than others to assist Jewish refugees in whatever way found practical and helpful. They should urge governments throughout the world to admit as many refugees as possible. Not a single dominion of the British Empire, outside of Australia, has done anything about it. Also the great proletarian countries - the Soviet Union and Mexico - have been strangely indifferent. They should work especially for the admission of most of the refugees into Palestine, the one country which is prepared to receive them in large numbers, which can absorb them more swiftly and at less cost, and which can give them all an adequate cultural and social environment.

'The Challenge to Civilization Has Been Tal

Palestine Held Pivotal in the Jewish Struggle for Emancipation and Survival in a World at War

Text of Address by DR. ARBA HILLEL SILVER

A year ago we met here in annual convention under the sign of a complex of ideas which have come to be known to history as "Munich". Today we meet again under the sign of the second World War for which Munich was the prelude. Between last January and this there stretches a stupefying year, a vicious and a brutal year of aggressions, invasions and conquests finally climaxed by a war which was long dreaded and long expected.

For our people this last year has been an appalling one in which our fortunes touched bottom. Disasters piled on one on top of the other. Jewish persecution widened in area and increased in intensity. To the shattering tragedies of German and Austrian Jewries there were added, in the last twelve months, the tragedies of the Jewries of Czechoslovakia and Poland. Consequent upon the dissolution of Czechoslovakia another 300,000 Jews were brought under the brutal heel of the Nazis who promptly proceeded to apply their coldly calculated annihilationist technique against the Jews of that dismembered country. Four months ago the great Jewish community of Poland, numbering 3,000,000 souls, was swept by fire and sword. This disaster is so recent and so vast that it cannot even be crystallized in thought: Poland!—that abundant spiritual and intellectual reservoir of our people for centuries, the home of world-famous Rabbinic academies and scholars, of Chassidism, the Haskalah, the seed-bed of Hebrew culture, the stronghold of Zionism from which have gone forth so many thousands as pioneers to Palestine and so many carriers of Jewish thought and traditions to all parts of the earth—Poland!—where Jews learned self-government and self-consciousness to a degree not reached elsewhere—Poland is today a torn and tortured land under two tyrannies:—the one fatal to the spirit of the Jew, the other to the body and the spirit.

"Century of Retreat"

This last year has been a year of flight for our people, a year of refugees, of stripped and helpless exiles, crowding the highways of the world, wandering over the face of the earth in quest of refuge and sanctuary—and finding most doors barred against them. From countries and homes where they had known dignity, power and wealth Jews, in ever mounting numbers, have been forced either to wander forth bewildered and disillusioned into a bewildered and disillusioned world or to remain trapped, and doomed to infamy, degradation and starvation.

It has been a year of intensified anti-Semitic agitation everywhere and of a systematic, cynical and cunning exploitation of Jew-baiting as a political weapon in the hands of parties, governments and empires.

Altogether, this has been a black year, one of the blackest in

beginning of the fifth decade of the 20th century, and war is not dead, the scaffold is not dead, hatred is not dead, frontiers are not dead, royalty is not dead—and man is beginning to die. . . . The vista which stretches before our generation seems to end at the edge of a wilderness. . . . The human spirit stands today frightened, weighted down with apocalyptic foreboding, as if awaiting the crash of doom. . . .

In this high universal blackout for mankind generally and for our people specifically are there discernible any faint shimmers of light, any fugitive gleams in the dark, to tell that life is still going on within the heart of the darkness, to arouse the hope that the creative mind and heart of mankind and of Israel are still bent upon their eternal tasks, unbroken and undefeated? Or has mankind resigned itself to the domination of the new barbarism and has Israel, beaten dumb by prolonged torment and misery, also resigned itself to calamity and death?

The Tide Stemmed

To the discerning eye there are strong indications that neither mankind, in its quest for freedom and a decent way of life, nor Israel, in its quest for freedom and the right to live, has reconciled itself to any such defeat. The darkness is here,—thick and almost impenetrable, but within that darkness there burn the inextinguishable fires of God! The challenge which was hurled at civilization by tyranny, brute force and neo-Paganism has at last been taken up. The eternal, irrepressible conflict has finally broken out, and this time the free spirit of man is armored and on the offensive, no longer in retreat, dazed, bewildered and beguiled. The Empire of Insolence and Iniquity, which has raged in all its might and fury and, befouled the earth, is now cornered, and trapped. It is fighting desperately for its mean and savage life.

The outcome of the struggle no one can foresee. But it is greatly heartening to know that the triumphant march of Medievalism which threatened to sweep over the entire earth has been checked, and that men, by the millions, are now mobilized, physically and spiritually, to destroy it. It is heartening also to know that that loathsome dump of putrefying propaganda lies and race obsessions which the Nazis deposited in the world, to the incalculable hurt of our people, is fast being cleared away by the same hands which are set to destroy the Nazi regime itself.

For our people there have been two cheering lights in the darkness. One has been the manifestation of solidarity, group loyalty and responsibility on the part of our people, in all sections and in all parts of the world. We were not found wanting. A great testing hour did not find us a small people. Israel responded to the attacks made upon it as would a

but not the greatest of all—the loss of faith in our power of survival, in the heroic quality of our national destiny and in the essential worth and dignity of our own lives.

Light in Darkness

The other light in the all-en-circling gloom of our world has been Palestine. In spite of the impoverishment, persecutions and exhaustion of recent years which made of the whole household of Israel one vast hostility of pain, in spite of the frightful disruption of numerous old centers of Jewish life, our people was nevertheless able to find within itself the energy, the courage and the resourcefulness to build in Palestine in twenty short years a new and resplendent center of Jewish life, already the fifth largest Jewish center in the world and certainly the first and foremost in the richness of its culture and the vitality of its spirit. The ten thousand evidences given daily in Palestine of renewal and resurrection, of dead spirit revived, of broken bodies made whole again, of building upon ruins, of courage, of vision, of hope, of self-sacrifice are an imperishable epic of splendor, the like of which our own people or any other people has not written at any time in its history.

If one wishes to see—not to understand, for it is not within the realm of comprehension—the miracle and the mystery which is Israel—let him go to Palestine in these very disastrous and war-ridden days—days of wrath for our people in the Diaspora—and watch with anointed eyes the undefeated strength, the over-arching confi-

dence, the superb zeal and energy, the social vision and the personal idealism which are being poured into the work of rebuilding our national life in our national home. What is being done there and how it is being done, what common folk, transfigured by an ideal have achieved there is a tribute not only to our people and to their sires who begot them but to humanity itself.

Here a people, resolved to live and not to die—is shouting defiance to a world bent upon its destruction. Here in Palestine lies our Maginot Line! Here it is building upon strong foundations a lasting home to replace the tabernacles which have proved so frail and impermanent in so many parts of the earth. Here hope is restored to men robbed of hope, and pride to the humbled, and the gift of mission and destiny to those cut off, spiritually dispossessed, and cast out of all inheritance. Here beauty is given them for ashes, and the lost kingdoms of both worlds are restored to them.

All this is warm, comforting light in the dark night which has fallen upon us. The very evils of our day may yet yield their compensation and redress. Our people is discovering for itself the truth which its wise but unheeded leaders sought to impress upon it—that in all other lands we are forever dependent, subject to the life-programs, strategies and national interests of other peoples. We are nationalized or alienized at their will. Only in a homeland of our own can we become the artificers and fashioners of our own destiny.

Proceedings of Conference

(Continued from Page Four)

"What have been the results of the campaign of 1937? 3,213 communities conducted campaigns in 1937 for these causes, the United Palestine Appeal, the Joint Distribution Committee, and the National Refugee Service. The pledges to the United Jewish Appeal, through December 31, 1937, were \$17,130,510, and as our Treasurer reported a few moments ago, the cash received on account of those pledges, through December 31st, totaled approximately \$12,000,000.

"May I add one thing that perhaps I should have said before, that the agreement constituting the United Jewish Appeal is a contract between two partners, equal in every respect, the Joint Distribution Committee and the United Palestine Appeal. The National Refugee Service is a beneficiary by common agreement between these partners.

Allocation of Funds

"How have those funds been divided? May I remind you that when the United Jewish Appeal was created, it was decided that the first nine and a half million dollars should be divided as follows: \$5,000,000 to the Joint Distribution Committee; \$2,500,000 to the U.P.A., and \$2,000,000 to the National Refugee Service, the balance to be distributed by an allocations Committee, consisting of two representatives of the U.

Committee, including the funds it received from the first \$9,500,000, and the amounts above that, received an allocation of \$7,650,000, plus an additional \$1,000,000 made available for the projects of the Co-ordinating Foundation and the passengers on the "St. Louis", in which the U.P.A. had an interest, making a total of \$8,650,000. The U.P.A. received a total, or will have received, rather, of \$4,000,000. In addition to that, the U.P.A. had available to it the net income of the Jewish National Fund, which, as Mr. Lamport reported a few moments ago, totaled over \$324,000, through November 30th. The National Refugee Service was allocated a total of \$2,600,000, and a grant of \$250,000 was made by the J.D.C. and the U.P.A. to the Catholic and Protestant Refugee organizations in equal shares.

"The balance, above the \$13,500,000, was to be divided on the ratio of 70 to the J.D.C. and 30 to the U.P.A.

"In considering the pledged figure of \$17,100,000 plus for 1937, compare it with the figure for 1936 for all three agencies of less than \$7,000,000.

"You are confronted with the necessity of determining the needs of Palestine. We in America are expected to raise 80 per cent of the amounts required by the Keren Hayesod and the Keren Kayemeth for 1938. But if we approach 1940

Our people, the least of our people, to this alone, he lution of What he vast relief and Has twenty-f millions these co construct necessary permen tion. T tion and ited so from o immedi War ha ten-fold, a stage stands b only be unequal relief pe allowed its solici help.

Only expen dit perman Only funds t structiv has a s ductive 000 sou ments which v few de all the ceived world drede villages schools ity, to dical c of soci to a re culture ous at evidenc of such alone and the stratit

We a difficu check ing we encour lies in dange the d raged disturb and n are pe and w front e life of each e "It is things White of su somet strugg to str a sup ple. privi We forwa undis in wh find t litical the f forced We n proud of pe that but youth

Civilization Has Been Taken Up'

112) 40

wish
nd

ER

ecade of
is not
ot dead,
lives are
ead—and
... The
fore our
at the
The hu-
fright-
th apoc-
-waiting
Blackout
and for
re there
miers of
in the
still go-
of the
ope that
heart of
are still
asks, un-
Or has
to the
barbar-
n dumb
misery,
calamity

here are
neither
freedom
nor la-
-dom and
-troubled
at. The
and at-
within
the in-
ed! The
ruled at
brute
has at
eternal,
finally
the free
and on
in re-
and be-
-tolence
aged in
and be-
-cornered,
ing des-
-d savage
uggle no
greatly
the tri-
-evalism
-op over-
-checked,
-ons, are
ny and
It is
that that
-refying
-o obses-
-deposited
-deculable
-et being
-e hands
-the Nazi
-ve been
-the dark-
-manifest-
-loyalty
-part of
-and in
-We were
-out test-
-a small
-to the
-would a
-live or-
-and or-
-not in

but not the greatest of all—the loss of faith in our power of survival, in the heroic quality of our national destiny and in the essential worth and dignity of our own lives.

Light in Darkness

The other light in the all-en-circling gloom of our world has been Palestine. In spite of the impoverishment, persecutions and exhaustion of recent years which made of the whole household of Israel one vast hostility of pain, in spite of the frightful disruption of numerous old centers of Jewish life, our people was nevertheless able to find within itself the energy, the courage and the resourcefulness to build in Palestine in twenty short years a new and resplendent center of Jewish life, already the fifth largest Jewish center in the world and certainly the first and foremost in the richness of its culture and the vitality of its spirit. The ten thousand evidences given daily in Palestine of renewal and resurrection, of dead spirit revived, of broken bodies made whole again, of building upon ruins, of courage, of vision, of hope, of self-sacrifice are an imperishable epic of splendor, the like of which our own people or any other people has not written at any time in its history.

If one wishes to see—not to understand, for it is not within the realm of comprehension—the miracle and the mystery which is Israel—let him go to Palestine in these very disastrous and war-ridden days—days of wrath for our people in the Diaspora—and watch with anointed eyes the undefeated strength, the over-arching confi-

dence, the superb zeal and energy, the social vision and the personal idealism which are being poured into the work of rebuilding our national life in our national home. What is being done there and how it is being done, what common folk, transfigured by an ideal have achieved there is a tribute not only to our people and to their sires who begot them but to humanity itself.

Here a people, resolved to live and not to die—is shouting defiance to a world bent upon its destruction. Here in Palestine lies our Maginot Line! Here it is building upon strong foundations a lasting home to replace the tabernacles which have proved so frail and impermanent in so many parts of the earth. Here hope is restored to men robbed of hope, and pride to the humbled, and the gift of mission and destiny to those cut off, spiritually dispossessed, and cast out of all inheritance. Here beauty is given them for ashes, and the lost kingdoms of both worlds are restored to them.

All this is warm, comforting light in the dark night which has fallen upon us. The very evils of our day may yet yield their compensation and redress. Our people is discovering for itself the truth which its wise but unheeded leaders sought to impress upon it—that in all other lands we are forever dependent, subject to the life-programs, strategies and national interests of other peoples. We are nationalized or alienized at their will. Only in a homeland of our own can we become the artificers and fashioners of our own destiny.

Our people is also relearning the lesson which some leaders of our people have not learned even to this day — that philanthropy alone, however generous, is no solution of the Jewish problem. What have we to show for the vast relief funds spent in Central and Eastern Europe in the last twenty-five years, for the untold millions which were expended in those countries for relief and reconstruction? Nothing! It was necessary work but unavailing as permanent measures of rehabilitation. The tragedies of persecution and homelessness which elicited so much of generous giving from our people in the years immediately following the World War have now been magnified ten-fold. They have reached such a stage that even our philanthropy stands baffled and helpless. Not only because our resources are unequal to the magnitude of the relief problem, but it is not even allowed to reach the objects of its solicitude when, where it could help.

Only in Palestine have national expenditures been converted into permanent national investments. Only in Palestine have relief funds been converted into constructive achievements. Palestine has a splendid, growing and productive Jewish community of 500,000 souls to show for the investments in substance and in effort which were made in it in the last few decades. Only Palestine, of all the countries which have received financial support from world Jewry, can point to hundreds of new colonies, settlements, villages, towns and cities, to schools, to colleges to a university, to a national library, to a medical center, to a full complement of social agencies and institutions, to a revived Hebrew language and culture, and to a seeming, vigorous and happy Jewish life, as evidence of the productive value of such support. And in Palestine alone we are still free to build, and that, in spite of political restrictions and war conditions.

The Way Forward

We are not underestimating the difficulties, nor ignoring the checks and setbacks in our building work in Palestine. We have encountered very serious difficulties in recent years—the political dangers of the White Paper, and the considerable economic derangements caused first by the disturbances within the country and now by the war. But these are problems which are solvable, and which from time to time confront every normal nation. In the life of a people success and failure each casts the shuttle to the other. "It is, provided in the essence of things," declared the poet Walt Whitman, "that from any fruition of success . . . shall come forth something to make a greater struggle necessary." But the right to struggle and to fight is in itself a supreme privilege of a free people. In Palestine we possess this privilege.

We are therefore resolved to go forward in our appointed tasks, undismayed by the terrible plight in which so many of our people find themselves, undeterred by political frustration, unwearied by the furious battle which we are forced to fight on so many fronts. We must avoid the "frantic" approach to our problem, the mood of panic. It was said of Nero that he could tune his harp well, but in government he always wound up the strings too high,

Proceedings of Conference

(Continued from Page Four)

"What have been the results of the campaign of 1939? 3,215 communities conducted campaigns in 1939 for these causes, the United Palestine Appeal, the Joint Distribution Committee, and the National Refugee Service. The pledges to the United Jewish Appeal, through December 31, 1939, were \$17,130,510, and as our Treasurer reported a few moments ago, the cash received on account of those pledges, through December 31st, totaled approximately \$12,000,000.

"May I add one thing; that perhaps I should have said before, that the agreement constituting the United Jewish Appeal is a contract between two partners, equal in every respect, the Joint Distribution Committee and the United Palestine Appeal. The National Refugee Service is a beneficiary by common agreement between these partners.

Allocation of Funds

"How have these funds been divided? May I remind you that when the United Jewish Appeal was created, it was decided that the first nine and a half million dollars should be divided as follows: \$3,000,000 to the Joint Distribution Committee; \$2,500,000 to the U.P.A., and \$2,000,000 to the National Refugee Service, the balance to be distributed by an allocations Committee, consisting of two representatives of the U. P. A., Dr. Silver and Dr. Gold-

Committee, including the funds it received from the first \$9,500,000, and the amounts above that, received an allocation of \$7,650,000, plus an additional \$1,000,000 made available for the projects of the Co-ordinating Foundation and the passengers on the "St. Louis", in which the U.P.A. had an interest, making a total of \$8,650,000. The U.P.A. received a total, or will have received, rather, of \$1,000,000. In addition to that, the U.P.A. had available to it the net income of the Jewish National Fund, which, as Mr. Lamport reported a few moments ago, totaled over \$324,000, through November 30th. The National Refugee Service was allotted a total of \$2,600,000, and a grant of \$250,000 was made by the J.D.C. and the U.P.A. to the Catholic and Protestant Refugee organizations in equal shares.

"The balance, above the \$15,500,000, was to be divided on the ratio of 70 to the J.D.C. and 30 to the U.P.A.

"In considering the pledged figure of \$17,100,000 plus for 1939, compare it with the figure for 1938 for all three agencies of less than \$7,000,000.

"You are confronted with the necessity of determining the needs of Palestine. We in America are expected to raise 80 per cent of the amounts required by the Keren Hayesod and the Keren Kayemeth for 1940, but if we approach 1940 with that spirit of dedication

New York can be pre-appreciated as to the in-
valuable efforts he has made
to save the integrity, dig-
nity and resources of the Uni-
ted Jewish Appeal, our Na-
tional Treasurer, Arthur Lam-

port. The question is always asked,
usually when it is asked,
with a spirit of question-
ing and sometimes of asperity,
whether Palestine was
this gigantic merger of
fund-raising.

Zionist Contribution
I satisfy my own curiosity,
to the trouble of exam-
ing a list of speakers from
the United Jewish Appeal sent
by section of the coun-
try. I was rather interested
that of the hundreds of
names whom the United Jew-
ish Appeal sent to you in the
lists of communities, 70
per cent of the speakers were
sent by the U.P.A.

It should interest you to
know that although it is possibly
a small event and small item,
the direction of the pub-
lic work of the United Jew-
ish Appeal was in the hands
of one who had come from the
Meyer Steinglass. The
radio, the movies, the press,
the radio, were handled by one
person and part of the
radio and that picture that
in New York was re-
peated in every section of the
country. Men and women iden-
tified the U.P.A. with the
organization, with the
radio, with the Poale Zion,
their forces in their com-
mitment to the creation of the
successful campaign in
the history of the United
Jewish Appeal. It was a success. The
radio played a dominant part
in that success.

(Continued on Page Five)

... which have gone forth
as many thousands as pioneers to
Palestine and so many carriers of
Jewish thought and traditions to
all parts of the earth—Poland!—
where Jews learned self-govern-
ment and self-consciousness to a
degree not reached elsewhere—
Poland is today a torn and tor-
mented land under two tyrannies:—
the one fatal to the spirit of the
Jew, the other to the body and
the spirit.

"Century of Retreat"

This last year has been a year
of flight for our people, a year
of refugees, of stripped and help-
less exiles, crowding the highways
of the world, wandering over the
face of the earth in quest of
refuge and sanctuary—and find-
ing most doors barred against
them. From countries and homes
where they had known dignity,
power and wealth Jews, in ever
mounting numbers, have been
forced either to wander forth be-
wilderment and disillusioned into a
bewildered and disillusioned world
or to remain trapped, and doomed
to infamy, degradation and slow
starvation.

It has been a year of intensi-
fied anti-Semitic agitation every-
where and of a systematic, cyni-
cal and cunning exploitation of
Jew-baiting as a political weapon
in the hands of parties, govern-
ments and empires.

Altogether, this has been a
black year, one of the blackest in
our history, and it climaxes a
quarter of a century of mounting
calamities.

For mankind as a whole, this
quarter of a century has been one
of tragic retreat in every field of
the human spirit. "In the 19th
century," wrote Victor Hugo, "war
will be dead, the scaffold will be
dead, hatred will be dead, frontiers
will be dead, royalty will be dead,
dogmas will be dead—man will be-
gin to live!" Here we are in the

... taken up. The eternal,
irrepressible conflict has finally
broken out, and this time the free
spirit of man is armored and on
the offensive, no longer in re-
treat, dazed, bewildered and be-
guiled. The Empire of Insolence
and Iniquity, which has raged in
all its might and fury and, be-
fouled the earth, is now cornered,
and trapped. It is fighting des-
perately for its mean and savage
life.

The outcome of the struggle no
one can foresee. But it is greatly
heartening to know that the tri-
umphant march of Medievalism
which threatened to sweep over
the entire earth has been checked,
and that men, by the millions, are
now mobilized, physically and
spiritually, to destroy it. It is
heartening also to know that that
loathsome dump of putrefying
propaganda lies and race obses-
sions which the Nazis deposit
in the world, to the incalculable
hurt of our people, is fast being
cleared away by the same hands
which are set to destroy the Nazi
regime itself.

For our people there have been
two cheering lights in the dark-
ness. One has been the manifes-
tation of solidarity, group loyalty
and responsibility on the part of
our people, in all sections and in
all parts of the world. We were
not found wanting. A great test-
ing hour did not find us a small
people. Israel responded to the
attacks made upon it as would a
living, healthy and sensitive or-
ganism. It quickly rallied and or-
ganized, to save, to succor, to
defend. The body of our people
was hurt in a thousand places, but
its spirit not only remained un-
cowed and unbeaten but emerged
even stronger, more sensitive,
vibrant.

As ever, the wings of our souls
molted through contact with evil
and suffering. Many afflictions
have come upon us in recent years,

... have been the results
of the campaign of 1933? 3,215
committees conducted cam-
paigns in 1933 for these causes,
the United Palestine Appeal,
the Joint Distribution Commit-
tee, and the National Refugee
Service. The pledges to the
United Jewish Appeal, through
December 31, 1933, were \$17,
130,310 and as our Treasurer
reported a few moments ago,
the cash received on account
of those pledges, through De-
cember 31st, totaled approxi-
mately \$17,000,000.

"May I had one thing that
perhaps I should have said be-
fore, that the agreement con-
stituting the United Jewish
Appeal is a contract between
two partners, equal in every
respect, the Joint Distribution
Committee and the United Pal-
estine Appeal. The National
Refugee Service is a benefici-
ary by common agreement be-
tween these partners.

Allocation of Funds

"How have these funds been
divided? May I remind you
that when the United Jewish
Appeal was created, it was de-
cided that the first nine and a
half million dollars should be
divided as follows: \$5,000,000 to
the Joint Distribution Commit-
tee; \$2,500,000 to the U.P.A.,
and \$1,000,000 to the National
Refugee Service, the balance
to be distributed by an alloca-
tions Committee, consisting of
two representatives of the U.
P. A., Dr. Silver and Dr. Gold-
man; two representatives of
the J.D.C., Albert Lasker and
Henry Ittelson, and a fifth, cho-
sen by these four. Louis Kir-
stein of Boston.

"The Allocations Committee
met and made a distribution
of the funds available above
the first \$9,500,000 and the final
results show the following pic-
ture: The Joint Distribution

Committee, including the funds
it received from the first \$9,
500,000, and the amounts above
that, received in allocation of
\$7,500,000, plus an additional \$1,
000,000 made available for the
projects of the Co-ordinating
Foundation and the passengers
on the "St. Louis", in which
the U.P.A. had an interest,
making a total of \$8,500,000.
The U.P.A. received a total, or
will have received, rather, of
\$4,000,000. In addition to that,
the U.P.A. had available to it
the net income of the Jewish
National Fund, which, as Mr.
Lamport reported a few mo-
ments ago, totaled over \$324,
000, through November 30th.
The National Refugee Service
was allotted a total of \$2,500,
000, and a grant of \$250,000
was made by the J.D.C. and the
U.P.A. to the Catholic and Pro-
testant Refugee organizations
in equal shares.

"The balance, above the \$15,
500,000, was to be divided on
the ratio of 70 to the J.D.C.
and 30 to the U.P.A.

"In considering the pledged
figure of \$17,000,000 plus for
1933, compare it with the fig-
ure for 1933 for all three agen-
cies of less than \$7,000,000.

"You are confronted with the
necessity of determining the
needs of Palestine. We in
America are expected to raise
80 per cent of the amounts re-
quired by the Keren Hayesod
and the Keren Mayemeth for
1940, but if we approach 1940
with that spirit of dedication
that was exemplified in every
community in 1933, we should
also gain and benefit from the
experiences of that year."

Welfare Fund Recognition

One of the most vital aspects of
fund-raising, "Recognition of Pal-
estine Within a Welfare Fund"

(Continued on Page Fourteen)

... we are still free to build,
and that, in spite of political re-
strictions and war conditions.

The Way Forward

We are not underestimating the
difficulties, nor ignoring the
checks and setbacks in our build-
ing work in Palestine. We have
encountered very serious difficul-
ties in recent years—the political
dangers of the White Paper, and
the considerable economic de-
rangements caused first by the
disturbances within the country
and now by the war. But these
are problems which are solvable,
and which from time to time con-
front every normal nation. In the
life of a people success and failure
each casts the shuttle to the other.
"It is, provided in the essence of
things," declared the poet Walt
Whitman, "that from any fruition
of success . . . shall come forth
something to make a greater
struggle necessary." But the right
to struggle and to fight is in itself
a supreme privilege of a free peo-
ple. In Palestine we possess this
privilege.

We are therefore resolved to go
forward in our appointed tasks,
undismayed by the terrible plight
in which so many of our people
find themselves, undeterred by po-
litical frustration, unwearied by
the furious battle which we are
forced to fight on so many fronts.
We must avoid the "frantic" ap-
proach to our problem, the mood
of panic. It was said of Nero
that he could tune his harp well,
but in government he always
wound up the strings too high,
or let them down too low. As
a people, we must guard ourselves
against these dangers. Strong
nerves, stout hearts, cool heads
and willing hands are what we
need—and abiding, unending faith.

A people that wishes to avoid
servitude must learn to fight—
but without discipline, organiza-
tion, sound strategy and cool
courage,—no battle is ever won!

1/2/40

15, 1942

Jews and the Allied Cause

By ABBA HILLEL SILVER

American Jewry is now the strongest single Jewish community in the world, and it must therefore assume its proportionate share of burdens and responsibilities for the future of world Jewry. Fortunately it is not the only remaining free Jewish community among the United Nations and it is not therefore charged with any exclusive responsibility for leadership. Nor have the Jewish communities in Nazi occupied lands ceased to exist. They are, for the time being burdened down, ghettoized and forced to silence. Their leaders have been killed off or scattered. But there are abundant evidences that their will and strength to survive have not been crushed. They are waiting for their hour of redemption and vindication, when they will again be able to resume their rightful and honored place in the responsibility of Jewish service and leadership. For the duration we hail and welcome their leaders who are in this country and join with us in common counsel and thought.

American Zionists place the needs of an Allied victory above and before all other considerations. Zionism is part of the historic struggle of men and nations for liberty, freedom and justice; without these Zionism has no meaning, purpose or hope. In an Axis dominated world there will be no room for the Jewish people or for Jewish Palestine any more than there will be room for any free people. Zionists in every land are in the front ranks of the champions and defenders of the cause of the United Nations. Zionists are vitally concerned in the defense of Palestine against a possible Nazi Fascist invasion, not only because they wish to defend the Jewish homeland against the sworn enemy of their people, but because they wish to defend one of the most vital and political military sectors in the far-flung battle fronts of the free nations.

American Jews fully understand the importance of Palestine in any solution of the postwar problems of Jewish reconstruction. Even non-Zionists now understand fully there will be very large masses of Jews from Central and Eastern Europe who will have to emigrate after the war, even after an Allied victory, and there is no country in the world which will be prepared to receive them, except Palestine.

What they fail to understand is that without the safeguarding and implementing of Jewish political rights in Palestine which were guaranteed by the Balfour Declaration and internationally sanctioned under the terms of the Palestine Mandate, but unfortunately whittled down through successive White Papers, the possibilities of Palestine for large scale Jewish immigration after the war disappear. It is only our historic and political claims to Palestine, which have been internationally accredited, that justify our demands that Palestine shall absorb large numbers of Jewish immigrants. It should be borne in mind that those who resist the political rights of the Jews in Palestine also resist Jewish immigration and land purchase in that country.

It is of utmost importance to continue and to intensify the education of American Jews as well as of our non-Jewish friends if we are to avert a colossal Jewish tragedy after an Allied victory. Jews are today fighting on every front of the United Nations. The Jews have suffered most in this global war which was first directed ten years ago at the extermination of the Jewish people. Our casualties have mounted into the millions. An Allied victory promises all nations freedom and restitution. The Jewish people alone is in danger of coming out of this war, after an Allied victory, unrequited, and in a worse status than before, unless provision is made for the solution of the peculiar problems of Jewry in Central and Eastern Europe which an Allied victory in the last war failed to achieve.

Life-Line of the Jewish State

By ISRAEL GOLDSTEIN

The mere fact that out of a total area of 26,000,000 dunams (6,500,000 acres) of land in Palestine, Jewish land holdings, national as well as private, amounted to 1,594,000 dunams at the beginning of 1942, clearly shows the failure of the Jewish people to recognize the political importance of land purchase.

Some of the Arab leaders, and their friends in London, who were willing to concede that the Jewish National Home brought economic benefits to the Arab population took the position, however, that the political considerations superseded all others and that continued land purchases by Jews endangered the Arab political character of Palestine. In the demands which the Arab political leaders formulated in 1936, the prohibition of land purchase by Jews occupied therefore a place of primary importance.

This new turn of events, accompanied by violence, made its impress upon Zionist thought in relation to the land problem. Now it was fully realized that above everything else, land purchase is a factor of fundamental political importance which must no longer be ignored. Attempts were made to speed up the tempo of Jewish land purchase. The principal task, naturally, devolved upon the Keren Kayemeth.

Had we had the vision and the resources to bring into the possession of the Jewish people greater land areas in all parts of the country, it would not have been easy to exclude any part of Eretz Israel from the frontiers of the contemplated Jewish State. Indeed, since 1936 the land policy of the Keren Kayemeth has been not to concentrate its land purchases in one zone but rather to spread them to the East and West, North and South. The policy has been to acquire land in those zones where no Jewish holdings—or only a few—had existed before. Because of the limited means this was accomplished only on a limited scale in western Galilee, in the eastern part of the country, in the south and in the mountainous region in the vicinity of Ein Hashofet.

Would that we had learned earlier the importance

U. P. A. REPORT

May 1-2, 1943

VOL. 4, NO. 5

Published by UNITED PALESTINE APPEAL, 41 East 42nd Street, New York City

MAY, 1943

AMERICAN JEWISH LEADERS REAFFIRM SUPPORT FOR UPBUILDING JEWISH NATIONAL HOME IN PALESTINE THROUGH U. P. A.



Two of the principal speakers at the National United Palestine Appeal Conference, Miss Dorothy Thompson, who delivered a stirring address on the need and right of the Jewish people to the Jewish homeland, and Dr. Silver, who moved the opening session audience with his demand, "Advance on all fronts!"

Weizmann, Wise, Gannett, Goldstein, Levinthal, Rosenblatt, Rosenbloom, Rothenberg, Thompson and Others Address Conference

Following are excerpts from some of the addresses heard by the delegates at the National Conference for Palestine at Philadelphia:

Dr. Chaim Weizmann Urges Arab Cooperation

WE ARE told on all sides, by military and political emissaries — and they are many these days — soldiers, sailors, scientists, merchants, who come and go to and from Palestine: "What the Jews have accomplished in Palestine is a real miracle." They sing our praises, they laud our achievements. But — then comes that treacherous "but" — if another Jew enters



Palestine there will be an Arab uprising, there will be a revolt. Hence, keep the doors closed to our last hope — our only hope. Beware of these "friends" and their generous praise. They are ubiquitous; they bedevil public opinion — a technique so skilfully employed by the Nazis in the course of this war.

I say to you in all solemnity: We shall not permit our long-deferred hopes to be smothered by such an atmosphere, nor shall we be intimidated by threats of revolt, come they from inspired Nazi sources in the Near East or far-off India. We shall not permit our patient, laborious upbuilding of Palestine, on which are concentrated the last hopes of millions, to be by-passed as if it were

a prejudged matter. We must demand, and we shall demand, that the United Nations address themselves to this question with a full understanding of all its implications. It is a tragic paradox to call refugees conferences and to ignore Palestine — the only country, ready and eager to receive the greatest number of refugees.

I believe that if I were to utter that which stirs in the depths of the conscience of the United Nations, I would speak thus to the Arabs:

"You are a people recognized by the world. Palestine is one — and it is among the smallest — of the many countries which you inhabit, but none of which you fill

(Continued on page 6)

National Conference at Philadelphia Hears Dr. Silver Demand End of "Empty Phrases" and Urge More Concrete Action to Meet Jewish Plight in Europe

URGING BRITAIN to repudiate the "illegal, unjust, and inhuman" Palestine White Paper of 1939, 1,450 delegates from national and local organizations from all parts of the United States, with a combined membership of 1,600,000, gathered at Philadelphia on May 1 and 2 at a wartime National Conference for Palestine, and considered proposals to mobilize increased American support for the settlement, upbuilding, and defense of the Jewish National Home. The delegates were summoned to the conference by the United Palestine Appeal.

Highlight of the conference was the keynote address by Dr. Abba Hillel Silver, elected national chairman of the United Palestine Appeal for the sixth consecutive year, who told those assembled at the Bellevue-Stratford Hotel that, because "our fortunes were never so low," responsible Jewish leadership could issue no other instructions to the Jewish people than the instructions of Marshal Foch at the second battle of the Marne: "Advance on all fronts."

Dr. Silver scored Washington's policy of silence on Palestine. "Within the last few months," he declared, "there has set in a very definite and noticeable withdrawal on the part of the official family from anything which might even remotely suggest a recognition or endorsement of the Jewish Homeland. The whole subject has suddenly become taboo in Washington."

"One thing we must make clear to ourselves and to the world," said Dr. Silver. "We must not beguile ourselves or permit others to beguile us by empty words of sympathy, praise, or the denunciation of Hitler or Nazi persecutions. Everybody knows by now

(Continued on page 8)

Messages from Governors to Dr. Silver

(Continued from page 3)

CORDIAL AND HEARTY greetings to the Conference on behalf and welfare of the Jews of Europe. May your deliberation pave the way for constructive plans for relief and betterment of the persecuted Jews, victims of tyranny and torture in many parts of the world today. It is my earnest hope and that of the people of Alabama that a solution may be found for the hopeless plight into which multitudes of them have been cruelly plunged.

CHAUNCEY SPARKS,
Governor of Alabama

THE FLIGHT of homeless Jews is one that calls for continuing activity, constantly increasing in scope as the enormity of the post-war problems of their resettlement becomes apparent.

The vital importance of the Jewish National Home in Palestine as a place of refuge and security for these uprooted, starved and oppressed people merits the moral and financial support of everyone interested in humanitarian principles.

HARRY F. KELLY,
Governor of Michigan

THE CONTINUING horror of brutality against the Jews in Nazi dominated Europe makes more pertinent the subject of the Jewish National Home in Palestine.

All Americans can join in the goal of the United Palestine Appeal for a permanent haven and homeland for the persecuted Jews in their ancestral country.

JOHN J. DEMPSEY,
Governor of New Mexico

THE SUFFERINGS and risks of oppressed Jews abroad are steadily growing more serious. But we may take comfort and hope in the knowledge that here in America the brotherhood of all races and creeds is growing steadily more firm, and that the United States is indeed as one in advancing toward the goal of a world in which tolerance and freedom will prevail.

The building of a Jewish homeland is remarkable as one of the few really positive and constructive efforts being made by the human race today. Let us hope that the nations concerned can effect a prompt and satisfactory solution of the problem.

LEVERETT SALTONSTALL,
Governor of Massachusetts

THE CONTINUING persecution and slaughter of Jews in Europe profoundly shocks the American people. Such revolting barbarity strengthens our firm resolve to see to it that those who brought about the present world cataclysm and its unspeakable cruelties are permanently stripped of power.

The natural longing of Jews for a country of their own, for a secure place in their ancestral homeland, awakens a ready sympathy and quick understanding among Americans. We are still a youthful people—we have not forgotten the hard struggle our forefathers waged for independence.

DWIGHT H. GREEN,
Governor of Illinois

THE JEWISH people—in greater measure than any others—have been the objects of Nazi cruelty and barbarism. A permanent haven for them after Victory should be approved by all thinking people of the United Nations.

ARTHUR B. LANGLEY,
Governor of Washington

Resolutions

(Continued from page 3)

izing the goal which the Yishuv and we have in common: the creation of a Jewish Commonwealth in Palestine to which may come all Jews who wish to do so and which, in turn, will strengthen the foundations of Jewish life throughout the world.

RESOLUTION ON DR. SILVER

The National Conference for Palestine records its deep appreciation to Dr. Abba Hillel Silver, National Chairman of the United Palestine Appeal for the strength he has given to the upbuilding of the Jewish National Home through the mobilization of the maximum moral and material support of American Jewry. His powerful and courageous advocacy of the Zionist cause has lifted the spirit of the whole Jewish people and helped give them a sense of direction and purpose in the renaissance of Jewish life through the restoration of the Jewish homeland in Palestine. Through his leadership the United Palestine Appeal has become an increasingly effective source of support for the Yishuv and an integral part of the communal structure of American Jewry.

The National Conference also registers its appreciation of the service of the associate officers of the United Palestine Appeal: National Co-Chairmen Dr. Stephen S. Wise, Louis Lipsky, Dr. Israel Goldstein, Judge Louis E. Levinthal, Bernard A. Rosenblatt, Judge Morris Rothenberg, Charles J. Rosenbloom, the National Treasurer, and his associates, Abraham Goodman, Abraham L. Liebovitz and Jacob Sincoff, and Henry Montor, the Executive Director.

Dr. A. H. Silver

(Continued from page 1)

that Hitler is a bad man and that the massacre of two million Jews is horrible. . . .

"What the world will do concerning the Jewish people and concerning the restoration of its national life in Palestine after the war will be the true index of the nature and character of the entire program of world reconstruction. The world pattern of reconstruction will unerringly reflect the decisions which will be made concerning the Jewish people and its national status. A Jewish mystic generations ago, Nachman of Bratzlav, declared: 'The reconstruction of the world in the future will be patterned after Palestine.' If in the case of the Jewish people, which possesses no political power, no armies or navies and which will emerge from the World War the most ravaged and shattered of all peoples, the United Nations will act in a spirit of justice, vision and true statesmanship, then there is hope that the entire world will be healed and saved. . . .

"Two million dead are leading us on today through the wilderness to Palestine! Our myriad martyred hosts in this last and greatest tragedy of our dispersion—they are leading us on. The horror and pathos and the crushing logic of their needless deaths—they are leading us on. Their bodies lie in unknown mass graves, but the Ark which enshrines their imperishable memories moves on before us. This vast ghostly company from the slaughter-pens of Warsaw, Cracow, and Lemberg now join up with the elder companies of the last war from Galicia and the Ukraine, and from Kishinev and Bialistok of the earlier years, and with those tortured hosts of the foregoing generations—all the way back to the universal holocaust in the days of Chmielnicki, and with their brothers from other parts of Europe in almost every century and every land. It is their spirits which give us no rest, which admonish us against all vain illusions and false hopes. It is their innocent blood which will not be covered up until out of their martyrdom a new life is born—the free and redeemed life of their people. . . ."

At six crowded sessions the delegates heard addresses by leading American Jews and other public figures, as well as messages from friends of Palestine in all parts of the United States and England. Excerpts from these addresses and messages are published elsewhere in this issue.

Conference Program

1—ONEG SHABBAT, Sat., May 1

"Post-War Planning for Palestine"—Dr. Ernst Bergmann, Arthur Szyk, distinguished artist, Community Singing, led by Cantor Adolph J. Weisgal, of Baltimore.

2—OPENING SESSION, Sat., May 1

Leon Sunstein, Philadelphia, presiding.

Introductory Greetings—

William H. Szyk, Philadelphia.
Mark Sugarmen, Coatesville, Pa.
"Palestine as the Jewish Hope"—Miss Dorothy Thompson.
"The Challenge to the Jewish People"—Dr. Abba Hillel Silver.

3—MORNING SESSION, Sun., May 2

Joel Gross, Newark, N. J., presiding.
Financial Report—Charles J. Rosenbloom, Pittsburgh.
"Role of Palestine Funds in the American Jewish Community Structure"—Abe Sreer, Detroit, Mich.; Gustave Goldstein, Los Angeles, Calif.; Rabbi Morton Goldberg, Toledo, Ohio; Mortimer May, Nashville, Tenn.; Sylvan Gotshal, New York; Irving Usen, Boston, Mass.
Summary by Kurt Peiser, Phila.

4—LUNCHEON SESSION, Sun., May 2

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver, presiding.
Invocation—Rabbi Meier Lasker.
"The Jewish World in War"—Dr. Stephen S. Wise.

5—AFTERNOON SESSION, Sun., May 2

Leon Rittenberg, New Orleans, presiding.
"The Work of the Keren Hayesod"—Hon. Bernard A. Rosenblatt.
"The Work of the Keren Kayemeth"—Dr. Israel Goldstein.
Greetings from the Jewish Agency Executive—Rabbi Meier Berlin.
Announcement of U.P.A. Officers for 1943.
Presentation of Resolutions.

6—BANQUET SESSION, Sun., May 2

Judge Morris Rothenberg, presiding.
Speakers—
Dr. Chaim Weizmann.
Mr. Frank E. Gannett.
Judge Louis E. Levinthal.
Dr. Philip Bernstein, Rochester.
Palestine Music—American Zionist Youth Chorus; Director, Chempio Vinaver.

U. P. A. REPORT

Published monthly, except July and August, by
United Palestine Appeal, Inc.,
at 41 East 42nd Street, New York City
Registered as second class matter June 20,
1941, at the Post Office at New York,
N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879.

VOL. 4, No. 5, MAY, 1943

Annual Subscription, \$1.00

—12—

NATIONAL OFFICERS UNITED PALESTINE APPEAL

National Chairman Abba Hillel Silver	Associate Treasurers Abraham Goodman Abraham L. Liebovitz Jacob Sincoff
Honorary Chairmen Albert Einstein Solomon Goldman Julian W. Mack Henry Monks Nathan Straus Henrietta Szold	Vice-Chairman Barnett R. Dickner Leon Gelman James G. Heller Edmund I. Kaufmann Harry A. Pine Charles Rees Elihu D. Stone Robert Szold Joe Weingarten Herman L. Weisman David Wertheim
National Co-Chairmen Stephen S. Wise Louis Lipsky Israel Goldstein Louis E. Levinthal Bernard A. Rosenblatt Morris Rothenberg	Executive Director Henry Montor
Treasurer Charles J. Rosenbloom	

we have a right to hope United Nations, in the make Palestine available to those of our people and? The development of the difficulties, politicking the setbacks that of the war, and weak diplomacy, must be recognized in Jewish history. The difference of opinion of the White Paper described, not only by opinion and by statesmen and in the British "possible." In June, 1939, the recent leadership of the has won the esteem, all freedom loving men the declaration in Parliament. The White Paper which is the Declaration—I shall in the most acute manner reaction to what I must

Problem

difficulties in Arab-Jewish relations created by and largely the propaganda and political dissipation of this cause and following the annihilation bring, in my judgment, on the part of the Arab enemy propaganda machine between the Jews and Arabs is, however, with which however earnestly and in ideological concepts, read such propaganda, is a malady in Jewish life. It has overwhelmed mankind as a deficiency as distinguished principles of justice and giving admonition, to those the bankrupt character of the doctrine. The "Treaty of London" and Chaim Weizmann's cordial good will and negotiations in Palestine and for carrying into effect plans for their common future has changed under the influence of the collaborator

Survive

continued its colonization of Palestine. Its will to survive is determined to reclaim

and establish Palestine as a homeland, have resisted and overcome every frustration. I make bold to predict that with the advent of peace and the restoration of friendly relationships between the various peoples of the earth, this affliction of Arab-Jewish dissension will run its course and substantially disappear.

There are different points of view in this Conference with respect to Palestine. The diversity of opinion runs the whole course, from the minimum, which subscribes to the support of Palestine as a haven of refuge and as a spiritual and cultural center, to the maximum, represented by the concept of a Jewish state in Palestine.

No Special Privileges

There are some among our people who view with anxiety, if not alarm, any forthright expression by the Jewish community on behalf of our fellow Jews in time of war. This attitude, in my opinion, is a grievous mistake. It grows out of the fallacious notion that we are asking for special privileges—that we desire to be singled out for special consideration. The sad and irrefutable fact is that we have been singled out for persecution, for oppression, for destruction. Our demand is only this—that we shall enjoy in common with all free men the freedoms for which our beloved nation and its allies are now engaged in a global conflict. All that we ask for is that justice shall be done.

The National Idea

By ABBA HILLEL SILVER

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

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

To ask, therefore, the Jewish people to abdicate the



Committee
Abba Hillel
Chairman, Sub-
committee
W. Wein

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

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

An analysis of the composition of the American Jewish Conference

Lawyers and judges.....	136	27%
Rabbis	98	20%
Business and Trade.....	81	16%
Organization executives and professional workers	22	4%
Writers, editors, journalists..	20	4%
Physicians and dentists.....	8	2%
Teachers	6	1%
Women	66	13%

Toward Mutual Understanding

By LOUIS E. LEVINTHAL

Public discussion of Zionism in 1943 need not be characterized merely by appeal to passion and emotion. The cold, hard realities of life during the past ten years have, in my opinion, vindicated all that the founders of Zionism wrote and uttered years ago. With startling clarity they probed to the very essence of the Jewish problem. They were not prophets who could foresee the future, but they did recognize that given conditions would necessarily lead to given results, and they indicated that the anomalous position occupied by the Jews of Europe in the social, political and economic life of their respective countries, no matter what the degree of so-called "emancipation", would inevitably lead to certain dire consequences. The Zionists have been among the leading scientific sociologists of modern times, recognizing a vital human problem and advocating a planned solution whose feasibility has already been amply demonstrated by the marvelous achievements of the Yishuv in Palestine.

The Original Formula

Forty-six years ago they offered a simple, precise formula known as the Basic Program. Its intent and scope were obvious. With a minimum of verbiage it advocated the establishment in Palestine of a legally secured, publicly assured national home for the Jewish people. In the forty-six years that have intervened, there have been many attempts to improve upon that first definition, to clarify it, to extend it, to re-define the terms. I cannot say that all these efforts have succeeded. Indeed, much of the confusion that has beset us, and many of the misunderstandings that have occurred, have been caused by semantic difficulties, the inability to express in precise words exactly what we mean. When our Zionist objectives are defined in clear and unam-

biguous terms, prejudices frequently disappear and opponents become friends of the cause.

The speakers tonight will no doubt speak in language which brooks of no misunderstanding. And those who thought they were poles apart may discover after all that the only thing dividing them is words and phrases. If tonight's discussion will succeed in hacking away the accumulation of many years' growth of definitions, explanations, theories, and so-called elucidations, we shall have made a valuable contribution to the clarification of the essence of the Jewish problem. At this Conference I hope we shall all see light. One need not be optimistic to believe that we may lower the walls of separation that have in the past divided the various groups and individuals constituting this Conference, and, as the result of our deliberations, bring us all closer together.

To Alter Opinions

It should hardly be necessary to remind any of the delegates that open-mindedness and willingness to alter opinions in the face of demonstrated logic is a mark of intellectual honesty and moral courage. Such honesty and courage were displayed in 1918 by that giant in American Israel, Louis Marshall.

If, however, differ we must at this Conference, we should demonstrate to our own satisfaction and to the chagrin of our enemies, that even when we disagree, we can do so as gentlemen and as friends.

A Program of Rescue

By ISRAEL GOLDSTEIN

IS there a feasible program of large-scale rescue for the Jews of Europe? There is. It has been called to the attention of our government and the British more than once—

1) to curb further massacres by sternly warning the gangster nation, now, when it feels the might of the attacking force, that there will be retribution, and by setting up without delay a tribunal of investigation in which Jews, as the chief victims, should have a representative;

2) to save Jews in Ghettos from starving to death by getting in food, either by negotiations similar to those which resulted in the feeding program for the Greeks, or else through underground channels;

3) to secure the release of considerable numbers of Jews from the lands of Germany's satellites who, quivering in the face of their impending defeat, may be not unwilling to store up at least one merit to their accounts;

4) to encourage neighboring neutral countries to provide temporary asylums to such as can be rescued by undertaking the financial obligation for their support and the guarantee of their permanent settlement elsewhere after the war;

5) to provide for the settlement in Palestine of large numbers of such Jews as can be rescued, for Palestine is not only accessible over land routes, thus avoiding the problem of shipping space, but it is, of all places, best prepared, physically, economically, socially, culturally and spiritually to accommodate large numbers of Jews, thanks to the foundations which have been laid by the Zionist movement. All that is necessary is to annul the White Paper which has shut the gates of Palestine. Illegal because it was repudiated by the Mandates Commission of the League of Nations, and immoral because it broke a pledge given by the strongest of empires to the weakest of peoples, this White Paper is in effect a death warrant for hundreds of thousands of Jews. If there is still a conscience in Humanity, it must be annulled and the gates of Palestine must be opened wide.

If There's a Will

A sufficient portion of this rescue program is feasible to make possible the rescue of hundreds of thousands, if there were the will to do it. But, alas, the will for a great salvation is weak. Hence the piddling ineffectiveness at Bermuda and since Bermuda; hence the self-exonerating references by our State Department to the numbers of refugees who have been accommodated on our shores since 1933, all of them within the existing immigration quotas, as if a single additional Jewish life can be saved thereby.

Of course we are grateful for all the aid that has been given. Jewish tradition teaches that even the saving of one life is of cosmic significance. Of course we are solaced by the expressions of sympathy from religious and secular quarters. But the will to undertake a bold great program of rescue is lacking. It is a scale and tempo of a resolution of sympathy every now and then, a thread of assistance every now and then, a little help here and there, a bagatellizing, temporizing, compromise.



The Organization Committee—Judge Walter W. Brick, chairman, and Felix Frisch, vice-chairman, in Harry Beckman, secretary.

realization. But we will not patiently permit them to be stifled, or justice to be delayed. We will insist that the sacred pledges made to the Jewish people shall be kept—now, in our own day. Through a strong and unified Zionist Organization we will lift our voices and let all liberty-loving men know that no declaration of the United Nations protesting against Nazi brutality, no Atlantic Charter, no Four Freedoms, can claim validity in the face of a betrayal of Jewish rights in and to Palestine. If, when the war is won, liberty and a

continue to rise again and again on a dozen tomorrows.

We must be firm. We must be insistent. We Americans enjoy the right of freedom of speech. We should exercise that right, use that freedom, on behalf of our silenced, our enslaved fellow-Jews of Europe. And when the dawn of a new and better day breaks for all mankind, and the Four Freedoms are established throughout the world, for the Jewish people, too, "the sun of righteousness shall arise with healing in his wings."

NEW PALESTINE
p. 10 Sept. 24, 1943

The World's Attitude

By ABBA HILLEL SILVER

This is a preeminent moment in human history. The deadliest forces which have ever threatened civilization are being destroyed. Their reign of evil is about over. Mankind will have another chance soon to begin rebuilding our world upon surer and more lasting foundations of justice and international morality.

The great and powerful nations which will emerge victorious will, of course, look after their own interest, but they should remember that it is also to their own interest, as well as to the interest of mankind, that the rights of all smaller peoples be established and safeguarded. It is the exploitation of these smaller peoples and the disregard of their rights in the interest of the greater powers which has frequently in the past led to war engulfing both the lesser and the greater peoples.

What the world will do concerning the Jewish people will be the true index to the nature of the entire reconstruction problem to follow this war. If the world will approach the problem of the national rehabilitation of Israel, the people which has been the most ravaged and victimized in this war, which possess no political power and no military force to enforce its righteous claims, in a spirit of justice, vision, and statesmanship, then there is real hope that all other great national and international problems will be solved with fairness and justice by the statesmen of the world.

The Jewish people appeals today to the great heart and conscience of mankind to help it rebuild its national existence in its historic home after these long and weary centuries; for national homelessness has brought upon

it, time and again, an almost endless series of persecutions and calamities, culminating in our day in the horrible Nazi massacres and the slaughter-pens of Poland, where two million innocent Jewish civilians—men, women, and children—have been most foully done to death.

The right of the Jewish people to rebuild its national home in Palestine was officially acknowledged by all the great nations of the world, including our own, after the last war. The work of rebuilding has gone on for a quarter of a century through heroic efforts and sacrifices on the part of the Jewish people, which have received the admiration and the acclaim of the entire civilized world. We ask for the privilege of continuing that work uninterruptedly, for the removal of such restrictions and obstacles which have been put on our work illegally by the Mandatory government in Palestine, so that the shattered remnants of our people in Europe who may survive the guns of the Nazi gangsters may find a refuge and a home there after the war, and Israel may at long last take its place, along with other nations possessed of the inalienable right to a national homeland, and will be free to carry on its great historic career in the world.

We ask for no special favors or privileges. We will build with our own hands. We seek to exploit no one and to expropriate no one. We ask for the sympathetic understanding of men of good will everywhere to help a people which has served not unworthily the cause of mankind's spiritual and intellectual progress through four thousand years of history, solve its tragic millennial problem. Will the builders of tomorrow's world grant Israel the same privilege which it is hoped will be granted to every people, to live a free and independent life in its own national home?

Zionist Effort Wins U.S. Public Opinion

"No Compromise on Basic Jewish Rights Short of Palestine Commonwealth"-Silver

We felt that it was necessary from every point of view, even from the purely "philanthropic-rescue-refugee" point of view, to re-assert in the clearest possible terms our basic legal and historic rights to Palestine, rights which were fully understood and acknowledged 25 years ago, but which in the interim had been whittled down, legalistically twisted and distorted, and by the most violent dialectics reduced in such a way that were the present policy to remain in force, Palestine far from ever becoming a Jewish National Home, would in fact become an Arab National Home, in which the Jews would constitute a small and frozen minority, possessed of such minority group rights which Jews, following the last war came to possess in Poland, Rumania, Yugoslavia, Austria, Greece, and elsewhere, rights which proved such broken and lamentable reeds to lean on. Cynicism had gone so far in official circles that it had become the practice in highest

quarters and in the publications of official British Information Services to suggest that such a minority status for the Jews of Palestine actually represented the fulfillment of what was originally contemplated by the program for the establishment of the Jewish National Home.

This systematic frittering away of a great historic ideal and a grave and solemn international obligation which had been voluntarily assumed by the mandatory power, had to be decisively exposed and rejected, forcibly and dramatically. The attempt had to be made to reverse the whole trend. The whole subject had to be brought back to basic and original considerations. Unilateral interpretations by the Colonial office which had been forced upon the Jewish people and the world had to be rejected in toto. We had to begin to speak again in clear and unmistakable terms of a Jewish State, of a Jewish Commonwealth, as we did a quarter of a century ago, and for centuries before then, and as our people will continue to do until the Jewish State finally becomes a reality.



DR. ABBA HILLEL SILVER

we assumed, was the main responsibility to the Jewish people of today and to the generations yet unborn. This was the Zionist solution of the Jewish and anomalous position of Jews in the world. This was the Jewish National Home. This was the Jewish Commonwealth. This was the Jewish State. This was the Jewish Commonwealth. This was the Jewish State.

The Jewish State is essential to the world; it will therefore be created. Am I stating what is not yet the case? Am I advancing of my time? Am I oversteering the Jews not yet ready enough? ... If the present generation is too dull to understand it rightly, a future, a better generation will understand it. The Jews wish for a state shall have it and they will deserve it."

This was our guiding motif in our propaganda, in all our efforts during this past year. We therefore took the ground that the United States has definite commitments in Palestine, not merely moral commitments in so far as President Wilson had a hand in the issuance of the Balfour Declaration and the American people, through the joint resolution of Congress of the United States, had approved of it in 1922, but also specific legal commitments. Under the terms of a separate convention with Great Britain in 1924, the American Government had ratified both the Balfour Declaration and the Mandate over Palestine stating that the United States consents to the administration of Palestine by his Britannic Majesty, pursuant to the mandate recited above. The United States waived, with regard to Palestine, certain economic claims on which it had insisted in the case of all other mandates in recognition of Palestine's "special situation and the interests of the Jewish National Home."

American Assistance

Our government had furthermore insisted that the convention

modification in the terms of the Mandate unless such modification shall have been assented to by the United States. Our position was that the Mandate had been violently modified and that in fact, its true purposes had been distorted, and that the United States had neither been consulted about any modifications or had assented to them.

There is prevalent among our people a glib notion that ours is just another minority problem like all others which will be solved when political progress catches up with it. This is false. Ours is a unique minority problem, for we are a minority everywhere and we have no national homeland anywhere. Ours is a uniquely abnormal status, and therefore anti-minority prejudices have selective killing effect upon us, like some substances which leave normal tissue cells unharmed but are deadly to a specific abnormal tissue. National homelessness is the problem. National restoration is the solution.

And here I should like to say, that the sound sense of American Jewry fully grasped the significance of the Jewish Commonwealth issue and made it central in the deliberations and in the decisions of the American Jewish Conference. The enemies of our cause likewise grasped its full significance when they finally resolved to break away from the conference and attempted to discredit it over this very issue. Whatever else of significance the American Jewish Conference will have to its credit when the historian finally comes to strike the balance, the overwhelming endorsement which this great democratic and representative assembly of American Jews gave to the idea of the Jewish Commonwealth will stand out as its most significant

achievements, that alone would have fully justified its existence.

The endorsement of the Jewish Commonwealth by the American Jewish Conference was powerfully helpful in all our work during the year. American political leaders correctly appraised the composition and character of the conference and the collective will registered there in behalf of the Jewish Commonwealth.

The manifold activities of the Emergency Council have been supplemented, of course, by the very effective and important Zionist propaganda which was carried on throughout the country by the Zionist Organization of America, as well as by Hadassah, the Mizrahi and the Poale Zion. The Emergency Council is no more than the political arm of these national organizations, in whose behalf and by whose authority it functions. It is not a membership body, it is the political arm of these bodies in whose behalf and by whose authority it functions, and thus the leaders of the Zionist Organization of America are quite naturally the leaders within the Emergency Council.

Congress Resolution

Our main activity during the first part of the year was the introduction of the Palestine Resolution in Congress. And why did we do that? We did it for this reason: If our cause was to be placed on the national and international agenda, if the attention of the American people and of the world was ever to be drawn forcibly to our problem on the eve of the effective date of the White Paper, and if the official silence in Washington was ever to be broken, it could be most effectively done, perhaps the only way in which it could be done was

problem in the world's greatest forum of opinion—the Congress of the United States. What happens here is news, national and international in part. The very discussion of a problem before such a forum is in itself a political event of great importance.

Hearings on our resolution were held before the Foreign Affairs Committee of the House for four days in the month of February. As a result, the officially published hearings of the House Foreign Affairs Committee contains one of the most complete, well-documented and convincing statements of our cause to be found anywhere in Zionist literature. The very existence of that official government record is a most important achievement. The inclusion in it of the Arab and the anti-Zionist arguments serve but to strengthen our position. No dispassionate persons reading this record can withstand the conclusion that the Zionist case is unshakable; that of the opposition, bankrupt.

The intervention of the War Department, as you well know, brought about a postponement of legislative action for military reasons.

Re-introduction Of Resolution

The resolutions will no doubt come up for action as soon as Congress reconvenes. The military objections were withdrawn three days ago. We had to wait patiently for months before this gratifying news finally reached us in a letter which the Secretary of War Stimson sent to Senator Taft; and Congressman Bloom, chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee, announced in the public press this morning that he is bringing up the Palestine resolution before the committee for action, on November 15, the day after Congress convenes.

But at the time it became more than ever imperative to get an expression of the views of our government without delay, lest the postponement of action on the resolutions be exploited by our enemies. Concerted protests, you will remember, from a number of Arab states were reaching Washington, inspired protests, and they synchronized with the deferment action, and here again the country made itself heard. The result was the highly important statement of the President of the United States which he authorized the co-chairmen of the Emergency Council, at a personal interview on March 9 to issue in his name:

"The President authorized us to say that the American Government has never given its approval to the White Paper of 1939. The President is happy that the doors of Palestine are today open to Jewish refugees and that when future decisions are reached, full justice will be done to those who seek a Jewish National Home, for which our government and the American people have always had the deepest sympathy and today more than ever, in view of the tragic plight of hundreds of thousands of homeless Jewish refugees."

This statement represented the first break for us over a period of many years and was the preliminary to an even more important announcement which you were privileged to listen to today.

Roosevelt Declaration

It should be pointed out too that this statement of President Roosevelt is fundamentally different in character from American pro-Zionist pronouncements made in previous years. Such earlier announcements were always presumed to be in the nature of endorsements of a British policy for which Britain herself had been anxious to get international approval and sanction. On certain occasions the United States was accommodating Great Britain by "going along." The situation in 1944 was radically different because Britain has reserved its policy; and his Presidential state-

ment of March 9 was not one of approval of British policy but rather an expression of reproof and represented for the first time a divergence of viewpoint. It was, in fact, the first time that the American Government took a position on the Palestine question which was at variance with the current British position. And it came on top of all the Arab protests—as if in reply and rejection of them. From this viewpoint the President's declaration was of great historic significance.

From Washington the scene of our political activities shifted in the summer, to Chicago where the National Conventions of both national parties were scheduled.

We believed that the favorable sentiment of the American people for our cause, whose expression was for the time being deferred in the halls of Congress, should be heard at the great political conventions. What happened is now history. The two magnificent planks which were included in the political platforms of both parties, represented an act unprecedented in American political history. It again dramatically served notice on the world that the American people was overwhelmingly in sympathy with the aims of the Zionist Movement. The significance of these planks as well as of the President's declaration on March 9, did not escape the attention of the Arab leaders throughout the Arab world.

To Vote for Party Of Their Choice

American Zionists, in the exercise of their privileges as American citizens, will vote for one party or another, for one candidate or another. American Zionists are to be found in the ranks of both the Democratic and Republican and other parties, and when they speak in endorsement of one political party or another, they do so not as Zionists spokesmen, but as American citizens. This is fully understood by the leaders of both political parties and because of it we have been given hearty cooperation by both parties. Any other policy would be perilous and in the long run disastrous.

And today, good friends, you were privileged to behold with your own eyes the climax of a year's work on your part and on our part, along this well-defined, clearly thought-out line which we have been pursuing during the entire year. The message which the President of the United States sent through Senator Wagner to the convention will remain one of the most important Zionist documents and Jewish documents in the archives of our people.

It is a complete statement of the Zionist position, only not made by an official Zionist, but by the President of the United States. And is not only a statement of a position but back of it is a pledge to work for the achievement—"... if re-elected I shall help to bring about this realization."

The importance of this statement cannot be overestimated. It will not be underestimated in London, in Jerusalem, in Cairo, in any other part of the world. It puts America clearly behind our program for the creation of a Jewish Commonwealth.

You will recall a year ago at the American Jewish Conference the timid souls who said, "Oh, don't talk about a Jewish Commonwealth; it is premature; it is extreme, it will alienate friends; you will never get a hearing in Washington." If, on the platform of the Waldorf-Astoria a year ago I would have arisen and said that within 12 months from today the President of the United States will come out and say: "I am for a free and democratic Jewish Commonwealth," they would have laughed me to scorn as a madman. We were the extremist Zionists, the doctrinaires, the impractical people.

Well, now this program of the (See ZIONIST EFFORT, Page 23, Col 1.)

523 CHANUKAH GIFTS SENT SERVICEMEN IN U. S.

Five hundred twenty-three young men and women in service will find greater enjoyment in Chanukah because of the War Activities Committee of the Temple Women's Association, and the generous contributions from temple members to the Servicemen's Gift Fund. Gifts have been sent to all our service men and women stationed in the United States. Earlier, Chanukah gifts were mailed over-seas.

Contributions to the Servicemen's Gift Fund are needed that this fine work may be continued. They may be made in honor of some joyous occasion or in memory of a dear one.

Mrs. Edgar Weil and Mrs. James Wolf, co-chairmen of the War Activities Committee, were assisted by the following: Mesdames J. S. Gross, Charles Nevins, Louis Royce, Harold Osher, Lester Klein, Marcus Feder, Joseph Rothschild, Carl Koch, Allan Hexter, Sam Klopfer, Emil H. Adler, Morton C. Kohn, Louis Pearsel, R. L. Hays, Leo Oppenheimer, Jack H. Altman, Louis M. Greene, Walter M. Weil; Miss Gertrude Haas, and Miss Alice Roth.

HIGH SCHOOL NOTES

The Student organization of the Temple High School is opening its social season with an informal dance to be held in Mahler Hall on Thursday, November 23 at 8 P. M. Admission is 50c stag or 75c a couple.

The election of student council officers resulted as follows: Robert Marx, president; Jay Hirsch, vice president; Maxine Adelstein, secretary; and Howard Marx was elected to the inter-Temple council.

Temple Bulletin

11/19/44

CHAIM WEIZMANN

On the occasion of his seventieth birthday

By DR. ABBA HILLEL SILVER

As a people we have a stronger sense of history than of biography and we think of a great man not so much in relation to himself and his personality as to his work and the greatness and merit of his achievements. The individual is absorbed within the process of the cause which he serves. "The essence of the biographies of the righteous is to be found in their deeds", is an old Rabbinic dictum.

And yet our people did delight, on significant occasions, to honor its beloved sons, and Dr. Weizmann is not the least in the jeweled crown of our people's pride.

Our brilliant galaxy of national heroes offers some rare and precious combinations in personality. Thus we have poets who were philosophers, like Gabirol and Halevi; philosophers who were legalists like Saadia and Maimonides; legalists who were mystics like Nachmanides and Caro. In Dr. Weizmann we have another rare and fortunate combination—a scientist who is a statesman. I call it fortunate; for his scientific training and discipline have favorably affected his statesmanship. They have been responsible for that patient, experimental and pragmatic technique which he has brought to the leadership of the Zionist movement.

Though a leader of a movement of national rebirth and resurgence he has consistently refused to indulge in that unbridled and vehement romanticism upon whose wheel so

many noble ideals of mankind are being broken in our day. He has proclaimed no provocative political ethnology, no conceited race mythology, no Kultur vagary of which the Germans are so desperately fond.

His nationalism, like that of classic Zionism generally, aimed to correct the abnormal political status of the Jewish people in the world, to put an end to its millennial national homelessness which has been the source of so much misfortune and suffering, to give to the people of Israel the chance—to achieve the status of a free people among the other free peoples of the earth, through our own sweat and blood in our own historic home—in Palestine.

Dr. Weizmann never lost sight of this main purpose. He never swerved from it. He would make concessions and compromises but never at the sacrifice of the essential thing itself. The circumference always remained true to the center. The center was the need—the undeniable and undeniable need of finding a home for a homeless people—the need which has been so tragically underscored in the last decade—the blackest in our history. Zionism for him as for Herzl was not the cloth of romance woven in an idle day on the loom of dreams. It was inescapable fate, unavoidable necessity.

In the very midst of this mildewed spirit of a mouldering age devoid of all magnanimity of heart or mind, Dr. Weizmann had to carry on his

day

of mankind are
er day. He has
vocative political
eited race myth-
vagary of which
desperately fond.

Like that of classic
aimed to correct
ical status of the
he world, to put
Millennial national
h has been the
a misfortune and
to the people of
—to achieve the
eople among the
s of the earth,
sweat and blood
storic home—in

ever lost sight of
He never swerved
make concessions
but never at the
utrial thing itself.
always remained

The center was
denied and un-
nding a home for
—the need which
ually underscored
—the blackest in
an for him as for
cloth of romance
ay on the loom of
inescapable fate,
ity.

t of this mildewed
ing age devoid of
of heart or mind,
d to carry on his

work of national redemption. But he persisted. He knew what every sower of the seeds of life must know, that even after a poor harvest one must sow again.

Chaim Weizmann is a great leader and he deserved a great people. He has enjoyed that privilege. Leader and people are indebted to each other. Both have sustained, reinforced and at times rubbed, filed and goaded each other.

Dr. Weizmann never swerved from his loyalty to the mandatory power to Great Britain, not only because he was at all times a loyal British subject, and has given supreme evidence of it recently in making a supreme sacrifice for his country, but also because he believed in the essential moral soundness, honor and decency of the English people. The provocations in the past were many. The provocations are many today. No responsible man in English public life has maintained that Great Britain has faithfully carried out either in letter or spirit the Balfour Declaration and the Mandate. But Dr. Weizmann has always believed and has acted upon the belief that this dereliction was a passing political aberration, the temporary abandonment of the right line and that sooner or later the moral sense of the English people would force the abandonment of that policy and would bring about a return to the correct and just line.

Dr. Weizmann has at all times

been the seasoned and responsible guide—never too far ahead of those whom he was charged to lead, never beguiling his followers with glittering prospects, and never holding out false hopes. His words were, on significant occasions enkindling and inspiring but he always sought to persuade by reason rather than to incite by passionate utterances. Though firm in the espousal of his position he was seldom given to the foam and spindrift of polemics. He has made mistakes and has acknowledged them. He is not a doctrinaire. He is a leader, a leader of a people which in every grave crisis in its history, has had the genius to produce leaders who were adequate to the emergency.

One of the mighty themes of Jewish thought is the Messianic Theme. It is an expression of the essential moral optimism of the race and of its unquenchable will to live. It is national in character, of course, bound up with Israel's restoration to Palestine, but its vision reaches beyond to the universal. Israel's restoration was always regarded as the prelude to the redemption of humanity. The first redemption from Egypt, it was held, served only Israel, but the final redemption will usher in a new world order of universal reconciliation, justice and peace.

Thus the wars between Rome and Persia, the rise of Islam, and the ensuing crisis in Christendom, the Crusades, the Black Death, the

THE SYNAGOGUE IN THE WORLD TODAY
BY ABBA HILLEL SILVER

The following is from the address delivered by Dr. Silver at the Thirty-Ninth Biennial Meeting of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations held last week in Cincinnati.

* * *

During the dark days of the war, the heads of the United Nations summoned their people to prayer. Human strength, it was sense-^d, was inadequate for the dread emergencies which confronted the embattled peoples. They turned to God as humbly as did the men of long ago who lacked the elaborate armor of science, the massive knowledge and the great sophistication of our day.

Now, we have entered the backwash period of the greatest war in history. It is a time when the overwrought spirit of man will seek release in all manner of relaxations, and the mind of man in all forms of undisciplined vagaries. We had abundant evidence of a similar reaction after the last war. We should be prepared for such a psychological rebound now. If we are to conserve in peace-time what we have envisioned in war, if apathy and disillusionment are not to destroy what hope and faith have designed and created, then we must put the institutions of religion to work with every ounce of their spiritual dynamics.

Our Temples and churches have a two-fold function to perform for modern man and society. They must offer man a place of quiet retreat and respite from the rising fever and tumult of the world, and from the clamorous demands of his own material interests—a timeless sanctuary, a place where one gets away from himself in order to find himself. At the same time, it must also be a place where man's spirit is recharged and energized. The House of God

must be not merely the place to which the grateful heart comes with thanksgiving or the mourning soul with its burden of grief. From its altars, whereon burn the eternal fires of human aspiration, men must carry away kindled torches to illumine the world.

Where the state commands millions of men to go forth to war, the church must inspire; for it cannot command, millions of men to go forth to war upon war, and the things which lead to war, upon greed and hate, poverty and want, intolerance and tyranny and social disunion. Unless the organized institutions of religion can inspire their worshipers, many of them, to go forth to battle, unless they can send forth leaders and disciples, yes, and martyrs to fight for the great, simple, one is almost tempted to say naive moralities of human life, our civilization will perish as surely as the towers of strength we builded in our pride lie shattered upon the plains of Europe, and the bolts which we forged in our might crushed our own fair cities into rubble.

The synagogue has yet a third function to perform. The synagogue today must bind the broken spirit of a martyred people. Millions of men of many races and lands have had to bear the torment of these dreadful years, but none quite as much as the sons and daughters of Israel. No people was forced to witness six millions of its children sent to gas-chambers and to human abattoirs. A thousand Jewish communities were wiped out, never to be rebuilt. The great reservoirs of the physical and spiritual life of our people in Europe were destroyed. Those who survived the harvest of death live in misery amidst the graves of their people and face a future of bleak uncertainty. Many of our people, and not only those who live in the war-scarred and

hate-ridden lands of Europe, are spiritually shaken. They have lost faith in themselves, in civilization, in humanity. They fear the future. Their hearts are filled with dark forebodings and black misgivings. Our synagogue, which witnessed so much through the long centuries, must offer consolation to the riven and tortured spirit of Israel. It must rekindle faith and hope. It must reawaken pride and confidence. It must expell all fears.

Only the synagogue which kept watch over our weary centuries, and knows all human tragedy and all the sad music of humanity, can mother with understanding and love the hurt and bruised soul of our people. For the synagogue speaks not of defeat, but of triumph. Its heroic faith has again been vindicated. As so often in the past, the faith and law and vision of the synagogue were challenged, this time more menacingly than ever before, by a powerful and arrogant barbarian horde which spurned the immemorial gifts of Sinai and, torturing the gift-bearers, set out to restore the terror and the tyranny, the black superstitions and the bestial ways of a system of life against which the synagogue, first among all and above all, waged relentless warfare through the ages—and which in spite of temporary defeats, always emerged triumphant in the end. It has again been triumphant.

Nazism and Fascism, which quite correctly singled out the Jew and Judaism as their chief and most implacable foes, have been smitten, shattered and discredited, whilst the ideals of the synagogue, freedom, democracy, peace and human brotherhood, love and human compassion, have come out of the crucible of a great, new testing, tempered, and stronger than ever before. And while a thousand synagogues of wood or stone were burnt and laid in ashes, the Synagogue, spiritual, eternal and unassailable, stands forth in monumental majesty more resplendent than ever, and beneath its strong

and spacious roof it is prepared to give shelter to its children who have borne the heat and burden of the battle, to comfort them with its wise and tender love, and to sustain them with its unfailing confidence, "till the day break and the shadows flee away."

The synagogue in this our beloved country, has yet another urgent task to perform. The religion of the synagogue was always kept alive through great books. Its very fountain head was an immortal book. Always from flaming lecters the fires leaped into the tinder of receptive minds and hearts. Our vital tradition stretches like a golden chain through schools and academies in many parts of the earth. The voice of Jacob, mightier by far than the hand of Esau, is the voice of teacher and pupil, of scholar, sage and preacher, through whom in every age there is borne aloft the deathless song of Israel's hope and the prophetic rhythm of the fair and beautiful life for all mankind.

But we have been the tragic witnesses of the appalling devastation of our schools and academies, of nearly all the spiritual and cultural institutions and agencies which our people established on the continent of Europe in a thousand years. Our scholars and their pupils have been scattered or slain. Our libraries have been razed to the ground. "The golden bowl is shattered and the pitcher is broken at the fountain."

It thus becomes the especial charge of us, the more fortunate Jews of America, who now represent the largest and the most free and prosperous Jewish community in the world, to compensate here on these gracious shores for the losses which our people sustained over there. To this task the synagogue must summon us. Our schools and academies of Jewish learning must be increased, enlarged and improved. A generation of American Jewish scholars, steeped in Jewish lore and trained in the best techniques of modern scholarship,

must be raised, to bring forth the wealth of our millennial intellectual and spiritual achievements to satisfy the soul of our own people and to enlighten the world. The intellectual output of the American Jew in almost every field of human knowledge is considerable. Our spiritual output is paltry; our theologic contributions are negligible; and the contribution of Jewish scholarship is far from commensurate with the size and potentialities of the American Jewish community.

We have done and are doing altogether praiseworthy in philanthropy, in relief, both domestic and foreign, and in all branches of social service. American Jewry has not been niggardly or indifferent. There has always been generosity among our people and deep concern for the fate of our brothers. But the accent, from now on, must be placed not on philanthropy but on education, youth and adult, upon scholarship, and academies of learning, upon the proper training of spiritual leaders, teachers, community leaders and social workers, upon writers and books and upon all the creative efforts of the mind. In this manner shall we insure our immortality, achieve dignity and self-respect, and make our significant contribution to the life and civilization of America.

In this manner too, shall we of this generation memorialize our precious dead who perished in the slaughter-pens of Europe. Surely no granite shaft or tablets wrought in bronze or brass can perpetuate their sacrifice or voice our tribute to their martyrdom. It is only by treasuring and conserving that which the savage foe sought to destroy in them—their spirit—their irreconcilable and unconquerable tradition which would never accept his code

of blood and hate, would forever mock at his triumphs, laugh at his might and await his doom,—it is only by ingathering the imperishable winged letters from the burning parchments to which the enemy set fire, that we can fittingly memorialize the men who died in the faith.

There was a beautiful custom among the Rabbis of medieval France. They had their coffins fashioned out of the tables at which they had studied the Torah during their lifetime. Should we not fashion tables of study for our people out of the myriad coffins of these our martyred dead?

We cannot place wreathes upon their nameless graves. Let schools and academics be their memorial. Let their lives forever reverberate in the voices of students and scholars intoning the dauntless hymn of a free humanity and the grace and goodness of a God of freedom.

This is the valorous manner in which our people always met disaster. After every political defeat, a new center of piety and learning was established. After the fall of Jerusalem—the spiritual vineyard of Jamnia! After Masada,—the Academy of Usha!

The sun has now set upon a day of wrath for our people, a day of slaughter a day of desolation. But the sun will rise again upon another day. The ancient promise will again be fulfilled. "The people that are left of the sword have found peace in the wilderness, even Israel, when I go to cause him to rest . . . Again will I build thee, and thou shalt be built." We shall think with sorrow, of all that transpired in the day that is past, But with gladness we shall hail the oncoming day of brighter prospects and newer tasks.

By A H Silver
Speech in Israel

זכות גדולה היא לי להביא את ברכותיהם של יהודי אמריקה לישוב העברי בארץ-ישראל. זכות קדושה היא לאדם מישראל לבקר בארץ הקודש, ועל אחת כמה וכמה שזכות כפולה ומכופלת היא לבקר בארץ-ישראל לעת כזאת, בשעת מסבר והיאבקות, בשעה שבה יגלה עם את האופי שלו ואת סגולות חייו.

זה הוא ביקורי הרביעי בארץ-ישראל. ביקרתי בארץ בשנת אלף תשע מאות ועשרים לאחר מלחמת העולם הראשונה, ששוב ביקרתי בה בשנת אלף תשע מאות שלשים ושלוש, לאחר עלות היסלר לסלסון. הייתי כאן גם בשנת אלף תשע מאות שלושים ושבע, בעצם ימי המאורעות והנה חזרתי ובאתי בשנת אלף תשע מאות ארבעים וחמש, אחרי מלחמת העולם השנייה ולמחרת מעשי-הפחדים מנבעת-חיים, ספיים ורספון וביום שחלה בו הקופת הסנה החמישית לסביעתה של "פאסריה".

במסך הביקורים האלה של חצי-יובל שנים ניתנה לי האפשרות לראות בהתקדמותו של אחד מן המפעלים האדירים שבתולדות עםנו. ראיתי את ההתפתחות המתמדת של הארץ הזאת ואת הכשרון, הנאמנות וחירוף-הנפש של האנשים והנשים העושים במלאכת הבניין. גם ראיתי את המכסולים הרבים אשר הוסמו על דרכם ואת הנסיונות שנעשו לבלום, לעצור ולהסבית את מלאכת הבניין, אם בכח הזרוע ואם בתככים מדיניים או בתעלולי ביורוקרטיה. לב יהודי מתפלא באופן על אומץ האמונה של בני ציון אלה. אכן זהו החומר הנפשי שממנו קורצו אומות גדולות ותרבויות גדולות.

עכשו עם ביקורי הרביעי בארץ-ישראל מצאתי את הארץ דרוכה לקראת תקופת הכי גדולה של גידול והתפשטות. המלחמה-עברה. הכחות, התכניות והאמצעים שנצטברו, הואיל ומחמת דרישות המלחמה לא ניתן להם מוצא בצינורות של בניה ויצירה, מחכים עכשו לשחרורם. בכל מקום שאתה פונה אתה חש את הכיסיפים ללכת קדימה. מאות אלפי יהודים מארצות אירופה, ממקומות שהפכו בתי-מסבחים וכורי-עוני לעמנו, מצפים בתפילה ובתחנונים לעלות לארץ ולהביא אתם את תקוותיהם, כשוונותיהם ונאמנותם. יהודי אמריקה אף הם מוכנים לסייע בכל הדרכים להתפתחותה המהירה של הארץ, על-ידי סיפוק אמצעים לקרנות הלאומיות וגם על-ידי הסקעות כספיים פרטיים. מספר לא קטן של יהודים מארצות-הברית, וביחוד מבין הצעירים העוסדים עתה להסתחרר מן הצבא, מנקשים לבוא אל הארץ ולהתיישב בה.

ואולם כל אפשרויות ההתקדמות האלה, והסובבה הזפונה בהן לכל תושבי הארץ הזאת ולכל הארצות הסכנות, שוב הונפה עליהן חרב הסכנה של נסיון חדש, מאות הנסיונות הנעשים ונסנים מתקופה לתקופה בכוונה לחנק את הבית הלאומי היהודי. סר בוויין גמר אומר להמשיך במדיניות החיסול, שהוסרצה ביחוד על-ידי מאלקולם סאקדונאלד, ושוב פנה אל הדרך הידועה של סינוי ועדת-חקירה חדשה. יש שזקווים כי הפעם חשתתף גם אמריקה במעשה זה של חיסול.

אבל הדבר הזה היה לא יהיה. אני סכיר היסב את רגשותיו של העם האמריקאני לענייננו. גם יודע אני את כוונותיהן של ההולסות הציוניות שנתקבלו על-ידי סתי ומפלגות הפוליסיות הגדולות ושנכללו בשנה האחרונה במצע הסדיני של המפלגות האלו, ושוב סכיר אני את התמיכה של פועלי אמריקה הסאורגנים לרעיון המדינה היהודית, אף יודע אני מקרוב את עמדת הקונגרס של ארצות-הברית, ולפיכך מובטחני שאמריקה לא תתן את ידה למעשה המעל הזה בעמנו. יודע אני גם את רגשותיהם של חמסת סיליוני היהודים באמריקה, מעולם

לא היו סלוכדים באחדות כפי שהם מלוכדים היום בדרישתם לביטול הספר הלבן ולסלוחיה של הזהרת-בלפור ושל תקנות המנדאט. מעולם לא ראיתי את יהודי אמריקה במצב כזה של התעוררות, זעם ותקיפות-הדעת. ההפגנות של מאות אלפי יהודים במסך השבועות האחרונים לא היו כמותן לפנייהן בתולדות יהודי אמריקה.

שנות המלחמה קירבו את יהודי אמריקה במידה מרובה לבעיות היהדות האיוסאית ולבעיות ארץ-ישראל. הם מכירים את האחריות המוטלת על שכמם ואת תפקיד הסנהינות שסמה ההסגחה עליהם עם חורבנם של מרכזים רבים ועתיקי-יסינ של חיי ישראל באירופה. הסוגיה המבהילה של אחיהם באירופה זיעזעה אותם עד עומק נפשו. הם באו לעזרת אחיהם. הם התאספו להציל רבים מהם, ואם לא הצליחו הרבה בשטח ההצלה לא סחטת ארישות או חוסר אחריות עלתה להם כך, אלא ספני קשיחות לבו של העולם, שלקו בו כל המאורות של רחמי אדם בימים האלה. ואולי גם גרם לכך מיעוט הבגרות המוליטית שלהם בתור ציבור, וחוסר הנסיון בהפעלת כוחם המלא לשם הסגת המטרות הדרושות. ואולם יהדות אמריקה לסדה ומוסיפה ללמוד.

בלי ספק נתקרבו יהודי אמריקה במסך שנות המלחמה יותר ויותר לארץ-ישראל. העובדה שרבים מאחינו הנתונים בסכנה פצאו להם מקלס בארץ הזאת ושהישוב קידם את פניהם והוסיס להם יר-אחים נדיבה לעזר ולסעד, הנבירה את חילת הארץ בלב אחינו במידה שלא היה כמותה לפנים. אף מאסך-המלחמה הכביד של הישוב, וסספר המתנרכים למלחמה ושל החי"ל העלו שלהבת גאון בלבותינו. המאבק לפתוח את שערי הארץ הסגורים בפני שרידי עמנו עורר הערצה לאין גבול כלב יהודי אמריקה והם גפרו אומר לעמוד שכם אחר עמכם במערכה.

יהדות אמריקה ציונית היא ברובה המכריע. החקירה של סכון רופר, שנערכה לפני איזה שבועות, העלתה שסמונה סבין כל תסעה יהודים באמריקה סומכים את ידם על רעיון הקמת המדינה היהודית. ודאי עיס בתוכנו גם מיעוט של פורטים מן הציבור, של סתבוללים ושל קוויסלינגים, ואולם מספרם סצער לפי הערך, אם כי אין לזלזל בכוחם לבלבל את המוחות. ההבדלה ססר בווינ ואחרים סבקשים להכריל בין יוודים וציונים אין לה אחיזה כלשהי בסציאות של יהודי אמריקה.

חמס סאות אלן יהודים סיהודי אמריקה נלחמו במערכות המלחמה העולמית. הם נלחמו נגד הסכנה הנאצית-הפסיסטית שהיתה מלחמת על מני התרבות האנושית. הם נלחמו למען התפיסה האמריקאנית של זכויות האדם הנצחית לחיים ולחופס. הם נלחמו לזכויותיהם של כל העמים, הקסנים עם הגדולים, לחירות. אבל הם נלחמו גם לזכותו של עם ישראל לחירות בפולדתו ההיסטורית, זכותו המיוסדת על הקשרים ההיסטוריים של עם ישראל לארץ ישראל. ויהודי אמריקה שחלקם במלחמה היה כה עצום ותרוסמם לנצחון כה חשובה, תקיפים בועתם הם לעמוד על המסמר, שלא ייסארו קרבנותיו ויסוריו של עמנו ללא סילוסים וסלא ייפקד זכרם של פיליוני חלליו.

אמריקה, עניינה במזרח התיכון רב הוא ועדיין הוא הולך ורב. אין בו בעניין זה סמך דבר אשר לא יוכל להתקבל על דעת העמים היוסבים באיזור הזה, סכן אין לאמריקה סאיפות סורה או כיבוש כל סען לא כאן ולא בסום סקום זולתו. אמריקה רוצה לסייע לעמי המזרח-התיכון. ואולם סעות בידי הסוברים, ססיוע זה יוכל להינתן על חסכון הבית הלאומי היהודי. העם האמריקאני נוטה לראות ארץ-ישראל עברית כחלוץ הרעיונות וההיסנים האמריקאנים בחלק זה של העולם, סתוך הסגע ההדוק סבין יהודי אמריקה לבין יהודי

ארץ-ישראל.

קורת-רוח פרובה היא לי שבבואי לארץ-ישראל בסעת מצוקה כזאת
מצאתי בקרב הישוב לא רוח של דכאון ויאוש, כי אם רוח של אומץ ואימון,
של אמונה ודריכות למערכה. זוהי הרוח המפלגת דרך לבצחון, זוהי רוחם
של הסכנים. כאשר אשוב לאמריקה אספר לאחינו שם את אשר ראו עיני פה.
אעיר ואעזור את יהודי אמריקה לגיוס מונבר לעזרת היישוב ולתמיכת
המדינה היהודית שהולכת ומתבונה אל אפם של כל הסכסולים.



ב' סבת תס"ו
6.12.45

Abba Hillel Silver
Moshe Shertok
Chaim Weizmann



Before the United Nations

OCTOBER, 1947

In October 1947, when the report of the United Nations Special Committee on Palestine was considered by the Ad Hoc Committee for Palestine of the United Nations General Assembly, the Jewish position was set forth by representatives of the Jewish Agency for Palestine.

Statements were made by Dr. Abba Hillel Silver, head of the American Section of the Jewish Agency for Palestine, on October 2; by Moshe Shertok, head of the Political Department of the Jewish Agency, on October 17; and by Dr. Chaim Weizmann, former president of the Jewish Agency for Palestine, on October 18. The text of each of these statements follows.

Abba Hillel Silver:

MR. CHAIRMAN and Members of the Committee:

The Jewish Agency for Palestine, which I have the honor to represent, is appreciative of the privilege which this Committee of the United Nations General Assembly has extended to it to be represented at its deliberations and to express its views on the report which the United Nations Special Committee on Palestine has submitted.

We have read the report with the deepest interest and the closest attention, and we are prepared to make our observations on it. We are greatly impressed with the earnest and conscientious labors which the eleven members of the Special Committee devoted to their task and which are reflected in the comprehensive and impressive document before us.

It was good to have a committee of neutrals examine the Palestine problem afresh in an effort to arrive at a solution which would be morally justifiable and politically sound. We share entirely the view expressed in the report that the "opinions of members of an international committee who represent various civilizations and schools of thought, and have approached the question from different angles, may be of some value."

The Jewish Agency availed itself of the invitation extended to it by the Special Committee to present its case. We were happy to make available to the committee whatever information it desired of us, to answer any question, and frankly to share our thinking with it. We regarded it as an inescapable obligation to cooperate to the fullest extent with the United Nations, which had this grave international problem presented to it and which assumed the responsibility for formulating a decision on the future government of Palestine.

In this connection we find it necessary to point to a circumstance to which the report itself draws special attention—namely, the failure of the Arab Higher Committee to cooperate with the committee. The chairman of the United Nations Special Committee, during the hearings in Jerusalem, made an appeal by radio for the full cooperation of all parties. The Special Committee also addressed a letter directly to the Arab Higher Committee regretting the decision of the latter not to cooperate and repeating the Special Committee's invitation for full cooperation. In reply Mr. Jamal Husseini, vice chairman

of the Arab Higher Committee, wrote that the Committee found no reason to reverse the previous decision to abstain from collaboration.

One is at a loss to understand why the Arab Higher Committee was unwilling to present its case to the Special Committee of the United Nations. The Jewish Agency likewise had been subjected to the strains and disappointments of the numerous Palestine inquiries which preceded it. Having repeatedly refused the invitation to present its case, why does the Arab Higher Committee come now to ask "justice and equity" at the hands of the United Nations, whose authority it had flouted and whose competence to define the form of the future government of Palestine the Arab spokesman on Monday categorically denied?

The same spokesman treated us to an historic improvisation on the origin of the Jewish people and on the history of Palestine. History may not be an exact science but it certainly is not a story out of the *Arabian Nights*. There are certain facts which do not yield to wishful thinking. Thus the canard that the Jews of Western Europe are descendant not from Israel of old but from a tribe of Khazars in Russia is a relatively recent invention and was popularized in the racial mythologies of our day by those whose political motivations are clearly transparent. One could say with some amusement that the Arabs of Palestine would be among the last people on earth to wish to engage in genealogical research.

WHEN THE Allies liberated Palestine in 1917 along with other parts of the former Ottoman Empire, Palestine was a segment of a Turkish province. There was no politically or culturally distinct or distinguishable Arab nation in that province. There never had been. The Arabs who conquered Palestine in the seventh century of the common era held sway over that country, which contained a very mixed and heterogeneous population for 437 years between 634 and 1071 A.D.—437 years out of more than 3,000 years of recorded history in Palestine. After 1071 the country was conquered by various non-Arab peoples, such as the Seljuks, the Kurds, the Crusaders, the Egyptian Mamelukes, and finally by the Ottoman Turks.

By the time the Arabs conquered Palestine in 634 A.D., the Jewish people had already completed nearly two thousand years of national history in that country, during which time they created a civilization which decidedly influenced the course of mankind, gave rise both to Judaism and Christianity, produced the Bible and brought forth prophets, saints and spiritual leaders who are venerated not only by Judaism, but by Christianity and Islam as well.

"In the twelve centuries or more that have passed since the Arab conquest," reads the report of the Royal Commission of 1937, "Palestine had virtually dropped out of history. . . . In economics and in politics Palestine lay outside the main stream of the world's life. In the realm of thought, in science or in letters it made no contribution to modern civilization."

The very identity of Palestine as a unit of human society is an achievement of Jewish history. The country lost its separate character with the Jewish dispersion and only assumed a specific role in history when the Palestine mandate was ratified. The mandate acknowledged this history by setting Palestine in a distinct and separate context in relation to the Arab world. "I am persuaded," declared President Wilson on March 3, 1919, "that the Allied nations with the fullest concurrence of our own Government and people are agreed that in Palestine shall be laid the foundation of a Jewish Commonwealth."

SPEAKING IN the House of Lords on June 27, 1923, Lord Milner, who called himself "a strong supporter of the pro-Arab policy," stated:

"Palestine can never be regarded as a country on the same footing as the other Arab countries. You cannot ignore all history and tradition in the matter . . . and the future of Palestine cannot possibly be left to be determined by the temporary impressions and feelings of the Arab majority in the country in the present day."

When the Palestine mandate therefore recognized "the historical connection of the Jewish people with Palestine," it was only stating a fact that was universally acknowledged through the ages. And when it gave international recognition to the grounds for reconstituting the Jewish national home in that country—an act which Field Marshal Smuts, member of the War Cabinet which issued the Balfour Declaration, called "one of the greatest acts of history"—it was only reaffirming the fact that the Jewish people had never surrendered the hope of national restoration in its ancestral homeland. For the Jews, Palestine was not merely a place of sacred shrines as to Christians and Moslems, but the

home of their exiled people, the land of their national destiny, and throughout the dark centuries of persecution and wandering there were continuous efforts to return to it.

Concerning the Arab economic grievances which were aired here the other day, we wish only to refer to the report of the United Nations Special Committee which examined all of them, as well as to the relevant chapters in the Royal Commission report of 1937, to show how utterly groundless they are. These reports, as well as the memorandum of the Palestine Government which was submitted to the Special Committee of the United Nations—a document which can hardly be charged with pro-Jewish bias—conclusively prove that the Palestine Arabs benefited considerably and directly from Jewish development in the economic, financial and social spheres.

WE MUST take note, too, of the interesting contrast which the Arab spokesman attempted to draw between the terroristic acts of the Arabs of Palestine in 1936-39—acts which were never condemned or repudiated by any responsible Arab spokesman—and the regrettable acts of some dissident Jewish groups in Palestine today, which the official bodies of Palestine Jewry have most severely condemned.

"It has been officially admitted that in their several uprisings against the British in Palestine," stated the Arab spokesman, "the Arabs ordinarily fought face to face as noble men." As illustrative of this nobility, permit me to quote the statement of Sir John Chancellor, the High Commissioner of Palestine, on the Arab riots there in 1929:

"I have learned with horror of the atrocious acts committed by bodies of ruthless and bloodthirsty evil-doers, of savage murder perpetrated upon defenseless members of the Jewish population regardless of age or sex, accompanied as at Hebron by acts of unspeakable savagery, of the burning of farms and houses in town and country, and of the looting and destruction of property. These crimes have brought upon their authors the execration of all civilized peoples throughout the world."

In commenting upon the riots of 1936 the report of the Palestine Royal Commission has this to say:

"There were similar assaults upon the persons and property of the Jews, conducted with the same reckless ferocity [as in 1929]. Women and children were not spared."

Before making our observations on the report itself, may we be permitted to comment on the statement which

was made at the beginning of your deliberations by Mr. Arthur Creech Jones on behalf of His Majesty's Government?

It was the United Kingdom Government which requested that the question of Palestine be placed on the agenda of the General Assembly. It was His Majesty's Government which asked the Assembly to make recommendations under Article 10 of the Charter for the future government of Palestine.

IN MAKING these far-reaching requests, with which the United Nations complied, the United Kingdom surely must have had in mind not the thought of ultimately imposing its own solution on the United Nations, but the hope that this great international body, approaching the problem anew and without bias, might find a solution which, while not fully acceptable to everyone, would nevertheless represent the collective wisdom and judgment of the nations of the world and would have behind it such weight of authority that His Majesty's Government would be prepared to accept it and cooperate in its implementation.

Surely such loyal cooperation on the part of member nations is presupposed when any international problem is considered by the United Nations. Otherwise His Majesty's Government might just as well have announced six months ago what it declared the other day. Why were six critical months lost, during which time the situation in Palestine was permitted to deteriorate most gravely? And why was all the apparatus of the United Nations invoked to investigate and to recommend a settlement of the problem if there was no intention to accept and to participate in the implementation of such a settlement?

Sir Alexander Cadogan, at the fifty-second meeting of the First Committee of the General Assembly, stated: "All we say—and I made this reservation the other day—is that we shall not have the sole responsibility for enforcing a solution which is not accepted by both parties and which we cannot reconcile with our conscience." But we observe that His Majesty's Government is not being asked to accept a sole responsibility. The report of the Special Committee clearly recommends that if so desired, one or more members of the United Nations shall be invited to assist in the administering of the country along with the present mandatory power.

The statement of Mr. Creech Jones seems to go beyond that of Sir Alexander Cadogan's and implies that His Majesty's Government not only does not wish to assume sole responsibility for implementing the report, but reserves to itself the right of refusing any cooperation in

implementing the final decision of the United Nations if, in its judgment, it does not comply with its own criteria of justice and with its own preferred technique of implementation.

One questions whether in taking such a position—if we have understood the position correctly—the United Kingdom is helping to solve this difficult problem and whether its course will enhance the authority and prestige of the United Nations which has assumed responsibility over the Palestine question. It is clear to everyone that the solution of this problem represents a vital challenge to the United Nations and a crucial test of its future effectiveness.

In view of His Majesty's Government's reluctance to impose a policy by force of arms, a policy which would have behind it the sanction of the community of nations, one may be pardoned for inquiring why His Majesty's Government has not hesitated to employ in recent years a military force of 100,000 men, along with its navy and its air force, to impose by force a policy on Palestine which no international body has approved, which is contrary to the purposes and provisions of the mandate, and which has been thrice disapproved by international bodies.

It would have been more helpful if the statement of His Majesty's Government had been more revealing. Surely it must be clear to everyone that no settlement of the Palestine problem is possible without some enforcement.

The Palestine problem is not at all unique in this regard. The report of your Special Committee correctly states: "Taking into account the fact that devising a solution which will be fully acceptable to both Jews and Arabs seems to be utterly impossible, the prospect of imposing a solution on them would be the basic condition of any recommended proposal."

IT WAS the realization that such an Arab-Jewish agreement was impossible that prompted Mr. Bevin to turn the problem over to the United Nations. Mr. Creech Jones' declaration, therefore, that "the United Kingdom Government are ready to assume the responsibility for giving effect to any plan on which agreement is reached between the Arabs and the Jews" is very singular indeed and does not advance the solution at all.

It may be pertinent to recall that the principle of partition on which the majority report of the Committee is based was first projected by the all-British Royal Commission in 1937. At that time the British Government accepted that recommendation in principle and declared:

"In supporting a solution of the Palestine problem

by means of partition, His Majesty's Government are much impressed by the advantages which it offers to the Arabs and the Jews. The Arabs would obtain their national independence and thus be enabled to cooperate on an equal footing with the Arabs of neighboring countries in the cause of Arab unity and progress. They would be finally delivered from all fear of Jewish domination. . . . On the other hand, partition would secure the establishment of the Jewish National Home and relieve it from any possibility of its being subjected in the future to Arab rule. It would convert the Jewish National Home into a Jewish State with full control over immigration. . . . Above all, fear and suspicion would be replaced by a sense of confidence and security, and both peoples would obtain, in the words of the Commission, 'the inestimable boon of peace'."

CONFRONTED AS we now are by the latest expression of His Majesty's Government, we cannot help but reflect upon the course which has been followed by successive British Governments during the past decade. In 1937 the British Government appointed a Royal Commission to study the Palestine problem, which, after an exhaustive study, recommended partition as a solution. After an initial approval of the plan, the British Government wound up by rejecting it and promulgated in its stead the White Paper policy of 1939 which was in complete contradiction to the basic recommendation of the Royal Commission.

In 1945 the British Government invited the American Government to join in a two-nation inquiry into the Palestine problem with a view to its solution. This committee submitted unanimous recommendations proposing this time not partition, but a unitary state. It called for the abrogation of the White Paper policy, including its racial land law, the early admission of 100,000 Jews, continued Jewish immigration thereafter, and the faithful implementation of the provisions of the mandate. The British Government rejected the recommendations of this committee likewise and wound up by putting forward the Morrison and Bevin proposals which were diametrically opposed in substance and in spirit to the report of the Anglo-American Committee.

Finally, in 1947 the British Government proposed another examination of the Palestine problem, this time by the United Nations. As a result, a commission was appointed consisting of the representatives of eleven neutral nations. This committee has now submitted a report which recommends a plan of partition coupled with economic union. But this report seems no more acceptable to His Majesty's Government than the two earlier

reports. It has indicated no support of this latest report and offers in its stead—nothing.

The failure, however, of the United Kingdom Government to give the United Nations a measure of guidance and support, and its announced intention of an early withdrawal from Palestine, which we welcome, makes it more imperative than ever that the General Assembly should proceed with the work before it with utmost dispatch. As early as last April it was realized in the special session of the Assembly that there was great urgency in the matter. Certainly that urgency for action and decision has been intensified by all that has transpired since.

THE JEWISH AGENCY, in making this preliminary comment on the report itself, wishes to indicate at the outset its full approval of all but one of the eleven unanimous recommendations made by the committee. On the sixth recommendation, of which it does not disapprove, it would like to make this observation. The sixth recommendation calls upon the General Assembly "to undertake immediately the initiation and execution of an international arrangement whereby the problem of the distressed European Jews, of whom approximately 250,000 are in assembly centers, will be dealt with as a matter of extreme urgency for the alleviation of their plight and of the Palestine problem."

It will be recalled that the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry likewise recommended that efforts be made immediately to find new homes for these displaced persons. In making this recommendation the Anglo-American Committee stated: "We have to report that such information as we received about countries other than Palestine gave no hope of substantial assistance in finding homes for Jews wishing or impelled to leave Europe."

The position in this respect has remained completely unchanged. The recommendation of the Anglo-American Committee has remained a dead letter. Our unfortunate refugees are still languishing in the displaced persons' camps, facing a third winter after the termination of the war. The report of your Special Committee refers to the "intense urge" of these distressed persons to be allowed to go to Palestine.

The "intense urge" of the Jewish displaced persons to proceed to Palestine and the refusal of most of them to go anywhere else springs not only from their realization that the prospects of their admission to other countries are slight in the extreme, and even then only of a very limited scope. It springs pre-eminently from the fact that Palestine offers to them that which they need most and cannot find anywhere else: the chance of a

real home, the prospect of a life in congenial surroundings, the insurance of permanency.

All the longing of these uprooted people for a life of peace and dignity, for a normal and secure existence, finds expression in this "intense urge" to go to Palestine. What more overwhelming and tragic evidence of this urge is required than the persistent and desperate attempts of these men, women and children to reach the shores of the Jewish national home from where they are forcibly turned back—in the case of the *Exodus* 1947, back to Germany. And if it be countered that mere desire does not create a right, a complete answer is that that desire was the basis for the creation of the right by the Balfour Declaration and League of Nations mandate.

That desire was recognized as morally so compelling that it led the victorious Allies in the first World War to establish solemn international commitments guaranteeing the legal right of Jews to go to Palestine.

The Jewish Agency strongly hopes that the nations of the world will welcome those among the displaced persons who wish to emigrate to other lands. The Jewish Agency never contemplated that any displaced person should be forced to go to Palestine. But surely, to compel those Jewish refugees, many of whom have close family ties with Palestine, to go against their will to other lands and to deny them the right to go to the Jewish national home would be most unjust and unkind and would be bitterly resented.

The twelfth recommendation of the committee, which was not unanimously accepted by the committee, reads: "It is recommended that in the appraisal of the Palestine question, it be accepted as incontrovertible that any solution for Palestine cannot be considered as a solution of the Jewish problem in general." We are at a loss to understand the meaning of this recommendation—actually not a recommendation but a mere postulate. The "Jewish problem in general" is not a problem of Jewish immigration or of refugees. It is the age-old problem of Jewish national homelessness.

There is but one solution to this problem, a national home. This was the basic Jewish problem which was faced by the Balfour Declaration and the mandate, and to which the proper solution was given—the reconstitution of the national home of the Jewish people in Palestine.

WITHOUT ATTEMPTING at this stage a detailed analysis of the solution recommended by the minority of three members of the Special Committee, we must state at once that we find it wholly unacceptable, even as a basis for discussion. This minority report proposes the establishment of an independent Federal State of

Palestine, consisting of what are described as an Arab and a Jewish "State," though they are, in fact, little more than semi-autonomous cantons or provinces.

It is obvious that under the constitutional provisions envisaged in this recommendation, Palestine would become in effect an Arab State with two Jewish enclaves, in which the Jews would be frozen in the position of a permanent minority of the population of the Federal State. Under the proposed constitution the Jewish province would not have control over immigration even within the narrow confines of its own borders. Nor would it have control over its own fiscal policies. Not only with regard to the crucial question of immigration, but also with regard to many other matters of fundamental importance, the ultimate power of decision will rest with the Arab majority of the proposed Federal State.

The proposal is a variant of the federal scheme put forward last year by His Majesty's Government, generally known as the Morrison Plan, which was rejected at the time both by Jews and Arabs, as well as by the Government of the United States. The plan entails for the Jews all the disadvantages of partition—and a very bad partition geographically—without the compensating advantages of a real partition: statehood, independence and free immigration.

AS REGARDS the majority report we wish to make the following observations. These proposals are those of the Committee. Needless to say, they are not the proposals of the Jewish Agency which, in fact, were ruled out by the Committee. They do not represent satisfaction of the rights of the Jewish people. They are a serious attenuation of these rights. At the hearings of your Committee we fully defined these rights and their justification. I will not here impose upon you by restating them.

Partition clearly was never contemplated by the Balfour Declaration or the mandate. It was intended that Palestine, the whole of Palestine, shall ultimately become a Jewish State. This is the clear testimony of Mr. Lloyd George, who was the British Prime Minister at the time of the issuance of the Declaration. The land referred to as Palestine in the Declaration included what is now Trans-Jordan. The Royal Commission of 1937 declared that "the field in which the Jewish national home was to be established was understood at the time of the Balfour Declaration to be the whole of historic Palestine." That area has already been partitioned.

The first partitioning of Palestine took place in 1922 when Trans-Jordan, representing three-quarters of the original area of Palestine, was cut off and has since

been set up by the British as an Arab kingdom. Thus, one Arab state has already been carved out of the area assigned to the Jewish national home. It is now proposed to carve a second Arab state out of the remainder of the country. In other words, the Jewish national home is now to be confined to less than one-eighth of the territory originally set aside for it.

This is a sacrifice which the Jewish people should not be asked to make. The legitimate national aspirations of the Arab peoples have been fully satisfied. President Truman, in his letter of October 28, 1946, to the King of Saudi Arabia, calls attention to this fact: "I am happy to note," he writes, "that most of the liberated peoples [of the Near East] are now citizens of independent countries. The Jewish national home, however, has not yet been fully developed."

The Arabs possess today independent monarchies in Saudi Arabia, Yemen, Egypt, Iraq and Trans-Jordan, and independent republics in Syria and Lebanon. A population of 17,000,000 in Arab Asia occupies an area of 1,290,000 square miles: enormously rich in resources and potentialities. This area, which formerly belonged to the Ottoman Empire, and which, together with Egypt, was liberated by the Allied nations, includes all the centers which are primarily associated in history with Arab and Moslem traditions. Palestine, the historic home of the Jewish people, which the nations of the world after the last war declared to be the Jewish national home, is, after the loss of Trans-Jordan, only 10,000 square miles in extent, and it is now proposed, in the Majority Report, further to reduce the area of the Jewish national home by almost one-half.

It is not our intention at this time to enter into a detailed discussion of the many territorial provisions in the proposals of the Majority Report. But we feel constrained to point out at least two features which are open to most serious objections. The Majority Report eliminates western Galilee—that is, most of Galilee—from the Jewish State. The Peel Commission included western Galilee in the Jewish State. For reasons which we shall endeavor to explain more fully at a later stage, we regard the proposed exclusion of western Galilee as an unjustified and a particularly grievous handicap to the development of the Jewish State.

Under the terms of the majority proposal, the City of Jerusalem is set up as a separate government unit. We would not question the propriety of placing the old City of Jerusalem, which contains the holy places, as well as the holy shrines, which may be outside the walls of the old city, in the custody of an international trustee. But outside the old city a modern new city has grown up which contains a compact Jewish section of approxi-

mately 90,000 inhabitants. This new city includes the central national, religious and educational institutions of the Jewish people of Palestine.

Excluding all of Jerusalem from the Jewish State would be a particularly severe blow. Jerusalem holds a unique place in Jewish life and religious traditions. It is the ancient capital of the Jewish nation and the symbol throughout the ages of Jewish nationhood. The undefeated resolve of our people to be reconstituted as a nation in the land of Israel was epitomized in the solemn vow of the Psalmist and of the exiled people throughout the ages: "If I forget thee, O Jerusalem, let my right hand forget her cunning." We strongly urge that the Jewish section of modern Jerusalem, outside the walls, be included in the Jewish State.

There are other modifications which we will take up at a later stage of these discussions.

THE RETURN to the basic solution of partition proposed by the Special Committee: It entails, as we have said, a very heavy sacrifice on the part of the Jewish people. But if such a sacrifice is made the inexorable condition of an immediate and final solution, we would be prepared to assume the responsibility for recommending acquiescence to the supreme organs of our movement, subject, of course, to further discussion of the constitution and territorial provisions which we assume will take place in the course of these sessions.

We would be prepared to do so because the proposal makes possible the immediate re-establishment of the Jewish State, an ideal for which our people ceaselessly strove through the centuries, and because it ensures immediate and continuing Jewish immigration which, as events have demonstrated, is possible only under a Jewish State. We would do so also as our contribution to the solution of a grave international problem and as evidence of our willingness to join with the community of nations in an effort to bring peace at last to the troubled land which is precious to the heart of mankind.

We are impressed with the recommendation in the report of an economic union between the two states. We approve of the conclusion reached by the committee that "in view of the limited area and resources of Palestine, it is essential that, to the extent feasible, and consistent with the creation of two independent states, the economic unity of the country should be preserved."

This appears to us to be a progressive and statesman-like conception of great promise. The Jewish Agency is prepared to accept this proposal of an economic union. It should, however, be understood that this economic union, while it would bestow some benefits on the Jew-

ish State, would also impose grave sacrifices. The acceptable limit of these sacrifices is, in principle, clear: the Jewish State must have in its own hands those instruments of financing and economic control that are necessary to carry out large-scale Jewish immigration and the related economic development. The Jewish State must have independent access to those world sources of capital and supplies that are indispensable for the accomplishment of these purposes.

The Majority Report provides, in effect, for a large subsidy from the Jewish to the Arab State, through equal sharing by the two states of the net revenues from customs and joint services. This subsidy would be a very heavy one in relation to the national income. The Jewish Agency would, however, be prepared to assume this burden as one of its sacrifices designed to find a way out of the present intolerable impasse.

WE MEAN to be good neighbors, not only to the Arab State of Palestine, but to the Arab States throughout the Middle East. And certainly we mean scrupulously to respect the equal rights of the Arab population in the free and democratic Jewish State. With the removal of political friction and bitterness which we hope will eventually result from the setting up of these two independent states, each people master in its own home, it should be possible to usher in an era of progress and regeneration which would be a boon to all the peoples in that important part of the world. What the Jewish people has already achieved in Palestine in a short time and in the face of enormous obstacles is indicative of what it hopes to do in the future along with, and in fullest cooperation with, all of its neighbors.

Neighborliness, however, is a two-sided affair. Sincerely and without reservations we bring the offer of peace and friendship. If it is met in the same spirit, rich and abundant blessing will redound to all. If not, we shall be compelled to do what any people must do under such circumstances, defend our rights to the utmost. [We have builded a nation in Palestine. That nation now demands its independence. It will not be dislodged. Its national status will not be denied. We are asked to make an enormous sacrifice to attain that which, if uninterfered with, we would have attained long ago. In sadness, and most reluctantly, we are prepared to make this sacrifice. Beyond it we cannot, we will not go.]

THE REPORT recommends that "during the transitional period the authority entrusted with the task of administering Palestine and preparing it for independence shall be responsible to the United Nations." In view of the statement of His Majesty's Government it is not clear now which will be this authority. We favor an international authority under the United Nations to supervise and insure the implementation of its decisions.

Above all, we urge that the transitional period be as brief as possible. A period of two years is, in our judgment, considerably longer than is necessary or desirable. It is to be assumed that the transfer of the powers and functions of administration to the two peoples in their respective states would not take place at the end of the transitional period, but would be inaugurated immediately and consummated as rapidly as possible. The Jewish people of Palestine stands ready to assume immediately all responsibilities which the establishment of the Jewish State will involve.

We agree with the report that "whatever the solution, enforcement measures on an extensive scale may be necessary for some time." The Jewish people hopes that the transition from the present status of the country to the new status of two independent states, will be attended by a minimum of friction and conflict. Once the boundaries are defined and the states established by the United Nations they will be entitled to have their territorial integrity and sovereign rights respected and protected as fully as all other nations which are covenanted to peaceful relations under the Charter.

All members of the United Nations, whether in the neighborhood of Palestine or elsewhere, who are bound by the principles of the Charter, will be expected to respect the rights of these new states, under pain of being condemned as aggressors and subjected to international sanctions. Moreover, we assume that in the constitution of whatever military or police force may be required during the transitional period, full use will be made of the trained manpower available in Palestine which will be prepared to offer its services to the United Nations to maintain law and order.

[The Jewish State, when it is established, will respect the sovereignty of its neighbor states as fully as it will defend its own. The Jewish people in Palestine is prepared to defend itself. It is not impressed by idle threats. A people that has survived the accumulated fury of the centuries, faced powerful empires in a bitter battle for survival, and during the last war saw hundreds of thousands of its sons fighting for freedom in all the liberat-

ing armies of the Allied nations—while the head of the Palestine Arab Higher Committee was broadcasting Nazi propaganda from Berlin and congratulating Hitler on his African victories over the Allies—such a people will not be intimidated. Nor, we are confident, will this great international body which is earnestly wrestling with this tremendously difficult problem and which is seeking a just and equitable solution, be terrorized into surrendering its high mandate.

We recall with satisfaction that similar threats uttered by the same parties during the first special session did not influence the resolution of the Assembly. Nor was the Special Committee impressed by these threats during its hearings. We hope that these same threats will not influence this great deliberative body which must be guided by principles of truth and justice—the underlying principles of its Charter.

The Jewish people in Palestine, I repeat, will be prepared to defend itself. It will welcome, of course, whatever support can properly be given to it by the United Nations or its members, pursuant to the decisions of the United Nations.

In this connection we must take note of the announcement made by the representative of the United Kingdom that its forces may not be available to the United Nations during the transitional period, and may be subject to early withdrawal from Palestine. In that event, in order to avoid the creation of a dangerous vacuum which might affect public security, the Jewish people of Palestine will provide without delay the necessary effectives to maintain public security within their country.

MR. CHAIRMAN and members of this Committee: With this United Nations report we have reached one of the important crossroads of history. The course which will be followed will be fraught with destiny for all, the Jews, the Arabs and the United Nations. We hope that it will be a course of wisdom, justice and courage. The Jewish people hopefully await the decision of this body.

Twenty-five years ago a similar international organization recognized the historic claims of the Jewish people, sanctioned our program and set us firmly on the road of realization. We were not then regarded as intruders or invaders, not even by the foremost leaders and spokesmen of the Arab world, but as a people returning home after a long sad exile. The world approved and acclaimed the return of Israel to its ancient homeland. The statesmen of the world faced the tragic problem of Jewish national homelessness and they set about to solve it.

The Jewish people was confirmed in its right to rebuild its national life in its historic home. It eagerly seized the long hoped-for opportunity and proceeded to rebuild that ancient land of Israel in a manner which evoked the admiration of the whole world. It has made the wilderness blossom as the rose. Surely this great international body, surveying this faithful and fruitful work, will wish to see that work continued, that undertaking advanced, that hope of the centuries consummated. It will be a noble achievement which will redound to the everlasting glory of this world organization. It will be a supreme act of international justice.

COPY

AHS
NF

P/38
29 March 1948

UNITED NATIONS PALESTINE COMMISSION

RECENT BRITISH EDITORIAL COMMENT ON THE PALESTINE QUESTION

1. In an editorial entitled "Palestine - More Delays", the SPECTATOR of 5 March 1948 states that although the Security Council's discussions are barren of promise, "Britain is carrying her aloofness to dangerous lengths...." Even more than the United States, the British Government is now making membership of the United Nations "an excuse for avoiding responsibility, and our recent contributions to the Palestine debate have not gone beyond a series of nagging reminders of the obstacles in the path of settlement".
2. THE ECONOMIST of 6 March 1948 asserts that the pro-Russian bloc in Palestine Jewry now ranges from the Stern Group, which "gave its allegiance" to Russia last December, through the new merger of the Left-wing Settlers (Kashomer Hatzair) with the Labor Unity Group, to the Communists. The latter group, according to the ECONOMIST, has two sections: the Palestine Communist Party "which found no difficulty in changing overnight from a violent anti-partition ~~and~~ platform to enthusiastic acceptance of partition", and the Association of Hebrew Communists, a "National Bolshevik" group. There are, in addition, a number of "fellow-traveling" groups: the "Association for Soviet Palestine Friendship", "Friendship for Democratic Poland", the "V-League" and a section of the "Slav Union". The "LEPAC" publishing house and bookshop in Tel Aviv has a large output of Soviet literature, supplemented by lectures and meetings.

Over these groups, differing in internal policies but "united by a common hatred of Britain and America and hysterical adoration of Russia" presides Dr. Moshe Sneh who resigned from the General Zionist Party and from the Jewish Agency Executive soon after the United Nations Partition decision. It is believed, the editorial states, that he can also rely on the support of the Irgun Zvai Leumi.

/ Thus, concludes the article, even before the Jewish State has come into existence, the "polarisation" of its politics is far advanced. The pro-Soviet bloc has been clamoring for new elections and already provides the semblance

of a "national democratic government" of the familiar East European type.

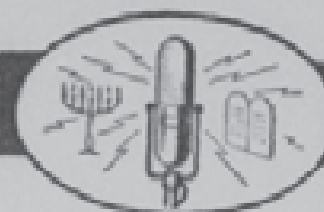
3. In its lead editorial THE TIMES of London of 20 March 1948 describes the American proposal of March 19 as evidence that the United States Government "has accepted the hard logic of the facts in Palestine". It is manifestly impossible to put partition into operation peacefully and the United States has therefore withdrawn its support of the plan, having come to the conclusion that the recent recommendations of the Four Power Committee could produce no more than pious resolutions". No one, continues the editorial, can suggest a practical alternative to the British Government's policy of laying upon the United Nations the responsibility for solving the problem. Both the Security Council and the General Assembly have been discussing the matter "with their head in the clouds", and the American proposal should bring them down to earth.

4. In an editorial entitled "Next Steps in Palestine" THE TIMES of London of 22 March 1948 maintains that after the first shock of surprise the "common sense" of the United States decision to change its policy toward partition "must commend itself to all ~~people~~ capable of forming a dispassionate view of the present state of the Holy Land."

It is now plain to all, continues the editorial, that the partition plan cannot be carried out without the use of force. However, the use of force cannot in fact carry out the Assembly's plan; it can only exacerbate Arab resistance to it. Thus, "after a period of disastrous hesitation, the United States has come to hold the British view that a satisfactory settlement in Palestine is impossible unless reasonable opinion on both sides accepts an arrangement permitting the two communities to dwell peacefully together."

In the opinion of THE TIMES, an agency should be appointed by the United Nations not to impose partition but to administer Palestine after the withdrawal of the British. But, it is pointed out, this agency cannot be effective without the services of an international force. If an effective international trusteeship could be arranged it would permit a cooling-off period during which moderate opinion on both sides might be mobilized. The trustee would be committed to no particular solution and there would still be "the weary, but more than ever urgent, task of persuading the two sides to work out a solution for themselves".

MESSAGE OF ISRAEL



UNION OF AMERICAN HEBREW CONGREGATIONS UNITED JEWISH LAYMAN'S COMMITTEE INC.

UNION HOUSE OF LIVING JUDAISM, 838 Fifth Ave., New York 21, N. Y., TEmpleton 8-2223 or Regent 7-8200

AMERICAN BROADCASTING COMPANY

Every Sunday, 10-10:30 A.M., New York Time

DAVID J. WISE, Radio Director

THE ONE AND THE MANY

Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver

November 4, 1951

The crisis of our age is far more spiritual than economic or political. It is a crisis of ideas and attitudes. Were it mainly economic, our enormous material resources, our advanced technological skill, our new sources of power, and our increased facilities for transportation and distribution would be by way of solving it. They are not solving it. They are contributing more and more to conflict, breakdown and chaos. The besetting fear of our age is not that sufficient food may not be available for the world's expanding population. Rather is it the fear that while food and all the desirable things of life may be abundant and near at hand, the human race, like Tantalus, will, because of some fatal perversity of fate, never be permitted to enjoy them.

Likewise is the political crisis a derivative one. It results from a loss of faith in the capacity of man to order his collective life in justice and freedom without recourse to violence, terror and dictatorship.

Our age has passed beyond cynicism or sophistication. It is now distraught; not because its high hopes for scientific progress have not been realized. These have been realized far beyond its most extravagant hopes. The first half of the 20th century was the most brilliantly creative period in scientific history. In it man made his deepest soundings in the mysterious realms of matter and energy. His inventive genius achieved for him miracles of power and riches. But they failed to give him what he had hoped for most and what he needs preeminently - security, dignity, happiness. He had hopes that his scientific laboratories would yield him the magic keys to all progress and well-being; but in the darkening world about him, we find him crying unto his helpless idols, like the priests of Baal in the story of Elijah, "O Baal, answer us." But "though they proceeded to slash one another according to their custom with swords and with lances until the blood gushed out upon them...there was no voice, no answer...."

Our age is suffering from what the Bible calls "a cropping of the soul," a dangerous deflation of morale, a spiritual malaise. Its brilliant intellectual and scientific achievements only serve to illumine phosphorescently the appalling stages of its decomposition.

In one of his recently published "Unpopular Essays," Bertrand Russell writes: "The importance of Man, which is the one indispensable dogma of the theologians, receives no support from a scientific view of the future of the solar system." To which one is prompted to reply, so much the worse for the scientific view, which doubtless will go through many revisions and corrections in the future, as have so many other scientific views and doctrines in the past. Time and again science has been tardy in arriving at conclusions which the intuitive religious genius of mankind postulated long ago. Furthermore, there are religious convictions which require no confirmation at the hands of science and which science can never affirm or deny.

The cost of this mailing is \$3.00 a year. This and other expenditures involved in our national weekly broadcasts are made possible only by your continued voluntary support. Your contributions enable us to maintain the high quality of this program.

RABBI JONAH B. WISE

But Bertrand Russell is entirely correct when he states that "the importance of Man is the one indispensable dogma of the theologians." It is also the one indispensable dogma of democracy; and it is at the heart of the terrible crisis which is today cleaving and rending our world apart.

Judaism holds that man has immense significance in the scheme of things. Man is very important to God in the unfoldment of His purposes - each man, every man - rich or poor, wise or simple, white or black, saint or sinner. Sin is a voluntary lapse into unworthiness and unimportance. It is descent into paltriness. Man should live and act as if his life were tremendously significant, as if he were a co-worker of God in creation, as if his soul and mind were boundless in their capacities, and in their influence reaching distant shores and extending far into the future.

One of the sages of Israel long ago, employing the rich imagery which so often characterized their utterances, declared: "When a man goes forth on his way, a troop of angels precedes him and proclaims: 'Make way for the image of God, blessed be He.'"

While Judaism demanded much of man in terms of duty and sacrifice, it gave much to him in terms of status, dignity and inalienable rights. "Every man has the right to say," declared an inspired teacher of Israel, "for my sake was the whole world created." A sense of kinship with God "crowned man with glory and honor" and made him "a little lower than the angels."

The poet of American democracy, Walt Whitman, asserted: "The whole theory of the universe is directed unerringly to one single individual - namely, to you." This is the heroic dogma of American democracy which derived its inspiration and sanctions from the Judaic-Christian tradition. Religion always addressed itself directly to the individual: "I am the Lord, thy God!" It always held inviolate for man a relationship with God which transcended all his other relationships with society.

Our age, unfortunately, makes little of the individual. His personal life is not very important. Men are considered impersonally in the mass. Increasingly they are becoming statistics in the hands of a predatory collectivism. They are shunted about like herds of cattle. They are slaughtered in the millions. They are coordinated and subjugated to the state until the last vestige of their freedom and their rights vanishes. Because the religious basis of our society has been denied, and materialistic theories of life and history have taken hold of the thoughts and actions of men and governments, the stature of the individual, and with it, his rights and inherent dignity, have suffered tragic abatement and diminution in our day. Every precinct of his life has been invaded and violated. Having denied to man the image of God, he has been given the mask of the robot.

Because man is regarded as unimportant and possessed of no rights which are inherently and inalienably his, subject to no veto either of the state or of society, it has been possible in our day for usurping parties and governments to achieve the expropriation or even the extermination of whole classes and people of whose political and economic views and interests they did not approve. Our age has witnessed the appalling mass slaughter of millions of men, women and children because of some insane race theories held by a totalitarian government. It has been experiencing recurrent waves of dangerous mass propaganda steeped in hate and bigotry, and aimed at depriving the individual of his dignity, equality and freedom. We have been swinging into an ever-widening orbit of intolerance.

Our civilization today lacks compassion and mercy because man, the individual, is condemned. He is seldom thought of as an end in himself, but as a tool for something or someone else - the state, the party, the system - to be used, abused, broken and cast aside.

We are moving into dangerous times as mankind gropes for a solution of its grave economic problems and seeks to find a fair balance between social control and individual enterprise, between authority and freedom. Unfortunately, we are moving into these dangerous times with little love in our hearts and with little respect and

regard for man as such. We are spiritually unprepared for the enormous task.

What our age needs is a new mood and point of view - a renewed faith in the individual, a new reverence for his spiritual sovereignty and the inviolability of his personality, a new covenant with character.

This is what Judaism and the classic religions of mankind have been teaching all the time. Unfortunately, these teachings have gone unheeded most of the time, and most especially in our time. Hence, the "drooping of the soul" of our age and our low morale. Hence, "the line of confusion which has been stretched over it, and the plummet of emptiness..."

The call to our age is the ancient prophetic call: "Make you a new heart and a new spirit; for why will ye die...turn yourselves, and live."



MESSAGE OF ISRAEL



UNION OF AMERICAN HEBREW CONGREGATIONS UNITED JEWISH LAYMAN'S COMMITTEE INC.

UNION HOUSE OF LIVING JUDAISM, 838 Fifth Ave., New York 21, N. Y., Templeton 8-2223 or Regent 7-8200

AMERICAN BROADCASTING COMPANY

Every Sunday, 10-10:30 A.M., New York Time

DAVID J. WISE, Radio Director

THE OLD AND THE NEW

Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver

November 11th, 1951

There are people who, discouraged and frustrated, surrender themselves to defeat. They then proceed to rationalize their surrender in one way or another. It is not worth the effort, anyhow. Life is cheap and meaningless. Man is caught in a hopeless trap.

There have been and still are religions which declared that man is governed by fate, and that it is, therefore, hopeless or even impious to try to change what has been decreed. These beliefs and philosophies make man subject either to the compulsion of impersonal nature, or to the influence of the stars or planets, or to his own past irrevocable acts or to the unaccountable willfulness of some divinity. Judaism denies and rejects them all.

The problem of human freedom was not unknown to the thinkers of Judaism, and they were not unaware of the difficulty in reconciling man's freedom of choice with God's omniscience. But the intellectual difficulty which they encountered in their effort to solve this problem - one of the many unsolved problems and contradictions which abound not only in the field of religion but in the field of science as well - did not move them to commit the grave error of denying free will to man altogether.

They realized that there were limitations to human freedom, but they also realized that there were vital areas in which man was free - in which man had a vivid intuition and experience of freedom. Because the boundaries between what was free and what was determined were not clearly defined, man should act as if they did not constrict him at all insofar as his moral initiative was concerned. It is man's duty to develop freedom within himself just as it is his duty to develop his mind and reason although they, too, have their limitations.

It is part of recorded history that man has, by dint of his will and exertion, increased his physical security on earth and the amenities of his life, diminished want and poverty, and improved health and education - and there are no visible limits to such improvements. Man has within his limitations been able to accomplish much which he never would have accomplished had he accepted literally the idea "That that which is crooked cannot be made straight and that which is wanting cannot be filled, and there is nothing new under the sun."

Judaism proclaimed to the world the liberating doctrine of moral freedom, and therefore, also of moral responsibility. "See, I have set before thee this day life and good and death and evil. Therefore, choose life that you may live, you and your seed."

The cost of this mailing is \$3.00 a year. This and other expenditures involved in our national weekly broadcasts are made possible only by your continued voluntary support. Your contributions enable us to maintain the high quality of this program.

RABBI JONAH B. WISE

Not only is man free and able to renew himself, but in this enterprise towards newness and regeneration lie the meaning and significance of his life. Concerning all the things which God created in the first days of the world, the Bible says, "And God saw that it was good." The creation of light, the firmament and of all the beasts of the earth are characterized as good and very good. But of the creation of man, it is not said that it was good. Because, say the Rabbis, man was not created perfect, but perfectable. His destiny is to perfect himself and his world - regardless of the struggle, the strain and the sacrifice.

Man should reach out for newness. The new is not always the true, but neither is the old. Scientific text-books are out-dated and discarded almost every few years. At this very moment science is going through a most revolutionary reorientation. An altogether new set of principles concerning the nature of the universe, of time and of space, and concerning the origin of matter, energy, life and consciousness is being propounded. The truly scientific mind is humble and eager for new ideas which can help to explain more accurately the nature, the origin or the relation of the things and forces in nature.

This unfortunately is not the case when it comes to the social life of men, or to their personal lives, their economic arrangements or to international relations. Here they cling tenaciously to old arrangements, old ways and out-dated philosophies. Here they resent the prophet of new ideas. They seek to discredit or destroy the spokesman of unpopular new doctrines. He is denounced as the disturber, the enemy, "the man of the spirit is made."

It is for continuous newness in these realms of human life that Judaism pleads. Our faith urges us to make unendingly new covenants with a better life and advancing social life, and not to be content with the past. For while there was much good in the past, there was also much evil in it. Our faith urges us not to be content with the present, for while there is much good in the present, there is also much evil in it.

Our present age is tired and afraid. There are no great liberating ideals sweeping over our world today. On the one hand there is a fearful dictatorship which has been clamped down upon a large section of mankind. This dictatorship is certainly not new. It is a dark and savage tyranny, a throw-back to ancient forms of bondage and to the most ruthless voodoo disciplines of primitive society. It is the dead hand of the past, but deadlier by far today because it is mailed in science and technology. On the other hand, freedom and democracy have lost their revolutionary fires, their crusading zeal. They are on the defensive. They are building a Maginot line around themselves, as a defense against an aggressive Communism. They are joining hands and seeking allies among their unreconciled enemies. They are not trying to build a world-wide fraternity of freedom-loving peoples, united by common needs and aspirations. They are attempting to cement with gold a military alliance of frightened governments. Democracy is no longer the mighty faith which in the golden prime of its youth shook the foundations of the world, toppled kingdoms and empires, and broke the chains of enslaved peoples everywhere. They seem to have become old institutions fighting for survival, neglected shrines at which the fires of dedication and sacrifice are burning low unto extinction.

All this is sad to contemplate. For in essence democracy and freedom represent the very newness and freshness of human life, the eternal springtime of humanity. Unfortunately, we have become so accustomed to them that they have lost their spell over us. The poet Shelley somewhere speaks of "the film of familiarity". It is this "film of familiarity" which tragically screens today the great ideals and institutions of mankind - liberty, self-government and the inalienable rights of man - which in the past kindled the spirits of generations of men with high exaltation, ardor and devotion.

We must begin to see them again with new eyes. Herein lies our salvation. There

are times when our liberties are threatened by foreign foes, but most often they are determined from within, by ourselves, because we lose our faith in them or because of fear, or panic, or impatience, or the disastrous lure of expediency.

Democracy will not be saved for mankind by destroying Communism, nor will we stop tyranny abroad by stifling freedom at home. Mankind will ultimately destroy Communism by living and practicing courageously the exacting mandates of political, social and economic democracy. It is not in Korea where the issue of freedom versus dictatorship will be settled, but in every town, village and city in our beloved country, and in the way of life of every individual citizen here and in every other democracy on earth. The global strategy of democracy begins at home. Our expeditionary forces will do nothing to save it, if it collapses at the base.

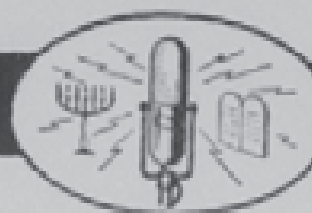
We must renew our faith and our dedication to our own ideals and set about rectifying all that we know to be wrong. We should dare to experiment with new forms of economic and social life while employing all the time the tried methods of democracy. Democracy is a permanent, peaceful revolution! It anticipates unrest by timely change and adjustment. Ours is not yet the perfect society. There is still much of poverty, exploitation, bigotry, crime, vice, and group and class hatreds in our midst to justify any complacency on our part. We need but read the published records of broken homes, of juvenile delinquency, of moral deterioration, of gambling, of police and official corruption, and of influence peddling in high places to realize that, in practice, our democratic society is both imperfect and gravely menaced. The road is still long, but it is an open and a promising road.

"The real slavery of Israel in Egypt was that they had learned to endure it," declared one of our sages. The danger lies in our acceptance as inevitable, what is inadequate in ourselves, in our country or in society.

The curtain may be falling upon a dying world. It may be rising upon a brighter and better world. What our religion is trying to tell us is that we alone can determine whether it shall rise or fall, even as we alone must devise the plot, write the words, and act the parts. The whole drama of social life is of our own composition.

It all depends upon our wisdom, our courage, our faith.

MESSAGE OF ISRAEL



order
received

UNION OF AMERICAN HEBREW CONGREGATIONS UNITED JEWISH LAYMAN'S COMMITTEE INC.

UNION HOUSE OF LIVING JUDAISM, 838 Fifth Ave., New York 21, N. Y., Templeton 8-2223 or Regent 7-8200

AMERICAN BROADCASTING COMPANY

Every Sunday, 10-10:30 A.M., New York Time

DAVID J. WISE, Radio Director

THE ROAD AND THE GOAL

Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver

November 18th, 1951

In the 19th century, wrote Victor Hugo, war will be dead, the scaffold will be dead, hatred will be dead, frontiers will be dead, royalty will be dead, dogmas will be dead, and man will begin to live.

But here we are half-way down the 20th century and war is not dead, the scaffold is not dead, hatred is not dead, frontiers are not dead, royalty is not dead, dogmas are not dead, but man is beginning to die. The vista which stretches before our generation today ends at the edge of a wilderness. For years now men have lived in a world of mounting hate, intolerance and bigotry, of revolutions, invasions, war, amidst the slaughter of millions of their kind. Great peoples have destroyed their liberties and enslaved themselves. Millions of men cower today in terrorized submissiveness. The wealth of nations is being drained in wars and in preparations for wars.

The human spirit stands today frightened, weighted down with apocalyptic foreboding as if awaiting the crash of doom. The thoughtful among men have accordingly begun to search earnestly for a road away from disaster. They are seeking desperately to rediscover that vision which was somehow lost amidst the brilliant pageantry of scientific achievement in the last century to the hurt and sorrow of the world. They understand now what the wise men of the earth have always known, that increased knowledge does not necessarily mean increased goodness or happiness, that facts are not in themselves blessings, that truth can make us mad as well as free, that the prolongation of human life is not the same as the improvement of human life, that the acceleration of a process does not always insure a finer product, that change does not necessarily spell progress and that democracy, as Lecky pointed out more than half a century ago, may often destroy liberty. They realize now that the fault is not with science or education or democracy as such, but with the interpretation which men have put upon them, with the omnipotence and autonomy which they have ascribed to them and with their failure to understand that science, education and democracy are means, not ends in themselves.

What has been tragically missing in our civilization is the compelling and unifying faith in the great human goals which religion and religion alone has set for mankind, and towards the attainment of which science, education and democracy should contribute if they are to fulfill their chief functions. Mankind lost sight of these goals; therefore, human progress today has no clear direction. Good material and good tools are not enough for the builder. The builder must have a plan. To build a noble and enduring society it is not enough to have wealth and knowledge. Mankind must have an architectural plan, and that only the spiritual vision of man has designed. Mankind must also have the will and the loyalty to follow this plan, and that the moral sense of mankind alone can provide. Without faith in God, the reality of the spiritual vision as well as the moral sense in man are quickly denied and rejected.

The cost of this mailing is \$3.00 a year. This and other expenditures involved in our national weekly broadcasts are made possible only by your continued voluntary support. Your contributions enable us to maintain the high quality of this program.

RABBI JONAH B. WISE

But our faith cautions us against pessimism and despair. Pessimism is a form of atheism for it omits God from man's calculations, and it omits the God that is in man. "Share thy burden with the Lord, and He will sustain thee," says the Psalmist. Man should continue to strive and aspire, to build again and yet again upon the ruins of his many broken hopes and dreams.

We cannot see beyond the horizon of our own times. What lies ahead, no one knows. But Judaism constantly reminds us that beyond all horizons, there is God.

The stars and planets were there and all the moving constellations before man ever recognized them. In the dark imprisoned mind of the cave dweller in the dawn of time, there already lay impounded all the marvelous achievements of man that were to come, all that he could not see, nor grasp, nor understand - all that he would have refused to believe - the inventions and discoveries, the power and the mastery, the worlds of music, song and poetry, of philosophy and science. In the mind of that primitive cave dweller there was already contained, as in a seed, all the blossoming and flowering civilizations that were to come, but he could not see the shape of things to come. He could not penetrate the curtains which enshrouded his immediately visible and empirical world. He would have been justified in a total pessimism about the future of mankind far more than we of this generation. For we, after all, have a long recorded past to contemplate, a past which, in spite of all its turns and windings, did lead mankind forward to amazing achievements. We are warranted in reading in the past both heartening prologue and prophesy.

On the surface of things it looks as though our times are not propitious for moral optimism or idealism. There is a danger of a defeatist mood sweeping over our people, especially our young peoples, a mood of "Oh, what's the use!" Just six short years ago we were at war, and now we are at war again! We defeated one dictatorship only to be confronted with another. Again our lives are being dislocated. Again we are being separated from our homes and our careers. Again the draft, the camps, the uniforms and the casualty lists! What have all of us experienced since 1914 but wars and revolutions, class struggles, the extermination of millions, violence, hate, plottings and propaganda. All about us one hears nothing but the talk of cold wars, shooting wars, preventive wars! We are today re-arming our former enemies and mobilizing against our former allies. What hopeless, disastrous confusion! Why speak of building a better world and why challenge men and women to clean up such a cloaca maxima - such a dreggy, slimy world!

We shall be utterly lost if we give way to such despair and cynicism. Our age is not the worst of all ages. In many ways it is a great age - one of the greatest. The mind of man is scoring epochal triumphs, revolutionary advances. It is his spirit which is lagging. Hence, the pulling apart, the tensions, the discords, the pessimism. There were darker ages than ours and from them mankind nevertheless emerged to clearer days and brighter prospects. It is important for us to raise our sights and look far ahead.

Ours may well be the dread, dark hour of uncertainty and hesitation before the dawn of a new and happier age, an age of greater peace, security and well-being for the whole of mankind. Long and cruel centuries of human greed and oppression, of exploitation, imperialism, and the enslavement of nations and races do not end peacefully and do not gently pass over into a new age of freedom, justice and order without a terrible and painful wrench. Such times are times of trouble and upheaval, of the clashing and confounding chaos of ideas.

But the work of the world is nevertheless going on in spite of the confusion and strife. Many oppressed peoples which have long been denied their freedom, have achieved or are in the process of achieving their independence. They are on the road to a

(over)

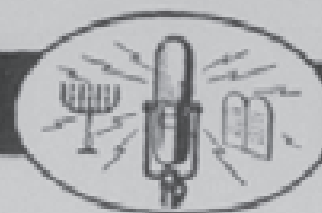
new and better life. The long-exploited masses of the earth have gained and are gaining in our day greater competence, security, dignity, and a higher standard of living. Knowledge is increasing and so is the health of the race. Determined efforts are being made by brave and undiscouraged men everywhere and by nations to find the way which will lead both to freedom, social stability and international peace. Long and hard is the way and many are the pitfalls, but there is a way, there is a goal, and the faithful sons of light do follow it unweariedly. They know the goals which they seek and will not be swerved from them.

We cannot always wait to do the thing which needs to be done until we see the road clearly ahead of us. Sometimes we must act in faith, even when we do not know what lies immediately ahead. Sometimes we must move forward through mist and fog. "If we could know where we are," declared Abraham Lincoln, "and whither we are tending, we could better judge what to do and how to do it." And yet Lincoln was not deterred from action by the doubts and bewilderments which beset him. He did what had to be done with the material and the opportunities which lay at hand, trusting that what he was honestly striving to do was within the pattern of the true and abiding design of human progress.

"Thine is not the duty," declared our sages, "to complete the task, but neither art thou free to desist from it."

Judaism admonished us not to despair of the future, nor of our own strength, nor of mankind's inexhaustible spiritual resources nor of God's cooperation. If we continue to have love for man, reverence for the human spirit, and faith in its un-failing resurgence, we shall succeed in the end. This may be called mystical, but men do not live by the logical, but by the mystical. They do not die for the fact, but for the faith.

MESSAGE OF ISRAEL



UNION OF AMERICAN HEBREW CONGREGATIONS UNITED JEWISH LAYMAN'S COMMITTEE INC.

UNION HOUSE OF LIVING JUDAISM, 838 Fifth Ave., New York 21, N. Y., TEmpleton 8-2223 or Regent 7-8200

AMERICAN BROADCASTING COMPANY

Every Sunday, 10-10:30 A.M., New York Time

DAVID J. WISE, Radio Director

THE WALL AND THE BRIDGE

Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver

November 25, 1951

I have always been fascinated by bridges and walls. They have much to say. They are among the most fruitful and inspiring symbols in the speech and thought of mankind.

Walls have their definite value and purpose in human life. They give us shelter, security and privacy. They carve for us out of unlimited space which is too vast for us to dominate, a smaller area which we can subdue to our needs, and they enclose us in a manageable world which we can master. This gives us a sense of at-homeness and confidence which are good for us. Walls and fences often also serve a good purpose in defining beyond the peradventure of doubt and dispute what is ours and what is our neighbors. The poet Robert Frost put it: "Good fences make good neighbors." To the building of such walls for protection, privacy and ownership, there can be no objection. They are part of the necessary routine of civilized life.

But there are other walls which men erect which serve no such good purpose, but on the contrary, are harmful to the best interests of society.

There are, for example, walls which men set up between themselves and God. False philosophies are such walls - philosophies which maintain that matter is the whole and basic constituent of the universe, that mind and consciousness and all spiritual processes are only modes of matter. From these premises it is but a step to agnosticism and atheism. Those who hold such opinions beguile themselves into believing that their opinions are backed up by science; but science offers no props to atheism and no arguments for materialism. Men needlessly erect such walls which separate them from their God.

Sin is a wall. This is the very essence of sin - separation. "Your iniquities have separated between you and your God." Sin is self-banishment from a world where man can be at one and at peace with his Maker, and where man can be at one and at peace with himself. Sin is a wall of inner contradiction, a grievous disharmony which disintegrates personality.

There are other walls which men erect between themselves and their fellowmen. Selfishness is such a wall. A man barricades himself behind that wall. It becomes his prison wall. He fondly believes that this wall of self-centeredness will give him greater strength and security, and will insure him against being exploited and imposed upon. Actually it isolates him and shuts him off in loneliness from the great and exciting world about him.

Prejudice, intolerance, race and group hatreds are tragic walls which men build around themselves, and our age has unfortunately witnessed the erection of many such

The cost of this mailing is \$3.00 a year. This and other expenditures involved in our national weekly broadcasts are made possible only by your continued voluntary support. Your contributions enable us to maintain the high quality of this program.

RABBI JONAH B. WISE

forbidding walls. John Hersey significantly called the story which he wrote about the extermination of the Jews of Warsaw at the hand of the Nazis "The Wall". That wall behind which tens of thousands of brave men and women perished was the symbol of similar walls which Nazi racial intolerance set up all over the world. It led to the second World War. Millions were exterminated, cities and countries were laid waste, and the earth was filled with horror, death and desolation by these builders of hate-walls. The fomenters of group antagonisms are still active in the world today, even in our own country. Whenever there is unhappiness, discontent or unrest among men, these racial and religious bigots swarm out of their dark holes, sweep over the land and sow the dragon seed of suspicion and hate.

Sometimes even good and respectable citizens build walls around themselves, which are effective blocks to mutual understanding and good will. They build walls of social exclusiveness and snobbery. They segregate themselves in some illusory eminence and hug to their bosoms the delusion that they are somehow better than the common run of humanity. In the sight of God there are no blue bloods and no first families, no Brahmins and no untouchables - only children of the dust whose brief careers on earth may be made bright by the cultivation of the heart and mind, and who may find a measure of happiness in life by helping one another in goodness and love. This is to earn distinction, honor and security.

"It is better to be of a lowly spirit with the humble than to divide the spoils with the proud."

Our world is divided today by political walls and iron curtains. There are those who would build these walls still higher, who resent those who suggest ways for razing these walls and leveling them off. In every age there have been the wall-building doctrinaires, the exponents of the irreconcilable. Either I or you survive! No middle road - no meeting ground - no compromise! This, of course, is the fateful road to war, and wars only serve to erect new walls on the ruined foundations of the old.

There are nations which put their trust and security in strong walls, in impregnable Maginot lines, in Chinese walls. But they all crumble sooner or later. The mighty walls of Jericho fell and the broad walls of Babylon were utterly overthrown. "The Lord God hath a day upon every lofty tower and upon every fortified wall." A nation must not put its sole trust in armament, even as formidable as atomic bombs. The very strength of a nation often brings about its downfall. It becomes over-confident, over-bearing, precipitate; it drains its strength in numerous military adventures; its domestic economy breaks down and unrest and revolution finally weaken it and prepare it for ultimate defeat on the battle-field.

A nation should put its trust in the strength of its moral and intellectual life, the justice and fairness of its laws and institutions, the wellbeing and contentment of its citizens, the moral training of its youth, and the stability of its homes.

Judaism urges men to be builders of bridges rather than of walls. Life abounds in numerous tragic chasms and gulfs which separate men, in deep rivers and their swift, dark currents. Men must learn to build bridges across them and they are more difficult to build than walls. Charity, compassion, sympathy, magnanimity, great mindedness are such bridges. So is friendship; so is tolerance; so is brotherhood. "Love thy neighbor as thyself" is perhaps the noblest and most enduring of all bridges ever devised. "With malice towards none, with charity for all," is another bridge which an immortal American built across a river of blood and a civil war.

(over)

Every earnest effort at international understanding and cooperation is a bridge leading to the Kingdom of God, to the good society. The League of Nations was such a bridge. It collapsed. Bridges often collapse and must be rebuilt. The United Nations is such a bridge. It is in danger of collapse. We must see to it that it does not collapse. War is never a bridge. At best it is a Bridge of Sighs leading men from doom to death.

Prayer is a bridge - a bridge to God. Memory is a bridge - across the physically impassable gulf of death to our dear departed. As long as there is remembrance, there is no separation.

We must be builders of bridges. Within our own families we must never permit any wall to separate us, no misunderstanding, no selfishness, no faithlessness. We must draw our dear ones close to us - very close - with a network of highways of love and bridges of reconciliation, or we shall find ourselves lonely and defeated.

Our neighbor? We should knock at his door and build a bridge of neighborliness to him. "A great city is a great wilderness." Neighborliness makes it a community.

The poor, the weak, the stranger, the sinner? We must build a bridge and go to them. In a real sense we are all poor, weak, strangers and sinners. Even to our enemy we should build a bridge - a bridge of forgiveness. "Men should be as pliant as a reed, not hard as a cedar." declared our sages.

All life is a bridge - from birth to death, from the past to the future. Death may be but another bridge athwart the night of darkness to another dawn.

The whole magnificent ethical message of our great historic faith, Judaism, may be summed up in the challenging symbolism of walls and bridges.

STATEMENT BY RABBI ABBA HILLEL SILVER
of The Temple, Cleveland, Ohio
before the President's Commission on Immigration and Naturalization- October 6, 1952

Mr Chairman and Gentlemen of the Commission, I appreciate this opportunity to express my opinion with reference to the vital subject of our Immigration and Nationality Laws.

To establish at the outset a frame of reference, I should like to define the broad objectives at which legislation on this subject should aim. I believe our immigration and nationality laws should be just and humane, in keeping with our democratic heritage, our international commitments, and the moral values which we hold dear. Our immigration policies need, I believe, remodeling in accordance with these objectives.

First, we should eliminate the provisions in our immigration laws which discriminate against individuals because of their race or national origin. Public Law 414, (the McCarran-Walters Immigration and Nationality Act) preserves the dead weight of the National Origins theory. Our present quota system, based upon the long-outdated national origins of our population in 1920, largely favors Great Britain and Ireland in the annual allocation, whereas these countries did not utilize in the years between 1930-1948 the quotas allowed them, and the unused quotas were not reallocated to other countries. The countries of southern and eastern Europe are allowed small quotas in pursuance of the national origins system. Countries in Asia receive token quotas of about 100. Although the underlying theory of the national origins system is to determine quotas by place of birth, quotas for Asians are determined on the basis of race, no matter where they are born.

I believe that it is morally wrong to differentiate between individuals on the basis of race or national origin. Such discrimination is clearly not based upon the inherent worth of the individual, nor upon equal justice to all men. Our quota system and the racial discriminations in our new immigration laws as well as those of the 1920's were founded on the doctrine that "Nordic" culture was somehow superior to all others, and that certain nationalities and races were by nature inferior to others.

This doctrine has absolutely no scientific basis. There are no superior races. There are no races endowed by nature with superior qualities of mind and character. There are races more favored than others by circumstances, by environment, by geographic position, by the fertility of the soil, or by unusual wealth underneath the soil. There are differences between races, but no biologic gradation. The doctrine of racial superiority was used by the Nazis and Fascists as a cover for their vicious deeds in the last world war. Racial conceits and pretensions have frequently been used by the forces of privilege, darkness and reaction - and the great religions of mankind have always warned mankind against them. "God created only one Adam," declared a Jewish sage, "in order that in the future no man shall be warranted in saying: 'I come from better stock than you do.'" And Paul declared in a magnificent summary of the Judeo-Christian tradition on the subject of race: "The God that made the world and all nations therein, . . . hath made of one blood all nature and men to dwell on the face of the whole earth."

Most of us had hoped that political racial mythology died with the defeat

of the Nazis and Fascists in the last war. Unfortunately, that has not been the case - and even in our free democracy, grounded as it is in human equality, the ghost of that myth still rises to haunt us whenever we look at the new immigration and nationality law of 1952.

The national origins system and all racial discrimination should be dropped from our statute books for yet another reason. Racial discrimination creates disunity at home and resentment abroad. It interferes with our foreign relations and the role of international leadership which destiny has thrust upon us in recent years. It is one of the fundamentals of our political philosophy and an essential part of our foreign policy to treat all peoples alike, regardless of race or origin. We stand committed to the principle of fundamental human rights for all men alike. We gave expression to it time and again at United Nations conferences, in our very participation and acceptance of the Charter of the United Nations, in our activity in behalf of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights as well as the Draft Covenant on Human Rights. We cannot press for international acceptance of these principles and at the same time offend nations and races by discriminating against them in our own immigration laws. The time has come for the sake of principles, consistency and leadership, to scrap the anachronism of the National Origin Theory. Limit immigration to 154,000 annually, if you must - and personally I do not favor such a ceiling, for I believe that we can and should make a larger contribution to the solution of the world's pressing immigration and surplus population problem - but distribute 154,000 quota numbers to those who are worthy to receive them without distinction as to race, sex, nationality, language or religion.

Secondly, we should remove arbitrary and harsh provisions which are founded on suspicion of immigrants as such. I can only point to a few examples.

The new law expands the grounds for deportation and exclusion. It permits deportation and exclusion for vague and undefined reasons, and it authorizes procedures based on the opinions of consular officials subject to no review instead of established rules of law.

These provisions of the law are unfair. They are unfair because they vest absolute power in the discretion of administrators to deport and separate families. Where discretion is so absolute, injustice frequently ensues. Our laws should be founded upon humane consideration rather than upon suspicion, distrust, undemocratic procedures and arbitrary discretion.

Our national experience certainly does not warrant any fear or distrust of immigrants. We are a nation of immigrants. The story of immigration to the United States is the story of America itself - a story of the rise and growth of one of the greatest and most prosperous nations on earth, and of a government which has successfully maintained its democratic character and institutions for more than 175 years. Immigrants, coming from all parts of the earth, have made this nation; by their labor and genius made it rich and prosperous, and by their blood, defended it on the battlefields of war. America has had need of the immigrant as much as the immigrant has had need of America. And what has been produced in our country of material, spiritual and artistic value is to be attributed not to one or another national strain within our composite American life, but to all of them. In one way or another, they have all made significant contributions to the totality of American life.

In other regards, too, our immigration laws now upon our statute books should be revised. Aliens, should not, except as penalty for a crime and as punishment imposed by the judicial branch of our government, be subjected to banishment. Deportation is a very serious thing for a man who has lived in the United States. It is even more serious for an alien who has lived here since childhood or for one who has married here and reared an American family. Deportation deprives them of their homes, their families, and sends them, as it were, into exile. Certainly, there should at the very least be adequate judicial procedures in all such cases.

Each provision of our new law should be examined to determine whether it is required by pressing public necessity and by moral justice. Deportation and exclusion from the United States should be weighed with a thorough appreciation of their dreadful consequences.

Thirdly, our nationality laws should not create a category of second-class citizens. Today those who have become citizens through naturalization are told that they do not have the same freedom to stay abroad which is granted to native-born citizens. The naturalized citizen cannot return to his native land for more than three years, and in no event can he go abroad to other countries for more than five years. If he does, he loses his citizenship. The native-born citizen may go abroad without any restriction.

Finally, we should re-examine the proposed method of selecting immigrants. The application forms should not call for race or ethnic classifications in view of the immateriality of this information and the possibility that it may be utilized as a basis for discrimination. Public Law 414 also fails to grant non-quota status to the parents of American citizens, and people in this category are compelled to wait on quota lines before being granted permission to be reunited with their children.

The new law, in addition to making quotas available to aliens without regard to race and national origin, should also make quotas available to them more equitably. The new law makes a very large proportion of the quotas available to those with special skills, and may be so interpreted as to end all other forms of immigration. I believe that preferences may well be given to those with special skills, to parents of American citizens and to the spouses and children of aliens lawfully admitted for permanent residence, and to those fleeing persecution. I would grant these three categories a preference to the extent, say, of 50 per cent of the annual quota of 154,000 - if this is to be the quota. The remaining 50 per cent should be left open for the laborer, the mechanic, the farmer, the common man who came to America in the past and helped build our bridges, our roads, our factories, our industries, and whose children contributed to our culture and our civilization. Public Law 414, if it remains unmodified, may well cut off the immigration of the little fellow, the man of no superior education or technical training, who helped America become great. Those who today seek our shores carry gifts as great as any that earlier immigrants brought. Our quota system should be kept flexible so that we can continue to welcome these immigrants rather than to turn them away.

Nearly every great war leaves vast numbers of human beings uprooted, great numbers of people who have lost their families, who have no home to return to, no occupation to resume, who for many different reasons must seek to rebuild their lives elsewhere.

There was a time when a person who fled from persecution and tyranny in his own country could escape to a new world. Today a man who loses his country loses his place in the world, too. As a stateless person, he appears to have no status in the world community. The United States should take the lead in recognizing the peculiar dilemma of these unfortunates and in helping them.

If we are to be a good neighbor to the rest of the world, we cannot maintain the forbidding role cut out for us in Public Law 414. The time has come for us to remodel our immigration policy so that it conforms not to our fears, but to our hopes, our guiding historic principles and our role of leadership in helping mankind toward justice, freedom and peace.



Assembly Papers

**GOALS AND OUTLOOK FOR
JEWISH LIFE IN AMERICA**

DR. ABBA HILLEL SILVER
Cleveland



GENERAL ASSEMBLY • November 14-17, 1957
ROOSEVELT HOTEL • NEW ORLEANS, LOUISIANA

COUNCIL OF JEWISH FEDERATIONS AND WELFARE FUNDS
729 Seventh Avenue New York 19, N. Y.

THE GOALS AND OUTLOOK
FOR JEWISH LIFE IN AMERICA

By DR. ABBA HILLEL SILVER

Address at 26th General Assembly
New Orleans, La. -- November 14, 1957

I have been asked to speak on "The Goals and Outlook for Jewish Life in America." I submit that one may speak with greater confidence about the goals of American Jewish life than of its outlook, and about the short-range outlook than of the long-range one.

The present temper and tempo of our community life in the United States bespeak a vigor and a momentum which are likely to be maintained during the period which lies immediately ahead of us. The general climate of good will which prevails among the fellow citizens of our country and the pervasive prosperity in its economic life have combined to give our group life a relaxed sense of well being and a confident outlook.

SEES CONTINUED GROWTH OF AMERICAN JEWISH COMMUNITY

This has expressed itself in a trend towards a closer identification with the organized Jewish community and with generous support of the needs and institutions of Jewish life both here and abroad.

The outlook for the near-at-hand future is a continuation of this process of growth and participation. American Jews appear likely to maintain and to expand their social service agencies and to adjust and refine their techniques to meet the changing needs of the times and the greater knowledge derived from wider experience. The achievements of the American Jewish community in these fields have been admirable and they are not likely to diminish in the coming years.

There was a time, during the early years between the two world wars, when the overseas needs of our war-ravaged people had increased to such an extent that fear was expressed by some of the lay leaders in our welfare federations that the financial burden would prove too great for the giving capacity of our people and that our local institutions would suffer in consequence. These fears have proved groundless. The greater needs evoked a greater response -- an unprecedented response -- an out-pouring of generosity such as the world has never witnessed. This should have surprised no one who knew the traditions of our people which, from the most distant days to our own, has considered brotherly solicitude and loving kindness as the highest religious commandments, as, in fact, the consummation of all times.

Our religious institutions have also been expanding. Numerous synagogues, temples and religious schools are being built or enlarged. There is a marked increase in their membership rolls. Whether this is evidence of a significant religious revival of depth and duration, it is too early to say, but the fact certainly does not point to an ebbing and waning of spiritual strength. There is a growing demand for more intensive forms of education in our Sunday schools and afternoon schools. A significant increase has taken place in the number of Jewish day schools. Orthodoxy, too, whose early demise had so confidently been predicted, is demonstrating strength in the number of the schools and Yeshivas which it has established. Even our erstwhile intellectual nomads are returning from their wanderings in search of springs and palms in far off attractive but inhospitable oases and are settling down comfortably among their ancestral fields.

IDEOLOGICAL DIFFERENCES SOFTENED

The American Jewish community is well organized, perhaps even over-organized. Over-organization and over-building are a distinct liability. Not every good idea warrants a new building or a new campaign. While there exist, of course, many groupings and divisions among our people, such as are to be expected among more than five million people and especially among more than five million Jews, who have never been noted for their coagulatory propensities, there is presently not evident any catastrophic disunity which might prove dangerous in an emergency.

A generation or two ago, before the rapid deproletarianization of our immigrant Jewish population and before our people became predominantly members of the American middle class, their ideological differences were far sharper, more numerous and more stridently vocal than they are today. The economic shift has softened and moderated their one-time irreconcilabilities.

The major rift in the American Jewish community between Zionists and anti-Zionists, which filled our household with the clamor of dissension for more than a generation, has been spanned and bridged by the establishment of the State of Israel. A sense of historic responsibility, as well as of Jewish pride and loyalty come to prevail over abstract ideologies once the fateful chips were down. In the heroic struggle which immediately preceded the momentous decision in the United Nations and in the desperate battle days which followed, American Jews who were known as life-long opponents of the cause of the reestablishment of the Jewish State turned out to be among its most helpful friends. Many of them have since become leaders in many reconstruction tasks in behalf of Israel. It is true that some of them still wish to be known as non-Zionists. But no one will quarrel with them on that score. Even the Prime Minister of Israel, Mr. David Ben Gurion, claims that he himself is not a Zionist...

AMERICAN JEWISH UNITY CANNOT BE DISRUPTED

There remain, of course, a lingering few on the American Jewish scene, actuated either by fear or self-hatred, who are resolved to keep the dying embers of the old controversy smoldering at all costs. At times they resort to reprehensible acts of defamation and of bearing false witness against their fellow Jews. Fortunately, their numbers are too few and their bombilations too synthetic either to impress or to disrupt the unity which has been measurably achieved in American Jewish life.

It would be well for all American Jews to bear in mind that Israeli citizenship is not an article of export. The identification of the Jewish people, however, with the land of Israel and the hope of its restoration have been an article of faith of our people everywhere throughout the ages. Our aim in the future should be to maintain relationships with Israel which are friendly, fluid and non-cogmatic. It is easy to bedevil a spiritual and historic situation with clever or malicious dialectics but the consequences of it can only be harmful for everyone.

Of late, another small group, belonging to a belligerent ultra-orthodox wing, has attempted to sow dissension. It has blusteringly rejected any form of cooperation with other Jewish religious bodies and it has publicly ex-communicated rabbis who do not subscribe to their tenets. This form of fanatical clericalism, the American Jewish community cannot tolerate. There is room on the American scene for all sincere religionists, but they must win adherence and influence in an open and competitive field of ideas on the basis of their intrinsic merit and appeal and not through words and acts of bigoted contentiousness. They must learn to work

together, and, while remaining firm in their convictions, be respectful of those of others.

The annual campaigns in our communities for welfare funds of all kinds have greatly helped to bring Jews together -- Jews of all shades of opinion and from all walks of life. By so doing they have greatly integrated our community life. Jews have become acquainted with one another under the most favorable circumstances while engaged in benevolent enterprises -- at which time they are at their best. They have discovered many bonds of understanding and mutual respect. This has been one of the most gratifying by-products of our large-scale fund-raising activities. This, you will recall, is foretold in our Torah: "The effect of Zedakah will be peace and the result of Zedakah quietness and trust always."

The establishment of the State of Israel, a decade ago, has under-girded Jewish life everywhere. No new Torah has come forth from Zion, and no new Torah is needed, but a new spirit has most certainly come forth which has uplifted the hearts of our people everywhere. A new grace, compounded of pride, vindication and victory has come into our lives. For the first time in the many long and weary centuries our people is eating not the bread of affliction, of exile and homelessness, but the nourishing bread of freedom and independence which is as honey in our mouths and in the mouths of our children. Whatever is presently resurgent in American Jewish life cannot be disassociated from what has so astoundingly happened in Israel. The hands which laid the foundations of the new Jewish life over there and defended it with such superb and unimagined valor, have also strengthened the spiritual foundations of our Jewish life here. We are richly indebted to them as they, indeed, are indebted to us. May this mutual reenforcement never cease!

LONG RANGE OUTLOOK DEPENDS UPON WORLD CONDITIONS

The outlook, then, as far as the foreseeable future of the American Jewish community is concerned, in terms of unity, loyalty, and development, is favorable. While not ignoring or condoning its short-comings, the American Jewish community stands out today as one of the most wholesome and dynamic Jewish communities in history.

When one turns to the long-range outlook for the American Jewish community, one enters, of necessity, the field of speculation and prophesy, and here one should exercise the utmost of reserve and caution. One should not proclaim what has not been revealed. Dr. Samuel Johnson once remarked about the noted German mystic, Jacob Boehme: "If Jacob saw the unutterable, Jacob should not have attempted to utter it." There is much that is unpredictable in our world, and nothing is more unpredictable than the fortunes of the

Jewish people in a disturbed and revolutionary age. If one could plot the world's future with certainty, one could perhaps forecast the future of Jewish life, but no student of the contemporary world scene which is "swept with confused alarms of struggle and flight," where powerful forces are contending in mortal combat for world mastery, will undertake to plot such a course. It is not wise to predict nor to draw hopeful generalizations from wishful thinking. So much of blind irrationality transpires in our world today, that it is wiser to see in every situation not only a promise but also a possible presentiment.

Let us recall that the Jews of Western Europe were the victims of many such hasty generalizations in the closing decades of the 19th and the early decades of the 20th centuries. Those years were probably the most sanguine years that European Jewry had ever known. The era was one of progress and enlightenment. Jewish political, economic and social emancipation kept pace with the triumphant march of liberalism. Our people could see an open road ahead of them -- a road which led away from the dark ages -- from isolation, discrimination and disabilities -- to a new day of freedom and equality.

SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC UNREST IN EUROPE LED TO ANTI-SEMITISM

Soon they were rapidly forging ahead on this open road to the very forefront in the professions, the arts and sciences, in politics, finance and industry. They came to feel thoroughly at home -- and they loved their homes. It was a glorious age -- but it was not to last. Jewish emancipation was a by-product of European liberalism and with its decline which set in shortly after the Franco-Prussian War, the fortunes of our people began to decline. Social and economic unrest shattered the none-too-strong foundations of that liberalism. Nationalism, in most extreme forms, became rampant in Europe, and minority groups, and more especially the Jewish minority group, were its first victims. Economic disasters in several countries found the Jewish minority a ready scape-goat. Anti-Semitism became a political movement. Demagogues discovered it to be the surest way to ride into power. The catastrophic climax came, of course, in Fascism and Nazism, whose acts of horror and brutality perpetrated against the Jews of Europe, remain unparalleled in the annals of mankind.

But in the years which preceded this tragic denouement, many of our people in Western Europe believed that they were on the threshold of the Millenium and that the Jewish community might very well liquidate itself. They abandoned, some in stages and some more abruptly, their Jewish affiliations. They saw themselves as the enlightened champions of a new universalism, and of a

regenerate humanity which would forever be free from all the baneful dissensions of race and religion. Some Jews, of course, disencumbered themselves of their Jewish attachments out of less altruistic motives -- out of considerations of careerism and social acceptance.

This century of happy augury for our people in Europe ended in the gas chambers of Maideneck and Treblinka. The bright oracles did not fit the dark issues. What is even more disturbing is that this round of hope and despair, of progress and reaction was not a unique or unprecedented event in Jewish history.

AMERICA NOW "CENTER OF WORLD"

There is no reason, of course, to assume that this cycle is a constant, which like some dire and fateful refrain, must occur and re-occur inevitably in the future. This is a fatalism to which our people never subscribed and to which humanity cannot subscribe. This would be the negation of all human progress. Furthermore, it does not follow that the experiences of our people in the Mediterranean and the European centers must of necessity be duplicated in the new world, a world which in several other regards has moved in its own orbit. Nevertheless, it would not be wise to ignore the fact that our new world has, on occasions, experienced the passions and prejudices of the old world. We, ourselves, of this generation have witnessed it. America is different in many ways, but far less different than it was, far less isolated from the old world. It is no longer a distant land on the rim of a vast ocean. It is now the center of the world. Politically, economically and culturally it is inextricably bound up with the fortunes of the old world. And so is the American Jewish community as far as the consequences of this closer contact are concerned. An unfailing rule in the millennial experience of our people in the old world has been that in normal times of political and economic stability, of peace and prosperity, Jews are not greatly disturbed, but when conditions become seriously unsettled, for whatever reason, they find themselves suddenly and gravely menaced. Democracy is not of itself a guarantee of human brotherhood, of racial and religious tolerance.

MUST DEFEND "FREE INSTITUTIONS" TO INSURE SECURITY

A realization of these facts should be both an admonition and a challenge to us -- an admonition not to be too naive in our optimism or relaxed in our vigilance -- not to be snared by the baited sweetness of prolonged security -- and a challenge to defend at all times the basic traditions of American life which may at any time and, in fact, are frequently imperilled, and to resist to the utmost of our material and spiritual resources the forces of darkness and disruption both here and abroad. All days should be

embattled days for us, to an even greater degree than for other freedom-loving people.

To insure the future of the American Jewish community, it is imperative, in the first instance, to insure, through our constant vigilance individually and collectively, in cooperation with all Americans of good will, the future of the free institutions of our beloved country and the Bill of Rights of all of its citizens. Every attack upon the constitutional rights and the inalienable human rights of any or of all of our fellow citizens is, in an especial sense, a threat to the security and stability of the American Jewish community. Every intelligent Jew understands this, but not everyone is goaded by his apprehensions into effective action.

If we remain dedicated and alerted, not care-free in pleasant delusions, we may then be justified in planning and building for our future in the sober hope that the free way of life will not be defeated in our country or in the world, and that the new age of missiles, space satellites and nuclear power, will not divert humanity from its major task which is to build the good society on earth where every man will be able to "dwell under his vine and under his fig tree with none to make him afraid."

"BE THOU A BLESSING..."

And this brings me to the goals of Jewish groups in America to which I was asked to address myself. The goals of Jewish life, whether in America or elsewhere, have been set long ago and they have not changed since. When Abraham, the first Jew, set out upon his pilgrimage -- a pilgrimage which was to take his descendants to the uttermost parts of the earth -- God said to him, "be thou a blessing; and in thee shall all the families of the earth be blessed."

There was never any doubt in the minds of the leaders of our people in any age about the permanent goals of Jewish life. They concerned the establishment of the Kingdom of God on earth. This was the Berscha -- the universal blessing -- and Israel entered into an historic covenant to be for all times the plighted servant of this ideal, and faithfully to labor in its behalf in times of prosperity or adversity, in freedom or in servitude, in their national home or dispersed among the nations of the earth.

There are no other goals today, whether for the Jews of the United States or Israel, or elsewhere in the far-flung diaspora.

American Jews are part of world Jewry. We have no historic goals other than those of the Jewish people elsewhere and

everywhere. We abide as comrades of their spirit, even if we do not share in all the vicissitudes of their fortune. We feel the pulse of one fraternity. Not all Jews, of course, are conscious of these goals, nor were they in the past. But the people, as a whole, at no time abandoned these goals, nor questioned its covenanted role in history. The people as a whole, remained steadfast. It was the sustained and collective rhythm of its life. Various and conflicting explanations have been offered for this remarkable steadfastness -- some chose to call it incredible obstinacy, and for the vigor and inner force which maintained the people in its high resolve to live in the world and yet apart from it, to go forward alone, to be different and yet strive always for unity and brotherhood! But the steadfastness was an incontrovertible fact.

If ever the American Jewish community should isolate itself from the rest of world Jewry and from the spiritual and cultural past of the world Jewish community and reject the eternal mandates and the binding collective responsibility of Judaism, it will disintegrate slowly or swiftly, as the case may be, but disintegrate it will. We cannot long endure an existence without horizons. As a secular, ethnic or nationality group on the American scene, it is certain to be assimilated, after a time, as is the case with all such groups. Attractive ideologies apart, there is really no significant ethnic group on the American scene which is dedicating itself consciously to the concept of cultural pluralism.

The goals are set. How faithfully our descendants will follow a course which will lead to their attainment is unpredictable. There have been generations of Jews in parts of the world whose spirit was not steadfast. There have been others who "gave their backs to the smiters" and died as martyrs for their faith. There have been still other generations which were neither rebellious nor dedicated but which drifted aimlessly about in a spiritual no-man's-land. Whether the coming generations of American Jews will accept their historic assignments, and to what extent, will depend upon the nature of their Jewish education, their enlightened convictions and their undefeated Jewish pride.

SUPREME TASK IS JEWISH EDUCATION OF YOUTH AND ADULTS

And this brings us again, face to face, with the supreme and urgent task which confronts the organized American Jewish community today -- the Jewish education of our children and of our adults. There is a growing realization that this, in reality, is our supreme and imperative task -- and much is being done in that direction, but much more has yet to be done.

For the problem confronting us is no longer Americanization, nor immigration, nor even the pressing relief of our indigen:

That white

2

poor. We have passed beyond some of these problems and have the others fairly well in hand. The paramount problem today, over and above the proper maintenance of our welfare institutions and services, and of meeting our responsibilities to overseas needs and to Israel, where ~~myriads of our refugees, who had lost their homes~~ ^{the Jewish people} have found a Fatherland, is ~~the problem of~~ ^{the problem} inner spiritual and cultural consolidation so as to ~~insure~~ ^{insure} for the future not only the survival but also the effectiveness of our community. ~~The problem~~ is how to achieve a pleasant and contented at-homeness within our community for our children and those who will follow them, so that their Jewishness will not be regarded by them as the unshunable chains of an unwelcome fate but as the proud investiture of a high calling. It is not their accommodation to the American scene which needs concern us. They are fully accommodated, some of them, unfortunately, to its less attractive facets. It is their normal and wholesome identification with the Jewish community and their enlightened and eager participation in its tasks and obligations which should concern us. To this end they must be educated and inspired. Their self-consciousness as Jews -- if it is not to be an irritant -- must be refined through self-understanding, so that out of deep knowledge may flow strong devotions.

JEWISH EDUCATION IS RESPONSIBILITY OF ENTIRE COMMUNITY

To that end we need more schools and better schools, more teachers and better teachers, more books and better books, more youth centers and more Jewishly-oriented youth centers and more academies of Jewish research and scholarship. The responsibility is not exclusively that of the synagogue or the temple. It belongs to the entire community. Our Jewish world rests upon three things -- our sages admonished us -- not upon one. Not alone upon charity and works of loving kindness, but also upon worship -- and, above all, upon the study and the teaching of our Torah. To satisfy the hunger for bread is a great mitzvah, indeed, but what of the hunger of the spirit, the thirst for the living waters of faith? This need should be adequately met for the sake of ourselves and the equilibrium of our lives, for the sake of our children and the proper direction of theirs, and for the sake of America to whom we owe the best in life and service.

And Jewish education was never limited to children or to young people. It was regarded as a life-long discipline and a life-time privilege. The study of Judaism and of our people's history and its rich cultural treasures should, as far as possible, become an integral part of the life of every adult Jew, especially of those men and women who aspire either to lay or professional leadership in the Jewish community. In so doing they will replenish themselves in heart and mind with ever new strength and insights

and they will set a commendable and greatly needed example for others to follow. There will set in a diffusion of reverence for Jewish learning and Jewish values, and all our community enterprises will recapture the mood and flavor of the precious and distinctive way of life of our people.

If we look well to the mainsprings of our life, education and self-education, if our eyes remain steadfast in the direction of our eternal goals, if we do not isolate ourselves from world Jewry and from the possible sources of power and inspiration in reborn Israel, and if we remain actively mobilized to defend at all times the free institutions of our land, the American Jewish community may, by the grace of God, go from strength to strength and become, ~~in very truth~~, a Beracha, a blessing to itself and to America.

2

THE TEMPLE

CLEVELAND, OHIO

December 14, 1958

Vol. XLV No. 10



WHAT MAKES AND BREAKS A FAMILY—FROM THE RABBIS' DESK

So many have requested a copy of Dr. Silver's sermon on family life that we are taking advantage of this Bulletin to make it available to all members of The Temple family.

THAT families are breaking up everywhere in our American society is clearly apparent and gravely alarming. Ten million living Americans have been divorced. Three hundred and seventy eight thousand couples were divorced last year. For every three marriage licenses issued, one divorce suit is filed. America's rate of divorce is the highest in the western world and it is rising. There are six million children in the United States who do not live with both parents.

Now, why are so many home breaking up? Many valid explanations have been given. The family today, it is maintained, is a much smaller social unit, much more mobile and urbanized than heretofore. It is no longer buttressed by the extended family group which prevailed in rural America and in small towns and which still prevails in many European countries. A speaker at a recent National Conference on Social Welfare, Mr. Joseph H. Reid thus contrasted the family of present day America with that of yesterday. "We all know," he declared, "what that rural family was, but let us look at it again. It was a family that tended to stay put. It was usually composed of several generations as contrasted with the nuclear family of today—husband, wife, children, and perhaps a mother-in-law. It was the kinship or extended family that enjoyed the support, companionship, and cultural continuity of grandparents and great-grandparents, or aunts, and uncles, and cousins. It was a life of interdependence. People knew each other and aided one another. It was a small town where there were no strangers. It was a church with a pervading and powerful moral force on its constant congregation. It was a family in which each member had a recognized essential job, where the roles of wife and husband and child were well-defined and vitally important. It was a family which spent almost all of its time together, found its own mutually shared recreation, carried on much of its own education, transmitted its own cultural values, and was largely dependent upon itself for the production of the food and clothing . . . The elders were the home-grown marital counselors. This family provided its own baby-sitters, homemakers, and foster homes. When one of its members married, the new couple rarely left to fend for themselves. They simply became junior members of a well-established firm. Advice and supervision were always available and given freely. The family's social status was clear—to achieve and maintain respect, it simply had to support itself in decency, provide the essentials of life, be God-fearing. Its

SUNDAY MORNING SERVICE

December 14, 1958

10:30 A.M.

RABBI DANIEL JEREMY SILVER

will speak on

TO RECOGNIZE OR NOT TO RECOGNIZE— THE CHINA QUESTION

FRIDAY EVENING SERVICES

5:30 to 6:10

SATURDAY MORNING SERVICES

11:00 to 12:00

moral codes were clear and unrelenting, and enforced by all the community. It was necessarily the perfect family . . . but whatever its psychic difficulties, it was so constructed that it did not easily become disorganized and it was seldom subject to complete breakdown."

THAT was the family of yesterday. And what of today's family? "Today's family is a very different family. The couple married out of romantic love. Their marriage was not arranged, as it once would have been, by their parents. This couple see their own parents perhaps once a year, and the rest of the relatives, for the most part, exist only as an annual Christmas card. They expect to move, at least two or three times while their children are growing up, not infrequently to other states and even across the country . . . Family friends must be newly made, perhaps every two or three years. The family must establish its own status. Few know, and fewer care, what the grandfather had achieved or who

The Temple

Rabbis:

ABBA HILLEL SILVER

DANIEL JEREMY SILVER
Associate Rabbi
Director of Religious Education

HERBERT H. ROSE
Assistant Rabbi

Staff:

MILDRED B. EISENBERG
Ass't. Director of Religious Education

LEO S. BAMBERGER
Executive Secretary

MIRIAM LEIKIND
Librarian

A. R. WILLARD
Organist and Choir Director

A. M. LUNTZ *President*
LEO W. NEUMARK *Vice-President*
ELI GOLDSTON *Vice-President*
MAX EISNER *Treasurer*
EDWARD D. FRIEDMAN *Associate Treasurer*

MUSIC FOR SUNDAY

Organ	
Postal Piece	Schmink
Supplication	Prysinger
Six Preludes—No. 1	Bluch
Opening Psalm 122—I Was Glad	Moise
Bor'chu (Congregational)	Saleci
Sh'ma-Berach (Congregational)	Traditional
Mi Chomocho (Congregational)	Saleci
Kedusha	Pederlein
Silent Devotion—May the Words	Thatcher
Mrs. Strasser and Choir	
Before the Address—Ahavas Olom	Goldfarb
Mr. Humphrey and Choir	
Glenn-Vannachna	Goldstein

NELFTY CONCLAVE

The Temple High School will act as host for the annual North Eastern Federation of Temple Youth Conclave. This year this week end meeting takes place Friday, January 30 to Sunday, February 1.

In addition to local youth groups, some three hundred high school age out of town students will be our guests for the week end. The Temple is seeking to provide home hospitality for these young people. If you are able to house one or more of these students, would you please contact The Temple School Office, SW 1-7755, as soon as possible.

In Memoriam

The Temple notes with deep sorrow the passing of

PAULINE MILLER

and extends heartfelt sympathy to the members of her bereaved family.

the great-grandfather had been. No generation-established reputation follows the family . . . The traditional roles of husband and wife are no longer distinct and each family must find its own balance. The wife no longer has a clear-cut role. The demand for industrial workers has taken millions of mothers into industry. At the same time, her role as mother and housewife has been devalued—it is of low status. Often from her employment she may earn as much or more as her husband. The mores of the community, its patterns of sexual conduct, its standards and values are not so clear or so socially enforced as they once were. In essence, the family is alone, isolated, separated from relatives or those to whom it would be natural to turn for counsel. It must in large part make its own choices, vote its own decisions, establish its own values."

Thus the family today is, in a real sense, subjected to greater strains and tensions and to increasing responsibility. Greater stress is accordingly laid on *personal* relations, on husband, wife and children in our nomadic civilization. Fifteen million people in the United States move every year. In this urbanized civilization the family has become, as the author says, isolated and almost entirely self-dependent.

In the last generation, two World Wars contributed to the disorganization of family life in our country by uprooting and transplanting millions of men from their normal environments—from their customary ways of life, standards and disciplines, to camps or over seas. Divorces always rise sharply after wars. War and broken homes are closely related as cause and effect.

The emancipation of woman—however desirable that was—and her growing economic independence as the result of the increasing employment of women in industry undoubtedly have contributed to the divorce problem. The incidence of divorce is higher among working wives than among housewives. Seven million mothers in the United States are employed in industry—two and a half million of them with children under six years of age. All this has tended to aggravate the problem.

POVERTY, slums, prolonged unemployment and all their attendant miseries are also factors in this problem. Divorce is more frequent among the poor than among members of the middle class or the rich although it should not be overlooked that divorces rise during good times and decline during a depression. Divorces are by no means, as we all know, limited to the poor. Economic security is by no means synonymous with family security. But without a reasonable measure of economic security the resultant strains and stresses endanger the stability of the home and the family.

There are, of course, instances of fundamental maladjustment between man and woman, between husband and wife—some of them incurable maladjustments. Such people are better off divorced. No amount of conciliation by courts, or counselling by social agencies or the skill of the psychiatrist will help in such a situation. There has clearly never been established any basic union here to keep that marriage stable. In such cases Judaism countenanced divorce though it deprecated it.

But men and women do not always know whether their seeming maladjustments are really fundamental or whether they are only sharp differences and bitter misunderstandings, which may be resolved, given time and forbearance and the help of a wise counselor or a friendly agency. Every opportunity should therefore be given for reconciliation and reconciliation agencies should be available in every community. Cooling off periods should be made mandatory before suits for divorce are filed. Divorces are most frequent in the early years of marriage, before the cement, so to speak, of married life has had a chance to unite young people firmly and closely into an enduring life-companionship.

Many explanations can be given for the rising rate in broken homes—but, of course, an explanation is not a solution. These explanations simply point up the fact that it is more difficult today to preserve a sound family life than in the past, and that greater demands must therefore be made upon the character and the spiritual resources of those who would build a family and wish to preserve it.

THE solution is not in having new divorce laws, though a sharp reform in American divorce laws is long over-due. The solution, in my humble judgement—it is not a new solution by any means,—the great solutions of all modern man's problems are never really new—the solution lies in a full recognition on the part of the men and the women who enter marriage, of the new and heavier responsibilities which are involved in family life today, coupled with a stronger challenge to them to face up to these greater responsibilities. It is basically a matter of attitudes and dedications which the individual man and woman must personally assume. It is not a matter for courts or agencies or psychiatrists. When marriage reaches these agencies, it is already on the rocks. It may be salvaged, of course, through these instrumentalities, but marriage should never be permitted to reach that deplorable stage.

We seem to forget in this day that not everyone who sues for divorce is a neurotic in need of psychiatric treatment. Sick marriages are not always or even frequently the result of sick minds. They may be the result of immature minds, of lazy wills, of an unwillingness to face the burdens of partnership and the necessary adjustments of a new relationship. An immoral person is not necessarily a sick person—we seem to have forgotten this fact. *Faithlessness and adultery and gambling and excessive drinking and quarreling over money, and selfishness and rudeness*, which so often lead to the breaking up of homes—these are not diseases which can be clinically treated—they belong to the laboratory or the surgery inside the individual's own soul. The individual man or woman must prescribe the remedy. They must operate on themselves. That is the very genius of true religion. The mandate is given directly to the individual:—"Behold I have set before you this day life and the good and death and the evil—choose you life." It is the same challenge in all moral situations, and particularly in this great moral situation. The individual must direct his own life.

THERE is no successful marriage or home or family without a tremendous effort. In some instances the effort is less apparent than in others but it is always there. We all bring to our married life not only our initial love, devotion and dreams, but we also bring all of our imperfections, even though our first romantic love tends to obscure this simple truth.

Every human being is a compound of endless contradictions—every human being—of sharp angularities—of things rough and unpolished—just as in a real sense every human being possesses physical imperfections, of a greater or lesser degree with which and he must learn to live.

The great effort which men and women must make—and it is the supreme wisdom of life—is to grow into such a compassion that it will disregard the imperfections in one another, and will move them to share the strength which is theirs in order to heal each other's weakness. Not everybody is inclined to make that effort. It sometimes takes a very great effort to be a trifle blind to each other's defects, and to make allowances for common frailties. It takes a great effort to understand each other and, in patience and forbearance, to learn to give to each other what each one needs.

But we must make that effort—and I stress the word *effort*—for without it—no home, no family is secure. And we must make an effort not only to overcome our initial disappointments at not finding the perfection which we were looking for in our mate—a perfection which really does not exist anywhere in the world—but we must also make the effort to overcome the initial troubles, cares and adversities in economic fortune. Life is a strange journey and we never know how we will fare. Those who really want to build a home and preserve family life will learn how to draw closer together by the very ties of ill fortune and financial worries. In the long run, it is better to carry a load on our shoulders than a load on our hearts. The love which builds a home and a family is not exclusively a compound of sweetness and light; it is often distilled out of pain, and grief, out of tears and loss. It is often a light which breaks through a deep darkness. There are strange discords to its basic harmony. "Love is not love," said Shakespeare—"which alters when it alteration finds."

MEN and women are sometimes inclined to run away from these problems and to seek a solution in separation. But a solution is to be found not in escape but only in closer attraction—in firmer companionship and in a more determined sharing of burdens.

A family is strong when its members always try to cooperate and never seek to dominate. "Who is the boss in this family?"—is a fatal question. It should never be asked. The mere asking is already a *causae belli*. A sound family is one where each is free to express himself fully as an individual human being without endangering the family unity, when each assumes full responsibility for his or her role in the family and where none abdicates. Where the father says "I can't do anything about it" and the mother says the same thing, the child will proceed to exploit them both.

A sound home is where we treat each other as we would a welcome guest who has come to our fireside whom we welcome in a holiday mood. A sound home is one where no one feels neglected or alone or unappreciated or taken for granted. Many a home is wrecked on a gnawing sense of abandonment, of not being necessary. A friendly home is sound and always weather-proof—it looks on tempests and is never shaken.

It is not beyond the capacity of normal human beings to build such a home. But it requires effort—conscious effort. The greatest sins which we commit against one another are often the sins of thoughtlessness—the unpremeditated acts of thoughtlessness. The building of a home is an enterprise which calls for alertness and thoughtfulness, for the best, the strongest and the wisest in us.

I am not ignoring all those grave outer factors to which I referred at the beginning. They are there, and perhaps some solutions can be found for them but I doubt it. I am speaking of what the individual man or woman—young and old—can do for the home—the normal, individual man and woman. I am not talking of sick people who need the doctor's care.

For such a home and family it is well worth making a supreme effort. The effort never fails of reward and the harvest is rich. It will save us from drab days and from many empty years. It will shelter infancy and childhood. It will guide youth with firm and loving hands. It will inspire young manhood and womanhood with high standards and ideals by the enchantment of example, by what they see every day, by the mood and temper of the world in which they live and have their being. It will fill our mature years with stimulating companionship, with worth and confidence and dignity. And after a long and eventful voyage, it will enable us to reach a calm haven of golden memories and a long serenity. What more can we ask of life?

Without effort, all this is not possible. The mere act of marriage—the first hours or the first years of infatuation—are not an automatic guarantee of a blessed lifetime of home and family. They should be the beginning of sustained and continuous efforts to make the home a place where we will want to be, to which we will want to come back, around which loyalties will develop, and which later in life will inspire children to model their own homes upon the gracious and cherished pattern of their parental home.

ALL that I have told you is ancient wisdom—the wisdom of our fathers. It is because of this wisdom that our people was able, through cruel centuries of adversity, of wandering and of all manner of degradation to build a home and family life which was, up to recently at least, the envy and admiration of the world.

WE Jews ought to do our utmost to retain or recapture this wisdom. It will give us a quiet and noble sanctuary to shelter our souls and nourish our spirits.

Abba Hillel Silver

Published weekly except during the summer vacation.
Fifty cents per annum.

The Temple Bulletin
THE TEMPLE
EAST 105th ST. & SILVER PARK
CLEVELAND 4, OHIO
SW 1-7715

Second Class mail privileges authorized at
Cleveland, Ohio

DATES TO REMEMBER

Sunday, December 14 — Sunday Morning Services
High School Chanukah Dance

Monday, December 15 — Adult Hebrew Classes

Tuesday, December 16 — Temple Women's Association Tuesday Sewing
Mr. and Mrs. Club Tryouts

Wednesday, December 17 — Mr. and Mrs. Club Tryouts

Sunday, December 21 — Sunday Morning Services

THE TEMPLE LIBRARY is open Tuesday through Friday 9:00 A.M. to 5:30 P.M., Saturday and Sunday 9:00 A.M. to 12:00 noon.

THE TEMPLE MUSEUM will be open at the close of Sunday morning services in addition to all occasions of organization meetings. Arrangements to view the Museum by special appointment may be made through The Temple Office.

THE ISRAELI GIFT SHOP is open during all Tuesday Sewing sessions. Selections may be made at all times from the display case in the Ansel Road Lobby.

THE JOINT PALESTINE APPEAL

London, England

March - 1963

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver

I HAVE BEEN PRIVILEGED TO VISIT YOUR COUNTRY SEVERAL TIMES, AND ON AT LEAST THREE OCCASIONS ON SOME ZIONIST MISSION. THE FIRST OF THESE WAS BACK IN JULY, 1920, MORE THAN FORTY YEARS AGO. I CAME AS AN AMERICAN DELEGATE TO THE FIRST WORLD-WIDE ZIONIST CONFERENCE WHICH WAS HELD IN LONDON AFTER THE FIRST WORLD WAR. THE HEADQUARTERS OF THE MOVEMENT HAD BEEN ESTABLISHED IN YOUR CITY. THE ZIONISTS OF THE WORLD HAD BY THEN NOT MET IN SEVEN YEARS. MUCH HAD HAPPENED TO OUR PEOPLE AND TO OUR MOVEMENT DURING THOSE YEARS. JEWISH COMMUNITIES IN EASTERN EUROPE HAD BEEN SWEEPED WITH THE BESOM OF DESTRUCTION BY THE WAR AND ITS AFTERMATH AND BY THE DEVASTATIONS WHICH WERE CAUSED BY THE BOLSHEVIK REVOLUTION AND THE CIVIL WAR WHICH FOLLOWED IT. THOSE WERE THE DAYS OF KOLCHAK, DENIKIN AND PETLIURA, OF POGROMS, FLIGHTS AND TERROR.

OUR ZIONIST MOVEMENT HAD SUFFERED DISRUPTION IN SEVERAL COUNTRIES AS A RESULT OF THE WAR. CHANNELS OF COMMUNICATION HAD BEEN CLOSED. ACTIVITIES IN PALESTINE HAD, OF NECESSITY, BEEN DRASTICALLY CURTAILED. THERE WAS ONE BRIGHT SPOT, HOWEVER, ONE POSITIVE AND HISTORIC ACHIEVEMENT FOR WHICH THE WAR WAS RESPONSIBLE -- THE BALFOUR DECLARATION.

WHEN THE ZIONISTS MET HERE IN 1920, THE WAR WAS OVER, THE ALLIES HAD TRIUMPHED, AND THE PROMISES OF THE BALFOUR

DECLARATION LOOMED LARGE AND HOPEFUL~~LY~~ IN OUR DELIBERATIONS. IT WAS A TIME OF GREAT EXPECTATIONS FOR OUR MOVEMENT. BUT THE DARK SHADOWS OF THE TRAGIC PLIGHT OF EAST EUROPEAN JEWRY AND THEIR UNCERTAIN FATE WERE ALSO PRESENT.

I RECALL THE GREAT MEETING WHICH WAS HELD DURING THE CONFERENCE IN ALBERT HALL. THE GIANTS OF OUR MOVEMENT WERE THERE ON THE PLATFORM -- WEIZMANN, NORDAU, SOKOLOW, USSHISHKIN, BRANDEIS, AS WELL AS LORD BALFOUR AND LORD ROBERT CECIL. I WAS THE YOUNGEST MAN ON THE PROGRAM, AND I SPOKE FOR THE AMERICAN ZIONIST DELEGATION. FOR THE THOUSANDS WHO WERE IN ATTENDANCE, THIS MEETING WAS AN UNFORGETTABLE EXPERIENCE.

THAT GREAT ASSEMBLY WAS BY WAY OF A MUSTERING OF OUR SCATTERED FORCES, A RECONNAISSANCE OF OUR STRENGTH. ITS DOMINANT MOOD WAS THAT OF A SOLEMN RENEWAL OF A COVENANT, A REDEDICATION TO AN UNDEFEATED IDEAL. WE WERE ALSO DEMONSTRATING TO THE WORLD OUR FIRM RESOLVE TO CARRY ON.

THE SECOND OF MY VISITS TO YOUR COUNTRY WAS AT THE INVITATION OF DR. WEIZMANN IN THE SPRING OF 1942. I CAME HERE TO PARTICIPATE IN YOUR UNITED PALESTINE APPEAL CAMPAIGN OF THAT YEAR. I, MYSELF, WAS THEN HEAD OF THE UNITED PALESTINE APPEAL IN THE UNITED STATES. IT WAS A VERY DISTRESSING TIME 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. THE ENEMY WAS KNOCKING AT THE GATES OF INDIA AND

THREATENING AN INVASION OF AUSTRALIA. THOSE WERE TERRIBLE DAYS ALSO FOR OUR PEOPLE AND TRYING DAYS FOR OUR MOVEMENT. WHILE THE EXTENT OF OUR PEOPLE'S TRAGEDY AT THE HANDS OF THE NAZIS WAS AS YET NOT FULLY KNOWN, WE KNEW ENOUGH OF THEIR PLANNED EXTERMINATION OF EUROPEAN JEWRY TO BE FILLED WITH HORROR. OUR MOVEMENT WAS CAUGHT ON THE HORNS OF A TERRIBLE DILEMMA. ZIONISTS EVERYWHERE WERE, OF COURSE, SOLIDLY BEHIND GREAT BRITAIN AND HER ALLIES IN THE WAR AGAINST THE NAZIS, THE COMMON ENEMY AND THE ENEMIES OF CIVILIZATION. BUT OUR MOVEMENT WAS COMPELLED TO RESIST GREAT BRITAIN IN PALESTINE BECAUSE, AS THE MANDATORY GOVERNMENT, IT HAD SHUT THE DOORS OF PALESTINE AGAINST THE HOSTS OF OUR REFUGEES WHO WERE DESPERATELY SEEKING ASYLUM THERE FROM HITLER'S CONCENTRATION CAMPS AND GAS CHAMBERS. PALESTINE JEWS WERE LOYALLY FIGHTING IN THE ARMIES OF GREAT BRITAIN, BUT THE HAGANAH AND THE IRGUN, EACH IN ITS OWN WAY, HAD TO RESIST GREAT BRITAIN IN PALESTINE IN ORDER TO SAVE THE HAPLESS REMNANTS OF OUR PEOPLE FROM EXTERMINATION.

THOSE WERE THE DARK DAYS OF THE WHITE PAPER. I ARRIVED IN LONDON JUST TEN DAYS AFTER THE SINKING OF THE "STRUMA" -- THE SHIP WHICH CARRIED SEVEN HUNDRED JEWISH REFUGEES. IT HAD BEEN TURNED BACK FROM PALESTINE, AND HAD PERISHED IN THE BLACK SEA.

I EXPECTED TO FIND THE WAR-BESET AND SORELY TROUBLED JEWISH COMMUNITY OF GREAT BRITAIN DISTRAUGHT, AND AS FAR AS

ZIONIST ACTIVITIES WERE CONCERNED, ALL BUT PARALYZED. BUT, TO MY GREAT SURPRISE, I FOUND IT UNSHAKEN IN ITS LOYALTY TO THE ZIONIST IDEAL, FIRM IN ITS RESOLVE AND GENEROUS IN ITS RESPONSE. I VISITED TEN OF YOUR CITIES, SOME OF THEM RECENTLY BLITZED AND BADLY DONE UP. THE NIGHTS WERE MADE DARKER BY THE UNIVERSAL BLACK-OUT. BESIDES LONDON, I VISITED MANCHESTER, LEEDS, LIVERPOOL, BIRMINGHAM, GLASGOW, AND OTHER CITIES. EVERYWHERE I RECEIVED THE SAME IMPRESSION AND THE SAME WARM RESPONSE. I LEFT YOUR SHORES HEARTENED BY WHAT I SAW AND UPON MY RETURN TO THE UNITED STATES, I CONVEYED TO MY FELLOW-JEWS THERE THE INSPIRING IMPRESSIONS OF COURAGE, PERSEVERANCE AND LOYALTY WHICH I FOUND HERE.

THREE YEARS LATER I WAS BACK AGAIN IN ENGLAND. THIS TIME TO ATTEND THE ZIONIST GENERAL COUNCIL WHICH ASSEMBLED IN LONDON IN AUGUST, 1945. IT WAS THE FIRST TIME THAT THE ZIONIST GOVERNING BODY HAD MET SINCE THE LAST ZIONIST CONGRESS WHICH HAD BEEN HELD IN GENEVA IN 1939. THE SECOND WORLD WAR WAS NOW OVER. THE FULL STORY OF THE DISASTER WHICH THE WAR BROUGHT UPON EUROPEAN JEWRY WAS NOW FAIRLY WELL KNOWN -- THE STORY OF THE SIX MILLION WHO PERISHED, THE STORY OF MAIDANEK, TREBLINCKA AND AUSCHWITZ. THE FULL STORY, TOO, OF THE GRIM BATTLE WHICH WAS BEING WAGED BY THE JEWS OF PALESTINE AGAINST THE MANDATORY POWER COULD NOW ALSO BE TOLD. EMOTIONS AMONG THE DELEGATES RAN HIGH. THE PENT-UP BITTERNESS AND RESENTMENT OF THE WAR

YEARS NOW FOUND VENT IN DENUNCIATION NOT ONLY OF THE MANDATORY POWER AND ITS DISASTROUS POLICY OF THE WHITE PAPER, BUT ALSO OF THE OFFICIAL LEADERS OF OUR OWN ZIONIST MOVEMENT AND WHAT MANY CHARACTERIZED AS THEIR POLICY OF EXCESSIVE PATIENCE AND RESTRAINT. THE ISSUES WERE SHARPLY DRAWN, MODERATION VERSUS MILITANCY, REFUGEEISM VERSUS STATEHOOD, ONE HUNDRED THOUSAND CERTIFICATES VERSUS A JEWISH COMMONWEALTH. MANY DELEGATES FELT THAT IT WAS NOW OR NEVER. THE HOUR OF DECISION WAS FAST APPROACHING. A POINT HAD BEEN REACHED -- THE CRITICAL CROSS-ROAD IN OUR HISTORY -- WHERE OUR PEOPLE HAD TO THROW EVERYTHING IT HAD, ALL OF ITS FORCES, ALL OF ITS RESERVES INTO THE GREAT BATTLE. THEY HAD NOTHING TO LOSE NOW BUT THEIR ILLUSIONS.

ONE BRIGHT NOTE OF HOPE WAS SOUNDED AT THIS CONFERENCE. A SUDDEN CHANGE HAD COME ABOUT IN THE GOVERNMENT OF GREAT BRITAIN. THE LABOR PARTY HAD COME INTO POWER -- A PARTY WHICH HAD CONSISTENTLY FAVORED THE ZIONIST PROGRAM AND HAD EXPRESSED ITS OFFICIAL OPPOSITION TO THE WHITE PAPER. THIS NEW GOVERNMENT, IT WAS BELIEVED BY MANY, WOULD NOW SURELY REVERSE THE HOSTILE AND DISASTROUS TREND OF THE PAST YEARS. A NEW ERA WOULD BE INAUGURATED. THE DOORS OF PALESTINE WOULD NOW ~~SURELY~~ BE OPENED AND THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE JEWISH STATE WOULD PROCEED APACE.

THIS, AS YOU KNOW, WAS NOT TO BE. AN EVEN DARKER AND MORE DANGEROUS TIME FOR OUR MOVEMENT SET IN. THE LABOR GOVERNMENT

SHOCKINGLY REVERSED ITSELF. A PERIOD OF INTENSIFIED CONFLICT, VIOLENCE AND BLOODSHED IN PALESTINE QUICKLY FOLLOWED. UNABLE TO COPE WITH THE SITUATION ANY LONGER, THE MANDATORY GOVERNMENT FINALLY DECIDED TO PUT THE PALESTINE ISSUE IN THE LAP OF THE UNITED NATIONS. THE POLITICAL BATTLE-GROUND NOW SHIFTED FROM LONDON TO WASHINGTON AND FLUSHING MEADOWS. THE LARGE AND INFLUENTIAL AMERICAN JEWISH COMMUNITY MOBILIZED ITSELF ALMOST TO A MAN FOR THE CULMINATING POLITICAL EFFORT. THERE FOLLOWED THE DRAMATIC TRIUMPH OF OUR CAUSE IN THE UNITED NATIONS ON NOVEMBER 29, 1947, AND THE PROCLAMATION OF THE STATE OF ISRAEL ON MAY 14, 1948.

AND NOW IN 1963, I AM IN YOUR MIDST AGAIN, AND ON BEHALF OF THE SAME CAUSE WHICH BROUGHT ME TO YOU TWENTY YEARS AGO AND FORTY YEARS AGO, BUT, WHEREAS IN THOSE YEARS THERE WAS ONLY THE HOPE OF PALESTINE TO SUMMON AND CHALLENGE US, TODAY THERE IS THE REALITY OF THE STATE OF ISRAEL. THROUGH ALL THOSE HARD YEARS OF STRUGGLE, FRUSTRATION AND UNCERTAINTY, WE WITNESSED WHAT OUR CABALISTS MIGHT HAVE CALLED A SERIES OF EVOLVING WORLD^S OF EMANATION, WHICH AT LONG LAST LED TO THE FINAL STAGE, TO THE WORLD OF "ASIYAH", THE WORLD OF FULFILLMENT, REALIZATION AND ACTION WHICH WE BEHOLD TODAY.

THROUGHOUT THOSE YEARS, THE ZIONIST IDEAL REMAINED STRONG AND CONSTANT AMONG YOU. UNDER ALL CHANGING CIRCUMSTANCES YOUR LOYALTY AND ZEAL WERE UNFLAGGING. YOU GAVE OUR MOVEMENT

UNFORGETTABLE LEADERS AND FOREMOST AMONG THEM, DR. CHAIM WEIZMANN. EVEN WHEN ONE WAS CONSTRAINED TO DIFFER WITH YOUR LEADERS ON TACTICS AND STRATEGY, ONE NEVER QUESTIONED THEIR SINCERITY AND DEDICATION. YOU ALSO GAVE OUR MOVEMENT UNWEARIED VIGILANCE AND GENEROUS FINANCIAL SUPPORT. WHEN THE OCCASION DEMANDED IT, YOU DID NOT HESITATE EVEN TO CHALLENGE YOUR OWN GOVERNMENT IN BEHALF OF WHAT YOU BELIEVED TO BE THE JUSTICE OF OUR CAUSE. THE JEWS OF GREAT BRITAIN HAVE WRITTEN A PROUD AND NOBLE CHAPTER IN THE HISTORY OF OUR PEOPLE AND OUR TIMES.

IT IS NOW FIFTEEN YEARS SINCE WE MOVED INTO THE ORBIT OF THE "ASIYAH" WORLD. THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE STATE OF ISRAEL IN 1948, AFTER NEARLY TWO THOUSAND YEARS OF NATIONAL HOMELESSNESS, MARKED A DECISIVE BREAK-THROUGH IN JEWISH HISTORY -- THE TREMENDOUS CONSEQUENCES OF WHICH ONLY THE FUTURE WILL FULLY REVEAL. BUT IT IS CLEAR, EVEN NOW, THAT A NEW DAY HAS BEGUN FOR OUR PEOPLE. THE GALUT HAS COME TO AN END AND WITH IT MUCH OF THE SPIRITUAL AND PSYCHIC EVILS WHICH ATTENDED IT. AN INNER REVOLUTION HAS TAKEN PLACE IN THE LIVES OF OUR PEOPLE EVERYWHERE -- A NEW OUTLOOK, NEW ATTITUDES, A REDISCOVERED DIGNITY, A REBORN PRIDE.

THESE FIFTEEN YEARS HAVE BEEN TREMENDOUS YEARS FOR OUR PEOPLE IN ISRAEL, GLORIOUS IN PLANNING, IN ACHIEVEMENT, IN DEFENSE. NO AGE IN JEWISH HISTORY IS QUITE COMPARABLE TO IT.

SO MANY FEARS HAVE BEEN PROVED GROUNDLESS, SO MANY HOPES HAVE BEEN EXCEEDED, SO MANY MYTHS HAVE BEEN EXPLODED,

THESE FIFTEEN YEARS HAVE BEEN YEARS OF TESTING. WE ^{HAD} WRESTED FROM A RELUCTANT WORLD THE RIGHT TO BECOME ONCE AGAIN A FREE AND SOVEREIGN PEOPLE IN ITS OWN HOME. NOW IT WAS UP TO US TO DEMONSTRATE OUR TALENT AND ENDOWMENTS FOR THE ROLE IN WHICH WE WERE NOW CAST. THE WORLD AND WE, OURSELVES, WAITED TO SEE WHETHER THE JEWISH PEOPLE POSSESSED THE CAPACITY, THE COURAGE, THE PERSEVERANCE WHICH ARE REQUISITE FOR THE BUILDING OF A STATE. THROUGH THESE YEARS, THE WORLD AND WE, OURSELVES, WITNESSED WITH MOUNTING WONDER AND ADMIRATION AN UNFOLDING DRAMA OF A PEOPLE'S INGATHERING AND OF NATIONAL RECONSTRUCTION SUCH AS MANKIND HAD SELDOM, IF EVER, WITNESSED. DURING THESE YEARS ISRAEL HAS MADE GOOD, AND IN A BREATH-TAKING WAY, ON LAND, ON SEA AND IN THE AIR, IN CITY, TOWN AND VILLAGE. IN SWAMP AND WILDERNESS, IN SCHOOLS AND ACADEMIES, IN SOCIAL SERVICES, IN THE REVIVAL OF A LANGUAGE AND A LITERATURE. ISRAEL HAS ALSO MADE GOOD ON THE BATTLE-FIELD, TO THE AMAZEMENT OF ITS FRIENDS AND THE CONFOUNDING OF ITS ENEMIES.

MANY PROBLEMS STILL REMAIN -- SOME OF THEM VERY GRAVE ONES INDEED. BUT THEY ARE OF AN ALTOGETHER DIFFERENT NATURE FROM THOSE OF FORMER TIMES. THEY ARE NO LONGER THE DESPERATE PROBLEMS WHICH FLOWED OUT OF OUR CONDITION OF NATIONAL HOMELESSNESS AND STATELESSNESS. RATHER ARE THEY THE CONCRETE PROBLEMS OF DEVELOPING, DEFENDING AND MAKING PROSPEROUS A

NATIONAL HOMELAND WHICH IS ALREADY IN EXISTENCE. WE CAN PROCEED TO SOLVE THESE PROBLEMS, ONE BY ONE, WITH DELIBERATENESS AND HOPEFULLY, NOW THAT THE MAJOR PROBLEM HAS BEEN SOLVED. WE CAN NOW OPERATE FROM A POSITION OF INDEPENDENT STRENGTH AND ALSO AS A MEMBER OF A SOCIETY OF NATIONS.

IT IS THE NEED TO SOLVE SOME OF THESE CONCRETE PROBLEMS OF THE STATE OF ISRAEL'S DEVELOPMENT, DEFENSE AND ECONOMIC STABILITY THAT BRINGS ME HERE IN THE HOPE OF ASSISTING IN THE CAMPAIGN FOR THE J. P. A., WHICH YOU HAVE LAUNCHED.

MY DEAR FRIENDS: WHENEVER I ATTEND AN OCCASION SUCH AS THIS, WHETHER IN YOUR COUNTRY OR MINE, I AM MOVED TO MARVEL AT CERTAIN QUALITIES IN OUR PEOPLE'S CHARACTER WHICH SUCH OCCASIONS MAKE MANIFEST. I HAVE LIVED AND WORKED AMONG JEWS, AS YOU MAY WELL IMAGINE, FOR A LONG TIME. I HAVE SEEN THEM AT CLOSE RANGE, BOTH IN MUFTI AND ON DRESS PARADE.

THERE ARE TIMES, I MUST CONFESS, WHEN THEY BAFFLE AND TROUBLE ME. THERE ARE OCCASIONS WHEN I FIND MYSELF ENTERTAINING SOME UNHAPPY THOUGHTS ABOUT THEM -- THOUGHTS WHICH, FORTUNATELY, I QUICKLY DISCARD. FOR NO ONE CAN SERVE HIS PEOPLE WHO DOES NOT LOVE THEM EVEN IN THEIR IMPERFECTIONS.

BUT MY CONFIDENCE AND PRIDE ARE ALWAYS RENEWED WHEN I SEE THEM ENGAGED IN ACTS OF GROUP LOYALTY SUCH AS YOU ARE ENGAGED IN THIS EVENING. THESE ACTS REVEAL TO ME A VERY PRECIOUS QUALITY IN OUR PEOPLE'S CHARACTER.

THE ORGANIZED AND LONG-CONTINUING RESPONSE ON THE PART OF OUR PEOPLE TO THE NEEDS OF THEIR FELLOW-JEWS ALL OVER THE WORLD AND IN ISRAEL IS WHAT FILLS ME WITH ADMIRATION. IT IS ALL SO VOLUNTARY! THERE IS NO COMPULSION OF ANY KIND! THERE IS NO ONE WITH ANY AUTHORITY TO IMPOSE A TAX! THE ONLY DICTATION COMES FROM THE HEARTS OF MEN AND WOMEN WHO APPRECIATE THE PRIVILEGE OF BEING NEEDED AND WHO ARE AWARE OF THEIR HISTORIC RESPONSIBILITY.

AGAIN, THIS VOLUNTARY GIVING OF TIME, THOUGHT AND SUBSTANCE TO A NOBLE CAUSE HAS BEEN AND IS A MASS ENTERPRISE. IT IS NOT THE EXCLUSIVE PROJECT OF A FEW WEALTHY PHILANTHROPISTS. OUR ZIONIST CAUSE WAS NEVER THAT. THE COLLECTIVE SOUL OF OUR PEOPLE MOVED INTO ACTION, AND LEADERS WERE NOT WANTING TO DIRECT AND INSPIRE IT. IN ANCIENT DAYS, TOO, THE SANCTUARY WHICH OUR PEOPLE BUILT IN THE WILDERNESS ON THEIR WAY TO THE PROMISED LAND WAS SIMILARLY BUILT, WE ARE TOLD, OUT OF THE FREE-WILL OFFERINGS OF EVERY MAN AND WOMAN AMONG THE PEOPLE WHOSE HEART WAS WILLING. IT IS INDEED A TIME-HONORED TRADITION OF OUR PEOPLE, BUT I MARVEL THAT IT STILL MANIFESTS ITSELF ON SO LARGE A SCALE AND SO LATE IN OUR HISTORY, AFTER SO MANY ALIEN FORCES HAD BEEN WHITTLED AWAY AT OUR TRADITIONAL STANDARDS AND OUR WAY OF LIFE.

THIS STRONG BOND OF GROUP SOLIDARITY AND RESPONSIVENESS WHICH OUR PEOPLE MANIFESTED TIME AND AGAIN IN THE PAST, AND

WHICH PROVED SO DECISIVE A FACTOR IN OUR ZIONIST TRIUMPH, MUST AND, I AM SURE, WILL STAND US IN GOOD STEAD IN THE ON-COMING YEARS, AND THERE WILL BE MUCH NEED FOR IT. THE DAYS IMMEDIATELY AHEAD OF US ARE NOT LIKELY TO BE CHARACTERIZED BY THAT QUIET AND SECURITY WHICH WE WOULD WISH FOR OUR PEOPLE EVERYWHERE.

LET US BEAR IN MIND THAT THESE ARE DANGEROUS, ERUPTIVE AND UN-PREDICTABLE TIMES FOR ALL PEOPLES. THEY ARE LIKELY TO CONTINUE SO FOR SOME TIME. PASSIONS ARE RUNNING HIGH IN OUR WORLD. DARK TIDES ARE SWEEPING ALL AROUND US. HATES AND FEARS ARE BEING STIRRED UP. PREJUDICE IS STILL A FORMIDABLE WEAPON IN THE HANDS OF UNSCRUPULOUS POLITICAL ADVENTURERS, OF MEN WHO FAN THE DESTROYING WINDS AND FILL THE QUIVERS OF HATE. WE ALL PRAYERFULLY HOPE THAT THE FORCES OF REASON WILL COME TO PREVAIL, AND THAT THE SEPARATE EFFORTS OF NATIONS TO PRESERVE PEACE WILL SUCCEED. BUT IN THE MEANTIME, THE COLD WAR IS BEARING DOWN MOST HEAVILY UPON OUR DEFENCELESS PEOPLE IN MANY PARTS OF THE WORLD. IN NORTH AFRICA, IN THE MIDDLE EAST AND IN LATIN-AMERICA, OUR PEOPLE ARE ITS PRINCIPAL VICTIMS, AND EVEN IN THE FREE COUNTRIES OF THE WEST, THE CONFLICT WITH COMMUNISM IS EXPLOITED BY GROUPS OF NEO-NAZIS AS AN EXCUSE TO WAGE WAR UPON OUR PEOPLE. UNSETTLED TIMES ARE ESPECIALLY DANGEROUS FOR MINORITY GROUPS, AND EVEN MORE SO FOR THE JEWISH GROUP, WHICH HISTORICALLY HAS SUFFERED MOST IN PERIODS OF SOCIAL, POLITICAL OR ECONOMIC UNREST. BECAUSE JEWS ARE NEARLY EVERYWHERE, THEY ARE ALWAYS IN THE CENTER OF WORLD EVENTS, AND, AS THE RABBIS PUT IT, IN COMMENTING UPON THE FATE

OF OUR PEOPLE AT SUCH TIMES, "WHEN THE STONE FALLS UPON THE VESSEL, THE VESSEL IS BROKEN, AND WHEN THE VESSEL FALLS UPON THE STONE, IT IS THE VESSEL AGAIN WHICH IS BROKEN. "

IN SUCH TIMES -- AND THESE ARE SUCH TIMES -- OUR ONLY SALVATION AS A PEOPLE LIES IN SOLIDARITY, IN CLOSING RANKS, IN STRENGTHENING OUR DEFENCES. WE DARE NOT RELAX OUR ALERTNESS, WE DARE NOT BE TARDY IN RUSHING AID, ECONOMIC OR POLITICAL, TO ANY HARD-PRESSED SECTOR OF OUR PEOPLE ANYWHERE. WE MUST RE-ENFORCE EVERY THREATENED SEGMENT OF OUR FAR-FLUNG LINE. THIS HAS BEEN OUR STRATEGY OF SURVIVAL IN THE PAST. IT MUST BE CONTINUE TO BE SO IN THE FUTURE, A FUTURE WHOSE REMOTE HORIZONS NO ONE CAN GLIMPSE.

THERE ARE JEWS TODAY WHO LIVE IN LANDS OF TYRANNY AND VIOLENT DISORDER, WHOSE BREAD IS THE BREAD OF TEARS AND WHOSE WATER IS THE WATER OF BITTERNESS.

MANY OF THESE JEWS ARE ABANDONING THESE LANDS OF INTOLERABLE CONDITIONS AND DARK PROSPECTS. MANY OF THEM ARE COMING TO ISRAEL IN THE HOPE OF FINDING THERE THE PEACE AND THE DIGNITY WHICH THE WORLD DENIED THEM. IN THE LAST FIFTEEN YEARS, THE YOUNG STATE WELCOMED OVER A MILLION SUCH IMMIGRANTS FROM ALL PARTS OF THE WORLD. ISRAEL, WHICH IS, AS YOU WELL KNOW, A VERY SMALL STATE, HAS EXERTED ITSELF TO THE UTMOST TO ABSORB THESE NEWCOMERS, MOST OF THEM PENNILESS, _____

MANY OF THEM WITHOUT SKILLS OR VOCATIONS, SOME AGED AND INFIRM, TO REBUILD THEIR LIVES AND TO BECOME INTEGRATED INTO THE ECONOMY OF THE PIONEERING COUNTRY. FROM ALL ACCOUNTS, AN INCOMPARABLY FINE JOB HAS BEEN DONE BY THE YOUNG STATE IN MEETING THE ENORMOUS PROBLEMS WITH WHICH THIS IMMIGRATION TAXED IT, THANKS TO THE IMAGINATION, DEDICATION AND ENTERPRISE OF ITS LEADERS AND PEOPLE.

ISRAEL HAS ACCOMPLISHED SO MUCH, INCREDIBLY SO MUCH! BY ITS FAITHFUL ALLEGIANCE TO THE FREE WORLD, THE DEVELOPMENT OF ITS EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM AND ITS INSTITUTIONS OF HIGHER LEARNING, ITS ADVANCED SOCIAL LEGISLATION, THE AID WHICH IT HAS EXTENDED TO THE NEWLY EMERGENT STATES OF AFRICA AND ASIA, AND THE MAINTENANCE OF PEACE, IN THE FACE OF BOYCOTT, BLOCKADE AND THE CONTRIVANCES OF ITS UNRECONCILED NEIGHBORS, IT HAS REVEALED TO THE WORLD THE GROUND-TONE OF ITS CHOSEN WAY OF LIFE, ITS FUNDAMENTAL PURPOSES AND DOMINANT INTERESTS AS A NATION. ALL THIS, WHICH IS IN SUCH COMPLETE ACCORD WITH THE NOBLE TRADITIONS OF OUR PEOPLE, HAS FILLED US WITH INESTIMABLE PRIDE. IT HAS BEEN FOR US A RARER GIFT THAN THE GOLD WHICH WE HAVE GIVEN TO MAKE ITS FOUNDATIONS STRONG. OUR CHILDREN HAVE RE-DISCOVERED THE PRIDE OF THEIR HERITAGE, AND HONOR HAS COME BACK TO DWELL IN THEIR HEARTS. EVERYONE WHO HAS HAD A HAND IN HELPING TO BRING ISRAEL INTO BEING, AND TO ASSIST IN ITS GROWTH -- AS YOU HAVE ASSISTED THROUGH THE ^{JOINT} ~~UNITED~~ PALESTINE APPEAL -- MAY FEEL PROUD AND GRATEFUL AND DEEPLY SATISFIED.

BUT ISRAEL KNOWS THAT ITS HISTORIC TASK IS FAR FROM BEING OVER --
AND WE KNOW THAT OUR TASK IS FAR FROM BEING OVER.

GREAT DEMANDS HAVE BEEN MADE UPON US IN THIS GENERATION,
THE MOST MOMENTOUS IN JEWISH HISTORY, WHICH GAVE US THE SECOND
WORLD WAR, HITLER, AND THE RE-BIRTH OF ISRAEL -- A CUP OF
STAGGERING AND A CUP OF SALVATION. IT HAS BEEN A TIME WHEN THE
LIGHT WAS NEVER DIVIDED FROM THE DARKNESS. WE SAW OUR PEOPLE
IN TWO KINDS OF CAMPS -- THE CONCENTRATION CAMPS OF TORTURE AND
DEATH, AND THE MAHABAROT, THE TEMPORARY CAMPS IN ISRAEL,
THE GATEWAY TO NEW LIFE AND FREEDOM. IN ONE PART OF THE WORLD
WE WATCHED THE HOMES AND TOWNS AND ALL THAT OUR PEOPLE HAD
BUILT IN A THOUSAND YEARS CONSUMED BY FIRE AND SWORD AND LAID
WASTE IN RUINS. IN ANOTHER PART OF THE WORLD WE WATCHED THE
RUINS OF A THOUSAND YEARS BEING RE-BUILT, AND WHAT HAD BEEN
WASTED AND RAVAGED BEING RECLAIMED BY THE TOIL AND LABOR OF
OUR PEOPLE. NO SUCH APOCALYPTIC HORRORS WERE EVER VISITED
UPON ANY GENERATION OF OUR PEOPLE, AND SELDOM HAS SUCH
MESSIANIC GLORY SHOWN UPON ANY GENERATION FROM THE SHADOW
OF DEATH, LIGHT WAS BROUGHT FORTH. THE GRAVES WERE MANY.
THERE WERE MILLIONS OF OUR MARTYRED DEAD. BUT AN ANCIENT
PROPHECY WAS ALSO FULFILLED: "BEHOLD, I WILL OPEN YOUR GRAVES,
AND CAUSE YOU TO COME UP OUT OF YOUR GRAVES, O MY PEOPLE; AND
I WILL BRING YOU INTO THE LAND OF ISRAEL."

THE DAYS TO COME WILL CONTINUE TO MAKE GREAT DEMANDS UPON OUR LOYALTY AND PERSEVERANCE, BOTH ON ISRAEL'S PART AND ON OURS. ISRAEL WILL NOT BE ABLE TO ESCAPE THE POLITICAL TENSIONS AND PRESSURES OF THE WORLD OF WHICH IT IS A PART. GRAVE, UNSOLVED PROBLEMS -- INTERNAL AND EXTERNAL -- STILL REMAIN. DANGER LURKS UPON ITS BORDERS, AMONG ITS TURBULENT NEIGHBORS.

THERE IS MUCH WORK STILL TO BE DONE! ISRAEL MUST BE MADE STRONG, STRONG ENOUGH TO WITHSTAND PRESSURES, STRONG ENOUGH TO ABSORB THOSE WHO WILL WISH TO GO THERE, OR THOSE WHO WILL HAVE TO GO THERE, STRONG ENOUGH TO FULFILL ITS DESTINY WHICH WAS LONG AGO ASSIGNED TO IT -- THAT OF A SMALL COUNTRY WHICH IS TO BE MADE GREAT BY THE INTELLECTUAL AND SPIRITUAL ENTERPRISE AND THE SOCIAL VISION OF ITS PEOPLE.

YOU AND I BELONG TO A PRIVILEGED GENERATION, IN THAT WE HAVE BEEN THE CHOSEN TOOLS IN THE HANDS OF GOD FOR THE SALVATION OF HIS PEOPLE. WE WERE CONFRONTED WITH HISTORIC TASKS, AND WE WERE GREATLY CHALLENGED. WE HAVE TRIED FAITHFULLY TO MATCH OUR HOUR. WE WERE GIVEN AN HISTORIC ASSIGNMENT AND WE SET ABOUT EXECUTING IT TO THE BEST OF OUR ABILITIES. WE ARE HUMBLY GRATEFUL IN NOT HAVING FAILED. THE MEASURE OF OUR REWARD IS THE DEGREE OF OUR SUCCESS.

BUT WE MUST CARRY ON, FOR MUCH REMAINS TO BE DONE. WE MUST CARRY ON UNTIL THE FOUNDATIONS OF ISRAEL ARE SECURELY LAID -- ITS WALLS AND BULWARKS MADE STRONG AND SECURE AND UNTIL THE LAND FINDS REST FROM ITS ENEMIES. WE MUST CARRY ON UNTIL THE WINTER IS PAST AND THE FLOWERS APPEAR ON THE EARTH, AND THE TIME OF SINGING IS COME.

OFF-PRINT FROM
THE CENTRAL CONFERENCE OF AMERICAN RABBIS
YEARBOOK, Vol. LXXIII, 1963



THE AMERICAN RABBINATE IN OUR LIFETIME

Symposium

SOLOMON B. FREEHOF AND ABBA HILLEL SILVER

Rabbi Leon I. Feuer, Chairman: Two years ago when you charged me with the responsibility for building Conference programs, I began to dream about this one, and tonight we are to translate that dream into reality.

The participants in the program, I think it can be said without challenge, have been the most significant influences in shaping the contours of our rabbinical calling in this country and in this period of Jewish history.

By a very wonderful coincidence, they have a great deal in common. They are classmates, the year 1915, of the Hebrew Union College, and have been intimate friends throughout their lives. Each celebrated his seventieth birthday this year, and each had the *simcha* of tendering a birthday tribute to the other.

They are both honored Past-Presidents of our Conference. In a sense, then, this evening is an evening of tribute to them and to their achievements.

Possessing completely distinctive styles, both are magnificent preachers and superb orators. Lovers of Hebrew learning, they have both made significant contributions to Jewish scholarship.

Here the resemblances, at least outwardly, and superficially, ends. Both are supremely dedicated to the rabbinical calling although their constructions and their execution of this calling have been somewhat at variance.

One has served his people, his country, and mankind, in the arena of action, in the clash of political and economic forces, in the building of a state, in championing the cause of his fellow Jews, in helping to answer their cry for salvation; but also in demanding justice for all men, seeing both causes, that of his people and that of mankind, as inseparable.

The other has followed his vocation in the world of books, in Jewish law, seeking the laws and principles by which Judaism has survived, searching for the secret of its vitality and therefore of its future, and endeavoring to establish and to identify the unifying element which binds together the members of the household of Israel.

This will be the form of this evening's program. We will follow what is now fashionably known as the "Dialogue." The two participants will speak to each other; then we will allow you to enter into the conversation.

So it is with a great sense of privilege that I turn this platform over to my teacher, Dr. Solomon B. Freehof, and to my rabbi, Dr. Abba Hillel Silver.

Rabbi Freehof: Dear colleagues: No one needs to do any talking for Abba Hillel Silver. Since I am the first speaker, mine is the privilege to express thanks, in his behalf and in mine, for the beautiful words just spoken by Leon — Leon, who is perhaps equally dear to both of us.

Rabbi Silver and I are classmates, and I do not remember that we ever had a single brief period of alienation, and in our profession (laughter).

Now, I would like to ask Abba Silver a question that may be difficult. I know, dear friend, that the rabbinate to you is more than a career; it is a devotion of your life. That devotion is based upon a definition. That definition has specifications, as all definitions should have, and undoubtedly there is a list in your mind, and a list has been in your mind from the very beginning of what a rabbi should be, what he should do. Now, of all of these, I ask you to try, for the benefit of our colleagues before us, to answer this: What is the greatest service of a modern rabbi?

Rabbi Silver: Well, now, Sol, you mentioned before that in all these years we have known each other there has been no friction between us. That, of course, is true.

But I remember there was considerable competition especially way back there in our early college days. I remember we were asked to write a prize essay, and the winner would get a Jewish encyclopedia. The subject of the prize essay in the College was: "The Sopheric and Tanaitic *Am Ha-aretz*," and inasmuch as I was the greater *Am Ha-aretz* of the two, I won the prize.

In that same year Sol entered another competition and he won the prize. He wrote an essay on the history of the Torah, and he has had "*Maftir Yona*" ever since in all the Reform congregations of America.

Well, now, Sol, you asked me a rather important question: What should be the prime function of a rabbi? I should like to answer that by saying his prime function is to teach the Torah to his people. This has always been the greatest service of the rabbi.

I know that many other duties are demanded of the modern rabbi, many which he must perform — pastor to his flock, tribune of his people to the non-Jewish world, defender of social justice and the rights of man. But principally, in my humble judgment, the rabbi, as the name signifies, is teacher — not pastor, but teacher. And by teaching young and old the spiritual and ethical doctrines of Judaism, and thereby inspiring in them a life of personal integrity and social responsibility, the rabbi makes his major contribution to his individual communicants, to his congregation and to his community.

I know that is not a sensational answer, but that's the answer I can give you.

Now, Sol, out of these many years in the rabbinate, you have certainly distilled some wisdom which you would like to share with these younger rabbis here. I would like to ask you a question, *Yelamdenu Rabbenu*. In judging the success of your ministry — it has been an eminently successful ministry — what standards do you apply?

Rabbi Freehof: That is not an easy one, because we're surrounded by standards that are not our own; and we often discover to our bewilderment that what we rabbis consider central and vital, our people consider perhaps an amiable eccentricity of ours.

I have a way of knowing that our standards are not quite the same. Saturday morning service, the traditional service, will attract perhaps two hundred or so; Sunday morning service, six, seven hundred. And then I have a lecture on literature on Wednesday, that has almost nothing to do with Judaism, and they come in enormous numbers.

What is more important to me is less important to them. This is *their* standard. But they also share ours to some extent.

It reminds me how, (do you remember?) when I became rabbi at K.A.M., Lou Mann spoke before you, and he said something to the effect that one cannot judge the success of a rabbi by how many people come to hear him. And you got up and you said: "An empty building is no proof of a rabbi's achievement."

What I mean to say is this: Our Reform Movement was primarily, in its initiation, a liturgical movement. We found the synagogues of Central Europe empty, and we wanted to bring people back to worship. The first thing our early predecessors did was to revise the service, the prayer book, the music, et cetera.

Now, while our attendance might perhaps be better than those of the average Orthodox *Schal* except for the very pious who never miss, nevertheless, we have not succeeded in our basic intention, at least not succeeded enough.

I would count a rabbi's success by how many people he trains to divine worship. Now, this may be an outward sign, but it also may be what the Episcopalians call the "outer visible sign of an inner visible quest."

Now, Abba, our rabbinate has been a fairly long one, and I believe neither of us has any immediate intention of abbreviating it.

Rabbi Silver: Our congregations may.

Rabbi Freehof: The fact that our congregations might, by accident, quote Scripture, that their thoughts are not our thoughts, brings me to this question that I should like to put before you: You are, in my mind, the great overcomer of obstacles. What in the rabbi's career would you say are the greatest obstacles?

Rabbi Silver: You know, Sol, one of the reasons we have gone to each other's congregations on our seventieth birthday, is to freshen up our members on our importance. (Laughter) They were in danger of forgetting it. (Laughter)

You asked me what I regard as the greatest obstacle in the rabbi's career. The rabbi himself. I mean, his inherent deficiencies. If a rabbi lacks character or courage or tact or sensitivity, he is likely to destroy his own career.

If he sets his heart on false objectives, in quest of excessive publicity —

we all like a certain amount of publicity — or on being well liked by everybody or on never saying anything that will not be approved by everybody, that rabbi will corrode himself from within, in the long run.

There are, of course, many extra obstacles which a rabbi will encounter from time to time — the inertia of people, the sluggishness of progress, the downright opposition. We all encounter them from time to time. But these will not destroy or even retard his true career. They will temper, strengthen him, and help him to fulfill his career.

The first rabbi in our religion, if I can call him that — our people calls him rabbi, *Moshe Rabbenu* — the first rabbi suffered enormous frustrations and heartaches, so much so that he came to a point once where he smashed the *Luchot*, broke the Tablets of the Commandments. Yet, this *Moshe Rabbenu*, this rabbi, ended up his life by blessing his people before he died.

And so, while obstacles and frustrations are inevitable in our career, unfortunately some have more of them than others, nevertheless, it is part of our job to try to surmount them, rise above them, perhaps try to derive from them strengthening of the spirit. I think that is the real test of a good rabbi.

Well, now, Sol, I want to ask you another question. Do you believe that there is a more positive or a more negative attitude among our people today toward the synagogue, toward public worship, toward religious observances than there was when we began our ministry nearly half a century ago? What do you think?

Rabbi Freehof: I am not sure about it. I know that when the Reform Movement began, which was two generations or so before us, public worship was a great enthusiasm. The people believed that by modern public worship, the whole of Judaism would be revived.

I do not believe that the concept of worship is as dynamic a one in our generation as it was two generations before. But I reflect that it is the nature of worship to fade inevitably into routine.

At how many times, how many different times in Jewish literature was it necessary, beginning with the Ethics of the Fathers, when our liturgy was likewise new for a rabbi, to warn that prayer should be a devotion of the heart and not a routine. Or, a little later in the Talmud: "God wants your heart." They wouldn't have said it if the people had not fallen again to praying only with their lips.

You might say the whole Hasidic movement was an attempt to give cosmic significance to every nuance of the prayer. So it is clear that the dying away of devotion to worship is almost inherent in the nature of worship.

God, as it were, keeps on hiding Himself, and even *David ha-Melech* cries out: "Why standest Thou far off?"

I fear just now we are in one of the liturgical doldrums. Judging by the past, we will fight our way out of it. I think people are more interested in the organization and in the physical activities of the synagogue than they were ever before. To that extent, we have them with us. They are

busy in the institution. I hope from that, in the very near future, in the career of our colleagues, we will achieve again the revival of mass Jewish worship.

Now, Abba, I suppose a man can't help saying occasionally a word about something he has done — *zeh chelki mikol amoli*. Suppose you had to go over Abba Silver's career, what would you consider your best achievements of everything you have done?

Rabbi Silver: You know, every rabbi has an area in which he functions better than in others, where his achievements reflect him at his best. It is true of every one of us. One achievement which I consider outstanding in my life has been the contribution which I made toward the establishment of the State of Israel. It is the one that I treasure the most.

This is not, of course, technically speaking, a rabbinic achievement. But it was never separate or apart from my profession as a rabbi. Zionism has always been a part of my conception of historic Judaism, and I came to it not as a secular nationalist, but as a devout Jew, and I never permitted my Zionist activities, even when they were most intense, as they were in the years before the establishment of the State — I never permitted my Zionist activities to push aside or to overshadow my activities and my duties as a rabbi.

So, if you ask me what I regard as the most outstanding achievement in my life, I would say that, as a rabbi, I worked for the establishment of the State of Israel.

Now, Sol, I have a third question for you, and one which I have been wanting to ask you for some time. I have been reading all your books on the responsa. I never really could understand how you as a Reform Rabbi became so much involved in *Sha-alot* and *Tshubot*. How and why did you get interested in responsa, and how do you relate this interest of yours, evidently a dominant interest of yours, to the rabbinate of Liberal Judaism?

Rabbi Freehof: The first part is easy — how did I get into it? By political accident, since we are talking about the political side of the rabbi's career.

The Commission on Jewish Chaplaincy appointed a legal committee, and the structure of the chaplaincy commission required that an Orthodox, a Conservative, and a Reform rabbi be on it. There was Rabbi Jung and the unforgettable Rabbi Steinberg, and I was put on as the Reform rabbi. Then we had to decide who would be the chairman. The chairman is the one who really writes the responsa. The other two must agree or disagree. But they never disagreed, except once, about *Mohel* in Alaska.

I was made chairman, and had to write the responsa. I knew very little about it at the time, because Dr. Lauterbach was chairman of the Conference Responsa Committee, and he didn't want to bother with amateurs; he wrote the responsa, and I said yes. Then I began to write them, began to accumulate books, and began to study.

Now it is clear that this subject is of growing importance in the Reform Movement. When Dr. Lauterbach, and Dr. Kohler of blessed memory before him, were chairmen of the Responsa Committee, there would be about eight, nine, or ten questions a year. Our committee now gets two hundred, sometimes more questions a year, from our colleagues. So it is evident it is something in the life of our movement, out of which this intensified interest grows.

I will confess that I have not yet developed a philosophic principle, a doctrine upon which the responsa are based. Some theologian will some day clarify a doctrinal basis for Reform Halacha. But until then I am satisfied to work by rule of thumb. I observe that it is always a gratification to us when we find that a certain line of conduct is in harmony with Jewish legal tradition even though there come times when it is so opposed to our conscience that we say "no." But we are glad to say "yes" most of the time. So we say, in general, the responsa in our movement give guidance rather than governance.

But I have a more psychological connection in my own mind between the responsa and our movement. Our movement began with a battle against the whole legal literature — it couldn't do otherwise — against the old rabbinate which would not permit even the most minor change. With its rebellion against the whole legal literature, Reform turned to Scripture, and made its permanent contribution to Jewish thought and feeling — namely, a scale of values, the prophetic ethic, which will forever remain the center of the emphasis of our movement. But in doing that, we paid a terrific price — two thousand years of Jewish intelligence, clear, sharp thinking which reached into the remotest villages. Jews would write *chiddushim* that would be worth a Ph.D. in any university for keenness or basic knowledge. Jewry had twenty centuries of tremendous intellectual effort — I would say the greatest intellectual outpouring in human history.

Now, what I would like to contribute is one step in this direction: that we, the Reform Movement who have established contact with the conscience of Judaism, should now re-establish contact with the intelligence of Judaism.

Now, Abba, if this is a little uncomfortable, pass it by. But I will ask it: You spoke of what you considered your best achievement. What, if anything, would you count as your chief failure?

Rabbi Silver: Sol, I would rather have my enemies speak of my failures. They can do it much better than I.

I am conscious of many failures in my life but of no chief failure. In things worthwhile, my reach almost always exceeded my grasp; and in every human relationship, I think that I could have done better. And if I were to live my life over again, I would correct the mistakes which I made, and I am sure I would make many others.

A famous Hasidic rabbi was once asked, what were the outstanding

achievements of his life. And he replied, when he was young he was sure that he could improve the world. He failed. Later on he thought that he could improve his community, and he failed. And much later on he thought that he could improve his own family, and he failed. And now that he was a very old man, he was afraid that he could not improve himself, so as to be fully acceptable to the *Kibono shel Olam*.

I suppose that is true of all of our lives. We should be happy if when we come to strike a balance that there is a little bit more on the positive scale than on the negative scale.

So if you ask me about failures, Sol, I can speak of a lot of them. But we Jews are accustomed to make confessions only to the Good Lord.

Well, now, following up an earlier question I put to you, Sol, I would like to ask you this question: From your knowledge and experience of the nature and programs of our Reform congregations, have they changed very much in our day?

Rabbi Freehof: I think that in our day there have been, of course, great visible changes in the program, in the type of service, the sort of ritual. I have often wondered about it. In the first two Yearbooks, somebody — I think it was Berkowitz — was assigned the task of recording all the discussions, the essence of the discussions in the German conventions that preceded ours. And they are all there.

All these questions of Jewish ritual, observances of the rituals, then faded out of our movement for about two generations. But now, we again have discussions about Bar Mitzvah, the day of Bar Mitzvah; we have questions of *Kashrut*, questions that never came up any more in our movement when we were young rabbis.

I think that part of the explanation — if it is not in some change of theological or philosophic mood — I think part of the explanation of the change in our movement toward greater ritualism is a sociological reason.

When the Reform Movement was new, every member of every new Reform temple had most of his relatives Orthodox. Then as the years went by in America, our temples were peopled by Reform children and Reform grandchildren and Reform great-grandchildren, and we lost our direct family contact with Orthodoxy. Then with the great growth of our movement in the last twenty years, almost every congregation has three quarters of its members related to Orthodox grandfathers, Orthodox grandmothers, to whom it would have been a heartbreak if the boy was only confirmed, and not Bar Mitzvah. We have become in our family lines, reintegrated in Orthodox lives, and that, of course, has affected the type of observances in our congregations.

I believe we still do not consider all these observances to have any deep theological basis, as *Mitzvot*. That means, if the time comes when we consider any one of these changes as harmful to us, we will not hesitate to drop what we have picked up. But in the time of our career, we would say that a tremendous amount of Jewishness has been added to the

Judaism. Whether it will last when we cease having Orthodox parents, aunts, uncles, and grandparents, is a question for the future to answer.

Now, I know all of your world work, Abba, but I have often thought that even your great achievement as the founder of the Jewish state would not have been possible without your magnificent talent as a preacher and a public speaker. It was the grand voice and what it spoke that gave you, in my judgment, the tremendous powers that you have exercised for so much good.

Now, what I would like to ask you is this: For all of us — and I know greatly for you, all the speaking that you have done in all the great auditoriums where mass audiences gathered for you — it all was only a reflection of the light from your own pulpit. Would you comment? Do us all a favor. Tell us what you consider to be the greatest element in preaching.

Rabbi Silber: From this *Mi-she-berach* which you have given me, people might think that you, yourself, are something of a slouch. I have heard you move great audiences to great heights by your eloquence and your incisive logic.

You ask what I regard as the most important element in preaching. I would say, first of all, conviction and sincerity, and relevancy and content. And then directness, simplicity and warmth in delivery. And finally, very careful preparation.

I personally have always prepared my sermons very carefully, writing them out in full, and then memorizing them. Only in recent years since I became older and somewhat lazier, and on occasions which called for scrupulous care, have I resorted to a manuscript. I seldom speak extemporaneously, feeling that the required inspiration at the moment may be late in coming.

As a rule, my sermons never exceed thirty, thirty-five, or forty minutes. (Laughter) You think that is a long time? Beyond thirty to thirty-five minutes, forty minutes — (laughter) — both preacher and congregation reach a point of no return.

But capsule sermons — I suspect the laughter comes from rabbis who deliver capsule sermons — but capsule sermons, which are intended to satisfy the quick-lunch taste of modern tempo-goers, have never appealed to me. They lack, as a rule, both calories and nutriment.

I could say much more on this subject, but it is not necessary to a group of rabbis. You understand what I mean. That is my answer to your question.

Now I would like to ask you a question: You were a teacher for some years in the Hebrew Union College — I wasn't there at the time — but they tell me that you were a teacher in the Hebrew Union College, and a good teacher. If you had your life to live over again, would you prefer teaching to preaching?

Rabbi Frechhof: I taught at the college for nine years. And, of course,

I was very happy to have done so. I learned a great deal. The atmosphere of a great college is one which honors scholarship and makes it the desideratum of life, is what you absorb in a college, and particularly one like the Hebrew Union College.

As far as memories are concerned, the boys I taught are now grandparents. They still call me teacher, and it is a great pleasure for me to sense their kindness to me, although I was, I believe, a strict teacher in certain subjects that I taught; most of the subjects were to help out Dr. Lauterbach.

But it is a small college, and for a man who loves preaching, who loves public life, the college faculty is a wonderful point of departure. I am glad I was there, Abba. I am happy that I left.

You spoke of reading my books. I have always read yours with a special care. Knowing your intellectual standards, and knowing that every line that you wrote had to be done in time stolen from urgent public work, I conclude that you must have a certain selectivity of subjects, although on the surface your books do not show an inter-relatedness. You wrote first on the Kabbala and then you wrote on, you might say, comparative theology, and then a most heroic book on the Bible, in which you dared all the Protestant professionals of the Bible. Therefore, it is clear that you have certain choice themes. What is it that you consider the main line of your personal study? And tell us why.

Rabbi Silver: I believe that a rabbi's studies should include, of course, above all else, the Torah, and all that flows from it — the rabbinic literature and the Midrashim, Hebrew literature generally and Jewish history. There is much else, much else for the rabbi to study, but these are, in my judgment, the *sine qua non* for a rabbi, presupposing, of course, that he has had his secular studies in the social sciences in the university, and that he pursues them in later life.

But all these other studies should supplement his rabbinic studies. He should not permit the secular studies to supplant the rabbinic. They should be *parpera-of la-Torah*. I am wondering whether we are doing that today, whether we are not making in some instances — I am not speaking generally, because I do not know — whether we are not making our own great Biblical, rabbinic and medieval Jewish literature *parpera-of la-chochmah*. The two are quite distinct, as you know.

Sol, my final question to you before we both throw ourselves into the arena: What do you think is right and what do you think is wrong with the young American rabbi?

Rabbi Frechot: It is a very dangerous question, Abba, because, as we get older, we naturally think well of our own youth and therefore think naturally that the past is so much better than today. The young rabbis, those who are in the twenties, are able and devoted men; but there are certain differences in circumstance between theirs and ours, and we ought to judge whether it helps or hurts them.

When we went to college, there was an eight-year course. You and I entered the fifth year, and then you skipped into the upper class, and you took four years; but even so, for most of the men who went through the eight-year course, by the time they graduated, if they began at the beginning, they knew fifteen classes, and when they entered into the Conference, they knew half the Conference, and the whole Conference had two hundred and fifty members.

It was an intimate brotherhood. And of course, the young men today pay a price for that which is not their fault, that the Conference is huge. So I think they lack the comradeship that circumstances gave us, and therefore I believe their mutual influence is less. The mass nature of the Conference makes them individualists fighting against comparative anonymity. That, I think, is a drawback.

I think we had another advantage. You remember, Abba, the Committee on Social Justice. In those days — we graduated college in 1915, almost half a century ago — in those days it took a day and a half to debate the subject brought up by the Committee on Social Justice. All the subjects that they dealt with were taken away from them by the New Deal — the right of labor to organize, that we fought over; minimum wages, that we fought over.

In those days we had this advantage: We believed that it was in our hands as individuals, and as a Conference, to help to rebuild the world. In these days, of course, the private organizations, even in the matter of peace, in the matter of social justice, may have one single cause. But the concept that inspired our boys, particularly those who were active in social justice, was that the whole world was waiting for them to bring the prophetic influence to bear. Those were advantages.

Young men today have an advantage over us. They are much more mature. Most rabbis today are married before they graduate from the Hebrew Union College. I believe we were more youthful in spirit and the young people today are more mature. They will do their work perhaps with a little less spreading of wings, but with a very careful, efficient progress. They are older, perhaps even sager, but they couldn't have our enthusiasm because circumstances are different.

So now I suppose we ought to let the audience speak.

Rabbi Bernard J. Bamberger: This was a wonderful colloquy, and my only criticism of it was that neither of the individuals answering a question asked the other one back the same question.

I wonder if Dr. Freehof would tell us, looking back on his own ministry, what is the thing that he finds most satisfying, and what is the thing that he regrets the most?

Rabbi Freehof: Most satisfying, I always found the pulpit and people's appreciation of a sermon that reached their hearts. I was always gratified when people showed that they liked to learn, to be taught by the pulpit.

What I regret most has nothing to do with me. It has to do with what has happened to the rabbinate.

It is the nature of the Christian ministry for the minister to be the pastor of his flock, and to attend to what they call the cure of souls. In the nature of the general Christian environment, the Christian minister, who has no special tradition of study as we have and therefore has time, is compelled in many denominations to call on everybody—in the Baptist denomination twice a year, on every member. The Christian minister had to hang around the hospital, and when the Baptists were used up, he would visit the Jewish brothers, and, of course, the Jewish brother's wife would say: "Look, the minister can come; where is our rabbi?" She would forget that *Bikkur Cholim* is a *Mitzvah* that is incumbent on every Jew, and not a special rabbinic duty.

But as a result of all that, the Christian pastor has made our congregations discontented, and the rabbinate is "pastorized."

Rabbi Martin B. Ryback: I want to direct my question to both of my esteemed colleagues. To what do you ascribe the gradual evaporation of the Sunday morning service in Reform temples; and do you see any reason for the rejuvenation and the renewal of the *Shabbat*, and the *Shabbat* morning service in Reform Jewish life in the near future?

Rabbi Silver: I don't know what you mean by evaporation. If you mean that there are very few Sunday morning services left on the American Jewish scene, I agree with you. I do not know the reason for it. And if they all evaporate, I wouldn't be heartsick about it.

The only reason we introduced the Sunday morning service was because we thought that was the time when people are free, and would come to a week day service.

In the larger cities which have Sunday morning services they are well attended.

I do not know that the evaporation of the Sunday morning service will contribute to the increase of attendance on Friday night. My judgment is that where a Sunday morning service is feasible and draws people, it should continue. Why not? Jews are supposed to pray every day in the week, not merely on Friday night or Saturday morning. Wherever such a service is not feasible, I would not spend too much energy in trying to keep it alive.

Would you like to add something, Sol, to the profound observations which I have made?

Rabbi Frechaf: The way the additional rabbinical comments were printed was the way the scholar would write in the margin the criticism of the text, and after all the margin would be printed, and this *Melamed* was studying, and he felt he had to make a comment, he wrote: *ani maskim l'divrey Rashi*.

Rabbi Jack D. Spiro: I would like to ask Dr. Silver what is wrong and what is right with the contemporary rabbinate, and also, if he would mind commenting on the emphasis today, which we all feel, on pastoral counseling and pastoral visitation. Has this taken the place of the strong sense of social justice felt a generation ago?

Rabbi Silver: Actually, the question "What is right and what is wrong with the young American rabbi," was one of the questions Sol was to ask me. But Sol just forgot, that's all. So now I will give the answer, assuming that Sol has put the question.

We had some very good rabbis in our day, and some very poor ones, too. And I imagine that holds true, also, today. It is quite impossible to take a Gallup poll, canvass the ability, the sincerity, the effectiveness of the rabbinate today and contrast it with the rabbinate of a half century ago. You may recall the Biblical phrase: "Do not say: How was it that the days before us were better? It is not out of wisdom that you ask it."

I have observed, however — I may be wrong in this observation of mine — a trend among some of our young men toward an over-emphasis of what has come to be known as social action. An arid search for causes to champion; six causes, so to speak, in search of a rabbi — and correspondingly a lesser emphasis on learning, on scholarship, on Torah. Neither trend was especially evident in my early days, but I sometimes wonder whether this "social action" trend, if it is a trend, is a desirable one.

I have also observed a drift in our Conference. Please don't tear me apart in what I am going to say. It is just the opinion of one man. I have observed a drift in our Conference to react to all controversial issues, such as a plea for clemency in the Eichmann trial, or opposition to capital punishment, which do not involve either the principles or the teachings of Judaism, or of Liberal Judaism.

Also an unconscious trend to change the character of our Conference, from a voluntary professional association to a more or less authoritative one, one which imposes an income tax upon its members, in place of fixed dues, and a prescriptive in place of a voluntary pulpit placement procedure. As you probably know, I have never paid this income tax, although on top of my dues I have always sent in annually a voluntary contribution to help carry on the work of the Conference.

We are not a government or a union where seniority rights prevail, and we should not attempt to exercise their prerogatives either, in the matter of an income tax or of a *quasi*-mandatcry — I was almost tempted to say *quasi*-military — pulpit placement.

These are conditions which did not prevail in our day. Perhaps they are inevitable in this day. If they are, I for one deeply regret it.

Rabbi Freehof: Abba, I don't want you to say that alone, so that it should appear that you are unique in holding an eccentric opinion, out of touch with the world.

I believe that you and I both opposed this idea when it was brought up many years ago — I in the Conference, and you in the Union.

The fact that we are so out of step in this regard must indicate that it is a different world. And therefore, I did not attend a single one of the discussions when this was brought up.

It is evident that circumstances have made most of our colleagues disagree with what, in this regard, we have considered vital. We can't help that. I don't like it a bit, but my not liking it, and I am afraid your not liking it, has become to them irrelevant, and you will forgive me for saying that.

Rabbi Alan S. Green: It has been my privilege, shared by many rabbis who came from Cleveland, to have been inspired by Rabbi Silver for many years. I have always been struck by the fact that you have spoken, Dr. Silver, out of the whole sweep of Jewish history. You gave us the feeling that a Jew has something unique and positive to contribute to mankind. Undoubtedly, this helped inspire me to go into the rabbinate.

I was privileged to hear this in high school, and throughout my college days. Today we deal with young people who leave their home towns to go to college and thus break off the roots of their association with their rabbis. How can we somehow touch them with this feeling that they have something unique to give that grows out of the whole sweep of Jewish history?

Rabbi Silver: I can only say you must try to continue what you have been doing, Alan, with your congregation. You are not in a position, really, to evaluate effectively your ministry. It is not like an engineer who can point to the number of structures or bridges which he built, or a doctor to the number of cases that he cured.

You are dealing with inponderables. You have to have faith in what you are teaching, in what you are preaching. I do believe that you succeed in touching a number of lives that you yourself may not be aware of. Very often you and I, and all those present here, have had the experience ten, twenty years after a man was confirmed in our temple, that he will come back and say: "Rabbi, you helped me greatly in those years — something that you said has remained with me all the time."

You have to have confidence that the seeds that you sow will somewhere, in some heart, and in some soul, take root. After all, if you don't have that faith, you are in the wrong profession. I think that you are doing a pretty good job.

Rabbi Freehof: May I add a *Mi-she-berach* to that.

There is one peculiar little tangible evidence of what a rabbi accomplishes. I hope this will be the last — I don't want Abba to be tempted to make a counter-comment.

You notice from the time Abba Silver started to preach in Cleveland, how every year more and more Cleveland boys decided to be as like him

as they could, and entered the rabbinate. That is tangible evidence of something. So it has been with other rabbis in Cleveland and elsewhere.

Chairman Feuer: I want to express for myself, and for the Conference, our profound gratitude to our esteemed and beloved colleagues, Dr. Freehof and Dr. Silver, for this magnificently informative and inspiring meeting, and I want to wish on your behalf for both of them God's blessings and His bounty of strength.

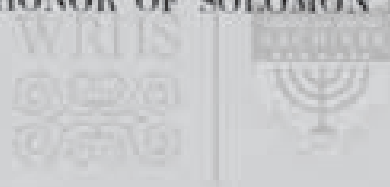


ABBA HILLEL SILVER

The Lunar and Solar Calendars in
Ancient Israel

from

ESSAYS IN HONOR OF SOLOMON B. FREEHOF



RODEF SHALOM CONGREGATION
PITTSBURGH, PENNSYLVANIA · · 1964

THE LUNAR AND SOLAR CALENDARS IN ANCIENT ISRAEL

By ABBA HILLEL SILVER

IN WRITING of the many conflicting traditions which existed between Israel and Judah,¹ I stated: "It is clear that we are dealing here with *two* peoples, or with two groups of kindred tribes who, while sharing remote memories of a common ancestry and a cradle of common origin in Harrañ and the cult of a deity who was uniquely theirs, were in other ways quite distinct in their historic experiences."

Professor R. W. Livingstone, in writing of the Greek city states, makes a similar observation about them: "Though ultimately conscious of common Hellenic blood, these Greek states are vividly individual, divided against their neighbors. Primarily a man is a Spartan, an Athenian, a Theban, and so on. Secondly he belongs to one of the great rival groups, Ionians, Dorians, Aeolians. Thirdly, and that chiefly at the great festivals, at the national religious centre, the Oracle of Delphi, and in times of foreign invasion, he is a Greek."²

Resemblances between the organization of the ancient Hebrew tribes and the early Delian and Delphic amphityonies of Greece have also been noted by Professor Noth and others.

One of the sharp differences which existed between Israel and Judah concerned the calendar. This difference persisted down the ages, long after both states had been destroyed.

¹ *Moses and the Original Torah*, The Macmillan Co., 1921, Chap. 5 & 6.

² *The Pageant of Greece*, Oxford, 1938, p. 79.

The ancient calendar of the Hebrews in Canaan was lunar. The year began in the autumn after the ingathering of the harvest—*תקופת השנה*—(Ex. 34:22), or *תשעת השנה*—"at the end of the year," or "the going out of the year." The lunar was also the calendar of the Canaanites and the Babylonians. The calendar which was discovered at Gezer in Palestine, dating from approximately the tenth century, begins the year with the late harvest and follows through with the early and later planting, the hoeing up of flax, the harvest of barley and other harvests, the pruning of vines and finally, the gathering of summer fruit.

There were twelve months to the year and the year consisted of 354 days. The first month was called Abib—*אביב* (Ex. 13:4). The names of the second, seventh and eighth month are also given in the Bible—Ziv, *זיב* (I K. 6:1)—Ethanin, *אתנין* (I K. 8:2) and Bul, *בול* (I K. 6:38). The first day of each month, which was marked by the appearance of the new moon (*שבת*), was a holiday. Like the Sabbath, it was universally observed with cessation of labor and with special ceremonies, such as sacrifices and the blowing of trumpets. Three annual festivals connected with the three harvest periods were also celebrated. But their dates were not absolutely fixed in the calendar. They fluctuated within a designated period and were known as *תקופות*—"appointed seasons."³

Actually, no fixed dates are set in the older codes of the Pentateuch for these three annual festivals. The Feast of Unleavened Bread, according to the Book of the Covenant, is to be celebrated "at the appointed time in the month of Abib." . . . "You shall keep the Feast of Harvest of the first fruits of your labor, of what you sow in the field. You shall keep the Feast of Ingathering at the end of the year." (Ex. 23:15-16). Similarly in the Little Book of the Covenant, it is ordained that "The Feast of Unleavened Bread you shall keep . . . at the time appointed in the month Abib . . . You shall observe the Feast of Weeks, the first fruits of wheat harvest and the Feast of Ingathering at the year's end" (Ex. 34:18-22). So also Deuteronomy: "Observe the month of Abib, and keep the Passover to YHWH, your God. . . . You shall count seven weeks . . . from the time you first put the sickle to the standing grain. Then you shall keep the Feast of Weeks. . . . You shall

³ Perhaps from the term *תקופ*—to "fluctuate," to "vacillate."

keep the Feast of Booths seven days when you make your ingathering from your threshing floor and your wine-press' (Deut. 16:1-13).

The day began and ended at sun-down. The week consisted of seven days, the seventh being the Sabbath Day—יום השבת—a solemn day of rest when all work must cease.

But the Pentateuch also has reference to another calendar, a solar one, one which began in the spring of the year. II Sam. 11:1 states ויהי לתשובת השנה לעת צאת המלכים—"And it came to pass, at the return of the year, i.e., at the commencement of the new year, when kings go forth to battle." The months of the year were counted not from autumn but from spring. The chronology of the Book of Kings invariably follows a similar calendar. Jeremiah 36:22 also suggests that the year was reckoned from the spring: "It was in the *ninth* month, and the king was sitting in the *winter house* and there was a fire burning in the brazier before him."

The year consisted of 364 days and was divided into twelve parts, or months. Each month consisted of thirty days, an extra day being added every third month. The months had no special names but were numbered. The day began and ended at dawn.

Why were there two calendars? When and why was the second one introduced? That an innovation was introduced is sharply and dramatically indicated in Exodus 12:1-2: ויאמר ה' אל משה ואהרן בארץ מצרים לאמר: החדש הזה לכם ראש חדשים ראשון הוא לכם: YHWH said to Moses and Aaron in the land of Egypt: 'This month (228) shall be for you the beginning of months; it shall be the *first month* of the year for you.' The people are told that hereafter they must regard Abib as the first month of the year. Presumably this was a departure from what was the accepted usage up to then. This was a new ordinance deliberately announcing a new calendar, introducing a new time reckoning and a new era.

Many peoples throughout history adopted new calendars to mark some decisive event in their history, a political or social revolution, a momentous victory, or the birth of a great religious leader. Thus, the Romans dated their calendar from the founding of their city. The Christian and Mohammedan religions both introduced new calendars. The French Revolution adopted a new republican calendar and gave new names to the twelve months of the year. All

official national reckoning was thereafter made according to the new calendar. The new calendar did not always completely displace the old one—any more say, than the calendar which was introduced following the American Revolution and which dated all official papers from the year of the Declaration of Independence, has displaced the civil (Christian) calendar which continues to be in use.

The change in the Hebrew calendar is associated in Ex. 12:1-2 with Moses and the Exodus. The Bnai Israel fled from Egypt in the spring. The event marked for them the beginning of their history as a free people. They instituted a night Holiday, Passover—*ליל שימורים*—to commemorate that event for all future generations. For hundreds of years thereafter, the date of the Exodus marked for them the beginning of all their official chronology. Thus, when centuries later the Temple of Solomon was built in Jerusalem, the Chronicler records: "In the four hundred and eightieth year after the people of Israel came out of the land of Egypt, in the fourth year of Solomon's reign over Israel, in the month of Ziv, which is the second month, he began to build the House of YHVH." (I K. 6:1).

When, under Joshua, the Bnai Israel entered Canaan, they signalized the occasion by inaugurating an official new era. The Hebrews who had been living in Canaan right along and had never gone down to Egypt, and were not among those who were emancipated, undoubtedly had been reckoning their time the same way as the Canaanites did. They observed a lunar year. The conquering Bnai Israel announced that henceforth the first month of the year would be *not* in autumn but in the spring. Furthermore, the year would follow a solar calendar such as they and their ancestors had been accustomed to observe for generations in Egypt.

The Egyptians at first, during the protodynastic period, had employed a lunar calendar, but long before the Hebrews came to Egypt, a solar calendar had been introduced, possibly at the beginning of the third millenium, B.C.⁴ The year consisted of twelve months of thirty days each. Later the calendar was corrected by the addition of five days at the end of the twelfth month—making 365 days in all. The day was from sun-rise to sun-rise. The year began with the first signs of the annual inundation of the Nile in the

⁴ Parker, Richard A., *The Calendar of Ancient Egypt*, Univ. of Chicago Press, 1950, p. 51f.

spring of the year. The months had no names, but were numbered.^{5, 6}

The solar calendar which the Bnai Israel brought with them from Egypt became the officially accepted calendar for all the tribes when they were united under the monarchy. The New Year for the Court and the dating of all official state documents and decrees began in the spring. The Mishna preserves this fact when it declares: "There are four Rosh Hashanas: on the first of Nisar is the New Year for kings and the festivals (i.e., the sequence of the three festivals—Passover, Shabuot, Succoth, which are to be observed in the first, third and seventh month.) (Rosh Hashanah I, 1).

But the older lunar calendar did not disappear. The new calendar never quite displaced the old, especially among the Judeans who did not share the Exodus experience of the Bnai Israel and had not, at any time, used a solar calendar. They continued to reckon the beginning of the year from the close of the harvest season in autumn and to fix their festivals on the basis of the lunar calendar.

When the Judeans were exiled to Babylonia, they found themselves among a people which also used the lunar calendar. Before long they adopted the Babylonian names of the months and while retaining the official sequence of the months which the Bnai Israel had introduced when they entered Palestine, they continued to regard the seventh month, now called Tishri, as the beginning of the year. Thus Ezekiel, receiving his visions in Babylonia and carefully dating each one of them, still retains the number sequence of the months, i.e., first, second, third, etc., but one month, the *seventh*, is not so designated, but is referred to as the month which begins the New Year—(Ez. 40:1) *בְּעָשְׂרִים וְחָמֵשׁ שָׁנָה לְגָלוּתִי בְּרֵאשִׁית* *הַשָּׁנָה בְּעָשֹׂר לַחֹדֶשׁ*.

When the Judeans returned from captivity, they made the lunar calendar the official calendar of the people, fixing the dates

⁵ The Israelite year consisted of 364 days. There was need, of course, to correct the difference between the 364-day year and the real solar year of 365 days. The difference in forty-nine years would amount to forty-nine days. Accordingly, a special "year," consisting of forty-nine days—a Jubilee Year—was introduced.

⁶ See Solomon Zeitlin, *The Rise and Fall of the Judean State*, 1962, pp. 216-18. The Jubilee Year was a Northern institution and fell into disuse when the kingdom of Israel was destroyed. The Rabbis declared that the Jubilee Year was observed only as long as all the twelve tribes lived in Palestine, i.e., up to the destruction of Israel in 722 (Arak. 32b).

of all the annual festivals accordingly and officially declaring the first of Tishri as ראש השנה, the beginning of the year. While the Pentateuch nowhere states that the first day of Tishri marked the beginning of the New Year—that it actually was Rosh Hashanah—the day is called יום טוב וזמן תרועה זקרא קדש—"a day of solemn rest, a memorial proclaimed with blast of trumpets—a holy convocation" (Lev. 23:24)—and while as late as Ezra and Nehemiah, the first of Tishri is still not designated as *Rosh Hashanah*, the beginning of the year, but only as יום קדוש—a "Holy Day" (Neh. 8:2), as indeed every new moon was so regarded, it is clear, however, that the very singling out of the first day of the *seventh* month indicates that it marked the actual beginning of the year.

The Israelites and the Judeans celebrated their annual harvest festivals at different times due no doubt to their geographic locations. Harvest time in the north of Palestine is about a month later than in the south. The Harvest festivals were accordingly celebrated a month later. Jeroboam, the first King of Israel, after he had set up the two calves of gold in Bethel and Dan, went up to sacrifice at the altar in Bethel on the fifteenth day of the *eighth* month (Succoth) "Like unto the feast that is in Judah" (on the fifteenth day of the *seventh* month). According to the author of I K. 12:33, this was a date which Jeroboam "had devised of his own heart." (במהלך אשר ברא מלבו) But Jeroboam was undoubtedly following the agricultural custom of the North which always celebrated Succoth in the *eighth* month.

When the kingdom of Israel was destroyed, attempts were made by some of the kings of Judah to win back, at least to religious conformity, the Israelites who had not been deported. The Northerners were invited to come to Jerusalem to celebrate the annual festivals. But the calendar was clearly a stumbling block to the acceptance of such invitations. Thus, Hezekiah according to the Chronicler (II Chr. 30) "sent to all Israel and Judah, and wrote letters to Ephraim and Manasseh that they should come to the House of the Lord at Jerusalem, to keep the Passover unto the Lord, the God of Israel. The King had taken counsel, and his princes, and all the congregation in Jerusalem, to keep the Passover in the *second* month." The reason which is given for the postponement of the festival of Passover to the second month is that the priests had not sanctified themselves in sufficient number,

neither had the people gathered themselves together in Jerusalem. The real reason was probably the desire to accommodate the Northerners who had been in the habit of celebrating Passover in the second month. Most of the Israelites "laughed the King's messenger to scorn and mocked them." Some accepted the invitation and did go to Jerusalem.

King Josiah also appears to have invited the people of Israel to join with the people of Judah in the celebration of the Passover, for the Chronicler reports the presence of Israelites at the celebration. But in the days of Josiah, more than half a century later, it was no longer deemed necessary to shift the date a month later in order to accommodate the Northerners. Passover was accordingly celebrated on the fourteenth day of the *first* month (II Chr. 35:1).

The Israelites never really abandoned their own calendar, and never accepted the lunar calendar of Judea which, upon the return from the Babylonian exile, became the one authentic calendar of the restored community. There were, of course, many Israelites in the restored Judean community as there had been in Judea in the century preceding the exile (II Chr. 30:25). The calendar conflict persisted. The Northerners clung to the solar year.

The calendar controversy, of course, brought into question the exact days of all the holidays, for in a solar year of twelve months of thirty days and four intercalated days, the annual festival would fall on the same day of the week from year to year. This would not be true in the case of a lunar year of 354 days—twelve months of twenty-nine and a half days—with a leap year of thirteen months every third or fourth year. Thus, what would be regarded as a sacred day by those who followed the official lunar calendar would be just another secular workday for those who followed the solar calendar. The validity of the festival sacrifices which were brought in the Temple would quite naturally also be challenged by those who claimed that the sacrifices were brought on the wrong days.

The storm of controversy in post-exilic times is fully reflected in the Book of Jubilees (Chap. 72-82) and elsewhere. Professor Zeitlin's conclusions that the Book of Jubilees "was written by a man, or a school of men, who opposed many of the pentateuchal laws and traditions" and that "it was written during the pre-Hellenistic period when it could be hoped that opposition to the Pentateuch would not be wholly futile" seems to be well estab-

lished.⁷ The Book of Jubilees differs sharply on the matter of the calendar. In all likelihood, the author was an Israelite who clung to the Northern solar calendar—a year of twelve months of thirty days each, with an additional day added at the end of every third month, making the year consist of 364 days or 52 weeks.

In the Book of Jubilees, Noah gives clear instructions to his descendants: "And command thou the children of Israel that they observe the years according to this reckoning—364 days, and (these) will constitute a complete year, and they will not disturb its time from its days and from its feasts; for everything will fall out in them according to their testimony, and they will not leave out any day nor disturb any feasts. But if they do neglect and do not observe them according to this commandment, then they will disturb all their seasons, and the years will be dislodged from this (order), [and they will disturb the seasons and the years will be dislodged] and they will neglect their ordinances. And all the children of Israel will forget, and will not find the path of the years, and will forget the new moons, and seasons, and sabbaths, and they will go wrong as to all the order of the years. For I know and from henceforth will I declare it unto thee, and it is not of my own devising; for the Book (lies) written before me, and on the heavenly tablets the division of days is ordained, lest they forget the feasts of the Covenant and walk according to the feasts of the Gentiles after their error and after their ignorance. For there will be those who will assuredly make observations of the moon—how (it) disturbs the seasons and comes in from year to year ten days too soon. For this reason the years will come upon them when they will disturb (the order) and make an abominable (day) the Day of Testimony, and an unclean day a Feast Day and they will confound all the days, the holy with the unclean, and the unclean day with the holy; for they will go wrong as to the months and sabbaths and feasts and jubilees. For this reason I command and testify to thee that thou mayst testify to them; for after thy death thy children will disturb (them), so that they will not make the year three hundred and sixty-four days only, and for this reason they will go wrong as to the new moons and seasons and sabbaths and festivals, and they will eat all kinds of blood with all kinds of flesh."

In the Book of Enoch (especially in chapters 72–82—the "astro-

⁷ *The Book of Jubilees* J.L.R. p. 31.

nomical" section)—one finds the same insistence on the solar calendar as the only true one: "And the sun and the stars bring in all the years exactly, so that they do not advance or delay their positions by a single day unto eternity. But complete the years with perfect justice in 364 days (Chap. 82)."

It has been shown that the Qumran sectarians held the Book of Jubilees in high regard. They followed the solar calendar and reckoned the day from sunrise. "The basic difference in the calculation of the calendar caused the members of the sect to withdraw from the Temple and its cult. The withdrawal did not result from their opposition to the offering of sacrifices, in principle, as is often supposed, but from the fact that the dates in which the holidays were fixed in the Temple of Jerusalem were "those in which all Israel were in error." ⁸

The Passover Letter which was found among the Eliphantine Papyri may also reflect the sharp divergency which existed in the fifth century B.C.E., with reference to the dates of observing the holidays. Instructions are sent to the Jewish military garrison in Eliphantine to observe the Passover on the fourteenth day of Nisan. "Let this be done as Darius the king commanded." ⁹

Why should the authority of the Persian king be invoked in such a matter? Did not the Eliphantine community know about Passover? Professor Cowley quite correctly asks: "Was this community which possessed a temple and offered sacrifices to Yahu ignorant of the greatest of Jewish national festivals? Had they never celebrated it before?" ¹⁰

We are inclined to believe that the religious authorities in Judea sent these instructions, clearly stating that they were authorized by the Persian government, in order to insure that the Jewish garrison would observe Passover on the exact date which was approved by them, and not on any other date. The Judean authorities wished to make their calendar standard for all Jews throughout the Persian Empire. It is likely that the original settlers of Eliphantine came from Northern Israel, even before the Babylonian exile, and retained the solar calendar and the dates of the festivals based on that calendar.

⁸ Talmon, Shemaryahu "The Calendar Reckoning of the Sect from the Judean Desert," *Scripta Hierosolymitana*, IV, 1958, pp. 164, 177.

⁹ This is Darius II. The year of the letter is 419 B.C.E.

¹⁰ Cowley, A., *Aramaic Papyri of the Fifth Century B.C.*, Oxford, 1923, p. 61.

The Samaritans, during the Second Commonwealth, who claimed direct descent from the ancient Israelites, clung to the Pentateuch, revered Moses, and, as patriotic "Northerners" claimed that the future Messiah would be a descendant of Joseph, and not of David, as the Judeans maintained, held fast to a calendar which differed greatly from the one accepted by the rest of the Jews. The dates of their festivals differed. Only in the matter of the date of the counting of the Omer did they agree—and that with the Sadducean calendar. They counted the Omer from the Sunday following the first Sabbath of Passover, so that the Feast of Pentecost always fell on a Sunday.

The Samaritan tradition maintains that their calendar was established by Phineas, according to the astronomical calculation of the meridian of Mount Gerizim.¹¹

Because of their sharp opposition to the standard calendar of the Jews, the Samaritans were accused of lighting beacons on the hill-tops on wrong dates in order to bring about confusion, and make it impossible for the Jews outside of Palestine who relied on the official signals of the Jerusalem Sanhedrin to fix the time of the new moon, and thus to keep their festivals at the proper time. "Originally, they used to light beacons (to convey the news of the new month to Jews outside Palestine). When the Cutheans (Samaritans) adopted evil courses, they made a rule that messengers should go forth."

¹¹ See Moses Gasten, *The Samaritans*, London, 1925, p. 66.

Sermons

The Church and Social Justice

Dr. ABBA HILLEL SILVER



THE TEMPLE
CLEVELAND, OHIO

Vol. VII No. 1

Price 25 Cents

The Church and Social Justice

Address delivered by Dr. Abba Hillel Silver at the National Conference of Social Work, held at Des Moines, Iowa.

IT might perhaps be well at the outset to restate a truism oft overlooked—that church and religion are not synonymous, and that religion and morality, or more specifically, religion and social justice are not synonymous. They are organically related, but not identical. The church is the symbol and vehicle of religious idealism. Religion, at least to the religious, is the dynamics of social justice. But religion has other functions to perform in human life.

Morality is concerned with the relations of man to his fellowmen. Religion is concerned with the relations of man to the Universe and to ultimate reality. Morality is chiefly a matter of conduct and motives. Religion is a matter of basic convictions, touching the elemental facts and purposes of existence. The aim of morality is to establish the most perfect order of society. The aim of religion is to answer certain questions which men have asked themselves since the dawn of their reflective life, and which they will continue to ask, even under the most perfect order of society; questions of why and whence and whither,—desperate questions probing into the very heart of the cosmos.

The answers which religion gives to these questions lead to definite mental attitudes on the part of those who accept them, which manifest themselves in social conduct. Religion affirms that the Universe is essentially not a machine but a personality, and that the primary facts in nature are life and thought and purpose. Human life is eternally significant because it, too, is creative personality, the very image of that life and thought and purpose which throb through all things. He who is persuaded by these heroic postulates of religion, ascertainable by faith but not demonstrable by reason, will find himself adopting those characteristic attitudes which we call religious, and which in turn lead to moral integrity. Religion is thus related to morals as sun and soil are related to the fruit of the tree.

Thus, for example, the religious man will be reverent. In the mystic presence of circumambient divinity, in a world suffused with the glory of unfolding life and purpose, the religious man stands rapt in adoration. His spirit reveres all the manifestations of nature, all the outpourings of the mind and soul of man. This mood of reverence is rich soil for moral idealism. Herein do the boundaries of faith and morals meet.

Again the religious man will think of life and personality and human relationships in terms of holiness; for God, the Supreme Personality, is holy. Holiness is transfigured morality,—morality touched with the ecstasy of absolute perfection. The religious man, in his halting and finite way, will aspire to imitate this divine perfection: "Be ye holy, for I, the Lord your God, am holy". He will not be content with the mere formal observance of the accepted moral code. He will seek to cleanse every fold and crease of his spiritual being. He will go behind acts to motives, and will set new goals for his life's motivations. He will be more than a moral man. He will be a moral pathfinder. Here, again, the boundaries of religion and ethics touch.

The religious man will regard his life and that of his neighbor as holy and inviolable, for every life is a reflex of divinity and is justified of itself. Every act of wrong and injustice desecrates life, mars and defaces the image of God. Oppression and exploitation are more than violations of the laws of society. They are sacrilege and blasphemy. They thwart life—God's life in man; they distort and mutilate that which is the end and goal of all being—the free, untrammelled unfoldment of personality.

Hence it is that the profoundly religious men of all times were the mightiest spokesmen of social justice, the uncompromising champions of absolute righteousness. It was from the lips of men touched with the burning coal of divine afflatus, from the lips of the prophet, the seer and the man of God, that the first great cry for justice leaped out upon the world. They who knew God most intimately spoke of human rights most fearlessly. It was in the name of God, the stern and righteous Judge, that those Titans of the Spirit wielded the scorpion whip of their fury upon those who ground the faces of the poor and turned aside the way of the humble. It was in the name of God, the compassionate and the merciful, that they pleaded the cause of the orphan and the widow, the beaten and the broken of life. It was in the name of God, the Father of all, that they espoused the cause of a universal brotherhood, which over-leaping all ancient boundaries erected by fear and selfishness, turned swords into plowshares and enmity into fellowship.

The first great service which religion, through its historic agency, the church, has rendered and can continue to render the cause of social justice, is that it can function as the motive power of enthusiasm for all programs of social amelioration. It can be the dynamo of spiritual energy for every great enterprise. Speaking betimes and oft of a God Whose ways are justice and truth, Whose worship is goodness, and upon Whose high altars only the sacrifice of righteousness are acceptable, religion and the church can so sensitize the minds of men to moral values, that when a situation confronts them, involving a clear moral issue, whether in their private life, or in their social, political or industrial life, they will be moved to choose the good and eschew the evil.

I am speaking now, of course, of those religions only which believe in human progress. I am speaking only of those religions which are concerned with the development of human personality, not with its annihilation. There are Oriental faiths or systems of metaphysics tinged with a mystic pessimism, which regard the human craving for growth and progress as the source of all suffering, and the disintegration of personality as the goal of all existence. Such faiths are foreign to the Occidental temperament, and we are not here concerned with them.

There are other religions which stress the total and irremediable depravity of this world, and which, therefore, urge men to seek personal salvation in escape and in preparation for an hereafter wherein all wrongs will automatically be righted, and all frustrated ideals gloriously realized. The religion of the European peoples has had a considerable element of this other-worldliness in it. But it is fast abandoning it. The Western mind loves life, its high adventure and its promise, and it hungers after the life more abundantly. It refuses to assume that the world is irrevocably lost. Rather it entertains an active faith in the life ascendant, rising through defeat and failure to ultimate harmony and well-being.

The religion of the Western world is therefore fast shifting its center of emotional gravity from the heavens, which belong to God, to the earth, which God gave to the children of man; from the realm of human conjecture and imagination to the realm of reality, where men live and toil and suffer and struggle for a bit of happiness. In this earthly realm of tangled lives and purposes, still so sadly disfigured by poverty and hate and ignorance and wrong, in the midst of this communion of saints and sinners which we call humanity, religion, deriving vast power from its mighty convictions, and capable of creating moods and attitudes among men which are most

congenial for moral idealism, can serve the cause of struggling mankind in a marvelous manner.

The first great service which the church, the effective arm of religion, can render the cause of social justice, is to galvanize by education and inspiration the will of men so that they will seek justice and pursue it. It can enkindle a crusading zeal for the Kingdom of God, which will be decidedly a kingdom of this world, fashioned out of the lowly clay of this life, but after the pattern and grace of highest perfection.

The church, however, must not remain content to speak of social justice in the abstract. The church is not an academy for speculative sciences. It is a dynamic agency equipped for social reconstruction. It must enter the arena of life and do battle for its sanctities.

The church cannot, of course, align itself with a propaganda for one specific economic system as against another. It must not involve itself in economic dogmatism. To do so would be to suffer a severe loss in spiritual prestige and authority. The church would be compelled either to champion an existing order, in spite of its sundry and inevitable flaws, or an imaginary order, which might fail even to approximate the virtues claimed for it. The church is not concerned with systems, but with the safeguarding of principles which each age must be challenged to work into such a system as will best meet its requirements. Whether it be capitalism, socialism or communism, there are basic principles of social justice at stake in each, and the church must under all conditions remain free to defend these ideals for which no system is adequate guarantee.

Nor should the church be called upon to play the roll of arbiter in the numerous minor economic disputes which daily arise in our society, concerning which only the expert economist can today speak with any degree of wisdom or authority. Numerous labor controversies, for example, occur today which do not at all involve such clear-cut moral issues which would warrant the church in throwing the weight of its influence on one side or the other. The church ought not to fritter itself away by introducing itself into every minor economic wrangle which may possess little or no social significance.

There are, however, problems in modern society of vast social import, reaching to the very heart of our civilization and affecting the whole structure of society, concerning which the church must speak, and in no uncertain terms. Conditions of palpable and vast wrong persist throughout the world, which thwart the rich promise of human life, consign millions to degradation and defeat, and fill the habitations of men with

anguish and sorrow. Greed and lust and oppression devastate life. Untold millions are starved by poverty and physically and spiritually drained by exploitation. Millions of children are broken upon the wheels of industry. The burdens of our economic order lie heavily upon the shoulders of our womanhood. Nowhere in the world today do those conditions of justice and opportunity fully obtain which would make possible the free, untrammelled unfoldment of personality, the harmonious development of all of God's children according to the measure of their capacities.

In the face of these conditions the church cannot, dare not, remain silent. It must cry aloud. It must lift up its voice like a trumpet to declare unto the people their transgressions. Else its vision is a lying vision and its ritual an abomination. It is true that the church has always cared for the victims of social injustice. It fed the poor, clothed the naked, sheltered the homeless, healed the sick, sustained and comforted the denied and the dispossessed of the earth. Nearly all the agencies of mercy in the world are the creations and wards of the churches. The church was indeed a compassionate mother. But it must now do more. It must not wait until the flotsam and jetsam of social wreckage come drifting to its doors. It must anticipate disaster. It must labor for a social reconstruction which will afford all men a better chance of security and happiness. The church must summon its adherents to a close scrutiny of social ills. It must stimulate research and inquiry into their possible remedies. It must place the social responsibility for ameliorating these conditions squarely upon the shoulders of its devotees. It must demand the application of their best intelligence and highest motives to this task. It must arouse and disturb them with the desperate challenge: "Ye are your brothers' keepers", and drive them on to ever-new experimentations in perfecting this stewardship. It must voice the maximum idealism of life, calling for a condition of society in which Man will at all times be primary, and the satisfaction of his legitimate needs superior to profit or the accumulation of wealth, in which rewards will be commensurate with service, and in which none shall partake of social goods who does not contribute to the social weal. It must organize the religious consciousness of the world and the mighty hosts of the faithful for strategic action at decisive moments.

Above all, it must be the refuge and sanctuary of absolute integrity. It must be the home of uncompromising loyalty to social ideals. The church must be feared and revered for its dauntless proclamation of truth. It must rise above the

state, not in the sense of endeavoring to master it, or to control its political fortunes, but in the sense of freeing itself from an alignment which carries with it the endorsement of all the political programs and policies of the state. It dare not be the lackey of the state. It must rise above the prevalent economic system, not in the sense of seeking, in doctrinaire fashion, to substitute another system for it, but in the sense of emancipating itself from an alliance which might compel it to play the role of defender and apologist. The church has often been intrigued into casting the mantle of its sanctity over the corruptions of an unjust society. The church must be free, fearless and autonomous. It must be the guide, the critic, the censor of state and society. It must never be the tool of propaganda or the channel for reaction.

Religion has not always been faithful to its informing purpose. When the first great impulse which creates a religion embodies itself in an institution, it loses much of its daring and courage. All religions at the first moment of their revelation, when they leap hot and frenzied from the soul of some God-intoxicated seer, are purging fires, consuming flames. They speak in thunder and sweep life with a "besom of destruction". They possess the dynamics of prophecy. They are "set over nations and over kingdoms, to root out and to pull down, to destroy and to overthrow, to build anew and to plant". The world stands aghast and frightened. It turns upon the prophets of the new revelation and crucifies them, only to kneel a moment later in adoration and worship them.

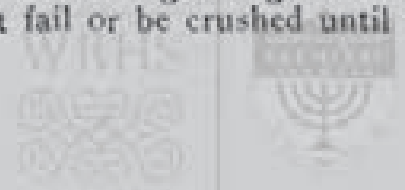
But soon the hot coals of religious passion cool off. The heroic mood vanishes. Loyalties lose their sacrificial quality. The voice crying in the wilderness becomes an echo, faint and timid. Enthusiasm is quenched in habit. Religion becomes institutionalized. Hierarchy and vested interests appear. The church becomes an end in itself. When its interests are at stake it will compromise and yield and oftentimes betray men in their direst needs.

This danger, of course, is inherent in all organization. Whatever moral progress has been achieved in the world has been largely the work, not of groups, but of individual spiritual adventurers, rebels and non-conformists. Revelations seldom come to groups. There were schools of prophets in ancient Israel, but they were merely the monitors of ancient superstitions. It was only as the individual separated himself from the school and the group and pursued his own solitary quest of reality, that prophecy discovered its authentic voice and mood.

The church, therefore, freighted down with organization, must constantly war against itself to save its soul. The church must protect itself against the downward drag of institutionalism, and the paralysis of will which results from over-organization and prosperity. The church triumphant often spells the faith defeated. It is not so difficult after all to be a voice crying in the wilderness. It is far more difficult to be a voice—clear and courageous—crying for justice amid the pomp and splendor and costliness of a Temple or a Cathedral, which is built and supported by the generosity of those who must often become the very target of the voice's invective.

But the church must do just that. It must deliberately choose the "via dolorosa"—the hard road of conflict and persecution. Else it will become a tragic futility in modern life. Thoughtful men will turn from it and will seek their light and leading elsewhere; and the youth of the world will come to regard it as a mere survival, an anachronism, interesting but irrelevant.

The church is a fellowship of the servants of God. The mission of God's servant was long ago defined by a prophet in exile: "He shall make the right to go forth according to the truth. He shall not fail or be crushed until he have set the right in the earth".



"THE HERITAGE"

BY

RABBI ABBA HILLEL SILVER



**THE TEMPLE
CLEVELAND, OHIO**

[SECOND PRINTING]

Vol. 2 No. 3

Price 25 Cents

"THE HERITAGE"

RABBI ABBA H. SILVER, THE TEMPLE, CLEVELAND, O

The story "The Heritage," of which I am to speak this morning, appeared not long ago in the Saturday Evening Post. The Heritage is a story well told,—dramatic, rising in a successive emotional crescendo to a powerful climax.

I am tempted to speak of it because of the many true and significant things which the story says concerning that perplexing and difficult problem of intermarriage.

The story, briefly told, is this: Miriam Heller, born a Jewess but not raised as one, is in love with Clifford Van Buskirk—Clifford, we shall call him—a non-Jew. Miriam has no scruples in contemplating her coming marriage with Clifford. Clifford has none either—at least none that he would acknowledge to others, or even to himself. Clifford's mother, however, an aristocrat, having her "dearest antipathies"—a DeLacey-Scovil—has most decided opinions on the subject of her son's marriage to a Jewess, which opinions, clearly and forcibly expressed, cause Clifford to hesitate in publicly announcing his engagement to Miriam.

Miriam lives with her uncle, Dr. Philip Broadstream. Breitenbach it was before he married a non-Jewess, who urged him to change his name. Dr. Philip is a lonely and unhappy man as a result of his married life. All the incompatibilities of race and religion and standards of values which existed between Dr. Philip and his wife asserted themselves very early in their married life, and caused an estrangement between them—an embitterment. Even his children avoid him. There seems to be a conspiracy, a league against him, and, withal, he and his wife and his children are compelled, because of their position, to keep up appearances—a surface impression of family harmony and peace.

Dr. Philip knows of Miriam's love for Clifford and warns her against it. Miriam remonstrates. Why should he interfere? What difference does it make if Clifford is not a Jew? She did not choose to be born a Jewess; she is not a Jewess by conviction; she thinks with bitterness of the handicap of being born a Jewess. Dr. Philip replies that it is not a question whether she chose to be born a Jewess or not—that was decided for her long ago by her ancestry. "One cannot choose one's grandparents." Dr. Philip furthermore tells her that all she is and all that is fine and beautiful about her—her physical beauty, her charm, her quick, alert and active mind, are the heritage of the generations gone by, are the racial gifts bestowed upon her, and she should be ashamed to be ashamed of a race that had so graciously and bountifully endowed her.

Dr. Philip reasons further with Miriam, for he loves the child. He narrates to her in a most intimate way his own experiences—the tragedy of his own life. Dr. Philip is a successful man to the world but a lonely man to himself. All his fine hopes and his dreams, the things he aspired to be, were blasted in the frightful disillusionment of his married life. He asked her not to repeat in her life the tragic experiences of his own. If Clifford loved her, says Dr. Philip, because she was a Jewess and not in spite of it, he would not interfere, but he knows that Clifford is apologetic concerning her Jewishness, that in a way he is ashamed of it, and, furthermore, that she herself is ashamed of it. And with self-respect lacking, with self-pride and dignity gone, what a tragic prospect there is in store for the two of them!

Miriam promises her beloved uncle, Dr. Philip, to reconsider. She meets Clifford and talks to him. Clifford is still hesitating; Clifford had just had a long talk with his mother. Clifford has not the courage to turn his back completely on his mother and on his mother's prejudices, and sacrifice them all for the sake of the love which he bears Miriam. And Miriam soon begins to realize it. She begins to realize that the prejudices of his mother weigh more with Clifford than his love for her, and she

wonders whether that would not continue to be the case throughout their married life.

Clifford inadvertently drops certain remarks, which cut Miriam to the quick. He happens to speak enthusiastically of the daughters of Dr. Philip, her uncle, because they do not look Jewish; and even suggests that he and Miriam need not have children—there may be a possibility that the children will have the racial type of the Jew. So Miriam, completely crushed and humiliated, departs from Clifford.

In the meantime Dr. Philip had been urging Miriam to look with favor upon a friend of his—a distant relative of his, David Goldberg. David is a foreigner—a Russian, but one who had adjusted himself completely to American life—educated, refined, successful. David loves Miriam but will not ask her to share his life with him as long as that feeling is still with her—that she is sorry for having been born a Jewess, and that she would rather not be one. For David is a proud and loyal Jew, proud of his race and proud of the achievements of his race.

Miriam is slowly and gradually undergoing a change of heart. She still thinks that it might be better for David to change his name, because Goldberg is such a racial name. David hotly resents even the suggestion.

Then the climax! Dr. Philip dies, an old broken man; and his last dying wish expressed to Miriam was that he might be buried a Jew, for he tried to live a Jew. That was the one thought that troubled him during the last moments of his life—that he might die a Jew and be buried as one. But just as he was balked in life, so is he balked in death. When the funeral service was about to begin, in place of a rabbi a Doctor MacDermott reads the service—a non-sectarian service, it is true—but a non-Jewish service.

And then all that was rebellious and resentful in the soul of Miriam, all that latent passion of wounded pride, all the instinctive pride of race that was hers, break forth tempestuously. The shame of it, the humiliation of it! Her uncle, not alone that he was not loved and revered in life but even in death must he be mocked and his dying wish

ignored! All that is surface and artificial in the soul of Miriam is washed away by the new passion that comes into her life, and as she passes by the casket for her last look at her beloved friend, words which she had learned in her childhood and forgotten came back to her, and in the silence of the room, in a clear voice, Miriam utters the prayer which her uncle would have loved to hear in the last moments of his life: "S'ma Yisroel Adonoi Elohenu Adonoi Echod!" Soon she feels the arm of David around her, and his voice blends with hers in repeating the ancient prayer for the dead: "Yisgadal veyiskadash shme rabbah. . . ."

There are some truly powerful, even lyrical passages in the story. Philip asked Miriam: "If Clifford loves you truly, why doesn't he come to me as a man and tell me so? Why doesn't he openly profess his love for you? Why is he so secretive about it? You tell him he must come to me and tell me that he intends to take care of you, to marry you." But she shook her head. She knew Clifford would not do so. "Then he cannot have you!" the doctor cried. "Do you hear? I am surprised at you, Miriam—to let a man put you in such a position! You, a Jewish girl—" "I'm not a Jewish girl!" "Not a—What then?" "I'm an atheist."

He laughed. Then sobering suddenly, "My poor little Miriam," he said. "I am," she went on hotly—"I'm an atheist! I don't believe in the Jewish religion. I didn't ask to be born a Jew, and so I don't see why I should be made to suffer for something I—"

"Suffer, Miriam?"

"Yes, suffer. If you're a Jew you're a sort of outcast and other people look down on you. I don't want to be looked down on for something that isn't my fault. I don't follow the Jewish customs or anything. Even if I loved David, I wouldn't marry him and be Mrs. Goldberg. I'm twenty-two, and I guess I'm old enough to pick out what I want to be."

"Wait—a—minute," his voice sounding very gentle after her outburst. And then he went on. "You say you can pick out what you want to be? Too late! A thousand years too late! Not what you will be, but how well you will be it—that is all

that has been left for you to pick out. The rest was all decided for you by something greater than your will."

"I don't believe in God," she interposed firmly.

"And who is talking of God?" he inquired. "Have you then never thought of heredity? Has not your young man told you you are beautiful? You owe that beauty to your Jewish ancestry. Your eyes, your beautiful gray eyes—they were in your father's family for generations. Jewish eyes burn and sparkle and smolder with generations of Jewish suffering; they melt and soften and move with generations of Jewish tears. . . . You have a fine mind—clear, quick, honest—and the moral stamina that will make you the kind of wife any man should be proud to have at the head of his home. Are these a heritage to be ashamed of? No! If you could choose your birth you would have the right to pick out whatever you wanted to be. But since it has all been picked out for you, and since you have accepted all the richness that has come into your life through your Jewish blood, then be ashamed to be false to that blood! Since you have not blushed to profit by your great and wonderful heritage, then be ashamed to blush for its source! Be ashamed to let others dare to blush for it!"

And then Dr. Philip opens the wounds of his own soul and shows the scarred and the marred life that has been his—the silent, suppressed tragedy of his life.

"You are young, Miriam—only a child. How should you know these things? I did not know them either at your age. I never thought to open again the bitter pages of my life, but if it will spare you the pain of learning, as I had to learn, through the blood of your heart—Mimi,—do not make the mistake I made! A marriage like mine where there is no love, no respect, no companionship; where everything is misunderstood and perverted; where everything beautiful and sacred is trampled under foot and everything false and tawdry raised up and worshiped; where your pride is a quivering, bleeding thing, your affection starved, your ambitions withered; where every day deals you fresh wounds and every hour reopens the old. Life holds no greater hell than such a marriage!"

"You think I exaggerate—that my life has seemed smooth, peaceful, contented? Yes, because I learned early to dry up the springs of pain, and that means to cease living. It was my pride to keep it from the world! But there were years when I hated her so I could have killed her!"

"But all things wear thin in life, especially hate. When I had closed myself against her so that she could not longer hurt me, I did not hate her any more. Though she made a mockery of my life, though she stood between me and all the things I might have been, even though she built up a wall of prejudice between me and my children—I do not hate her any more. Why should I—now?"

Miriam says she loves Clifford. Dr. Philip tells her: "Miriam, you must give up this foolish fancy!" Instantly she was in arms against him. "It's not a foolish fancy! I love Clifford!"

"Love—love! He is a pretty boy, I grant you, and you may be romantically attracted to him. But marriage must mean more than that! Marriage must mean that one shall love what the other loves; that one shall not mock what the other holds sacred; that both shall strive for the same things, respect the same principles, serve the same gods."

"I do love Clifford!" she repeated firmly. "Just because he's not a Jew you—"

"No, no, darling not because he isn't a Jew! There are intermarriages which are perfect. But they are founded on mutual understanding, mutual respect. If I thought your young man was marrying you, admiring and loving you for what you are, and not in spite of it, I would not interfere. But scrape off the veneer once and find out for yourself what he thinks of you—what he thinks of your Jewish blood, which is you. I know! He does not respect you. He is ashamed—apologetic. You yourself are ashamed—apologetic. And if he does not respect you and you do not respect yourself—oh, my darling, what a life!"

From what I have read of the story you realize that the author approaches the problem of intermarriage from the human point of view—not from the religious point of view, nor from the Jewish point of view. Her conclusion is simply this: that intermarriages, as a rule, lead to unhappiness. In

the main, her thesis is correct—intermarriages, as a rule, do lead to unhappiness. Marriage itself, under the most normal conditions, is fraught with tremendous problems and difficulties which very often wreck the experiment. The astounding increase in the number of divorces throughout this land indicates how very often marriages under the most normal conditions prove disastrous.

There are so many things that go into the problem—economic incompetence, weakness of character, incompatibility of temperament, family interference, that make not for marital peace but for marital unhappiness. Now when you add to it all this additional difficulty—a fundamental incompatibility, a difference of rearing, of environment, of attitude, of standard of valuation, and the probability for happiness grows less and less.

Young people are prone to underestimate the influence of family environment in married life. You married people will bear evidence of what I am saying. Young people think that they are marrying one another, but they forget very often that they are actually marrying into families—into family traditions, into family prejudices, and that these traditions and prejudices are bound to have vital and telling effect upon the future condition of their married life.

I know that the institution of mother-in-law has been the most maligned institution in the world. But think of Miriam being compelled daily to submit to the stare of appraisal—through a lorgnette—of one who had been a De Lacey-Scovil!—think of Miriam, a sensitive soul, being whipped by the lash of scorn!—and you will realize how critical a position families hold in married life. Again, disputes between husband and wife are bound to take place, even if the neighbors do not hear of them—and these disputes, unless they are very, very serious, are most often adjusted—little tempests in a teapot. But if in such a moment of thoughtlessness the husband, for example, in a moment of supreme folly should say: "What could be expected from a Jew?"—a scar is left upon the soul that will remain; a burning sense of humiliation that time itself cannot quench.

I had such a case brought to me a few months ago. A young Jewish woman had married a non-Jew some twelve years ago, and lived in comparative peace and happiness with him. They had children; they had those petty family squabbles off and on, which were always patched up and adjusted, but once, in a moment of stupid fury, this husband had said to her: "Of course, I couldn't expect anything else from you—a Jew." As a result of that this woman was a sobbing heap in my study—crushed, broken. I urged her to return home, for there were children to be considered. But here was a woman—even like Dr. Philip—that will carry the scar throughout her days.

So that from a purely human point of view, if I were asked, not as a rabbi, nor even as a Jew: Is intermarriage desirable? I would say, no. For it makes for unhappiness. I have known some examples of real happiness in intermarriage. In such cases both man and wife belonged to those rare few who learned early in life to respect each other's convictions; or one had completely merged his or her identity with that of the other.

But I would approach the subject of intermarriage from another point of view, one not touched upon by the author—the Jewish point of view. The real objection which our people has to intermarriage is that it makes for the extinction of the race. Intermarriage inevitably leads to assimilation. The statistics which we have been able to gather in the last fifty or sixty years prove conclusively that intermarriage makes for assimilation; only ten per cent of the offspring of intermarriages remain within the Jewish fold. The Jew from earliest times opposed marriage with the non-Jew not because he entertained a false pride of race, not because he regarded himself as superior to his fellowmen, but simply as a means of self-preservation and of the preservation of those religious ideals which were sacred to him. Already in the Bible, where the law prohibiting intermarriage is given, the reason is stated—"that they may not lead thy son away from worshipping God, and worship other gods."

It was the one means which this small people had to preserve itself and the ideals which were dear to it. It realized very early in life that it had

something worth while preserving, something that it could bestow as a blessing upon the world; but if it were to lose its identity and merge with the great world, that something would be lost to it and to the world. It regarded its spirit as a precious drop of perfume which, when by itself, sends forth an aroma and a fragrance, but when once poured into a sea of water, is completely lost and its potency is gone.

I want to make this point very clear this morning: the only reason which prompted our people to prohibit intermarriages in days gone by, and the only reason which still urges us to insist upon this prohibition is that it makes for the extermination of the race and for the extermination of our faith. Now, of course, the question may well be asked: Why preserve the race? Why not assimilate? Why insist upon remaining a small isolated minority? In an age when people speak of universalism and cosmopolitanism, why should the Jew insist upon preserving his particularism, upon retaining his self-identity and thereby be forced to endure all the unpleasant things, the things that Miriam rebelled against,—the handicap?

This is not an academic question that we are asking ourselves. It is a very real question, and it is becoming more real and pressing from day to day. Intermarriage, while it has not grown alarmingly in recent years, is yet a problem which must be faced. While it is not a menace as yet, it may become so in the future. While today less than one-fiftieth of one percent of marriages the world over are intermarriages, it still remains true that in certain lands, especially where the Jews have enjoyed complete equality, as in Germany, Austria and the Scandnavian countries, intermarriages have assumed startling proportions. In 1905 in Berlin 17% of all Jewesses and 25% of all Jews married Christians. That is, every fourth Jew and every sixth Jewess married out of the faith.

In Hamburg in the five years between 1901 and 1906 the number of mixed marriages amounted to 61%. In Copenhagen, which has a population of some four thousand Jews, in the years between 1880 and 1890, the number of mixed marriages was

15%; in the years between 1891 and 1900 it was 70%; between 1901 and 1909 it was 96%. A Jewish boy would have a difficult time indeed trying to marry a Jewish girl in Copenhagen. . . .

Now, of course, these are rare cases that I have quoted; they do not at all hold true of the vast numbers of our people. But it may in the years to come, because the three factors which have made for pure Jewish marriages as against mixed marriages are gradually disappearing in Jewish life. First, the strong community sense—the strong group consciousness which prevailed a few generations ago, and which still prevails in certain quarters like Poland, Russia, and Galicia—a group loyalty, a sense of kinship with a people, and a sense of obligation to the purposes and to the destiny of that people. That was one factor that militated against intermarriage.

The second factor was the authority of religion—of ceremonial religion, observance of laws and customs and traditions—not the religion which means merely allegiance to certain abstract principles, but the religion which means a discipline in life. It was a fence thrown around the law and around the people.

And, lastly, the political, social and economic disabilities which existed in years gone by and which had practically isolated the Jew, are fast disappearing. Political equality, economic equality, the weakening of the bonds of ceremonial religion, and the loss of the sense of community loyalty and allegiance are paving the way for greater and greater intermarriage.

Now, then, why should we stop this process? Why should we oppose the normal development, the natural law that a minority must lose itself ultimately in the majority? Why fight what seems to be the inevitable?

I have no racial grounds for my position. It has been said that it is not well for the Jew to intermarry because that would produce a mongrel race; it would lower the type; it were best to preserve the purity of the Jewish race. Well, I am not a student of race problems, in fact I am very suspicious of it all. I hear so much of unmitigated falsehoods

and balderdash said concerning race that it behooves a man to be very careful before indulging in prognostications or in generalizations.

The fellow that has blond hair is tempted to say that the blonds are the finest people on earth; the fellow that has black hair will say the same thing of the black-haired. The fellow that is short will say that great men were, with few exceptions, short; the fellow that is tall will say that great men, with few exceptions were tall and both will find enough proof and evidence to substantiate their claims because there are a good number of people who were short and great and tall and great. This talk about race purity and the racial homogeneity of peoples is I am afraid one of the supreme fictions of the Nineteenth Century.

One of the things that amused me exceedingly during the war was the way the tables were turned on the race enthusiasts in Germany. The German was fond of saying, during the past generation or two, that the Teutonic race was the supreme race in the world, and that the Semite (the Jew, of course) was a mongrel race; that the Semite never produced anything great, and that they never produced a man of the first rank. Then the war came and the tables were turned and people began to speak of the German race as of an inferior race that never produced a thing; in fact, everything good produced in Germany was produced by Jews. Even poor Beethoven was made a Jew. . . .

That is a dangerous enterprise and diversion—this talk about purity of races; we had better leave that alone.

There are two reasons why I believe the Jewish people ought to preserve its self-identity—a cultural reason and a religious reason. I maintain—and, believe me it is a fundamental conviction with me—that the Jew can benefit the world only as a Jew; that by assimilating he robs the world of certain very vital and essential cultural and religious contributions.

The Jew has a distinctive culture. Three thousand years of a common experience have deposited within his soul a culture unique unto himself. The Jew has a characteristic way of envisaging the

world, of approaching the problems of life. Every people that has lived a life of its own develops such a distinctive attitude. The Jew has a cultural tradition fashioned and forged by prophets, and sages, and seers—a culture that is the expression of centuries of greatness, and glory, of suffering, and tribulation; a culture that bears the imprint of a vibrant personality.

Now, the Jew can give this culture to the world as long as he remains a Jew. Once he ceases to be a Jew that culture ceases with him. I, for one, am not an advocate and never have been an advocate of the theory of the melting pot; that the peoples of the world before very long will all be thrown into one smoky, smouldering melting pot, and out of the fusion will come one culture, one people, one language and one type of man. That is naive and primitive. That is what the primitive man believed existed before the Tower of Babel.

We are moving in the direction not of sameness but of diversity; the more civilized we become the more we become differentiated. It is not homogeneity but heterogeneity to which civilization tends. There is not going to be one culture in the world; the world does not need one culture; the world does not need a heaven of one star, and a symphony of one sound. The world wants to create a brotherhood of peoples, a civilization of many cultures, a variegated, colorful life. And the Jew has a culture than which there is none older, more seasoned, more needed in the world. As long as he lives he is contributing that soul treasure to the world; when he ceases to be, it dies with him and the world is impoverished by so much.

I have a religious reason why I want the Jewish people to survive; because as long as the Jewish religion lives—and it can live only as long as the Jewish people lives—it is constantly challenging the world; it is constantly compelling the religions of the earth to reckon with it, to adjust themselves to it, to criticize it or to criticize themselves; it is a constant ferment; it is a constant challenge to superstition and idolatry of one form or another. As long as the Jewish religion lives it is compelling the religions of the earth to develop, to grow, to

expand, to purify themselves. When the Jewish people ceases to be, and with it its religion perishes, orthodoxy, stagnation, is bound to set in in the world.

For the benefit of humanity I want the Jew to be; I want the Jew to continue to live as an inspiration to every idealist that has ever lived. Every man who has suffered for the sake of an ideal, every man who has ever been racked and torn by the hostility of the world in his effort to bring a little more of God's sunshine into the souls of men,—any man who because of it feels disheartened and despairs, may then look to this supreme heroic example of an idealist people that has survived in spite of two thousand years of crucifixion. Out of Israel's life and out of Israel's glory he will draw inspiration to continue his struggle for the salvation of man.

The Jew is the mighty example of idealism martyred, but of idealism resurrecting ever anew. I want this superb example of a race triumphant against force, a light triumphant against darkness, and a truth triumphant against lies and miserable scandals and libels and accusations to endure. I want the Jew to survive as the eternal reminder unto men that God lives in the world, and that truth endures forever.

Why should the Jew cease to be? What is the world to gain by his disappearance? What is the Jew to gain by his disappearance? What can the world give me that I have not? Perhaps a little more comfort, a little more of that something for which Esau sold his birthright. . . . What can the world give me more than what my race has given me? Why should I slash the arteries through which flows the blood of three thousand years—the glories of a people's life, for the sake of the mean, and the tawdry, and the small things of life?

I tell you, men and women, that the world needs the Jew most when the world hates him most. And if at any time I were doubtful of this fact. I am convinced of it today—the world needs us most when it hates us most. For it is proof then that the soul of the world is still unpurged, that its mind is still stored with the cobwebs of Medievalism.

that imperialism—political, and racial, and religious, and social—is still rampant on earth.

Our race, my friends, has not yet said its last say, or uttered its last immortal phrase; we have yet much to give to the world. We shall give much to the world if we remain true to the prophetic spirit that is within us; we shall yet lead as we led in the past—in the political life, in the religious life, in the economic life, in the social life of men. We shall lead by the light of that genius which is our racial heritage if we remain true to ourselves. Our union with mankind must not be a physical union. It need not be a physical union. It can be, and it shall, by the grace of God, ultimately be a spiritual union. We shall meet the peoples of the earth in spirit, in a co-operative effort for common good in serving our common needs; we shall meet in sympathy; we shall meet in love. We need not because of this love which we have for mankind, die, even as the men of that fabled tribe of Asra died when they loved. . . .

So that if you were to ask me, as a Jew and a rabbi, why I do not believe in intermarriage, I would say not because I believe that my race is better than that of another race; not because I believe that my race is superior intellectually or physically to another race, but because I believe firmly that the world needs us as Jews, that the world needs our cultural contributions and our religious contributions of yesterday and of tomorrow.

I would also leave this thought with all the young men and women here and everywhere; that in life there is a love which transcends the love of a man for a woman; there is love for one's country for which men give up not alone their other loves and their homes, but their very lives. There is a love transcendent for truth, for high resolves, for holy ideals, for faith, for God.

And it is to such a love transcending every other love that we summon our men and our women—the youth of our generation. Our heritage is not only one of blood physical, but one of the soul spiritual. The world needs our heritage today; the world will need us tomorrow. We have a destiny

even as we have a heritage; we have a future even as we have a past. And to that future and to the consummation of that great promise of our race to be a blessing unto the races of mankind, we summon our sons and our daughters.



Copies of Rabbi Silver's Sermons may be obtained at the office of The Temple, East 55th Street and Central Avenue, Cleveland.

The following lectures have been printed:

PREJUDICE—HOW TO MEET IT.....	Price 25 cents
THE SPIRITUAL LEGACY OF THE PILGRIM FATHERS	Price 25 cents
"THE HERITAGE" [Second Printing].....	Price 25 cents
JUDAISM AND CHRISTIAN SCIENCE.....	Price 25 cents
BLAZING A TRAIL THROUGH LIFE.....	Price 20 cents
An Address to Young Men and Women.	

**SOME PROBLEMS OF HUMAN LIFE PROPOUNDED IN
THE BIBLE:**

"JOB"—Why is there suffering in the world?

"ECCLESIASTES"—Is life worth living?

"THE PSALMS"—How can man find God?

Three sermons under one cover.....Price 25 cents

HOW TO BE HAPPY IN AN IMPERFECT WORLD.

Price 25 cents

With special reference to Lewis' Main Street and Wassermann's "The World's Illusion."

The subscription price for the eight sermons to be published each year is \$2.00.