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THE BUILDER OF THE NATION

The TENTH ANNIVERSARY of the "Gewerkschaften" Campaign —
The TENTH CELEBRATION of the Third "Seder", and the opening
of the Campaign for the Jewish Workers' Organizations in Palestine—
Sunday evening, April 3, 1934.
OYER

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Ten Years That Have Made History

Ten YEARS have passed since the National Labor Committee for Palestine was born. A decade is but a bubble on the stream of time, but in the life of man it may be pregnant with the destinies of great nations.

This is particularly true of the decade which has elapsed since that memorable day, June 24, 1923, when the United Hebrew Trades, the largest body of organized Jewish labor in America, proclaimed its solidarity with the Jewish workers of Palestine and with their great organization, the HISTADRUTH HAOVDIM (Palestine Federation of Labor).

This was indeed a daring step. The courage of it must be evident to every one who is familiar with the history of the Jewish labor movement in America. For decades the Jewish workers of this country, and particularly their leaders and spokesmen, had been nursed on a curious kind of cosmopolitanism which looked with favor on every national movement among oppressed minority people, but frowned upon any manifestation of nationalism among their own people, the most oppressed of all! And here was the oldest and largest Jewish labor organization in America voicing its sympathy with the Jewish pioneers and workers who were building the Jewish National Home in Palestine. What a break with the past this was! What a triumph over a time-honored and deeply rooted prejudice! And so we are not exaggerating when we say that the step taken by the United Hebrew Trades (popularly known as the “Gewerkschaften”) on that historic day in June, 1923, was epoch-making, marking the end of an era of hostility and opposition to the aims and efforts of Jewish labor in Palestine, and the beginning of an era of goodwill and cooperation.

Yes, “and cooperation”. For the United Hebrew Trades did not stop with this expression of sympathy, knowing full well that fine words butter no parsnips, and that a long neglected country like Palestine cannot be built upon sympathy alone. And so, suit the action to the word, it proceeded to translate its sympathy into active support. Under the inspired leadership of the late and unforgettable Max Pine, then secretary of the “Gewerkschaften”, a conference of labor leaders and representatives of the Poale Zion, Zeire Zion, and the National Jewish Workers’ Alliance, was convened in New York in October, 1923, at which the National Labor Committee for Palestine was formed.

Among those who have endorsed the work of the Committee and given it active support are such world-famous Jews as Prof. Albert Einstein and Justice Louis D. Brandeis; such an outstanding leader of American labor as President William Green of the American Federation of Labor, and such eminent American Socialists as the late Eugene V. Debs, the late Victor Berger, the living Norman Thomas, and that Grand Old Man of American Socialism and Yiddish newspaperdom, Abraham Cahan.

And the nine annual campaigns held so far have brought in over a million dollars. With the money thus raised in America, the Histadruth has provided modern agricultural and industrial machinery for the Jewish pioneers of Palestine, built homes and community centers, established and maintained hospitals, schools, and libraries, as well as a great variety of other welfare, cultural, and cooperative institutions, which have benefited not only its own members (now 35,000 strong), but the whole country, including the Arabs.

If the Jewish workers of Palestine are to-day the greatest constructive force in the development of the country; if they are now laying the foundation not only for the National Jewish Home, but also for the Cooperative Commonwealth of Labor, it is due in no small measure to the moral and material support which the National Labor Committee for Palestine has enlisted for them in America.

We are proud of our ten years of service to labor Palestine; we are happy over the part which we have been privileged to play in one of the most thrilling dramas in the history of mankind; we are grateful to those, living and dead, who have helped us to perform our historic task worthily.

But though justly proud of our achievement, we shall not rest on our laurels now, but on the contrary, redouble our efforts in the cause to which we have dedicated ourselves. For never before did labor Palestine need our assistance as badly as now.

This is one of the most critical periods in the long and martyred annals of Israel. The great bulk of Poland's three million Jews are in a most precarious and martyred annals of Israel. The great bulk of Poland’s three million Jews are in a most precarious condition, the rise of a Polish middle class having forced the Jews out of many an economic position which they have held for centuries. The same is true of the Jews in the other countries of Eastern Europe. And need we speak of the tragedy of German Jewry? Millions of Jews in Germany and elsewhere must emigrate. But whither are they to go? The doors of America, once the haven of refuge for the oppressed, are closed, and so are those of the other immigration countries.

Palestine alone offers the happy exception. During the last twelve months Palestine has absorbed over thirty thousand new Jewish settlers. And among those who have found homes and livelihoods, peace and secur-
Palestine—A Home For Victims of Racial Bigotry

BY EMILE VANDEVERELDE

SINCE the sanguinary Russian pogroms in the days of Alexander III, Europe has not witnessed such a terrible drama as the flight of thousands of Jews who have been driven from Germany by racial persecutions on account of the double sin they have committed: the sin of belonging to the Jewish race and of desiring to be free men.

It is estimated that over 75,000 have fled to France alone. Many of them are well to do and even wealthy persons who have not been robbed of their all, and on the Champs Elysees it is no novel thing to-day to hear the German language on the terraces of all cafes.

But along with these, how many more are there of that great majority of unhappy people who do not know where to turn, who have no idea whether their exile will lead them, and where they will find work, a morsel of bread, and a roof over their heads?

In the past, America was the great asylum of the oppressed, and everybody knows that New York now contains the largest Jewish community in the world. But owing to the new restrictive laws, immigration is now allowed to come in in driblets.

Theoretically, there still exist countries where there is no anti-Semitism, and where human rights are not the exclusive privilege of one race: France, England, and the smaller countries of Western and Northern Europe.

But who does not know that on account of the world-wide depression, conditions have become very difficult even for the native working population, and that foreigners of whatever origin find work there only with great difficulty?

When, in addition, we take into consideration the lands of Eastern Europe, where the Jews continue to lead a life apart as a minority still suffering from incessant persecution, and where the relative excess of the Jewish population which is confined to certain vocations and branches of business is growing even greater,—then the exile of the poor German Jews would appear to be an insoluble problem but for the obstinate efforts, during the last century of a few individuals who were endowed with remarkable idealism, and but for the favorable juncture which was utilized immediately after the war, and both of which prepared the groundwork for the establishment of a Jewish National Home in Palestine.

And in point of fact, to-day Palestine is one of the few countries, perhaps the only country—some say the same thing of Russia, but that is another story—where there is no economic depression, where there is no unemployment, and where the growth of the population that is engaged in productive labor creates fresh possibilities of development for the country.

When I visited Palestine in 1928, the Jewish population there numbered 155,000. To-day there are 250,000 Jews there, among them, 8,888 refugees from Germany.

At a time when the foreign trade is diminishing everywhere in a catastrophic manner, exports and imports keep on increasing in Palestine.

In the region of Jaffa and Tel-Aviv new plantations of oranges and grape-fruits are springing up all the time and creating a modern Garden of Hesperides there. Haifa has become the terminal of the pipe line from the Mosul oil wells, and will in another few years become the largest port on the Eastern shore of the Mediterranean. The electrification of the country is proceeding apace. The modern Jewish industrial enterprises employ over 13,000 workers. In the cause of development of agricultural colonization it is becoming even more evident that its progressive methods of work benefit equally the Arabian and the Jewish workers.

How, then, does it come that it is still difficult to establish friendly relations between the two populations, and that only recently there were riots, which this time were speedily and severely suppressed by the Mandatory Power?

This may be explained by the fact that there exists an obdurate element which exploits the nationalism and religious fanaticism of the Arabs. These are the Effendis, the large landowners, who view the possibility of an understanding between the proletarian elements of the two nationalities as a menace to their vested interests and to the almost feudal authority which they still exercise.

If, nevertheless, there is a heartening sign, a reassuring portent of the future, it is the wonderful and indefatigable efforts of our comrades of the Jewish Labor Party and of the Histadruth (Palestine Federation of Jewish Labor) to unite the Arabian and Jew in a Nazi sheet which circulates in a land of asylum, the home for the victims of Hitler and of racial bestiality.

In this great work of reconstruction, of turning middlemen into productive workers and tillers of the soil, our help is of vital importance. We cannot, we dare not, fail the Histadruth now, if we do not wish to stand condemned before the bar of history.

Close ranks! Forward, march! On to victory!

—MAXIMILIAN HURWITZ.
I WANT to speak to you quite informally this evening about some of the things that impressed me, and particularly about the labor movement in Palestine. During my Sabbatical year I spent a good deal of time in and about Palestine. This was my third visit to the country. My first visit was in 1915, shortly after the World War. Palestine then was still under military occupation. It was then a very empty and desolate country. Here and there you could see a Jewish settlement or colony, but it was no more than some of those flowers which you see growing up among the debris of ruins. The country showed very little promise of great things.

My second visit to Palestine was in 1927. The country had developed a great deal during those eight years. New settlements and colonies had been established. Tel Aviv had become a city of respectable size and importance. Industries were springing up and expanding. Nevertheless I felt then that all about Palestine there was still the air of something experimental and tentative. One did not have the feeling of permanence about the whole project. To be sure there was something definitely in the making, but one did not know whether the process would not sooner or later break down.

This year that feeling of uncertainty left me the minute I got into the country. The country had made such marvelous strides in these five or six years. Its development was both intensive and extensive. One had the feeling that the plant had finally sent its roots deep down into the soil and that it had become a sturdy plant which would be able to withstand almost any storm which might sweep over it. Jewish settlements had multiplied to a remarkable degree. Trade, industry and commerce had expanded. Home building had increased in the community and social agencies which go to make up a permanent and stable community had developed to a remarkable degree. Between 1919 and 1933 close on to 125,000 Jews had come and settled in the country.

What particularly impressed me was the spirit of confidence that one encountered everywhere. This confidence was traceable to many causes. First of all, most evident, of course, was the fact that the country was prosperous. This fact has already been dwelt upon so often that I need not elaborate on it now. The rest of the world had gone down into a disastrous economic decline. Palestine was holding its own. There were no bankruptcies, bank failures or unemployment. Government finances were sound. It was fortunate for Palestine that it had never been over-capitalized or over-industrialized.

Five Major Developments

Palestine was beginning to enjoy the consequences of five major developments which had taken place in the country in the last ten years. The first of these was the completion of the Ruthenberg project for the hydro-electrification of the Jordan. That project, which seemed to be more or less of a fable for nearly a decade in Zionist and Jewish circles, has finally become a reality. Steel and concrete were laid right across the desert; and it is now giving electric power at low rates to practically two-thirds of Palestine.

The second development which 1 encountered in, explaining some of the al-most limitless rich potash from the Dead Sea. That potash is now being sold in the markets of the world. It is possible that the potash may prove to be one of the richest sources of income for Palestine in the future. The third major development was the development of the chemical resources of the Dead Sea. A small town has grown up around the Dead Sea. Hundreds of workingmen are now employed in the industry. Potash is being extracted some of the richest sources of income for Palestine in the future.

The fourth project, which was being completed while I was there, and is now completed, was the Haifa harbor. The Haifa harbor is now one of the two or three finest harbors on the Mediterranean. It is fast becoming the point of export and import not merely for Palestine, but for parts of Syria, but for the entire interland, for Mesopotamia, for Iraq, Haifa promises to become the great industrial center of Palestine.

The last of the five major developments which were almost complete was the building of the morale of the people and to stimulating the hopefulness that one senses everywhere in the country is the completion of the pipe-line which is to carry oil from Moosul to the shores of the Mediterranean. Twelve hundred miles of pipe have been laid right across the desert, and one of the two terminal points of that pipe-line is Haifa. Already one sees huge tanks on the outskirts of Haifa where this oil is to be stored for ultimate exportation.

For a small country like Palestine five of such major enterprises, completed within the space of less than a decade, are enough to send a current of hope, and with it renewed initiative and enterprise throughout the whole economic life of the country.

Another reason for this spirit of confidence in my mind is the fact that the Arab problem which has been agitated, instigated and aroused, and which is being manipulated by the small group of very clever, politically-minded Arab leaders who are trained in all the tricks of European propaganda methods and who also know what they are about. The Jewish labor group in Palestine is facing the Arab problem forthrightly and squarely. It is not blinded by the issue. It is not ignoring it. It refuses to meet the situation by any theatrical grandstand attitude, by any false gestures, by any efforts to shut down the opposition or to outplay them in the game of propaganda, knowing full well that these tactics cannot succeed. They have adopted a long-range program of rapprochement, a program of cooperation with the Arabs, fully aware that for the time being that program is very difficult of realization. They are determined to work with the Arab, and not against...
him. They are reconciled to the fact that the Arab is going to remain in Palestine and that the few years and generations to come be an important element in the Palestinian population. As a means of closely approaching the Arab and cooperating with him on the plane of common labor interests, they are endeavoring to raise the standard of the Arab workman. They are encouraging the unionization of the Arabs, because they believe that as the Arab rises in the economic scale, as he becomes more literate and more intelligent in an economic sense, he will realize that the Jewish labor and the interest of Arab labor are not antithetical, but that both national labor groups can cooperate in the common task for mutual benefit and for the upbuilding of the country.

Now, if there is any other solution for the Arab problem, I for one, frankly do not know it. There is no way of driving the Arab out of the country. There is certainly no way today of reducing that population to the level of feudal serfs to serve the interest of a dominant Jewish group. Not only can we not ourselves evict the Arab from the rural exploitation of a people but it simply cannot be done.

Eschewing Dramatic Maneuvers

There is another subject on which the labor group in Palestine has been sound and level-headed since the establishment of the Jewish State. That subject is the Jewish State in Palestine. The working group in Palestine, like all classic Zionists, are maximum nationalists. They have not surrendered the ideal of a Jewish State in Palestine. But they realize as all people who are engaged in the business of practical state-raft realize, that no state is built in a day. They are not blatant about their ultimate objectives, they are not irritable about them, they do not fling them in the face of the Arabs. At present they are not so much concerned with what the Arab is as with what he will become. They know that they must have a preponderantly large Jewish majority in the country before the question of the Jewish State can be satisfactorily settled.

They have been criticized for it. The extreme Revisionist group has taunted them with the charge that they are time-serving, that they are not realizing a basis of comfortable, and it gives one such a warm glow of inner exaltation when one feels that he is more "patriotic" than the other fellow, that his program is more extreme and "courageous" than that of the other fellow. But the labor leaders of Palestine who are responsible for the upbuilding work of the country cannot afford this self-indulgence. They are confronted with the day-by-day perplexing difficult problems of construction and building, and they are determined not to be diverted from the upbuilding by any dramatic maneuvers which are fruitless and which may prove dangerous.

These two facts alone, their attitude towards the Arabs and their attitude towards the problem of the National State in Palestine, have given to the whole upbuilding work in Palestine a certain practical certitude which it would not have had if the people of the country were in the hands of irresponsible and belligerent politicians.

Importance of Self-Work

Another factor which the Labor Party has stressed in Palestine, and which particularly at this hour is of the utmost importance is the idea of self-work. Palestine must be built up by Jewish labor, not merely by Jewish capital. Classical Zionism aimed at this. If you recall the history of the Zionist movement, you will remember that it was as much aimed at reconstructing the economic life of the Jew as it was at establishing a Jewish homeland in Palestine. Self-work, then is a great principle -namely, the Jewish worker will, with a few outstanding exceptions, employ as a matter of course Arab labor. Jewish labor will choose as between Arab and Jewish labor, he will, with a few outstanding exceptions, employ as a matter of course Arab labor. Jewish labor will choose as between Arab and Jewish labor, how many Jewish bankers, merchants, and professional people! Of course Jewish artisans? How many skilled and unskilled Jewish laborers have we in Germany? But see how many Jewish bankers, merchants, and professional people! Of course we know that there are historical reasons for it. But a historical reason is an explanation, not a solution.

The classic thinkers of the Zionist Movement conceived as one of the great objectives of Zionism the normalizing of the economic life of the Jew once he is settled in his own homeland. Many Jews that went to Palestine forget this. They bring a little capital with them and start a business, and they are not particularly careful whether they employ Jews or Arabs. One would not prefer to employ the Arab because he represents cheaper labor. There is thus the danger that in the course of time we would have in Palestine an immigrant Jewish group, largely belonging to the bourgeoise class, living off and exploiting a working peasant and proletarian Arab group. That would besmirch our land. That would make us an object of just criticism and contempt throughout the world. Palestine would become the classic example in the sight of the world in associating with the proclivities of the Jewish people.

The labor group in Palestine has been keenly aware of this danger and, with no less a philosophy that Palestine, Jewish Palestine, shall be built up by Jewish labor from the ground up, Please remember that if there is any lesson which has come out of the last ten or fifteen years of economic unrest in the world, it is that the ultimate and final verdict in the life of a nation lies with the people who live on the soil and who work with their hands. The future belongs to them. If in Palestine we are not strongly entrenched as tillers of the soil and as workers in industry, we will share the fate of all exploiting capitalist groups in the world.

Self-work, then, is a great principle of the Jewish labor group in Palestine. There will be no self-work in the upbuilding of the country. That ought not to be regarded as a principle -namely, the Jewish worker will, with a few outstanding exceptions, employ as a matter of course Jewish labor. There is thus the danger that in the course of time we would have in Palestine an immigrant Jewish group, largely belonging to the bourgeoise class, living off and exploiting a working peasant and proletarian Arab group.

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Realizing an Old Prophetic Ideal

On a small scale, they have already done it. They have done it, not as it was done in Russia, through the expropriation of the properties of other people and through blood and terror. They have done it through their own efforts and with capital which they themselves or friends and sympathizers provided. There are now some very fine model Jewish colonies in Palestine where the old prophetic ideal of a human society has been brought to life. Cooperative groups have their own resources and enthusiasm, and have been provided without sacrificing individuality or personal freedom.

I don't know where else in the world today this type of bloodless and voluntary experiment in socialized community life is going on. In this sense Palestine is becoming a sort of proving ground for mankind, a laboratory for the peaceful cooperative commonwealth of tomorrow.

For these reasons, I believe the labor group in Palestine represents the soundest, the most constructive, the most conservative and the most promising element in Palestine.

Labor's Statesmanlike Leaders

I met some of their leaders, among them the unforgettable and much lamented Arlosoroff. Truly, a remarkable man. I was with him the night before he left for Berlin. The next I heard of him was that he had been assassinated. Arlosoroff represented the high type of Western European Jew, he had been educated in Western European ways of thought, and at the same time he represented the finest traditions and the highest ideals of Israel. He was a man of keen mentality. He understood not only movements and abstract ideas, but what is infinitely more important, he understood people. That is why he was chosen to be the head of the Political Department of the Zionist Executive in Palestine. He made friends for the movement among the British officials. He made friends among the important sections of the Palestinian population. He was struck down in the midst of his youth and his career. It is a tragic loss to the movement, to Palestine and to Israel.

I met many other of the leaders of the labor group, and they increased still more my confidence in this group, in whose hands, the fortunes of Palestine today rest.

Zionism in Uniform

Let me close with another side of the picture. For one reason or another, the labor group has not been able to capture the imagination of large sections of the youth of Palestine. The youth of Palestine, at least the most vocal sections of it, tend very decided ly to the extreme right, just as the youth of many of the countries of Europe. These young people like their Zionism in uniforms. They like the martial ways of party life. They are captivated by demands for an immediate maximum program even if it can achieve less than the minimum.

I suppose the reason for this is that the Socialism of today is no longer a movement of daring and danger. And the Socialism of today represented the ultimate extreme to the imagination of young people. The danger which is involved in being identified with an extreme movement enkindled their ardor and fascinated them.

There are today extremes beyond Socialism. On the one hand, Communism and, on the other hand, Fascism. Socialism has become more or less a conservative movement like democracy and liberalism. Unfortunately, today democracy and liberalism cannot capture the imagination of young people. That is one reason for the defeat of democracy and liberalism in many parts of the world.

How to get around this in Palestine, I don't know, any more than I know how we can get the young in this country aroused to a high pitch of devotion and enthusiasm for those democratic and liberal ideals, which a generation or two ago were able to set fire to a nation, and raise it to high pitch of sacrifice. That is one of the great problems in Palestine. The excessive ardor of sections of Palestinian youth has led to serious riots. I suppose directly and indirectly it was responsible for the assassination of Arlosoroff.

Perhaps as the mood of the age changes, as life becomes a little more quiet and settled, these extreme movements will disappear of themselves, and the solid constructive tendencies will again gain ascendancy in human life; and Palestine's youth too will again rally to them.

The Arlosoroff Memorial Project

On Friday night, June 16, 1933, the Sabbath peace of all-Jewish city of Tel Aviv was shattered by shots which were heard around the world. Dr. Chaim Arlosoroff was cut down in his prime by the bullets of cowardly assassins firing in the dark. His death robbed the Jewish Homeland of one of its shining figures, and Palestinian Jewish labor of its ablest leader and spokesman.

To perpetuate the memory of its fallen leader, the Histadruth has launched a campaign for an Arlosoroff Fund with which to colonize a large number of Jewish families on hitherto uncultivated land in the Jordan Valley, and to give the new settlement the name of Arlosoroff.

The project to commemorate the name of the martyred labor leader by means of an extensive Jewish agricultural settlement was sanctioned by the recent World Zionist Congress, and money for this purpose is being raised in many countries. By a recent decision of the National Labor Committee for Palestine, a considerable part of the proceeds of its campaign this year will go for the Arlosoroff Memorial Project.

Mi Heim Hachalutzim

Mi heim habachurim
Habachurim hachalutzim
Asher ba-emek u-va-galil ?
Be-va-dai she-la-nu
Be-va-dai va-dai she-la-nu
Ha-vah v'nisa hagalilah.

Mi heim habachurot
Habachurot ha-cha-lu-tzot
Asher ba-emek u-va-galil ?
Be-va-dai she-la-nu
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THE PROVIDENCE PASSOVER JOURNAL

To perpetuate the memory of its fallen leader, the Histadruth has launched a campaign for an Arlosoroff Fund with which to colonize a large number of Jewish families on hitherto uncultivated land in the Jordan Valley, and to give the new settlement the name of Arlosoroff. The project to commemorate the name of the martyred labor leader by means of an extensive Jewish agricultural settlement was sanctioned by the recent World Zionist Congress, and money for this purpose is being raised in many countries. By a recent decision of the National Labor Committee for Palestine, a considerable part of the proceeds of its campaign this year will go for the Arlosoroff Memorial Project.
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Issued in the interest of the JEWISH WORKERS’ ORGANIZATIONS IN PALESTINE
Printed by the Independent Press, 27 Beach St., Boston

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