foundly concerned over the cause for which they are risking the unspeakable horror and confusion of war. And the French and British governments have unequivocally stated that their aim is to destroy Hitlerism, Nazism, the rule of unbridled force and fraud. They added, at least by implication, on the occasion of President Roosevelt's Intergovernmental Committee for Refugees, that they desired to destroy the spirit of bigotry and the persecution of religious and nationalistic minorities. With these aims all free men everywhere, all men of conscience everywhere and certainly all Jews everywhere will profoundly and passionately agree. But there is, as history illustrates, a terrific difference between war-aims on paper and their embodiments in law, life and institutions.

In his memoirs of the first World War Lloyd George defends spiritedly certain aspects of the Treaty of Versailles. The peacemakers did write clauses into the constitutions of the succession states, notably of Poland, guaranteeing the rights of minorities. And hence Jewish Deputies did sit in the Parliament of the Polish Republic until that republic was extinguished the other day. And what did that avail us? What Jew does not know of the grievous oppression and humiliation of our people in that new Poland and, by the same token, in that new and enlarged Rumania? The treaty-makers of Versailles were certainly not anti-Semites. Mr. Lloyd George and M. Clémenceau and Mr. Wilson did in very truth and honor desire the Jewish people to live in dignity and freedom. Their good-will was powerless to save or even aid us. They could not well keep armies of occupation in Poland and Rumania. *Minorities cannot be protected from the tyranny of majorities at the point of the bayonet.* There is no effective protection except self-protection, nor any effective help except self-help, nor any liberation except self-liberation. In that one sentence is summed up the *practical* case for Zionism which all experience bears out and all history up to this day confirms.

Well, some day treaty-makers will again sit around a table and will try to embody the fruits of victory in the practice of life. We do not know what territorial changes will be made, except that assuredly there will be again a free Czechia and a free Poland. Dictators will be deposed. But freeing countries is not yet creating freedom and goodness among the people of those countries and deposing dictators is not yet exterminating among their peoples the dark passion for enslavement which created those dictators. You cannot change men by fiat, nor by treaty, nor by armies of occupation. The little islands of Jews, decimated by slaughter, degraded by humiliation and stripes and ground for so long into the very dust and mire of the world will remain at the mercy of these great pounding oceans of Slavs and Germans whom defeat, however generous the treaty-terms, will render sullen, bitter, vengeful for decades to come.

Are these facts open to doubt?

Do American Jews desire that to come about?

Is that consonant with their character either as Jews or as Americans?

For if that comes about, as it inevitably must, then all free peoples will be victorious except the Jewish people. That people which will have suffered most and most innocently both from the old war and the old peace and from the new war and the new peace—that people alone will be defeated and its last estate will be no better than its first.

There is one remedy and only one: The gradual concentration of the Jews of Europe in the land of our ancestors. Then, even as in the case of Czechia, conquerors may come and conquerors may go. The people will remain. The land will remain. People and land and speech will outlast and defy the centuries as other peoples have done and even the trampling of barbarian armies will only shake the superficial dust. That again is the teaching of all history and of all experience. The ever resurgent spirit of a people is safe only under its own stars on its ancestral soil.

That must be the peaceful war-aim of the Jewish people. That must be the aim which this people proclaims to Christendom and to the libertarian powers of the West today. Today. Truly today. For who knows what compromises and stealthy traffickings and bribes may be whispered in the chancelleries of Europe tomorrow? The Jewish people, the entire Jewish people, must by some word and, above all, by some *act* say to the Western World: "We know you are fighting our battle; we know that your battle and ours are one and indivisible. We are fighting with you; we are hoping with you; we are praying with you. But the world's liberation from barbarism must include our liberation too. And the evidence of history—written in blood, in tears, in boundless miseries over half the earth—that evidence is now in. The Central and Eastern and Mediterranean Diaspora, a Diaspora proved hopeless for fifteen hundred