

4/25/01

Dear Bogrim,

Enclosed is one section from a four-unit text study I put together for *Kavanah* last summer. I thought it might give ya'll an idea of what a text study might look like. Use it as a guide but don't think this is the only way text study can look – it can, and should, take many forms. As you look it over, keep a few things in mind:

1. The nature of the texts – content, intellectual level, layout. Would you have picked these texts for Bogrim? Why or why not?
2. “Educational Questions” – how do the questions accompanying the text stimulate discussion? What might you imagine a camper saying?
3. Particular theme – is there a particular point I was trying to make? If so, is it obvious, or do the “Educational Questions” mask my agenda well enough to allow discussion? If not, would you (as a facilitator) be able to guide the discussion toward an eventual conclusion?
4. Overall theme – the final question refers to the very first source of the *Kavanah*, from the week before (all four weeks were in one handout, so the *chanichim* could refer forward or backward as they wanted – I copied the text at the bottom of the page for ya'll). Will referring to other parts of the week strengthen or weaken your program? (There is no right answer here – it really depends on circumstance) How can we ensure that the particular activities each day are a part of a whole week, and ultimately each week is a part of a single overall theme for the summer?

Sorry for the choppy look of the pages – I actually threw this together in my spare time last summer, so I had limited resources. I hope this helps focus your vision for text study. Please call or email with questions or comments.

Hope school is ending well for everyone – camp is getting closer ...

B'Hatzlacha,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'Abe Friedman', with a long horizontal flourish extending to the right.

Abe Friedman

Friendship and Community

Such friendships are of course rare, since such men are few. Moreover, time and familiarity are required. For, as the proverb has it, people cannot know each other until they have eaten the specified (measure of) salt together. One cannot extend friendship to or be a friend of another person until each partner has impressed the other that he is worthy of affection, and until each has won the other's confidence. Those who are quick to show the signs of friendship to one another are not really friends, though they wish to be; they are not true

friends unless they are worthy of affection and know this to be so. The wish to be friends can come about quickly, but friendship cannot.

When friends live together, they enjoy each other's presence and provide each other's good. When, however, they are asleep or separated geographically, they do not actively engage in their friendship, but they are still characterized by an attitude which could express itself in active friendship. For it is not friendship in the unqualified sense but only its activity that is interrupted by distance. But if the absence lasts for some time, it apparently also causes the friendship itself to be forgotten. Hence the saying: "Out of sight, out of mind."¹⁴

- Aristotle, Nicomachean Ethics, VIII:1156b, 1157a

Hillel says, "Do not pull away from the community" הלל אומר, אל תפרש מן הצבור.
אבות ע"ב, ה'
Avot 2:5

→ How does Hillel's statement relate to the passages from Aristotle?

- How are community and friendship interrelated at camp? In the bunk? IS the dynamic similar or different at home and in school?

So the right course is perhaps not to seek to have as many friends as possible, but as many as are sufficient for living together. In fact, it would even seem to be impossible to be an intimate friend of many.

- Aristotle, Nicomachean Ethics, VIII: 1171a

- What do you think about this statement?
- How might this idea relate to the first Mishna from Avot? (1, 1c"2)

The Mishna in question is Avot 1:6:

"Yehoshua ben Prachiya said, make for yourself a teacher, acquire for yourself a friend, and judge every person with the benefit of the doubt"

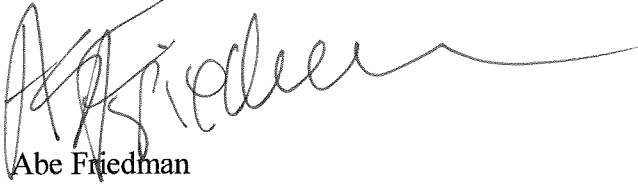
4/25/01

Naomi and Gabrielle,

Here are some sources I thought would be of help – I know it's a lot, so browse through and see what's of interest. The selections are from *The Zionist Idea*, edited by Arthur Hertzberg. Some of them may be good for text study; in any event it gives a decent picture of Zionist ideology. If you want to discuss any of it call or email me.

Hope everything is going well, and the end of school is fun – see ya'll soon!

B'Hatzlacha,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read 'Abe Friedman', with a long horizontal flourish extending to the right.

Abe Friedman

AHAD HA-AM (ASHER ZVI GINSBERG)

1856-1927

AHAD HA-AM was born as Asher Zvi Ginsberg in Skvira, in the Russian Ukraine on August 18, 1856. His family belonged to the very highest aristocracy of the Jewish ghetto, being particularly close to the Hasidic rebbe of Sadagura. His formal education was so strictly pious that his teacher was forbidden to instruct him even in the letters of the Russian alphabet, lest this might lead to heresy (he nonetheless taught himself to read Russian at the age of eight from the signs on the store fronts of his town). By the middle of his adolescence Asher Ginsberg was already a considerable and even somewhat celebrated scholar of the Talmud and its literature, as well as of the devotional literature of the Hasidic movement.

In 1868 his family moved to an estate which his wealthy father had leased. There, locked in his room (then and later he had no interest in nature) he began on the road toward "enlightenment" by studying the works of the great medieval Jewish philosophers, especially of Maimonides. By stages he went on to the "forbidden books" of the modern Hebrew "enlightenment," and eventually, at the age of twenty, to the wider horizons of literature and philosophy in Russian and German. Soon, like his contemporary, Lilienblum, Ahad Ha-Am discovered the works of D. I. Pisarev, one of the founders of Russian positivism, and definitely lost his religious faith.

The years between 1879 and 1886 were the most painful period of his life, marked by abortive attempts to go to Vienna, Berlin, Breslau, and Leipzig to study. Personal troubles, the severe illness of his wife (as was the custom of his class, a marriage had been arranged for him at the age of twenty), and his own self-doubts and lack of resolution kept forcing him to return home after a few weeks with, as he put it, "a pained heart." The family finally moved to Odessa in 1886, not by choice but under the constraint of a new tsarist ukase forbidding Jews to lease land. Though this was a grave economic blow, Ahad Ha-Am was nonetheless relieved to be gone from a place which was associated in his memory with inner torment.

His first article, "This Is Not the Way," was published in 1889 when he was thirty-three. Not regarding himself as a writer, he signed it as Ahad Ha-Am, i.e., "one of the people," the pen name by which he was to be known henceforth. He always refused to consider himself as a man of letters, even when increasing poverty of his family forced him to take a job in 1896 as the editor of a Hebrew monthly, *Ha-Shiloah*, in order to support his wife and, by then, three children. After six years of editing this literary journal, which he intended as a platform for the discussion of the contemporary problems of Judaism, he resigned his post, feeling bitter and depressed but relieved to be free of the hateful burdens of being a public servant. He became an official of a tea concern and traveled widely on its behalf throughout Russia for four years. He moved to London in 1907, when his firm opened a branch there, and remained there for fourteen years, until 1921, when he settled in Palestine.

Ahad Ha-Am's debut in Hebrew literature occurred in the era which followed after the pogroms of 1881, in the day of the Hibbat Zion movement. In his first essay and, within several years, in long pieces of analytical reportage that he wrote from the recently founded few colonies in Palestine, he appeared as a disturber of the peace. Comparing the high-flown verbiage of this early Zionism with its palty and often ill-conceived practical achievements, Ahad Ha-Am was uncompromising in his insistence that work in Palestine needed to be done slowly and with great care. Above all, he suggested that the true meaning of Hibbat Zion was not to be found, as leaders like Lilienblum thought, in mass action but in the cultural revival and modernization of the Jewish people through the agency of a carefully chosen few. From the very beginning these views aroused a storm and his continued reiteration of them after the appearance of Herzl simply continued the controversy. The agnostic definitions that he was proposing for a new Jewish spiritual culture involved him in another continuing argument, a debate with the orthodox. On the other hand, the conservatism of his thought, in practical application, made him the target of many of the younger and more rebellious voices in modern Hebrew literature, who found him too traditionalist in temper, a hard taskmaster as an editor, and lacking in interest in art and belles-lettres for their own sake.

With considerable self-knowledge of his lack of capacity for leadership in practical affairs, Ahad Ha-Am consistently avoided any kind of office within Zionism. However, his first essay inspired a number of men to organize the B'nai Moshé, a semi-secret elite order the purpose

of which was to raise the moral and cultural tone of the Jewish national revival. Ahad Ha-Am became its reluctant leader; he failed in this task because his idealism, the deep pessimism of his nature, and his revulsion as moralist from imposing his will on others made it inconceivable that he should succeed. Indeed, a lifetime of bad health and, especially as he grew older, frequent spells of melancholy limited his literary production to the essays that have been collected in four volumes and the six volumes of his letters, which he helped edit toward the end of his life.

Though Ahad Ha-Am's views were rejected by the bulk of the Zionist movement, and he himself never attended a Zionist Congress after the very first, many of the younger east European leaders of the movement, like Chaim Weizmann, owed much to his influence. In 1917, when Weizmann was negotiating with the British Cabinet for the issuance of the Balfour Declaration, Ahad Ha-Am was among his most intimate advisers. Ahad Ha-Am's influence on modern Hebrew writing was notable not only in the realm of ideas but also for the creation of a spare, unadorned, "western" style.

When Ahad Ha-Am settled in Tel Aviv, the street on which he lived was named after him and even closed off from all traffic during his afternoon rest hours. In his sunset years this agnostic reached his apotheosis as the secular rabbi—indeed, almost the secular Hasidic rebbe—of a wide circle within the growing Jewish settlement in Palestine.

He died in the early hours of January 2, 1927, and all Tel Aviv attended his funeral.

THE LAW OF THE HEART (1894)

THE RELATION BETWEEN a normal people and its literature is one of parallel development and mutual interaction. Literature responds to the demands of life, and life reacts to the guidance of literature. The function of literature is to plant the seed of new ideas and new desires; the seed once planted, life does the rest. The tender shoot is nurtured and brought to maturity by the spontaneous action of men's minds, and its growth is shaped by their needs. In time the new

to me. "National religion"—by all means: Judaism is fundamentally national, and all the efforts of the "Reformers" to separate the Jewish religion from its national element have had no result except to ruin both the nationalism and the religion. Clearly, then, if you want to build and not to destroy, you must teach religion on the basis of nationalism, with which it is inseparably intertwined. But when you talk of propagating "religious nationalism," I do not know what you mean (unless you are simply saying the same thing in other words). Do you really think of excluding from the ranks of the nationalists all those who do not believe in the principles of religion? If that is your intention, I cannot agree. In my view our religion is national—that is to say, it is a product of our national spirit—but the reverse is not true. If it is impossible to be a Jew in the religious sense without acknowledging our nationality, it is possible to be a Jew in the national sense without accepting many things in which religion requires belief. . . .

THE JEWISH STATE AND THE JEWISH PROBLEM (1897)

SOME MONTHS have passed since the Zionist Congress, but its echoes are still reverberating in daily life and in the press. All kinds of gatherings—small and large, local and regional—are taking place. Since the delegates returned home, they have been calling public meetings and repeatedly regaling us with tales of the wonders that were enacted before their very eyes. The wretched, hungry public is listening, becoming ecstatic, and hoping for salvation. It is inconceivable to them that "they"—the Jews of the West—can fail to succeed in what they propose. Heads grow hot and hearts beat fast, and many "leaders" who had for years—until last August—lived only for Palestinian settlement, and for whom a penny donation in aid of Jewish labor in Palestine or the Jaffa School¹³ was worth the world, have now lost their bearings and ask one another: "What's the good of this sort of work? The days of the Messiah are near at hand, and we busy ourselves with trifles! The time has come for great deeds, for great

men, men of the West, have enlisted in the cause and march before us."

There has been a revolution in their world, and, to emphasize it, they have given the cause itself a new name: It is no longer "Love of Zion" (Hibbat Zion), but "Zionism" (Zioniyuth). Indeed, there are even "precisionists" who, being determined to leave no loophole for error, use only the European form of the name ("Zionismus")—thus announcing to all and sundry that they are not talking about anything so antiquated as Hibbat Zion, but about a new, up-to-date movement, which comes, like its name, from the West, where people are innocent of the Hebrew language.

Nordau's address on the general condition of the Jews was a sort of introduction to the business of the Congress. It described in incisive language the sore troubles, whether material or spiritual, which beset the Jews the world over. In eastern countries their trouble is material: they must struggle without letup to satisfy the most elementary physical needs—for the crust of bread and the breath of air which are denied them because they are Jews. In the West, in lands where the Jews are legally emancipated, their material condition is not particularly bad, but their spiritual state is serious: they want to take full advantage of their legal rights, and cannot; they long to be accepted by the gentile majority and to become part of the national society, but they are kept at arm's length; they hope for love and brotherhood, but they encounter looks of hatred and contempt on all sides; they know that they are in no way inferior to their neighbors in ability or virtue, but they have it continually thrown in their faces that they are of an inferior type and that they are unfit to rise to the level of the Aryans. And more to the same effect.

Well—what then?

Nordau himself did not touch on this question, which was outside the scope of his address. But the whole Congress was the answer. Beginning as it did with Nordau's address, the Congress meant this: that in order to escape from all these troubles it is necessary to establish a Jewish State.

There is no doubt that, even when the Jewish State is established, Jewish settlement will be able to advance only by small degrees, as permitted by the resources of the people themselves and by the progress of the economic development of the country. Meanwhile the natural increase of Jewish population both within the Palestinian settlement and in the Diaspora, will continue, with the inevitable result that, on the one hand, Palestine will have less and less room

for the new immigrants, and, on the other hand, despite continual emigration, the number of those remaining outside Palestine will not be appreciably diminished. In his opening speech at the Congress, Dr. Herzl, wishing to demonstrate the superiority of his State idea to the previous form of Palestinian colonization, calculated that by the latter method it would take nine hundred years before all the Jews could be settled in their land. The members of the Congress applauded this as a conclusive argument. But it was a cheap victory. The Jewish State itself, do what it will, will find no way to make a more favorable calculation.

The truth is bitter, but with all its bitterness it is better than illusion. We must admit to ourselves that the "ingathering of the exiles" is unattainable by natural means. We may, by natural means, someday establish a Jewish State; it is possible that the Jews may increase and multiply within it until the "land is filled with them"—but even then the greater part of our people will remain scattered on foreign soils. "To gather our scattered ones from the four corners of the earth" (in the words of the Prayer Book) is impossible. Only religion, with its belief in a miraculous redemption, can promise such a consummation.

But if this is so, if the Jewish State, too, means not an "ingathering of the exiles" but the settlement of a small part of our people in Palestine, then how will this solve the material problem of the Jewish masses in the lands of the Diaspora?

The material problem will not be ended by the establishment of a Jewish State, and it is, indeed, beyond our power to solve it once and for all. (Even now there are various means at our disposal to alleviate this problem to a greater or lesser degree, e.g., by increasing the proportion of farmers and artisans among our people *in all lands*, etc.) Whether or not we create a Jewish State, the material situation of the Jews will always basically depend on the economic condition and the cultural level of the various nations among which we are dispersed.

Thus we are driven to the conclusion that the real and only basis of Zionism is to be found in another problem, the spiritual one.

But the spiritual problem appears in two differing forms, one in the West and one in the East, which explains the fundamental difference between western "Zionism" and eastern "Hibbat Zion." Nordau dealt only with the western form of the problem, apparently knowing nothing about the eastern; and the Congress as a whole concentrated on the first, and paid little attention to the second.

The western Jew, having left the ghetto and having sought accept-

ance by the gentile majority, is unhappy because his hope of an open-armed welcome has been disappointed. Perforce he returns to his own people and tries to find within the Jewish community that life for which he yearns—but in vain. The life and horizon of the Jewish community no longer satisfy him. He has already grown accustomed to a broader social and political life, and on the intellectual side the work to be done for our Jewish national culture does not attract him, because that culture has played no part in his earliest education and is a closed book to him. In this dilemma he therefore turns to the land of his ancestors and imagines how good it would be if a Jewish State were re-established there—a State and society organized exactly after the pattern of other States. Then he could live a full, complete life within his own people, and he could find at home all that he now sees outside, dangled before his eyes but out of reach. Of course, not all the Jews will be able to take wing and go to their State; but the very existence of the Jewish State will also raise the prestige of those who remain in exile, and their fellow citizens will no longer despise them and keep them at arm's length, as though they were base slaves, dependent entirely on the hospitality of others. As he further contemplates this fascinating vision, it suddenly dawns on his inner consciousness that even now, before the Jewish State is established, the mere idea of it gives him almost complete relief. It provides an opportunity for communal work and political excitement; his emotions find an outlet in a field of activity which is not subservient to non-Jews; and he feels that, thanks to this ideal, he stands once more spiritually erect and has regained his personal dignity, without overmuch trouble and purely by his own efforts. So he devotes himself to the ideal with all the ardor of which he is capable; he gives rein to his fancy and lets it soar as it will, beyond reality and the limitations of human power. For it is not the attainment of the ideal that he needs; its pursuit alone is sufficient to cure him of his spiritual disease, which is that of an inferiority complex, and the loftier and more distant the ideal, the greater its power to exalt.

This is the basis of western Zionism and the secret of its attraction. But eastern Hibbat Zion originated and developed in a different setting. It, too, began as a political movement; but, being a result of material evils, it could not be content with an "activity" consisting only of outbursts of feeling and fine phrases, which may satisfy the heart but not the stomach. Hibbat Zion began at once to express itself in concrete activities—in the establishment of colonies in Palestine. This practical work soon clipped the wings of fancy and demonstrated

conclusively that Hibbat Zion could not lessen the material woe of the Jews by one iota. One might, therefore, have thought that, when this fact became patent, the Hovevei Zion¹⁴ would give up their effort and cease wasting time and energy on work which brought them no nearer their goal. But, no: they remained true to their flag and went on working with the old enthusiasm, though most of them did not understand, even in their own minds, why they did so. They felt instinctively that they must go on; but, as they did not clearly appreciate the nature of this feeling, the things that they did were not always effectively directed toward the true goal, to which they were unconsciously dedicated.

For at the very time when the material tragedy in the East was at its height, the heart of the eastern Jews was sensitive to another tragedy as well—a spiritual one; and when the Hovevei Zion began to work for the solution of the material problem, the national instinct of the people felt that in this work it would find the remedy for its spiritual trouble. Hence the people rallied to this effort and did not abandon it even after it had become obvious that it was an ineffective instrument for curing the material trouble of the Jews.

The eastern form of the spiritual problem is absolutely different from the western. In the West it is the problem of the Jews; in the East, the *problem of Judaism*. The first weighs on the individual; the second, on the nation. The one is felt by Jews who have had a European education; the other, by Jews whose education has been Jewish. The one is a product of anti-Semitism, and is dependent on anti-Semitism for its existence; the other is a natural product of a real link with a millennial culture, and it will remain unsolved and unaffected even if the troubled of the Jews all over the world attain comfortable economic positions, are on the best possible terms with their neighbors, and are admitted to the fullest social and political equality.

It is not only the Jews who have come out of the ghetto; Judaism has come out, too. For the Jews the exodus from the ghetto is confined to certain countries and is due to toleration; but Judaism has come out (or is coming out) of its own accord, wherever it has come into contact with modern culture. This contact with modern culture overturns the inner defences of Judaism, so that it can no longer remain isolated and live a life apart. The spirit of our people desires further development; it wants to absorb the basic elements of general culture which are reaching it from the outside world, to digest them and to make them a part of itself, as it has done before at various

periods of its history. But the conditions of its life in exile are not suitable for such a task. In our time culture expresses itself everywhere through the form of the national spirit, and the stranger who would become part of culture must sink his individuality and become absorbed in the dominant environment. In exile, Judaism cannot, therefore, develop its individuality in its own way. When it leaves the ghetto walls, it is in danger of losing its essential being or—at very least—its national unity; it is in danger of being split up into as many kinds of Judaism, each with a different character and life, as there are countries of the dispersion.

Judaism is, therefore, in a quandary: It can no longer tolerate the *Gdult's* form which it had to take on, in obedience to its will-to-live, when it was exiled from its own country; but, without that form, its life is in danger. So it seeks to return to its historic center, where it will be able to live a life developing in a natural way, to bring its powers into play in every department of human culture, to broaden and perfect those national possessions which it has acquired up to now, and thus to contribute to the common stock of humanity, in the future as it has in the past, a great national culture, the fruit of the unhampered activity of a people living by the light of its own spirit. For this purpose Judaism can, for the present, content itself with little. It does not need an independent State, but only the creation in its native land of conditions favorable to its development: a good-sized settlement of Jews working without hindrance in every branch of civilization, from agriculture and handicrafts to science and literature. This Jewish settlement, which will be a gradual growth, will become in course of time the center of the nation, wherein its spirit will find pure expression and develop in all its aspects to the highest degree of perfection of which it is capable. Then, from this center, the spirit of Judaism will radiate to the great circumference, to all the communities of the Diaspora, to inspire them with new life and to preserve the overall unity of our people. When our national culture in Palestine has attained that level, we may be confident that it will produce men in the Land of Israel itself who will be able, at a favorable moment, to establish a State there—one which will be not merely a State of Jews but a really Jewish State.

This Hibbat Zion, which concerns itself with the preservation of Judaism at a time when Jewry is suffering so much, is something odd and unintelligible to the "political" Zionists of the West, just as the demand of R. Johanan ben Zakkai for "Yavneh" was strange and unintelligible to the comparable party of his time. And so political

Zionism cannot satisfy those Jews who care for Judaism; its growth seems to them to be fraught with danger to the object of their own aspiration.

The secret of our people's persistence is—as I have tried to show elsewhere—that at a very early period the Prophets taught it to respect only the power of the spirit and not to worship material power. Therefore, unlike the other nations of antiquity, the Jewish people never reached the point of losing its self-respect in the face of more powerful enemies. As long as we remain faithful to this principle, our existence has a secure basis, and we shall not lose our self-respect, for we are not spiritually inferior to any nation. But a political ideal which is not grounded in our national culture is apt to seduce us from loyalty to our own inner spirit and to beget in us a tendency to find the path of glory in the attainment of material power and political dominion, thus breaking the thread that unites us with the past and undermining our historical foundation. Needless to say, if the political ideal is not attained, it will have disastrous consequences, because we shall have lost the old basis without finding a new one. But even if it is attained under present conditions, when we are a scattered people not only in the physical but also in the spiritual sense—even then, Judaism will be in great danger. Almost all our great men—those, that is, whose education and social position have prepared them to be at the head of a Jewish State—are spiritually far removed from Judaism and have no true conception of its nature and its value. Such men, however loyal to their State and devoted to its interests, will necessarily envisage those interests by the standards of the foreign culture which they themselves have imbibed; and they will endeavor, by moral persuasion or even by force, to implant that culture in the Jewish State, so that in the end the Jewish State will be a State of Germans or Frenchmen of the Jewish race. We have even now a small example of this process in Palestine.

History teaches us that in the days of the Herodian house Palestine was indeed a Jewish State, but the national culture was despised and persecuted. The ruling house did everything in its power to implant Roman culture in the country and frittered away the resources of the nation in the building of heathen temples, amphitheaters, and so forth. Such a Jewish State would spell death and utter degradation for our people. Such a State would never achieve sufficient political power to deserve respect, while it would be estranged from the living inner spiritual force of Judaism. The puny State, being "tossed about like a ball between its powerful neighbors, and maintaining its existence

only by diplomatic shifts and continual trucking to the favored of fortune," would not be able to give us a feeling of national glory; the national culture, in which we might have sought and found our glory, would not have been implanted in our State and would not be the principle of its life. So we should really be then—much more than we are now—"a small and insignificant nation, enslaved in spirit to the favored of fortune," turning an envious and covetous eye on the armed force of our "powerful neighbors"; our existence in such terms, as a sovereign State would not add a glorious chapter to our national history.

Would it not be better for "an ancient people which was once a beacon to the world" to disappear than to end by reaching such a goal as this? Mr. Lilienblum's reminds me that there exist today small States, like Switzerland, which are safeguarded against interference by the other nations and are not forced to "continual trucking." But a comparison between Palestine and small countries like Switzerland overlooks the geographical position of Palestine and its religious importance for all the world. These two facts will make it quite impossible for its "powerful neighbors" (by which expression, of course, I did not mean, as Mr. Lilienblum interprets, "the Druses and the Persians") to leave it alone. Even after it has become a Jewish State, they will all still keep an eye on it, and each power will try to influence its policy in a direction favorable to itself, after the pattern of events in other weak states (like Turkey) in which the great European nations have "interests."

In sum: Hibbat Zion, no less than "Zionism," wants a Jewish State and believes in the possibility of the establishment of a Jewish State in the future. But while "Zionism" looks to the Jewish State to furnish a remedy for poverty and to provide complete tranquillity and national glory, Hibbat Zion knows that our State will not give us all these things until "universal Righteousness is enthroned and holds sway over nations and States"—it looks to a Jewish State to provide only a "secure refuge" for Judaism and a cultural bond to unite our nation. "Zionism," therefore, begins its work with political propaganda; Hibbat Zion begins with national culture, because only *through* the national culture and *for its sake* can a Jewish State be established in such a way as to correspond with the will and the needs of the Jewish people.

AARON DAVID GORDON 1856-1922

IF HERZL was Zionism's president-in-exile and Ahad Ha-Am its secular rabbi, Aaron David Gordon was the movement's secular mystic and saint. In 1904 he came, unknown and unannounced, to Palestine, to do physical labor by the side of the much younger handful of Zionist idealists who were already there or were soon to arrive—and almost immediately he became their central personality. Revered in his lifetime, since his death Gordon has become a legend and a saga.

The external facts about him can be told quickly. He was born in a village in the province of Podolia, in a family of notable piety and learning which was related to Baron Horace Günzburg, one of the great magnates of Russia. His childhood and youth were spent in a farming village on an estate which his father managed for the Günzburgs. After Gordon's marriage he himself soon entered the service of these wealthy relatives as an official on another of their enterprises, a large tract of land which they had rented for farming. Here he spent twenty-three years (1880-1903) until the lease ran out. His career in this period of almost complete obscurity was distinguished by uncompromising personal rectitude, by a particular interest in young people, who were drawn to him, and by adherence to the Zionist ideals of *Hibbat Zion*, but there was little to foreshadow the drama that was to follow.

Now forty-seven, with a wife and two almost grown children, Gordon had to find a new job. His relatives offered suggestions and opportunities in business and there was thought of emigration to America, but Gordon wanted neither alternative. After months of indecision, because he was troubled by the duty he owed his family, Gordon gave them whatever money he had—it was enough to provide for a while, until, as he hoped, he could bring them to rejoin him—and left for Palestine. Middle-aged, a white-collar worker all his days, and physically weak, he nevertheless insisted that he must be a laborer on the land. The redemption of man as a whole, and of the Jew in

particular, could come, he believed, only through physical labor; he felt compelled by these principles to practice his faith. After initial difficulties he found day labor in the vineyards and wineries of Petah Tikva. Five years of work there, three more nearby after he had brought over his wife and daughter (his wife died almost immediately), and then ten years at various places in Galilee were the working career of Gordon in Palestine. His last days were spent in Degania, one of the earliest *kibbutzim* (collective farming settlements) of the Labor-Zionist movement. He fell ill in 1921, but insisted on working with his last strength. The malady was finally diagnosed as cancer and he was sent to Vienna to be treated. It was not kept from him there that he was incurable and he went home in the beginning of 1922 to die. The heroic calm with which he faced the end is expressed in the last of the several selections from Gordon's works to be found below.

The best commentary on Gordon is in his own writings; for his essays were true occasional pieces growing out of his autobiography. Nonetheless some remarks need to be made about the sources of his thought, and especially of the "religion of labor" with which his name is identified. Gordon's outlook and career remind one immediately of the later life of Leo Tolstoy, including the Russian writer's flight from his family to live among the peasants in true communion with nature and his soul. Behind them both stands the romantic idealization of the natural man, the notion that man is inherently good but is corrupted by society, of which Rousseau had been the great modern spokesman. Gordon, in particular, is related to a preceding century of criticism of the Jewish ghetto as a spiritual ruin because of its stunted economy. Let the Jews, so this argument went, cease concentrating on livelihoods earned by their wits and return to farming; let them at least acquire a "normal" economic profile, engaging in proper proportion in all levels of production, rather than figuring so overwhelmingly as the middlemen. As we have seen in Brenner, Syrkin, and Borochoy, the last and most important stage of this argument was its use in Socialist-Zionist circles of every shade of opinion to plead for the creation of a new Jewish life in Palestine as the only road to economic health.

As substratum to these notions, Gordon, even though he was no longer a practicing orthodox Jew in the last period of his life, anchored his outlook in a mystique about the metaphysical bond between the Jew and the land of Israel which derives from the classical religious tradition with some cabbalistic overtones. Nations, he asserts, are

cosmic phenomena, the result of the interaction of man with nature in its particular expression in one place, by which the unique soul and history of the group is formed. No matter what may happen to a nation after it is once created—even if, like the Jews, a nation is exiled—both its corporate soul and the souls of its individuals are stunted until they return to their true habitat. There they can become whole again by living the life of nature. Hence, physical labor, the renewal of the true self in reverent harmony with the cosmos, is religion.

We shall encounter some of these ideas again, in different contexts, in both Martin Buber and Rabbi Kook. Like all utopians and mystics, Gordon has been more admired than followed; and yet, he was, and is even today, a generation after his death, the greatest teacher—in the deepest sense, the heterodox Hasidic master—of the Labor-Zionist movement.

LOGIC FOR THE FUTURE (1910)

AND WHEN, O Man, you will return to Nature—on that day your eyes will open, you will gaze straight into the eyes of Nature, and in its mirror you will see your own image. You will know that you have returned to yourself, that when you hid from Nature, you hid from yourself! When you return you will see that from you, from your hands and from your feet, from your body and from your soul, heavy, hard, oppressive fragments will fall and you will begin to stand erect. You will understand that these were fragments of the shell into which you had shrunk in the bewilderment of your heart and out of which you had finally emerged. On that day you will know that your former life did not bett you, that you must renew all things: your food and your drink, your dress and your home, your manner of work and your mode of study—everything!

On that day, O Man, deep in your heart you will know that you had been wandering until you returned to Nature. For you did not know life. A different life, a life not ready-made, a life to be experienced in preparation and creation—that life you did not know. Therefore your life was cut in two—a very small shred of existence

and a huge experience of nonexistence, of work, of labor, of busyness—"Sabbath" and the "Eve of the Sabbath." You did not think and it did not occur to you, that there is no life in a life ready-made. Preparation is itself life, for Nature also lives within the preparation of life, within the creation of life.

PEOPLE AND LABOR (1911)

THE JEWISH PEOPLE has been completely cut off from its culture and imprisoned within city walls these two thousand years. We have become accustomed to every form of life, except to a life of labor—of labor done at our own behest and for its own sake. It will require the greatest effort of will for such a people to become normal again. We lack the principal ingredient for national life. We lack the habit of labor—not labor performed out of external compulsion, but labor to which one is attached in a natural and organic way. This kind of labor binds a people to its soil and to its national culture, which in turn is an outgrowth of the people's soil and the people's labor. Now it is true that every people has many individuals who shun physical labor and try to live off the work of others. But a normal people is like a living organism which performs its various functions naturally, and labor is one of its basic and organic functions. A normal people invariably contains a large majority of individuals for whom labor is second nature. But we Jews are different. We have developed an attitude of looking down on manual labor, so that even those who are engaged in it work out of mere compulsion and always with the hope of eventually escaping to "a better life." We must not deceive ourselves in this regard, nor shut our eyes to our grave deficiencies, nor merely as individuals but as a people. The well-known talmudic saying, that when the Jews do God's will their labor is done for them by others, is characteristic of our attitude. This saying is significant. It demonstrates how far this attitude has become an instinctive feeling within us, a second nature.

Who among us thinks about this problem? Who is sensitive to it? We have no labor—and yet we are not aware that anything is missing. We take no notice of it even when we talk of our national rebirth.

Labor is not only the force which binds man to the soil and by which possession of the soil is acquired; it is also the basic energy for the creation of a national culture. This is what we do not have—but we are not aware of missing it. We are a people without a country, without a living national language, without a living culture—but that, at least, we know and it pains us, even if only vaguely, and we seek ways and means of doing what needs must be done. But we seem to think that if we have no labor it does not matter—let Ivan, or John, or Mustapha do the work, while we busy ourselves with producing a culture, with creating national values, and with enthroning absolute justice in the world.

After very prolonged and very stubborn battles, the ideal of culture has finally won a place in our national (Zionist) movement. But what kind of culture is it?

By culture we usually mean what is called in Zionist circles "the rebirth of the spirit," or "a spiritual renaissance." But the spirit which we are trying to revive is not the breath of real life which permeates the whole living organism and draws life from it, but some shadowy and abstract spirit, which can express itself only within the recesses of heart and mind. Judging by the deliberations at the Zionist Congress, culture is entirely a matter of ideas or ideology. Such being the case, culture may mean to some of us the ideology of Hermann Sznick and Rabbi Reines,² i.e., the religious orthodoxy of Mizrahi, while to others it may signify the outlook of the school of Marx and Kugel.

A vital culture, far from being detached from life, embraces it in all its aspects. Culture is whatever life creates for living purposes. Farming, building, and road-making—any work, any craft, any productive activity—is part of culture and is indeed the foundation and the stuff of culture. The procedure, the pattern, the shape, the manner in which things are done—these represent the forms of culture. Whatever people feel and think both at work and at leisure, and the relations arising from these situations, combined with the natural surroundings—all that constitutes the spirit of a people's culture. It sustains the highest expressions of culture in science and art, creeds and ideologies. The things we call culture in the most restricted sense, the higher expressions of culture (which is what is usually meant when culture is discussed in our circles)—this is the butter churned out of culture in general, in its broadest sense. But can butter be produced without milk? Or can a man make butter by using his neighbors' milk and still call the butter all his own?

What are we seeking in Palestine? Is it not that which we can never find elsewhere—the fresh milk of a healthy people's culture? What we are come to create at present is not the culture of the academy, before we have anything else, but a culture of life, of which the culture of the academy is only one element. We seek to create a vital culture out of which the cream of a higher culture can easily be evolved. We intend to create creeds and ideologies, art and poetry, and ethics and religion, all growing out of a healthy life and intimately related to it; we shall therefore have created healthy human relationships and living links that bind the present to the past. What we seek to create here is life—our own life—in our own spirit and in our own way. Let me put it more bluntly: In Palestine we must do with our own hands all the things that make up the sum total of life. We must ourselves do all the work, from the least strenuous, cleanest, and most sophisticated, to the dirtiest and most difficult. In our own way, we must feel what a worker feels and think what a worker thinks—then, and only then, shall we have a culture of our own, for then we shall have a life of our own.

It all seems very clear: From now on our principal ideal must be Labor. Through no fault of our own we have been deprived of this element and we must seek a remedy. Labor is our cure. The ideal of Labor must become the pivot of all our aspirations. It is the foundation upon which our national structure is to be erected. Only by making Labor, for its own sake, our national ideal shall we be able to cure ourselves of the plague that has affected us for many generations and mend the rent between ourselves and Nature. Labor is a great human ideal. It is the ideal of the future, and a great ideal can be a healing sun. Though the purpose of history is not, to be sure, to act the teacher, still the wise can and must learn from it. We can learn from our condition in the past and in the present, for we must now set the example for the future. We must all work with our hands. We need a new spirit for our national renaissance. That new spirit must be created here in Palestine and must be nourished by our life in Palestine. It must be vital in all its aspects, and it must be all our own.

What we need is zealots of Labor—zealots in the finest sense of the word.

Any man who devotes his life to this ideal will not need to be told how difficult it is, but he will also know that it is of immense importance.

SOME OBSERVATIONS (1911)

IT MUST BE absolutely clear to us that we have two paths to choose from in Palestine: one is the practical way of the worldly-wise, the other is the real life of national rebirth. The first means the continuation of Galut life, with all its shortsighted practical wisdom, with all the attitudes and the whole philosophy of life that goes with Galut life. The second is the way to the true and meaningful life we seek in this country. Let each man choose whichever of the two ways he will, but let him know for certain that the choice of one forever excludes the other. Galut is always Galut, in Palestine no less than in any other country. Whoever seeks national rebirth and a full life as a Jew must give up the life of the Galut. Such is the price to be paid (not, to be sure, a price in the coin of the market place) and it is not an exorbitant one.

No thing in this world can be obtained for nothing. That does not mean that whoever wishes to see a future for his people must renounce life in the here and now. Not at all. That person is precisely the one who must seek a full life, but he must seek it in a different way and he must seek a different kind of life. Let me illustrate by a concrete example, which, though seemingly platitudinous, is nonetheless true. The lover prefers a dry morsel of bread in a poor cottage in the company of his beloved to a life of luxury without her. That is what he calls life. To be sure, he too desires a life of comfort and even of luxury, but only together with his beloved. Whoever separates him from his beloved deprives him of life. There is a contemporary version of psychology which pretends to probe so deeply into the nature of human behavior that little is supposedly left of the romantic emotion. But this notion is far from proved. I should maintain that the feeling of love has evaporated in our day not because of the growth of knowledge, but because of our physical and spiritual abnormalities, and our chasing after the goods of this world, because of the lives we live in the market place which are stamped by its values. No, healthy natural sentiment has a wisdom of its own, more profound than the so-called psychological analysis. The same holds true of spiritual love. The Jew who is genuinely in search of national rebirth will strive for the

kind of a life in Palestine that is stamped with the seal of a true renaissance. Whatever is stamped by that seal, whether it be a life of comfort or even that of a simple laborer, is part of real life, and one that fails to bear that stamp is sham and emptiness.

There is only one way that can lead to our renaissance—the way of manual labor, of mobilizing all our national energies, of absolute and sacrificial devotion to our ideal and our task. Not even by thousands of title deeds can national assets be acquired, for whatever title deeds we do possess to land in Palestine have so far not given us real title to our country. Truth to tell, we have as yet no national assets because our people has not yet paid the price for them. A people can acquire its land only by its own effort, by realizing the potentialities of its body and its soul, by unfolding and revealing its inner self. This is a two-sided transaction, but the people comes first—the people comes before the land. But a parasitical people is not a living people. Our people can be brought to life only if each one of us recreates himself through labor and a life close to nature. Should he fall short of achieving this self-rehabilitation, the next generation, or the one thereafter, will complete the process. This is how we can, in time, have good farmers, good laborers, good Jews, and good human beings. On the other hand, if in Palestine we continue the life of the Galut, with its petty trading and all that goes with it, the coming generations will pursue the same road even more vigorously.

This road to national rebirth is a hard one, but there is no other. After all, the road to life, to whatever life it may be, is difficult, but it is made easier by the vision of the goal. The difference is only in what one envisages as the goal. The average pious Jew of a generation or two ago saw life as including physical comfort, provided it also enabled him to carry out the precepts and commandments of his religion. He aspired to such a life and no difficulty deterred him from pursuing it. Any other kind of life had no meaning for him. The ordinary Jew of today who emigrates to America or Australia, or even to Palestine, sees the real meaning of life in economic advancement. He works hard and is ready to endure a great deal to attain such a life. This road, too, is not an easy one, but he is ready to pay the price. He is willing to make every sacrifice, without regard to what he is giving up, even of the enjoyment of life, not to speak of the higher pleasures of the spirit. The life of national renaissance in Palestine is also one that must be acquired by effort, but in the eyes of those who seek it, such a life is the one that is most worth while—the most desirable. Such a life does not exclude physical comfort or even luxuries, but

only on condition that they do not interfere with the main objective. This is a way of life which requires a radical change, a complete revolution in our Galut notions and attitudes and in our Galut view of life.

This demand would be an empty phrase if it were addressed in general to the entire people. It has no meaning unless it is put to each individual Jew among us who aspires to a national renaissance and hopes for a new life in the Homeland. This demand embraces every detail of our individual lives. Every one of us is required to refashion himself so that the Galut Jew within him becomes a truly emancipated Jew; so that the unnatural, defective, splintered person within him may be changed into a natural wholesome human being who is true to himself; so that his Galut life, which has been fashioned by alien and extraneous influences, hampering his natural growth and self-realization, may give way to one that allows him to develop freely, to his fullest stature in all dimensions. This is a very difficult task. It requires climbing a steep and narrow path, strewn with thorns and stumbling blocks, but the result would be loftiness and—life! Such a life would be so rich and meaningful that I could hardly begin to describe it, or I should seem to be exaggerating.

We are told that the life we left behind us, the life we seek to escape, is catching up with us here, in Palestine, that that life is stronger than the one we are trying to build up and that in the end it is bound to prevail. Evidently those who argue this way do not appreciate just what this new life is that we are trying to build here. They do not understand—they are not capable of understanding—that such life means as much to us as, for example, religion means to a truly pious Jew. The argument may be reversed: It may be said that we, who seek a life that suits our ideas, are incapable of appreciating the life of the ordinary, worldly-wise, practical people, that there must be something wrong in our make-up, that we are not quite normal, that we fail to realize how compelling is the force of ordinary life and how enmeshed it is with the life of all individuals and all nations. But we and they belong to different worlds anyway and are pursuing different paths. If we follow the dictates of practical necessity, or as our opponents claim, of historical necessity, we shall never attain our goal in Palestine. Historical necessity, as understood by those who invoke it, is not for us, but against us. It may be possible to achieve a comfortable position in Palestine, but no more than that—no national renaissance, no release from the life and spirit of the Galut. Our fellow Jews who live in the free countries did not achieve it, nor did our Sephardic brethren, who, compared to us, enjoyed more freedom

outwardly, but did not attain more inner freedom. Nor will our national culture be any less Galut-like, even if we have our fill of universities and academies. Certainly it will not be any more free in spirit than were the yeshivot of Pumbedita and Nahardea.³ In other words, we would have no more than a Galut culture, even if it were strictly Jewish. It will be impossible for that culture to be richer and deeper than the life of Galut. Real achievements are the results of creative work, not of clever business transactions. It requires the greatest self-control to call the latter creative. Certainly such a life cannot be called creative in the national sense.

It may be said that the life I picture is good for the select few, but not for the many. Yes, only for the few, for only the select are capable of laying foundations. It is always necessary to place strong stones at the foundation of a building to make it last. The majority will follow later. After all, only the few are coming to Palestine any way. It is better, then, that they be of the select few rather than of the poorer kind. That is something that the select few ought to know. "Will the dead now awake? Will the dead now stir?" asked our great poet Bialik.

It is impossible for our people not to stir! So great is the pain, so deep is the pain, that even apparent death cannot keep it from stirring. There are still great spirits among us, though they are few in number. Nothing can knock louder on the door of the heart than the hard and bitter truth, the terrible truth which evokes self-dedication and sacrifice. Let the truth be known as it is, with all its terrors. Let the terrible abyss that lies at our feet be seen—and then there will be people who, without reckoning the cost and without asking questions, will rush to save what can still be saved. They will not be deterred by all the prophets of worldly wisdom, who will try to convince them that to plunge ahead is sheer folly and quite useless. All the illustrations taken from life to prove to them that they will not be able to salvage anything, that our hopes are vain, that our national renaissance is doomed, and that all our strength is illusory, will not make them desist. For their decision will stem not from beautiful dreams, or from intellectual reflection, nor will they become aware of our strength and our hope by reading books or by psychological analysis. Their faith will spring from the depth of their being, from the depth of their Jewish pain. And if they are possessed of any frailties, defects, shortcomings, as, being human, they must be, these will not deter them. Perhaps, on the contrary, their very defects may prove to be a positive force.

It is they, the few, who will bring about the true redemption of the Jewish people, and not the many who are "practical."

It is for their sake, for the sake of these few, that one must speak the truth, one must proclaim it day in and day out, in every way and in every tongue.

OUR TASKS AHEAD (1920)

THERE IS A COSMIC ELEMENT in nationality which is its basic ingredient. That cosmic element may best be described as the blending of the natural landscape of the Homeland with the spirit of the people inhabiting it. This is the mainspring of a people's vitality and creativity, of its spiritual and cultural values. Any conglomeration of individuals may form a society in the mechanical sense, one that moves and acts, but only the presence of the cosmic element makes for an organic national entity with creative vitality.

I think that every one of us ought to retreat for a moment into his innermost self, free himself from all outside influences—both from those of the gentile world and even from the influence of our own Jewish past—and then ask himself with the utmost simplicity, seriousness, and honesty: What, essentially, is the purpose of our national movement? What do we expect to find in Palestine that no other place can give us? Why should we segregate ourselves from the nations among whom we have lived our lives? Why leave the lands of our birth, which have fashioned our personalities and so largely influenced our spirits? Why should we not share fully and unreservedly with those nations in their great work for the progress of mankind? In other words, why should we not completely assimilate ourselves among those nations? What stops us?

Surely it is not religion. In our day it is quite possible for man to live without any religion at all. As for those who still retain strong loyalties to Judaism—merely as a religion—they may confidently look forward to complete religious freedom in the not too distant future. Certainly this is a more likely prospect for the near future than the attainment of full national redemption. At any rate, the effort to achieve religious emancipation is more obviously of immediate bene-

RABBI ABRAHAM ISAAC KOOK
1865-1935

MODERN ZIONIST THOUGHT is the creation of a whole galaxy of passionate and extraordinary men, but even among them a few stand out as originals. Abraham Isaac Kook is one of this handful.

Kook cannot be explained from the outside in—if he can be explained, at all—by a listing of the facts of his life, the influences that touched him, and the antecedents of his thought. The essence of Kook is within. He was a mystic whose entire career was determined by experiences of inner illumination; he was a religious Zionist engaged not in defending the ritual observances—though, of course, he practiced and preached them with unique fervor—against secularism but in living out an approaching “end of days.” Kook’s view of Zionism, and his most important acts as the first chief rabbi of Palestine after the British mandate, make sense only if we understand that he was certain that the present generation was the one foretold in prophecy as the age of the coming of the Messiah. He could therefore both seriously prepare himself for future office as priest of the restored cult in the Temple in Jerusalem and accept all builders of Palestine, heretics included, as unwitting instruments of the ever more manifest Redemption. These are both part of the same whole to use a technical term, of his “realized eschatology.”

Even as a child, Kook was known for unusual endowments of mind, but this was not unprecedented or unparalleled. What did set him apart in his native Latvian small town and in the somewhat larger cities in which he studied in his adolescence was his fervor in prayer and his sense of the immediacy of God. By the time he came to the yeshivah in Volozhin at the age of nineteen it was apparent that Kook was different in another regard: he loved to speak Hebrew, then usually a sign of at least incipient heresy, but there was no evident change in his rapturous piety.

At the age of twenty-three Kook assumed the post of rabbi in the village of Zimel, where he remained for six years, until 1894. His next

call was to the much larger city of Boisk, Lithuania, and in the nine years that he served there Kook's stature became ever more apparent. While in Boisk he published his first essay on Zionism, in which he accepted modern Jewish nationalism, even at its most secularist, as an expression of the divine endowment within the Jewish soul and a forerunner of the Messiah. His own longing to settle in the Holy Land was growing meanwhile. Though flattering calls were coming, offering very distinguished rabbinic posts in Lithuania, Kook chose instead to go to Jaffa. He arrived in the summer of 1904, as chief rabbi of that city and of the agricultural colonies nearby.

The years in Jaffa were the crucial period of his career. He increased his scope both as a writer and a communal leader, laboring ever more self-consciously for a renaissance of orthodox Judaism. In 1909 he was the spokesman for leniency in a controversy over the biblical law of letting the soil of the Holy Land lie fallow on the seventh year, for he permitted a dispensation on technical grounds. To defend his views he wrote a treatise in talmudic law on this question. While he was in Jaffa the various wings of orthodoxy throughout the Jewish world were splitting ever more definitely over Zionism, and Kook tried to keep peace among them. But above all it was in Jaffa that Kook had that initial mystical experience for which his previous life had been a preparation and on which the years to come were largely commentary.

In the summer of 1914 he left Palestine to visit Europe, where he was caught by the outbreak of World War I. He made his way to Switzerland, but could get no further on the way back home. Stranded without any means, Kook was helped by Abraham Kinche, who invited the rabbi to be his guest in St. Gallen, Switzerland. After more than a year there, spent mostly in writing, Kook accepted a call to serve temporarily as rabbi in London, where he was from 1916 to 1919, i.e., throughout the time of negotiation and controversy that attended the issuance of the Balfour Declaration (November 2, 1917). In the summer of 1919 he returned to Palestine to serve as chief rabbi of the Ashkenazi (occidental) Jews in Jerusalem. Two years later the British Government of Palestine called the first national conference of its Jewry to create their autonomous religious law courts and institutions. Kook was elected the Ashkenazi head of the new rabbinic court of appeals, and therefore, in effect, the Ashkenazi chief rabbi of Palestine. He served in his office until his death in 1935.

His years as chief rabbi, despite his dislike for many of the practical

matters with which he had to be concerned, were a period of great achievement. Almost immediately Kook founded his own school of higher talmudic learning, which differed from others because its language of instruction was Hebrew and because the classics of Jewish philosophy and devotion were studied there as seriously as the Law. He continued on his path of understanding and defending the irreligious against the strictures of the orthodox. Kook never faltered in his personal courage; in 1933, when emotions among Palestinian Jewry ran high over the assassination of Hayyim Arlosoroff, the political secretary of the World Zionist Organization, Kook did not hesitate to take a most unpopular stand. All the while he was writing, and much of what he left behind is still being published.

The selections below are from a posthumous volume, *Orot (Lights)*, which first appeared in 1942. The actual dates of their composition range over the last quarter century of Rabbi Kook's life.

THE LAND OF ISRAEL (1910-1930)

ERETZ ISRAEL is not something apart from the soul of the Jewish people; it is no mere national possession, serving as a means of unifying our people and buttressing its material, or even its spiritual, survival. Eretz Israel is part of the very essence of our nationhood; it is bound organically to its very life and inner being. Human reason, even at its most sublime, cannot begin to understand the unique holiness of Eretz Israel; it cannot stir the depths of love for the land that are dormant within our people. What Eretz Israel means to the Jew can be felt only through the Spirit of the Lord which is in our people as a whole, through the spiritual cast of the Jewish soul, which radiates its characteristic influence to every healthy emotion. This higher light shines forth to the degree that the spirit of divine holiness fills the hearts of the saints and scholars of Israel with heavenly life and bliss.

To regard Eretz Israel as merely a tool for establishing our national unity—or even for sustaining our religion in the Diaspora by preserving its proper character and its faith, piety, and observances—is a sterile notion; it is unworthy of the holiness of Eretz Israel. A valid

strengthening of Judaism in the Diaspora can come only from a deepened attachment to Eretz Israel. The hope for the return to the Holy Land is the continuing source of the distinctive nature of Judaism. The hope for the Redemption is the force that sustains Judaism in the Diaspora; the Judaism of Eretz Israel is the very Redemption.

JEWISH ORIGINAL CREATIVITY, whether in the realm of ideas or in the arena of daily life and action, is impossible except in Eretz Israel. On the other hand, whatever the Jewish people creates in Eretz Israel assimilates the universal into characteristic and unique Jewish form, to the great benefit of the Jewish people and of the world. The very sins which are the cause of our exile also pollute the pristine wellspring of our being, so that the water is impure at the source. Once the unique wellspring of Israel's individuality has become corrupt, its primal originality can express itself only in that area of loftiest universal creativity which belongs to the Jew—and only in the Diaspora, while the Homeland itself grows waste and desolate, atoning for its degradation by its ruin. While the life and thought of Israel is finding universal outlets and is being scattered abroad in all the world, the pristine well of the Jewish spirit stops running, the polluted streams emanating from the source are drying up, and the well is cleansing itself, until its original purity returns. When that process is completed, the exile will become a disgust to us and will be discarded. Universal Light, in all its power, will again radiate from the unique source of our being; the splendor of the Messiah who is to gather in the exiles will begin to be manifest; and the bitter lament of Rachel weeping for her children will find sweet and glorious consolation. The creativity of the Jew, in all its glory and uniqueness, will reassert itself, suffused with the all-encompassing riches of the spirit of the greatest giant of humankind, Abraham, whom the Almighty called to be a blessing to man.

A JEW CANNOT BE as devoted and true to his own ideas, sentiments, and imagination in the Diaspora as he can in Eretz Israel. Revelations of the Holy, of whatever degree, are relatively pure in Eretz Israel; outside it, they are mixed with dross and much impurity. However, the greater is one's yearning for and attachment to Eretz Israel, the purer his thoughts become, for they then live in the air of Eretz Israel, which sustains everyone who longs to behold the Land.

IN THE HOLY LAND man's imagination is lucid and clear, clean and pure, capable of receiving the revelation of Divine Truth and of expressing in life the sublime meaning of the ideal of the sovereignty of holiness; there the mind is prepared to understand the light of prophecy and to be illumined by the radiance of the Holy Spirit. In gentle lands the imagination is dim, clouded with darkness and shadowed with unholiness, and it cannot serve as the vessel for the outpouring of the Divine Light, as it raises itself beyond the lowness and narrowness of the universe. Because reason and imagination are interwoven and interact with each other, even reason cannot shine in its truest glory outside the Holy Land.

DEEP IN THE HEART of every Jew, in its purest and holiest recesses, there blazes the fire of Israel. There can be no mistaking its demands for an organic and indivisible bond between life and all of God's commandments; for the pouring of the spirit of the Lord, the spirit of Israel which completely permeates the soul of the Jew, into all the vessels which were created for this particular purpose; and for expressing the word of Israel fully and precisely in the realms of action and idea.

In the hearts of our saints, this fire is constantly blazing up with tongues of holy flame. Like the fire on the altar of the Temple, it is burning unceasingly, with a steady flame, in the collective heart of our people. Hidden away in the deepest recesses of their souls, it exists even among the backsliders and sinners of Israel. Within the Jewish people as a whole, this is the living source of its desire for freedom, of its longing for a life worthy of the name for man and community, of its hope for redemption—of the striving toward a full, uncontradictory, and unbounded Jewish life.

This is the meaning of the Jew's undying love for Eretz Israel—the Land of Holiness, the Land of God—in which all of the Divine commandments are realized in their perfect form. This urge to unfold to the world the nature of God, to raise one's head in His Name in order to proclaim His greatness in its real dimension, affects all souls, for all desire to become as one with Him and to partake of the bliss of His life. This yearning for a true life, for one that is fashioned by all the commandments of the Torah and illumined by all its uplifting splendor, is the source of the courage which moves the Jew to affirm, before all the world, his loyalty to the heritage of his people, to the preservation of its identity and values, and to the upholding of its faith and vision.

An outsider may wonder: How can seeming unbelievers be moved by this life force, not merely to nearness to the universal God but even toward authentic Jewish life—to expressing the divine commandments concretely in image and idea, in song and deed. But this is no mystery to anyone whose heart is deeply at one with the soul of the Jewish people and who knows its marvelous nature. The source of this Power is in the Power of God, in the everlasting glory of life.

THE WAR (1910-1930)

FORCES FROM WITHOUT compelled us to forsake the political arena of the world, but our withdrawal was also motivated by an inward assent, as if to say that we were awaiting the advent of a happier time, when government could be conducted without ruthlessness and barbarism. That is the day for which we hope. Of course, in order to bring it about, we must awaken all our potentialities and use all the means that the age may make available to us: Everything evolves by the will of the Creator of all worlds. But the delay is a necessary one, for our soul was disgusted by the dreadful sins that go with political rule in evil times. The day has come—it is very near—when the world will grow gentler; we can begin to prepare ourselves, for it will soon be possible for us to conduct a state of our own founded on goodness, wisdom, justice, and the clear Light of God.

It is not meet for Jacob to engage in political life at a time when statehood requires bloody ruthlessness and demands a talent for evil. At the beginning of our history we were granted only the foundation, the minimum that was necessary to establish a nation. After our race was weaned, our political sovereignty was destroyed, and we were dispersed among the peoples and sown in the depths of the soil, "till the time of singing is come, and the voice of the turtle dove is heard in the land."

THE SECURING of the structure of the world, which is now tottering in the bloody tempests of war, demands the upbuilding of the Jewish nation. The building of the people and the revelation of its spirit are one and the same process; it is indispensable to the rebuilding

of the shaken world, which is waiting for the supreme and unifying force that is to be found in the soul of the Holy Congregation of Israel. The soul of Israel is full of the spirit of God, the spirit of the Name, and no man who is responsive to the demands of his own soul can be silent at this great hour. He must cry out to the slumbering powers of our people: Awake and rise to your task.

The voice of God calls out mightily. His call is attested in the recesses of our soul and by the changing processes of life: Israel must tap the source of its life, and plant itself on the feet of its spiritual character. World civilization is crumbling, the human spirit is weakened, and darkness is enveloping all the nations.

The time is ripe. Everlasting light, the true Light of God, the Light of God of Israel, revealed by his wondrous people, must rise to the level of consciousness. This awareness must penetrate the inner being of our people, so that it recognizes the ultimate oneness of its own potentialities and becomes aware of the God Who dwells in it. Once it knows that God is within it, our people will also know how to draw from its own elemental source. Our nation is called to drink not from alien wells but from its own deeps. Let it fill its vessels with will from the depth of its prayers, with life from the well of its Torah, with courage from the roots of its faith, with order from the integrity of its reason, and with heroism from the might of its spirit, for all that arises under the canopy of its skies derives from the spirit of God that is hovering over the universe, from the beginning unto the end of time.

All the civilizations of the world will be renewed by the renaissance of our spirit. All quarrels will be resolved, and our revival will cause all life to become luminous with the joy of fresh birth. All religions will don new and precious raiment, casting off whatever is soiled, abominable, and unclean; they will unite in imbibing of the dew of the Holy Lights, that were made ready for all mankind at the beginning of time in the well of Israel. The active power of Abraham's blessing to all the peoples of the world will become manifest, and it will serve as the basis of our renewed creativity in Eretz Israel. The destruction of our day is a preparation for a new and unique renaissance of the deepest dimensions.

The Light of God's grace is shining. The name of God, "I am that I am," is ever more revealing itself. Let us attest to the greatness of our God.

SOLOMON SCHECHTER
1847-1915

IN THE DIRECT SENSE Schechter's career belongs more to the history of Jewish religion and scholarship than to the story of Zionism. Nonetheless, though he never took active part in the organized movement, he is a central figure in its development in America. During his fourteen years in the United States Schechter had an enormous personal influence on a number of younger leaders, like Judah Magnes, who were to understand Zionist ideas in ways that they had learned largely from him. His own credo (reprinted here), a reinterpretation of Ahad Ha-Am in the context of Schechter's own unfanatical but traditionalist religiosity, naturalized cultural Zionism in America. Above all, Schechter imparted a Zionist temper to the Conservative movement in American Judaism, of which he was the master builder, both intellectually and institutionally, so that it remained henceforth the most overwhelmingly Zionist of the three major Jewish religious groupings in America.

Solomon Schechter was born in a small town in Romania, probably in 1847; no accurate birth records were kept there in those days and he himself was in some doubt as to the exact year. After a thorough traditional education in Talmud and rabbinic texts, he went to Vienna, where he studied both at the university and under Isaac Hirsch Weiss and Meir Friedmann, two of the great modern, "scientific" talmudists. From Vienna, Schechter went to Berlin, where he came to the attention of Claude G. Montefiore, the Anglo-Jewish scholar and religious reformer. Montefiore invited Schechter in 1882 to come to England to be his tutor in rabbinics. Though Schechter arrived there knowing not a word of English, he mastered the language so quickly that he used it only three years later for his first published essay (*The Study of the Talmud*). Schechter was to continue to write in this vein all his life, becoming a notable stylist and the greatest of all interpreters of Judaism to the English-speaking world. The three volumes of these essays, under the title *Studies in Judaism*, have been often reprinted. Both in

these volumes and in *Some Aspects of Jewish Theology*, a somewhat more technical volume in the same genre, Schechter expounded his religious outlook, that of a successor to Zechariah Frankel in carrying forward the idea of "positive-historical Judaism."

Schechter's spiritual physiognomy was well-formed in his years in England. In 1890 he was appointed to an academic post at Cambridge and in 1899 to a professorship of Hebrew at University College, London. Toward the end of this decade Schechter achieved international fame in scholarship. He identified a leaf of manuscript as part of the lost Hebrew original of Ecclesiasticus and in the winter of 1896 he went to Egypt to return from Cairo with thousands of ancient manuscript pages out of the Geniza (depository of texts no longer usable) of its ancient synagogue. This find was as important in its day, for rabbinic scholarship, as the recent discoveries in the region of the Dead Sea have been to students of the Bible.

In 1902 Schechter came to America to head a reorganized Jewish Theological Seminary. In the years of his presidency he fashioned this institution to represent his liberal traditionalist religious views. By the very nature of his position, with its emphasis on the religious nationhood of the Jew, he was close to at least one form of Zionism. His essay below accepts political Zionism as the useful handmaiden of his ultimate spiritual purposes and the indispensable tool for saving Jews in need in eastern Europe. In a nonmystical and much more modern way Schechter is reminiscent of Kook's ideas, which he was developing at the same time. To both anything that is creative within Jewry is a tool, often despite itself, to the achievement of the divine aims which are inherent in the Jewish people.

Schechter died in New York in 1915.

ZIONISM: A STATEMENT (1906)

HERE IS A STORY TOLD of a German Jew of the older generation that when his friends came to him about the beginning of the eighties of the last century, and asked what he thought of the new attacks on the Jews, he looked rather astonished, and said, "They are not new; they are the old ones." I may say with equal justice that the

attacks on Zionism which have come lately from press and pulpit are not new. They have been refuted ever so many times, and have been as often repeated. Lest, however, my ignoring direct challenges in accordance with the old rule, "Silence is tantamount to admission," be taken as a proof that I have at last become converted by the arguments of our opponents, I will state here clearly the reasons for my allegiance to Zionism. I wish only to premise that I am no official expounder of Zionism. I am not claiming or aspiring to the role of leadership in this movement. The following remarks have only the value of representing the opinion of one of the rank and file, stating clearly his attitude toward this movement, though he believes that he reflects the views of a great number of fellow Zionists. Zionism is an ideal, and as such is indefinable. It is thus subject to various interpretations and susceptible of different aspects. It may appear to one as the rebirth of national Jewish consciousness, to another as a religious revival, whilst to a third it may present itself as a path leading to the goal of Jewish culture; and to a fourth it may take the form of the last and only solution of the Jewish problem. By reason of this variety of aspects, Zionism has been able to unite on its platform the most heterogeneous elements, representing Jews of all countries, and exhibiting almost all the different types of culture and thought as only a really great and universal movement could command. That each of its representatives should emphasize the particular aspect most congenial to his way of thinking, and most suitable for his mode of action, is only natural. On one point, however, they all agree, namely, that it is not only desirable, but absolutely necessary, that Palestine, the land of our fathers, should be recovered with the purpose of forming a home for at least a portion of the Jews, who would lead there an independent national life. That the language of the leaders was sometimes ambiguous and not quite definite in the declaration of this principle is owing to the boldness of the proposition and the environments in which these leaders were brought up, where everything distinctly Jewish was in need of an apology, rather than to any doubt about the final aim of Zionism, as conceived in the minds of the great majority of Zionists. Nor was it strange that some backslidings should occur, and that in moments of despair, counsels of despair would prevail, considering the terrible crises through which we have passed during the last few years. The great majority of Zionists remain loyal to the great idea of Zion and Jerusalem, to which history and tradition, and the general Jewish sentiment, point. It is "God's country" in the fullest and truest sense of the words. It is the "Promised Land" still maintaining its place in every

Jewish heart, excepting those, perhaps, with whom Jewish history commences about the year 1830, and Jewish literature is confined to the transactions of the rabbinical synods of the last century, and the files of Philipsson's *Allgemeine Zeitung des Judentums*.¹

To me personally, after long hesitation and careful watching, Zionism recommended itself as the great bulwark against assimilation. By assimilation I do not understand what is usually understood by Americanization: namely, that every Jew should do his best to acquire the English language; that he should study American history and make himself acquainted with the best productions of American literature; that he should be a law-abiding citizen, thoroughly appreciating the privilege of being a member of this great commonwealth, and joyfully prepared to discharge the duties of American citizenship. What I understand by assimilation is loss of identity; or that process of disintegration which, passing through various degrees of defiance of all Jewish thought and of disloyalty to Israel's history and its mission, terminates variously in different lands. In Germany, for instance (where the pressure from above in favor of the dominant religion is very strong), it ends in direct and public apostasy; in other countries where this pressure has been removed, it results in the severance of all affiliation with the synagogue, and is followed by a sort of "eclectic religiosity," that coquettes with the various churches, not neglecting even the Christian Science Temple, and is consummated by a final, though imperceptible, absorption in the great majority. This consummation will surely be hastened by the gradual disappearance of social disparity. What this process finally means for Judaism will perhaps be best seen from the following quotation from Wellhausen's *History of Israel*.² After giving Spinoza's oft-quoted view regarding the possibilities of the absorption of Israel by its surroundings, the well-known Bible critic remarks: "The persistency of the race may, of course, prove a harder thing to overcome than Spinoza has supposed; but, nevertheless, he will be found to have spoken truly in declaring that the so-called emancipation of the Jews must inevitably lead to the extinction of Judaism wherever the process is extended beyond the political to the social sphere."

The only comfort that Wellhausen leaves us is that "for the accomplishment of this, centuries may be required." We, and the few generations that are to succeed us, are to abide cheerfully in this intermediate condition, and to acquiesce in the tortures of a slow death, or, as the great Alexandrian sage in his description of the punishment awaiting the specially wicked expresses it, we are "to live

continually dying" and to endure an unceasing dissolution until death will have mercy upon us and will give us the last *coup de grâce*.

It is this kind of assimilation, with the terrible consequences indicated, that I dread most; even more than pogroms. To this form of assimilation, Zionism in the sense defined will prove, and is already proving, a most wholesome check. Whatever faults may be found with its real or self-appointed leaders, Zionism as a whole forms an opposing force against the conception of the destiny of Israel and the interpretation of its mission the leading thought of which is apparently the well-known epigram, "Whosoever shall seek to gain his life shall lose it, but whosoever shall lose his life shall preserve it." Zionism declares boldly to the world that Judaism means to preserve its life by not losing its life. It shall be a true and healthy life, with a policy of its own, a religion wholly its own, invigorated by sacred memories and sacred environments, and proving a tower of strength and of unity not only for the remnant gathered within the borders of the Holy Land, but also for those who shall, by choice or necessity, prefer what now constitutes the Galut.

The term Galut is here loosely used, expressing, as I have often heard it, the despair and helplessness felt in the presence of a great tragedy. And the tragedy is not imaginary. It is real, and it exists everywhere. It is a tragedy to see a great ancient people, distinguished for its loyalty to its religion, and its devotion to its sacred law, losing thousands every day by the mere process of attrition. It is a tragedy to see sacred institutions as ancient as the mountains, to maintain which Israel for thousands of years shrank from no sacrifice, destroyed before our very eyes and exchanged for corresponding institutions borrowed from hostile religions. It is a tragedy to see the language held sacred by all the world, in which Holy Writ was composed, and which served as the depository of Israel's greatest and best thought, doomed to oblivion and forced out gradually from the synagogue. It is a tragedy to see the descendants of those who revealed revelation to the world and who developed the greatest religious literature in existence, so little familiar with real Jewish thought, and so utterly wanting in all sympathy with it, that they have no other interpretation to offer of Israel's scriptures, Israel's religion, and Israel's ideals and aspirations and hopes, than those suggested by their natural opponents, slavishly following their opinions, copying their phrases, repeating their catchwords, not sparing us even the taunt of tribalism and Orientalism. I am not accusing anybody. I am only stating facts that are the outcome of causes under which we all labor, but for none of

which any party in particular can be made responsible, though it cannot be denied that some among us rather made too much virtue of a necessity, and indulged, and are still indulging, in experiments in euthanasia. The economic conditions under which we live; the innate desire for comfort; the inherent tendency toward imitation; the natural desire not to appear peculiar; the accessibility of theological systems, possessing all the seductions of "newness and modernity," patronized by fashion and even by potentates, and taught in ever so many universities, and condensed in dozens of encyclopedias, are sufficient and weighty enough causes to account for our tragedy. But, however natural the causes may be, they do not alter the doom. The effects are bound to be fatal. The fact thus remains that we are helpless spectators in the face of great tragedies, in other words, that we are, in Galut. This may not be the Galut of the Jews, but it is the Galut of Judaism, or as certain mystics expressed it, the Galut of *Hannephesh*, the Galut of the Jewish soul, wasting away before our very eyes. With a little modification we might repeat here the words of a Jewish Hellenist of the second century who, in his grief, exclaims: "Wherefore is Israel given up as a reproach to the heathen, and for what cause is the people whom Thou best loved given unto ungodly nations, and why is the law of our forefathers brought to naught, and the written covenants come to none effect? And we pass away out of the world as grasshoppers, and our life is astonishment and fear, and we are not worthy to obtain mercy."

The foregoing remarks have made it clear that I belong to that class of Zionists that lays more stress on the religious-national aspects of Zionism than on any other feature peculiar to it. The rebirth of Israel's national consciousness, and the revival of Israel's religion, or, to use a shorter term, the revival of Judaism, are inseparable. When Israel found itself, it found its God. When Israel lost itself, or began to work at its self-effacement, it was sure to deny its God. The selection of Israel, the indestructibility of God's covenant with Israel, the immortality of Israel as a nation, and the final restoration of Israel to Palestine, where the nation will live a holy life on holy ground, with all the wide-reaching consequences of the conversion of humanity and the establishment of the Kingdom of God on earth—all these are the common ideals and the common ideas that permeate the whole of Jewish literature extending over nearly four thousand years, including the largest bulk of the Hellenistic portion of it. The universalistic passages in the Scripture usually paraded by the "prophetic Jew" as implying the final disappearance, or extinction, of Israel are in every

case misquotations torn from their context, or ignoring other utterances by the same writer. Indeed, our prophetic Jew

*Boldly pilfers from the Pentateuch:
And, undisturbed by conscientious quads,
Perverts the Prophets, and purloins the Psalms.*

The interpretations smuggled into the passages are just as false and unscientific as the well-known Christological passages extracted from the Old Testament, and even from the Talmud, to be met with in missionary tracts, composed especially for the benefit of fresh converts.

The reproach that Zionism is unspiritual is meaningless. Indeed, there seems to be a notion abroad that spirituality is a negative quality. Take any ideal, and translate it into action, any sentiment of reverence, and piety, and give it expression through a symbol or ceremony, speak of the human yearning after communion with God, and try to realize it through actual prayer and you will be at once denounced as unspiritual. However, the imputation is as old as the days when the name Pharisee became a reproach, and it is not to be expected that the Zionists would be spared. In general, it is the antinomian who will tell you that he is the only heir to the rare quality of spirituality, whereas the real saint is in all his actions so spontaneous and so natural that he is entirely unconscious of possessing spirituality, and practically never mentions it.

The Zionists are no saints, but they may fairly claim that few movements are more free from the considerations of convenience and comfort, and less tainted with worldliness and other-worldliness than the one which they serve. Nothing was to be gained by joining it. All the powers that be, were, and still are, opposed to it, whether in their capacity as individuals or as wealthy corporations. The Zionists are just beginning to be tolerated, but I remember distinctly the time when adhesion to the cause of Zionism might interfere with the prospects of man's career, the cry being, "no Zionists need apply." The classes from which the Zionists were recruited were mostly the poorest among the poor. College men and university men, more blessed with enthusiasm and idealism than with the goods of this world, also furnished a fair quota. But this lack of means did not prevent them from responding most generously to every appeal made on the behalf of the cause. They taxed themselves to the utmost of their capacity, and beyond. I myself have witnessed cases in which men and women joyfully contributed their last earnings, foregoing their summer vacations, for which they had been saving a whole year.

The activity of Zionism must not be judged by what it has accomplished in Zion and Jerusalem—where it has to deal with political problems as yet not ripe for solution—but by what it has thus far achieved for Zion and Jerusalem, through the awakening of the national Jewish consciousness, notwithstanding the systematic and ruthless efforts made in the opposite direction during the greater part of the last century. Our synagogues and our homes plainly show the effect. Zion and Jerusalem have not been allowed to stand as a sad, glorious remembrance of a past, as mere objects of pious sentiment. Indeed, the astounding discovery was made that far from being considered as a day of disaster, the Ninth of Ab has to be looked upon as a day of liberation, when Judaism threw off the shackles of nationalism to congeal into a mere Church—with a ritual and a body of doctrines to be promulgated some nineteen hundred years later. Unfortunately, Israel was smitten with blindness, failing to understand its real destiny, and in the perversion of its heart, for eighteen hundred years observed the Ninth of Ab as a day of mourning and weeping, of humiliation and fasting; thus willfully delaying its redemption. I have always wondered that the Church has not yet been enterprising enough to put up a statue in gratitude to its benefactor Titus, the *delectus generis humani*, representing the goddess *Universa*, with a scribe and a priest cowering in chains at her feet.

The work, accordingly, in which Zionism had to engage first, and in which it will have to continue for many years to come, was the work of regeneration. It had to re-create the Jewish consciousness before creating the Jewish state. In this respect, Zionism has already achieved great things. There is hardly a single Jewish community in any part of the globe which is not represented by a larger or smaller number of men and women acknowledging themselves as Zionists and standing out as a living protest against the tendencies just hinted at. It has created a press, and has called into life a host of lecturers and speakers propagating its doctrines and preaching them boldly to Israel all over the world. It has given Asher Ginsberg, or as he is better known, by the pen name of Ahad Ha-Am, one of our finest intellects and most original thinkers; and he is followed by a whole host of disciples, all of them working under the stimulus of the Jewish national ideal, much as they may differ in the Zionist aspects they happen to emphasize. It has enriched our literature with a large number of novels and lyrics, and even distinct Zionist melodies are not wanting. It has further called into existence numerous societies, whose aim it is to make the sacred tongue a living language by means of

writing and even conversing in it, while in several communities special schools have been established with the same end in view. Better to advance this end, a whole series of Hebrew primers, grammars, and reading books for the young have been produced. Several translations prepared from German, French, and English works bearing on Jewish history and cognate subjects, all of them calculated to strengthen religious-national consciousness, have also appeared under the inspiration of Zionism. Foremost of all, Zionism has succeeded in bringing back into the fold many men and women, both here and in Europe, who otherwise would have been lost to Judaism. It has given them a new interest in the synagogue and everything Jewish, and put before them an ideal worthy of their love and their sacrifice. Cases have come under my notice where Jewish college men, at a comparatively advanced age, began to study the sacred language and to repair to the synagogue, sharing both in its joys and in its griefs, some among them encountering the displeasure and ridicule of their relatives, who were fanatical assimilators and who brought up their children without religious education of any kind. Of course, backslidings and relapses occur; but it is an advantage to Zionism that in its present condition, at least, it is all sacrifice and no gain. It holds out no prospect to the ambitious and to "those who exalt themselves to establish the vision" of a Jewish state without Jewish memories, without historic foundation, and without traditional principles. The undesirable and the impatient will thus, under one pretense or another, leave it soon, and indeed are dropping out already, so that its purification of all alloy and discordant elements is only a question of a very short time.

The taunt of retrogression and reaction has no terrors for us. To insist on progressing when one has come to the conclusion that a step forward means ruin is sheer obstinacy. Unless we are convinced so deeply of our infallibility that we take every utterance of ours as a divine revelation, and our every action as a precedent and as tradition, there may come a time in our lives when we may have to return. As a fact, Zionism is the natural rebound from an artificial and overstrained condition of things which could no longer last. It is the Declaration of Jewish Independence from all kinds of slavery, whether material or spiritual. It is as natural and instinctive as life itself, and no amount of scolding and abuse will prevent the reassertion of the Jewish soul, which in our unconscious Zionism is an actual present-day experience, though the expression given to it takes different shape in different minds. Moreover, Zionism thoroughly believes in progress and develop-

ment; but it must be progress along Jewish lines, and the goal to be reached must be the Jewish historic ideal.

But whilst Zionism is constantly winning souls for the present, it is at the same time preparing for us the future, which will be a Jewish future. Only then, when Judaism has found itself, when the Jewish soul has been redeemed from the Galut, can Judaism hope to resume its mission to the world. Everybody whose view has not been narrowed by the blinkers imposed on him by his little wing or by party considerations knows well enough that it is not only traditional religion which is on trial. We are on a veritable volcano created by the upheavals of the newest methods of "searching research," which respects as little the new formulae, such as the categoric imperative, conscience, the notion of duty, and the concept of morality and ethics, as it does creeds and dogmas. The disruption may come at any moment unless revelation is reasserted. The declaration, *Freedom is our Messiah*, which I have so often heard, may be good Fourth of July oratory, but it is miserably bad theology, and worse philosophy, having in view the terrible woes and complicated problems besetting humanity. Now, what happened once may happen again, and Israel may another time be called upon with its mission to the nations. Under the present conditions, however, we have neither a defined mission, nor does any man take this "mission" seriously, and the talk about it is allowed to be a mere *licentia predicatorum*. But we know that the Bible, which influenced humanity so deeply and proved so largely instrumental in the partial conversion of the world, arose in Palestine or in circles which looked on Palestine as their home. Those who wrote the Bible moved and had their whole being in the religious national idea, and lived under the discipline of the Law. History may, and to my belief, will repeat itself, and Israel will be the chosen instrument of God for the new and final mission; but then Israel must first effect its own redemption and live again its own life, and be Israel again, to accomplish its universal mission. The passages in the Bible most distinguished for their universalistic tendency and grandeur are, as is well known, the verses in Isaiah and Micah, and there it is solemnly proclaimed: "Out of Zion shall go forth the law, and the word of the Lord from Jerusalem."³

Our sages have themselves given expression to this correspondence between the universalistic and the nationalistic elements in Judaism. A solemn declaration, thus they declare, has the Holy One, blessed be He, registered: "I will not enter the heavenly Jerusalem, until Israel

shall come to the earthly Jerusalem." Not in conflict but in consonance with Israel's establishment of the divine institutions in their full integrity in God's own land will be the triumph in all its glory of the Kingdom of Heaven.

RABBI ABBA HILLEL SILVER born 1893

BOTH ABBA HILLEL SILVER and David Ben-Gurion, the two men with whom this reader concludes, are still at the height of their powers. In the last rounds of the struggle for the state of Israel, after Weizmann was voted out of office in 1946 as president of the World Zionist Organization, they were, in reality, the active leaders of the movement. Not always in agreement, they came to a parting of the ways soon after Israel arose, and since then Silver has been retired from any top role in Zionism while Ben-Gurion has, of course, been the prime minister of the new state during almost all of the first decade of its existence. Obviously their careers are too much part of the present for any thumbnail historical assessment to be possible (though there are some analytic comments on the ideas—not, be it noted, the political careers—of both of them in the introduction to this volume). We must here limit ourselves to a brief account of some of the objective facts of their lives.

Silver was born in Lithuania in 1893 and brought to New York by his parents nine years later. He was a Zionist from boyhood and remained firm in these convictions even in anti-Zionist atmosphere which dominated his rabbinical seminary, the Hebrew Union College in Cincinnati, when he was a student there. Silver was ordained in 1915 and, after a brief stay in Wheeling, West Virginia, he came two years later to the post he still holds, that of rabbi of The Temple in Cleveland. Silver's brilliance, scholarship, and oratorical powers were recognized early, and he has held many of the major offices in the organized American Jewish community. The essential aspect of Silver's public career, however, has been his Zionist work. During the Weizmann-Brandeis battle of 1920-1921 he was on the side of Brandeis, but he soon returned to the fold of the Zionist Organization of America. In 1937, when Weizmann pleaded for consideration of the Peel Commission's plan to partition Palestine, Silver was vehe-

mently opposed. He was increasingly identified with a policy of Zionist political activism, both in international affairs and on the American scene.

At the height of the Second World War, in 1943, Silver was asked by Weizmann to assume the political leadership of Zionism in America. His first major act was to lead in carrying the American Jewish Conference of that year (it was the first representative body of all American Jews since the days of the First World War) toward endorsing a Jewish Commonwealth in Palestine, and not something less, as a proper "war aim" of Jewry. In his political role Silver fought many battles for a declaration by the Congress of the United States in support of a future Jewish state, and he used every political and public relations method he could devise to bend the policies of both the major parties to this purpose. Other leaders in American Zionism regarded this activism as ill-advised and Silver, having failed to win his battle in Congress because the Roosevelt administration was opposed to such a declaration, resigned in 1944. After a year of heated internal Zionist controversy, he returned to leadership and continued in this role for the several years which were marked by the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry of 1946, the fight against Ernest Bevin in those years, and the debates in the United Nations. He appeared both before the General Assembly and the Security Council, as spokesman of the Jewish Agency for Palestine, in the discussions which ended with the resolution of November 29, 1947, the legal basis for the state of Israel.

Silver is represented here by the speech he gave in 1943 to the American Jewish Conference, which amounts to a statement of his Zionist position, and by part of an address in the next year in which he partially defined the views he then held about the future relationship between the Jewish state and American Jewry.

TOWARD AMERICAN JEWISH UNITY (1943)

MY DEAR FRIENDS, the Jewish people is in danger of coming out of this war the most ravaged of peoples and the least healed and restored. The stark tragedy of our ravage has been abundantly told

here and elsewhere—tragic, ghastly, undecoded. To rehearse it again is only to flagellate oneself and to gash our souls again and again. But what of the healing? What is beyond the rim of blood and tears? Frankly, to some of us, nothing. We are being comforted at the moment with the hope that the Atlantic Charter and the Four Freedoms and victory will begin the healing of our people.

I am afraid that we are again sacrificing cool, albeit bitter reasoning and logic to beguiling romancing in the void. We are again turning away from history to dreams and to apocalypses which some of us amazingly enough choose to call realism and statesmanship.

The last World War made the world safe for democracy and granted the Jews of central and eastern Europe not only the rights of citizenship, but even minority rights. But you remember, or have you forgotten? It brought also in its wake the most thoroughgoing, brutal, and annihilatorist anti-Semitism that our people have ever experienced.

Have you already forgotten the story of the First World War? Dare you forget it? And now again, in the Second World War, many Jews are hoping to achieve through another Allied victory what an Allied victory failed to give them after the last war, what a whole century of enlightenment, liberalism, and progress failed to give them—peace and security. They are again confusing formal political equality with immunity from economic and social pressures.

The immemorial problem of our national homelessness, which is the principal source of our millennial tragedy, remains as stark and as menacing today as it ever was. Yet some Jews are again trying to circumvent it with wishful thinking and to hide the real problem, the netting, perplexing, insistent problem, crying for expression and solution, under the thick blanket of appeals to Jewish unity and Jewish affability.

There is a tragic fact which seems to escape so many students of anti-Semitism. The story of Jewish emancipation in Europe from the day after the French Revolution to the day before the Nazi revolution is the story of political positions captured in the face of stubborn and sullen opposition, which left our emancipated minority in each country encamped within an unbeaten and unreconciled opposition, so that at the slightest provocation, as soon as things got out of order, the opposition returned to the attack and inflicted grievous wounds.

And in our day, stirred by the political and economic struggles which have torn nations apart, this never-failing, never-reconciled opposition swept over the Jewish political and economic positions in

Europe and completely demolished them. There is a stout black cord which connects the era of Fichte¹ in Germany with its feral cry of "hep, hep," and the era of Hitler with its cry of "Jude verrecke." The Damascus affair of 1840 links up with the widespread reaction after the Revolution of 1848—the Mortara affair of Italy;² the Christian Socialist Movement in the era of Bismarck; the Tisza-Eszlar affair in Hungary;³ the revival of blood accusations in Bohemia; the pogroms in the eighties in Russia; *La France Juive*⁴ and the Dreyfus affair in France; the pogroms of 1903; the Ukrainian blood baths after the last war, and the human slaughter houses of Poland in this war.

This, my friends, is our persistent problem. This is our immediate emergency—immediate almost to every generation of our people in almost every country. What we are confronted with today is the frightful aggravation of a situation which has continuously darkened the pages of our history since the beginning of our dispersion.

Now, what is the solution for this persistent emergency in Jewish life? There is but one solution for that national homelessness which is the source, I repeat, of our millennial tragedy. There is but one solution for national homelessness. That is a national home! Not new immigration opportunities in other countries for fleeing refugees; not new colonization schemes in other parts of the world, many of which were so hopefully attempted in the last few decades, down to our very own day, and with such little success. The only solution is to normalize the political status of the Jewish people in the world by giving it a national basis in its national and historic home.

The world finally came to acknowledge the validity of this solution. In 1917, Great Britain issued the Balfour Declaration. This Declaration was not intended to be an immigrant aid scheme, an effort to open up a new avenue for Jewish immigration. Shortly before its issuance, and for many years prior thereto, Jews in very large numbers were finding opportunities for immigration in many parts of the world, especially in the Western Hemisphere. The Balfour Declaration was a political national act designed to rebuild the national life of the Jewish people in its homeland.

Now, is this my interpretation or that of Zionists only? Not at all. It was the universally accepted interpretation of the statesmen of the world and of those who were responsible in the first place for the issuance of this Declaration: Lloyd George, President Wilson, Jan Smuts, Winston Churchill. They were thinking in terms of a Jewish Commonwealth or, as many of them called it, the Jewish State, which

was to be the natural outgrowth and evolution of the Jewish National Home.

And how did our American Jews in those days interpret that document? When the first American Jewish Congress met in Philadelphia in 1918, a Congress in which Zionists and non-Zionists participated, as in this Conference, it elected a delegation to represent American Jewry at the Peace Conference, and the delegation was given instructions formulated as follows:

They were to co-operate with the representatives of other Jewish organizations, specifically with the World Zionist Organization, to the end that the Peace Conference might recognize the aspirations and historic claims of the Jewish people in regard to Palestine and might declare, that in accordance with the British Government's Declaration, there shall be established such political, administrative and economic conditions in Palestine as would assure, under the trusteeship of Great Britain, acting on behalf of such a League of Nations as might be formed, the development of Palestine into a Jewish Commonwealth.

Why has there arisen among us today this mortal fear of the term "Jewish Commonwealth" which both British and American statesmen took in their stride, as it were, and which our own fellow Jews of both camps endorsed a quarter of a century ago? Why are anti-Zionists, or non-Zionists, or neutrals, determined to excise that phrase—and I suspect, in some instances, at least, that hope?

Why are they asking us, on the plea of unity, to surrender a basic political concept which was so much a part of the whole pattern of the Balfour Declaration? I suspect it is because they, or some of them, or most of them, have never really reconciled themselves to the fact both of the Declaration and of the Mandate. They would like to forget about them or have the world forget about them or wish them out of existence. Of course, they have no objection to Jews going to Palestine any more than they would have any objections to Jews going to New Zealand, to Australia, or any other part of the world.

It is amazing to me, I frankly confess, that Jews are moved to applaud a fellow Jew when he consents that Jews should have the right to go to Palestine. Once having made this monumental concession that Jews have a right to go to Palestine and that that right should not be restricted, they feel justified in asking the Zionists to make a little concession of their own—just a little concession—namely, to surrender that for which they and their fathers hoped and prayed

through the centuries and which is already in the process of fulfillment—a Jewish Commonwealth of Palestine.

We are told that our insistence on the Jewish Commonwealth is insistence on an ideology, and why, we are asked, should one create disunity in the ranks of American Israel over an ideology?

In all sincerity, friends, I ask you to think along with me—is it an ideology? Is the natural, normal instinct of a homeless people to find a home for itself after centuries of homelessness and to lead a normal, natural existence, an ideology? Is it an ideology for an Englishman to want an England, or for a Frenchman to want a France, a Free France, and, when exiled from it, to wish ardently to return to it? Why is it an "ideology" for the people of Israel to want the Land of Israel from which it was driven centuries ago and so lost its peace and its rest and its joy of life?

Was it an ideology which kept alive the hope of national restoration among our people for nineteen centuries? Was it not rather the hard, cruel facts of our existence, exiles, massacres, pogroms, indignities, all the way along the black stout cord of disaster, never broken from 70 to 1943?

We are not insisting on ideologies; we are insisting on the faithful fulfillment of obligations internationally assumed toward our people and on the honoring of covenants made with us. We ask for nothing new. It is those who tell us to surrender the demands already acknowledged in international sanctions that are motivated by ideologies, not we. It is they who are forcing the reopening of a question which in all conscience should have been closed in 1917.

So, my good friends, we are not concerned here with ideologies. The reconstitution of the Jewish people as a nation in its homeland is not a playful political conceit of ours, a sort of intellectual pastime calculated to satisfy some national vanity of ours. It is the cry of despair of a people driven to the wall, fighting for its very life. It is the pressing urgency of instant and current suffering and of the besetting dangers and disabilities today and, I am afraid, also tomorrow.

From the infested, typhus-ridden ghetto of Warsaw, from the death-block of Nazi-occupied lands where myriads of our people are awaiting execution by the slow or the quick method, from a hundred concentration camps which befall the map of Europe, from the pitiful ranks of our wandering hosts over the entire face of the earth, comes the cry: "Enough; there must be a final end to all this, a sure and certain end!"

How long is the crucifixion to last? Time and again we have been

stretched upon the rack for other peoples' sins. Time and again we have been made the whipping boy for blundering governments, the scapegoat for defeat in war, for misery and depression, for conflict among classes.

How long is it to last? Are we forever to live a homeless people on the world's crumbs of sympathy, forever in need of defenders, forever doomed to thoughts of refugees and relief? Should not, I ask you fellow Jews, ought not, the incalculable and unspeakable suffering of our people and the oceans of blood which we have shed in this war and in all the wars of the centuries; should not the myriad martyrs of our people, as well as the magnificent heroism and the vast sacrifices of our brave soldier sons who are today fighting on all the battle fronts of the world—should not all this be compensated for finally and at long last with the re-establishment of a free Jewish Commonwealth?

Is not this historic justice, and is this world today not reaching out so desperately and so pathetically for a new world order of justice? Should we not be included in that world order of justice? Are we not deserving of it? I am for unity in Israel, but unity for what? It is strange, frequently, I am bewildered. If I agree with certain people, that's unity. If I ask them to agree with me, that is disunity.

I am for unity in Israel, for the realization of the total program of Jewish life, relief, rescue, reconstruction, and the national restoration in Palestine. I am not for unity on a fragment of the program, for a fragment of the program is a betrayal of the rest of the program and a tragic futility besides. We cannot truly rescue the Jews of Europe unless we have free immigration into Palestine. We cannot have free immigration into Palestine unless our political rights are recognized there. Our political rights cannot be recognized there unless our historic connection with the country is acknowledged and our right to rebuild our national home is reaffirmed. These are inseparable links in the chain. The whole chain breaks if one of the links is missing. Do not beguile yourselves. Do not let anyone beguile you with the thought that the Arabs in Palestine or the British Colonial Office, for that matter—and the two at the moment seem to be synonymous—will consent to large-scale immigration into Palestine as soon as we give up our idea of a Jewish Commonwealth. They are not that naive—they are opposed both to a Jewish Commonwealth and to Jewish immigration.

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 political positions which after centuries it finally acquired 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 point out in all humility that unity of action in 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 it. 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 American Jews 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. A strange thing has occurred here. We are asked not to relinquish our convictions but at the same time not to express them.

The minority, if it is wise, as I believe it is, and responsible, as I

know it is, and responsive to the democratic process, will abide by the decision and accept the role of a loyal opposition. We are not a government and we have no authority to impose decisions, but there is a tremendous moral authority in a solemn conclave such as this of the chosen representatives of our people, and when after due deliberation it speaks in overwhelming endorsement of a certain program, its decision ought not to be lightly disregarded.

I close with this word, my friends. The heroic Yishuv in Palestine has prayerfully appealed to us to uphold its hands. You have read it in the public press. Our Yishuv today is fighting a desperate fight against enemies stretched all the way from Jerusalem through Cairo, through newspaper offices in the city of New York. It is fighting a desperate fight against enemies who are organizing another conspiracy to strangle its further development and to extinguish the great hope of national freedom which has sustained the faith and courage of those splendid men and women who are building the Jewish Commonwealth. They have appealed to us, their brothers and sisters in America, to approve of their struggle, to defend their rights and to appeal to the political leaders and statesmen of this great, free, and blessed land to help them now in this, the approaching hour of decision, with the same sympathy and the same understanding as the Presidents of the United States from Wilson down, and the Congress of the United States, helped them in the earlier years. I ask you, good friends, shall we let them down?

Shall we pass a Palestine resolution here which will mention nothing about the historic Balfour Declaration and its clear intent and underlying purpose—the upbuilding of the Jewish Commonwealth? Will it be perhaps our purpose to send a delegation to the Peace Conference with nothing more than an immigration aid plea to let Jews go to Palestine, as if Palestine were for us another Santo Domingo?

Are we to ask merely for the right of asylum in our historic home, the right which any people may claim in any part of the world, though, unfortunately, such claims are only infrequently recognized? Is this Jewish statesmanship? Is this Jewish vision, courage, faith? Or are we to declare in this great assembly, when the proper time comes, that we stand by those who have given their tears and their blood and their sweat to build for them and for us and the future generations, at long last, after the weary centuries, a home, a National Home, a Jewish Commonwealth, where the spirit of our entire people can finally be at rest as well as the people itself

Are we going to take counsel here of fear of what this one or that one might say, of how our actions are likely to be misinterpreted; or are we to take counsel of our inner moral convictions, of our faith, of our history, of our achievements, and go forward in faith to build and to heal?

AMERICAN JEWRY IN WAR AND AFTER (1944)

AMERICAN JEWS are at last finding themselves under the necessity of doing that which Jews in the Old World have always had to do—consciously orienting themselves as Jews in a non-Jewish environment and realistically facing all the implications of their status as a minority group. The Nazis succeeded in their attempt to make the whole Western World Jew-conscious, but they also succeeded, and without any intention on their part, in making all Jews more Jew-conscious. While some Jews are rather unnerved by this new experience and are unable to make an intelligent adjustment to it, the majority of our people are being helped by this keener awareness of their true position, to a fuller, franker, and more dignified life as American Jews.

These American Jews are facing the future without any illusions but certainly not without hope. The New World, for a time, made possible a pleasant sense of almost complete identification. That is no longer the case and in all probability will never be again. The Old World brand of anti-Semitism is here to stay—not forever, of course, but for a period long enough for all practical considerations. This is realism, not defeatism. This is the landscape. After the political anti-Semitism of the Nazi variety—the kind which is sanctioned and organized by governments and employed as a weapon of economic reaction and imperial aggression—will have been defeated as a result of the defeat of the Nazis in this war, the high fever-temperature of anti-Semitism will undoubtedly drop here and elsewhere, provided, of course, no disastrous economic debacle and vast unemployment follow the Armistice. But much of what we now call the “good” and temperate anti-Semitism, in contrast to the killing and annihilationist kind,

that which in happier times we used to call prejudice, will remain as a constant factor in our experience. The Civil War ended slavery in the United States. It did not solve the race problem. A country may be democratic and yet its people may be bitterly anti-Semitic. Witness Poland before the war and Weimar Germany. Political equality is not yet brotherhood. It is doubtful whether the popular sentiment of most of the countries of Europe ever heartily approved of Jewish emancipation. It seems to have come rather as a by-product of new political theories and principles of human rights which had to be consistently applied and therefore had to include also the Jews.

America is not likely to go fascist, but fascistically-minded Americans, who will always be anti-Semites, will persist in large numbers until such time as our age finds its new economic and political equilibrium after the prolonged upheavals of the technological revolution. This spiritually formless period of reorientation which will continue to be fraught with much danger and unhappiness for mankind will last far beyond our present generation.

What I am trying to say is that our lives as American Jews have now fallen into the well-known pattern of Israel's millennial experience in Diaspora. For a time we were able to regard ourselves as different. But America itself has become far less different, far less removed, and 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 now enmeshed in a common destiny with the rest of the world. And American Jews also have come to share, however reluctantly, the common and inescapable destiny of their fellow Jews in the rest of the world. An unflinching rule in that millennial experience of our people has been that in normal times of political and economic stability, of peace and prosperity, we are not greatly annoyed. When conditions become disturbed and unsettled, for whatever reason, we are suddenly and severely menaced.

Following the war we shall be kept busy for a time undoing the mischief which the virulent Nazi-inspired propaganda of recent years will have accomplished in this country; busy, as it were, disinfecting the human mind. This will prove a job of no mean proportions. Thereafter we shall proceed to make the necessary adjustments to the more “normal” forms of prejudice without spending too much time and thought upon the subject—a preoccupation neither satisfying nor edifying—and we shall turn our attention to the more constructive areas of Jewish life. We have long been admonished by our sages not

to observe the wind too closely lest we fail to sow, nor to regard the clouds with too much concern lest we fail to reap.

We will stop trying to find a solution for anti-Semitism and we will reconcile ourselves to a condition. We will, of course, join forces with all those elements in our population which work for the preservation of the basic traditions of American democracy. We shall be a portion of all that is around us and will share as fully as we shall be permitted in the common life. We will continue to resist the forces of darkness and disruption in our country. We will not surrender the hope of a future which will achieve in practice what has been projected in declaration, but, like the Messiah idea among our people, we shall think of it with hope but also with a saving measure of skepticism. We shall act as people who have finally matured and who do not attempt to escape into delusions or self-delusions.

DAVID BEN-GURION born 1886

DAVID BEN-GURION was born as David Green in Pionsk, Poland, in 1886. He became active in Zionism very early in his life; as a youngster of seventeen, in 1903, he was already one of the cofounders of an early Labor-Zionist group, the Poale Zion of Poland, and two years later he was part of the Jewish self-defense that was organized there and in Russia in the wake of the Kishinev pogrom of 1903 and under the threat of the convulsions which attended the unsuccessful Russian revolution of 1905. Ben-Gurion left for Palestine in the next year, to work as a farm hand, along with others we have already mentioned (e.g., Gordon and Brenner) who were laying the foundations of a Jewish labor movement in the state they hoped they were creating.

Though Ben-Gurion began in Palestine by doing simple physical labor, he soon achieved some organizational and political prominence. He was chairman of the conference which organized its Poale Zion party in 1907 and wrote considerably in the press of this small (not more than hundreds at the time) but very important group. By 1913 he was a delegate of his party to the Eleventh World Zionist Congress, and he has played an ever more prominent role since then at the successive meetings of that body. Ben-Gurion was among the many new Zionist settlers in Palestine who were exiled by the Turkish command in 1915, and he made his way to the United States. During the three years of his stay in New York he was actively involved in organizing the American wing of Labor-Zionism and, in particular, in its effort toward encouraging American Jews to settle in Palestine. Though much of his Zionist career was to be spent in a no-quarter battle with Jabotinsky, Ben-Gurion was attracted to the idea of a Jewish Legion which Jabotinsky was bringing into being (see his biography above, Part 10), and was among the organizers of its "American" branch, i.e., of the group of Russian Jews then resident in the United States who went to join the three battalions of fusiliers which wound

up in Palestine in 1918 under Allenby's command. Ben-Gurion was himself one of these soldiers.

After the war, at a conference in Haifa in 1920, he was among the founders of the Histadrut, the congress of labor unions in Palestine, and from 1921 to 1935 he served as its general secretary. In this role and in the post of chairman of the executive of the Jewish Agency that he held for the next thirteen years, until the state of Israel arose, Ben-Gurion was at the very head of the affairs of the Yishuv and of the Zionist movement. He represented Palestinian labor at several international socialist gatherings in the 1920's and 1930's and spoke for it before the various commissions of inquiry into Palestine which succeeded one another in that period. Concurrently, Ben-Gurion was, as he continues to be, a prolific journalist and speaker, whose papers and addresses have been published in many volumes.

His recent career is, of course, a dramatic element in modern history. Ben-Gurion was the leader of Palestinian Jewry in the struggles of the 1940's which preceded the state and, along with Silver, he provided the impetus toward Zionist political activism in the world arena.

Once the state was declared, he led it as its prime minister and minister of defence through its early, dangerous days. As writer and party leader, Ben-Gurion once coined a slogan for Labor-Zionism: "From class to becoming the nation as a whole." Whatever may happen to that dream for his specific group, it is undoubted that Ben-Gurion is today more than merely the political leader of Israel; he is more than its prime minister by virtue of a vote in parliament.

The passage below represents most of a speech he gave in Haifa in 1944 to a gathering of youth leaders. Many of the things he has labored for since that day are foreshadowed in this sketch of his ultimate vision.

THE IMPERATIVES OF THE JEWISH REVOLUTION (1944)

I MUST TELL YOU at the very beginning that not only you youth leaders who are assembled here today, but every boy and girl in the land of Israel has been called to the most difficult task in our history—perhaps in the history of man! The charge that has been laid

upon your generation is—unconditional allegiance, for life and death.

The Jewish revolution is not the first or only one in the history of the world, but it is perhaps the most difficult. There have been a number of great revolutions—it suffices to mention the English revolution in the seventeenth century, the American and French revolutions in the eighteenth century, and the Russian revolution in our own time—and there will be others, but the Jewish revolution is fundamentally of a different order and its task is, therefore, all the harder. All other revolts, both past and future, were uprisings against a *system*, against a political, social, or economic structure. Our revolution is directed not only against a system but against *destiny*, against the unique destiny of a unique people.

No parallel exists in the history of any nation to the unique fate of the Jews, to our career which has been *sui generis* not merely since the beginning of the exile but even before, when we lived in our own land. Ours was a tiny nation inhabiting a small country, and there have been many tiny nations and many small countries, but ours was a tiny nation possessed of a great spirit, an inspired people that believed in its pioneering mission to all men, in the mission that had been preached by the prophets of Israel. This people gave the world great and eternal moral truths and commandments. This people rose to prophetic visions of the unity of the Creator with His creation, of the dignity and infinite worth of the individual (because every man is created in the divine image), of social justice, universal peace, and love—"And thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself."¹ This people was the first to prophesy about "the end of days,"² the first to see the vision of a new human society.

This small land, too, is unique. Its geology, topography, and geographical position have given it a special significance in human history. From the very beginning of its career our tiny nation, in its small country, has been surrounded by two great empires, by Egypt and Assyria (or Babylon). These lands were not only immensely powerful; they were also the bearers of high cultures which made fundamental contributions to the founding of civilization, for they were the inventors of mathematics, geometry, and astronomy, as well as intensive agriculture. Both empires centered in fertile valleys irrigated by great rivers, Egypt, by the Nile, and Babylon, by the Euphrates and the Tigris. These territories were the homelands of mighty states—and also of a significant and valuable literature in history, poetry, and science, whose fragmentary remains we still admire. You have no doubt read some of these writings in Tchernichowsky's³ brilliant translation of

the "Gilgamesh Epic," but this is only a small sample of the rich literary legacy left by Assyria and Babylon, as well as by Egypt.

Our small and land-poor Jewish people, therefore, lived in constant tension between the power and influence of the neighboring great empires and its own seemingly insignificant culture—a culture poor in material wealth and tangible monuments but rich and great in its human and moral concepts and in its vision of a universal "end of days." Even today, after two and a half millennia and all the progress and revolutions that have intervened, mankind has not yet begun to approach the realization of this vision.

This Jewish people preserved its values and its prophetic hopes, and these, in turn, preserved it. These intangibles were the source of the morale which enabled us to withstand the pressure of the mighty empires on our borders and to safeguard our distinctive character. The very uniqueness of the Jewish people became the power by which it has left its mark on the history of man and by which it continues even now to be a creative force in the world. The preservation of our political, national, cultural, and moral independence has required heroic efforts, and, during our prolonged struggle to maintain our identity and our values, we have suffered grievous losses.

Many Jews did capitulate. After two thousand years of exile our numbers would not be so small were it not for two factors: extermination and conversion. These have plagued us since the beginning of the Galut. Many Jews could not bear the ever-present contempt, persecutions, and expulsions; they could not withstand the fear that was forever threatening. There were many others who lacked the stamina to resist the allure of the dominant political system, civilization, and religion, with their seeming universalism and their promise of peace and good fortune for everyone except the Jews. Yes, individuals may have surrendered and left our ranks—but *the nation as a whole neither surrendered nor lost heart!*

In all the history of the world there is no more fantastic phenomenon than this centuries-long resistance of ours. Heroism is a universal quality, and examples of it are to be found in the annals of every nation, both ancient and modern. In our own time millions displayed tremendous heroism in the Second World War, but there is nothing in the history of mankind to compare to the power of resistance and the unshakable tenacity of our people over the course of centuries and millennia. The fate of being uprooted and exiled from the homeland has been suffered by other nations, as well as the Jews, but all the others, without exception, have disappeared from the stage of history

after a few decades. The Jews are the only example of a small, exiled, and forever hated people that stood fast and never surrendered from the time of their revolt against persecution by Hadrian to the recent uprisings in the ghettos of Warsaw, Lublin, and Bialystok. Resistance by a small people for so many centuries to so many powerful enemies—to refuse to surrender to historic destiny—this, in short, is the essential significance of Jewish history of the Galut.

What, therefore, is the meaning of our contemporary Jewish revolution—this revolt against destiny which the vanguard of the Jewish national renaissance has been cultivating in this small country for the last three generations? Our entire history in the Galut has represented a resistance of fate—what, therefore, is new in the content of our contemporary revolution? There is one fundamental difference: In the Galut the Jewish people knew the courage of *non-surrender*, even in the face of the noose and the *auto-da-fé*, even, as in our day, in the face of being buried alive by the tens of thousands. But the makers of the contemporary Jewish revolution have asserted: Resisting fate is not enough. *We must master our fate; we must take our destiny into our own hands!* This is the doctrine of the Jewish revolution—not non-surrender to the Galut but making an end of it.

Galut means dependence—material, political, spiritual, cultural, and intellectual dependence—because we are aliens, a minority, bereft of a homeland, rootless and separated from the soil, from labor, and from basic industry. Our task is to break radically with this dependence and to become masters of our own fate—in a word, to achieve independence. To have survived in the Galut despite all odds is not enough; we must create, by our own effort, the necessary conditions for our future survival as a free and independent people.

The meaning of the Jewish revolution is contained in one word—*independence!* Independence for the Jewish people in its homeland! Dependence is not merely political or economic; it is also moral, cultural, and intellectual, and it affects every limb and nerve of the body, every conscious and subconscious act. Independence, too, means more than political and economic freedom; it involves also the spiritual, moral, and intellectual realms, and, in essence, it is *independence in the heart*, in sentiment, and in will. From this inner sense of freedom outer forms of independence will develop in our way of life, social organization, relations with other people, and economic structure. Our independence will be shaped further by the conquest of labor and the land, by broadening the range of our language and its culture, by perfecting the methods of self-government and self-defense, by creat-

ing the framework and conditions for national independence and creativity, and finally—by attaining political independence. This is the essence of the Jewish revolution.

What makes this revolution so different is that it bears no relation to an existing order. The tragedy of the Jews is that we are not part of any order. A revolution directed against a well-defined social structure is a one-time affair; it can succeed by seizing control of the government and wielding the newly seized power to change the existing social and economic order. The Jewish revolution against our historic destiny must be a prolonged and continuing struggle, an enlistment of our own generation and even of those to come, and its road to success is not through seizure of power but only by the gradual shaping of the forces, mentioned above, that lead to independence, by grinding ourselves with unyielding tenacity for changing our national destiny. There are only two means to this end: the ingathering of the exiles and independence in the homeland.

The Jewish revolution did not come into being and is not operating in a vacuum. Both Palestine and the Jews of the world are part of a complex pattern of international relations which are beyond our control, but which continue to affect and influence our lives, despite all our efforts to master our fate and become independent. The involved pattern of the international scene bristles with dangers, both internal and external, which threaten the Jewish revolution. Some of these forces have direct bearing on the tasks that confront the younger generation, and I shall therefore discuss them.

The Jewish revolution is taking place in a revolutionary era. This is a source of danger, and the pitfalls, though perhaps not evident on the surface, are real and deep.

Does the success of our revolution depend on ourselves, on our own meager resources, or on the great general forces now revolutionizing the world? Whatever danger threatens us is not from the open and avowed enemies of the aims and purposes of the Jewish revolution, even though such relatively unimportant adversaries must nonetheless be reckoned with.

There is some danger from the Jewish agents of foreign powers, the middlemen for alien nations and cultures, who were called in ancient times "traitors to the Covenant" and are known in our day as the "Yevsektzia" (and, in our country, as the "Fraction"),⁴ but their well-known dependence on foreign influences weakens their effectiveness. The very fact that they serve unashamedly as foreign agents curbs

their influence within our people. *The fate of the Jewish revolution will be determined by its own inner forces.*

There is, however, a danger that threatens the protagonists of the Jewish revolution themselves—that their capacity for *independent judgment* of the forces which will determine our future may weaken, that they may lose confidence in our own ability to be the focal and decisive factors in the shaping of the tomorrow of at least our own small world. We face the danger of self-deprecation, because we are small and weak in comparison to the great powers of the world—the danger of losing respect for our own achievements and victories in comparison with the great deeds of those nations which rule over continents and oceans. This may tempt some of us to pin our hopes on "the wave of the future"—not on our own potentialities but on forces outside ourselves. In a word, there is the danger of our orienting ourselves on "the wave of the future" of others.

The issue of "orientation" is not a new one. Open the Bible and you will find such a discussion between Jeremiah (in Chapters 42-43) and the Captains Johanan, son of Kareah, and Jezaniah, son of Hoshaiah, (and, very likely, even this was not the first debate about "orientation" in Jewish history). They asked the prophet to "tell us the way wherein we should walk and the thing we should do." Jeremiah answered: "If ye will still abide in this land, then will I build you, and not pull you down, and I will plant you and not pluck you up . . . Be not afraid of the king of Babylon." And to those who said, "No, but we will go into the land of Egypt, where we shall see no war . . . nor have hunger of bread, and there will we abide," the prophet replied: "If ye wholly set your faces to enter into Egypt and go to sojourn there; then it shall come to pass that the sword, which ye fear, shall overtake you there in the land of Egypt, and the famine, whereof ye are afraid, shall follow hard after you there in Egypt, and there ye shall die. . . . And ye shall be an execration, and an astonishment, and a curse, and a reproach; and ye shall see this place no more." This was the first expression, original and bold, of the principle of Jewish self-reliance.

This debate still continues. The issue is not whether we should look to the forces of yesterday or those of tomorrow. In history both past and future are relative terms. What was regarded yesterday as the wave of the future may today seem reactionary, and what seemed of no importance yesterday may be a great force tomorrow.

The real issue, now as in the past, is whether we should rely on the power of others or on our own strength. Both sides are finding par-

tisans even among the protagonists of the Jewish revolution; because we are a small, weak, and numerically insignificant people, the great powers and movements are enchanting and blinding us and undermining our self-confidence.

We have always been a small power and we shall never be large in numbers. Even in Isaiah's time the Jews were a weak power surrounded by great nations which were superior to us in numbers and strength, in culture and science. An intellectual living in the days of the prophets, at home in the culture of the mighty, rich nations surrounding us—and most of the prophets were such intellectuals—had to have great faith in the mission and uniqueness of Israel in order to retain his Jewishness. Our neighbors did not know Hebrew but spoke the Egyptian and Babylonian languages. In spite of this Micah and Hosea wrote in Hebrew, a provincial tongue spoken only by a small people, yet their works are immortal, having been translated into hundreds of languages and enjoying a wider circulation than any other book in the world.

All those who relied on the mighty strength of Babylon and Egypt, of Greece and Rome, have been forgotten and every trace of them has disappeared. The works and prophecies of those who kept faith with Israel, poor and weak though she was, have endured down to our day and have left their imprint on all civilization. It is this "orientation" on a weak but independent power, the belief in its mission and its uniqueness, that has sustained the Jewish people and brought us to this point. Even in our times, if we have accomplished anything in our homeland—and we have accomplished something—our achievements were made possible by the faith we had in ourselves. The twenty youths who founded the first *kvutzah* more than thirty years ago on the banks of the Jordan did more for humanity and Jewish history, for the Jewish and international workers' movement, than all the Jewish socialists and revolutionaries who followed the chariots of the revolution among the great nations and mocked the "insignificant and peculiar" efforts of the pioneers in Israel. Yet the modest achievement of the pioneers of the Jewish revolution, grounded in their faith in themselves and their mission, has today become the sole anchor and beacon light for the Jewish survivors, the example for hundreds of thousands of Jewish young people everywhere. I am sure it will some day serve as a model for the workers' movement of the world.

However, as long as we are few and weak, we still face the danger of foreign influences. A poor man's wisdom has always been suspect. Unless we value our independence and see in our achievements the chief

aim of our own efforts—even though it is only one link in the chain of the world revolution, but this is the link in which our destiny and our future are involved—the Jewish revolution will not be realized.

The first imperative of the Jewish revolution is, therefore—to guard jealously the independence, the inner moral and intellectual freedom, of our movement. Yes, we must not ignore or undervalue what is happening in the world without, and we must understand the great forces and the revolutionary movements in all the nations that are shaping the destiny of the world. But we cannot forget for a moment that the Jewish revolution can succeed only through our devotion to our own unique needs and destiny, only by reliance on our own strength, only if we exert the most stubborn efforts to increase its power and to *make it a wave of the future*. We dare not ever stray from this policy of self-reliance, from the will to make of ourselves a wave of the future—the wave of the future of the Jewish people and of a land of Israel so regenerated that it will attract Jews unto itself and make other peoples take account of it in their political and social calculations. If we ever deviate from this basic principle, we shall have destroyed the Jewish revolution and our future as a people.

The real danger that threatens is, as I have said, not entirely from the avowed "traitors to the Covenant" but also from some of those prime movers of the Jewish revolution who do not have an uncompromising and single-minded devotion, who do not adhere without any moral, ideological, or political qualification, to the unique requirements and demands of the Jewish revolution.⁶

The second indispensable imperative of the Jewish revolution is the *unity of its protagonists*. This sharing together in a fate, a creative process, and a struggle is what unites this vanguard—the pioneers, the builders of the homeland, the workers of the land of Israel, who are inspired by the vision of a Jewish renaissance on humanistic, Zionist, and socialist foundations. The conquest of labor and the land, self-defense, the development of the Hebrew language and culture, freedom for the individual and the nation, co-operation and social responsibility, preparation for further immigration, and the welding of the arrivals from the various Diasporas into a nation—these fundamental purposes are held in common, both in theory and in practice, by all those who are faithful to our revolution. These values make it possible, and indeed mandatory, that they be united. The Jewish revolution is incomparably difficult, and, unless there is unity and co-operation, it will fail. Without such inner unity we cannot hope for full realization of our creative potential; only such unity can give us the strength to

withstand obstacles and reverses and make it possible for both the individual and the community to rise to their tasks.

Unity is the imperative of our mission and our destiny. Nonetheless, of all the values of our movement it is the one that is perhaps most honored in theory and least respected in practice. We may now be attempting to become rooted in the homeland and laboring to create an independent life, but the habits of disunity and anarchy which grew wild among us in the course of hundreds of years of exile and subservience cannot easily be corrected. Rifts are appearing not only in the Yishuv as a whole; after decades of displaying an unequalled capacity for unity even the *Hadutzim* are being affected, first in Hehalutz,⁶ then in the Kibbutz movement, and finally in the party itself. Once this disruptive force is let loose, it will not spare the Histadrut, the World Zionist Organization, or any of the other over-all bodies of the Yishuv and the Jewish people. Those who are willing to disrupt the Hehalutz or the party will have no compunction about destroying the unity of the Kibbutz movement and the Histadrut.⁷

Hehalutz is the creative laboratory of the Jewish revolution, of the conquest of labor, of the national renaissance. You cannot fragmentize and divide the Hehalutz without fragmentizing and dividing our movement as a whole. If there is no possibility and no need for a united Hehalutz of all labor in the land of Israel, a united Histadrut is also impossible and unnecessary. Those who cannot work together in Hehalutz will be no more capable of co-operating in the Histadrut. If Triat Zvi and Ein Harod cannot accept one another as valid expressions of the pioneering spirit, can we be sure about Degania and Kinneret, or even about Yagur and Mishmar Ha-Emek? If every form of settlement on the land and every ideological faction requires a Hehalutz of its own, then their union in the general Histadrut is a fiction and a fraud. A separate Hehalutz for every kibbutz and faction in the Diaspora is the prelude to a separate Histadrut for every variety of agricultural settlement and ideological faction in the homeland. Those who regard such a policy as correct in the Diaspora cannot escape its consequences in the land of Israel.

The separatist tendency that has manifested itself in our land uses the empty phrase "of proletarian origin" as its slogan. This doctrine is totally foreign to the spirit and essence of the Jewish revolution. Not the *origin* but the *mission*, not "whence" but "whither," is what will decide the fate of our revolution. The Jewish people is not a proletarian people and there are no sons of the proletariat to assure the success of its revolution. The mission of the Jewish revolution is to *transform*

the Jewish people into a *laboring* people, and our revolution, therefore, makes its demand not only of you of the youth leadership assembled here today but of every young person who belongs to our people. *Not our origin and our past but our mission and our future are what determines our path.* The dividing line between our past and our future is in Hehalutz, in the transition to a productive way of life. This is the workshop in which our revolutionary unity is forged, and the influence of that unity is then felt throughout our work—in the efforts for immigration and the conquest of labor, for resettling the land and adding to our labor force in the harbors and factories, and for spreading the knowledge of Hebrew; in the struggle for decent working conditions, national rights, and security; in the building of a new economy and a new society; and, ultimately, in attaining freedom, equality, dignity, and independence. Only together, in one Hehalutz and in one Socialist-Zionist party, in a united Jewish community and an undivided World Zionist Organization, can we assure Jewish immigration, (by whatever means), redeem and rebuild the land, and fight our way through to victory.

The Jewish revolution requires not only an undivided and organic partnership of all the workers in Israel but also the mutual co-operation of labor and the nation. Whatever we have accomplished to date—the creation of the beginnings of strength for our people and for the labor movement, of a beginning toward the conquest of labor and a return to the soil and the sea—has been hard and costly. We have succeeded in these tasks only because the revolutionary pioneers in Israel and the Jewish people as a whole have gone forward loyally arm in arm. This co-operation is based on a two-way historical tie, the bond of the Jewish people to its pioneer-workers and the bond of the worker-pioneer to the people. Whoever harms the cause of the working class, in the supposed name of the general interests of the people, is false to the historical will of the people and to its needs. And anyone who questions the ultimate authority of the nation as a whole, in the supposed name of the class-independence of labor, negates the historic mission of Jewish labor and undermines its dynamic potential. The historic strength of the Jewish worker is not rooted in his present setting and achievements—this is only the first layer—but in the hidden storehouses of our scattered nation and in its untapped abilities. Only when a way can be found to harness the latent resources of our people will we really gain the necessary strength to carry out our revolutionary tasks.

Another kind of co-operation is required from those who are loyal

to our revolution: the comradeship of Jewish labor with international labor. This co-operation must be based on mutual aid and the equality of free men. We will not achieve the aims of our revolution by slavery and dependence, by estrangement and individualism, or by isolating ourselves. The difficult task we are performing on the Jewish scene is part of a tremendous movement which involves all of humanity—the world revolution, whose aims are the redemption of man from every form of enslavement, discrimination, and exploitation, no matter whether the victims are nations, races, religions, or one of the sexes. Our revolution differs from all others because our destiny is different, but the difference serves to unite us with others and not to estrange us. Though our task is unique, our revolution does have points of contact with others, and we must learn to see both the differences and the similarities. While guarding our moral and intellectual individuality, we must cultivate our international partnership with the makers of the world revolution, with the workers of all nations, but this must be an equal partnership—not equal in strength, but in rights and in dignity. We are few, our achievements are pitiful, our nation is weak, and our land is small. Among the other peoples there are great, mighty, and awesome nations, ruling vast parts of the world. Nevertheless we are equal to them in rights and dignity, because we, too, have a share in the world revolution, and this share—and we will have no part of any other kind of association—is valueless without equal rights and dignity. Let us not underestimate the value of quantity—in numbers there is strength—but this is not the whole story. Little Judah certainly contributed no less to the world than mighty Egypt, Babylon, and Rome. Nor has the source of our creativity evaporated. Who knows, perhaps a regenerated Judah is still destined for great and significant accomplishment in the world of tomorrow. What Israel gave the world when it lived in its own land was achieved not by those Jews who served Egypt, Babylon, and Rome, but by those who remained faithful to our own identity. If we are destined to make a contribution once more to the totality of human civilization, that will be done only by those who keep faith with the Jewish revolution and the Jewish spirit. One Degania is worth more than all the “Yevsektzias” and assimilationists in the world.

The third—and perhaps the most important—imperative of the Jewish revolution is: *Halutzut*.⁸

We are nearing the end of the war. City after city and country after country are being liberated—but we Jews are not sharing in this joy, for almost the entire Jewish population of the newly liberated lands

has been wiped out. The wellspring from which the Jewish revolution drew its strength has been destroyed. The Jewish masses on which our effort depended—they are obliterated. The Jewries of Poland, Lithuania, and Galicia—these no longer exist.

Now, more than ever before, we need a strong and devoted pioneering force. The desert area of our land is calling us, and the destruction of our people is crying out to us. In order to save the remnant—and all of us now constitute a remnant, including our own communities here in the land of Israel—our work must proceed at forced draft. The tasks that lie ahead will require pioneering efforts the likes of which we have never known, for we must conquer and fructify the waste places (in the mountains of Galilee, the plains of the Negev, the valley of the Jordan, the sand dunes of the seashore, and the mountains of Judaea) and we must prepare the way for new immigrants from Yemen, Persia, Turkey, Egypt, Syria, Iraq, Romania, Greece, France, and Belgium—in short, from every country in which some remnant is still alive. We must look toward immigration from England, America, and North and South Africa, too, and we are not giving up the hope that even the Jews of Soviet Russia will eventually join this stream. First of all, we must conquer the sea and the desert, for these will provide us with room for new settlers and will serve as a laboratory for the development of new forms of economic and agricultural endeavor. We need men of the sea—sailors, fishermen, dock workers, and shipbuilders of our own—who will make the sea a source of economic and political strength; we need men of the desert who will know it in all its secrets and will lead us in transforming the wasteland into a blessing, a place in which to work and live. Unless we conquer both the sea and the desert—by creating Jewish sailors and even Jewish Bedouin tribes—we cannot succeed in the tasks of immigration and resettlement that we must shoulder after the war. Yes, we have made a small beginning in the sea, but we have as yet done nothing in the desert, even though it must be remembered that the bulk of our country is desert. Our desert is not a Sahara or a hopelessly arid wilderness. The deserts of Israel were once inhabited in ancient times and, even today, they are not entirely unpopulated. A beginning toward reclamation should be made by Jewish desert-dwellers, Bedouins, who will know how to live and work in tents and will be able to support themselves like the Arab, but who along with possessing primitive Bedouin skills, will also be familiar with modern cultural, scientific, and technical knowledge. This combination will enable them to find a way of making the wilderness bloom and turning the desert into a place of settled habitation.

The conquest of the desert requires bold and adventurous pioneers who will not shrink back in the face of any obstacle or hardship.

The absorption of immigration will be a more difficult task than ever before and will require of us new and unprecedented efforts. The new immigrants will be coming to us from misery and poverty and will need prolonged care and intensive help from the pioneer vanguard. Where can we get such pioneering leadership, now that the great reserves in Poland, Lithuania, Galicia, and Czechoslovakia have been done to death? *The youth of the homeland must now assume these pioneering tasks.*

It is impossible to fill the terrible void left by the destruction of European Jewry. This dreadful loss is irreplaceable—and a greater obligation is therefore placed on Israeli youth.

In my opinion no greater or more urgent task awaits our youth leadership than the work of ingathering and resettlement. But even a decision for personal commitment is not enough; you must be the nucleus for enlisting Jewish youth throughout the country, in the cities and on the farms, whatever their background. It is not enough for the children to continue the work of their fathers in Degania, Nahalal, Ein Harod, Kfar Yehezkel, Tel Yosef, and Ein Ganim. They are now called elsewhere to new works of daring, for the wastelands of both the land and the sea are beckoning.

The youth leadership must, in the first place, activate the young people now at school or in the labor force, and even those who neither work nor study, for in this all too large element, too, there are important untapped possibilities for pioneering. Destiny has chosen this generation of our young people for difficult and desperate tasks. There is a pioneering potential in every one of these young men and women, and our youth leadership can assume no greater mission than to *make pioneers of the youth of our country!* This is the greatest and most urgent need of the Jewish revolution.

Since I called, at the beginning of my remarks, for absolute allegiance to the Jewish revolution, I shall now make a few concluding remarks about the goal of our revolution: *It is the complete ingathering of the exiles into a socialist Jewish state.*

Even this is not our ultimate goal, for there is no ultimate goal in history. The ingathering of the exiles into a socialist Jewish state is in fact only a precondition for the fulfillment of the real mission of our people. We must first break the constricting chains of national and class oppression and become free men, enjoying complete individual and national independence on the soil of a redeemed homeland. After

that we can address ourselves to the great mission of man on this earth—to master the forces of nature and to develop his unique creative genius to the highest degree.

I do not know how many of us will live to see that great day, but I believe that not only you of the youth leadership but all of us of the second and third Aliyot assembled here, and all our comrades from far and near, can have high hope of seeing the Jewish revolution realized in our day. This consummation does not depend only on ourselves. Outside forces beyond our control and unforeseen circumstances which we cannot now even imagine will play their parts in tipping the scales one way or another. Nonetheless, despite all that, *it does depend on us:* on the Jewish people, the Yishuv in the homeland, the labor movement, and the pioneer youth. Let us all remain faithful without any reservation, faithful in thought and deed, in emotion and will, to the demands and the mission of the Jewish revolution; let us preserve our inner dignity and unity and our continuing solidarity with both the Jewish people as a whole and the international labor movement; and let us transform the beaten and downtrodden into the pioneers of a work of immigration and resettlement equal to the grave crisis and the redemptive vision of our people. If such be our program, there is hope that many of us will live to see the consummation of the Jewish revolution—the concentration of the majority of our people in a homeland transformed into a socialist Jewish state.

NORDAU

1. The writers of the great French Encyclopedia of the eighteenth century, which was edited by Diderot and D'Alembert. It was a summary of the outlook and values of the Enlightenment.
2. Nordau's date is wrong. The final decree emancipating the Jews was passed by the French National Assembly on September 27, 1791.
3. The word was first applied to those Jews in Spain who were forced to convert to Christianity in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, but who clandestinely practiced Judaism.

AHAD HA-AM

1. Hillel lived in the first century B.C.E. This formulation of the "golden rule" is to be found in the Talmud, Shabbat 31a.
2. Vofsi is the protagonist of strict rabbinic law in Yehudah Leib Gordon's poem here being discussed (see also Lilienblum, Note 3—the essay by Gordon discussed there is later than the poem referred to here, which appeared in 1876). Gordon expressed the attitude of the Has-kalah at its zenith in spinning this tale in which the lack of the small dot, the Hebrew letter *yod*, is adjudged to render a religious bill of divorce invalid and hence results in condemning a woman to being for

all her days neither married nor free to remarry. *The Point of a Yod*, the title and central issue of this poem, means "vifle" in idiomatic Hebrew.

3. Israel Zangwill (1864-1926), prominent Anglo-Jewish novelist and essayist. He joined Herzl as one of the early leaders of political Zionism, but he broke with the movement after the Seventh Zionist Congress of 1905 (the first after Herzl's death) voted finally to reject the British offer (made in 1902) of land in Uganda for Jewish national development. Zangwill founded the Jewish Territorial Organization, a group which believed that Palestine was not necessarily the land on which a national solution of the Jewish question could be effected.
4. Love of Zion, the name given to the movement that sprang up in Russia immediately after the events of 1881 to urge the persecuted Jews of Russia to go to Palestine and create a national life of their own there. Its leader was Leo Pinsker, and it included all the pre-Herzlian Russian Zionists mentioned in this volume.
5. The period dating from the reign of King Solomon to the destruction of the Temple in 586 B.C.E.
6. Sennacherib (705-681 B.C.E.), the Assyrian king who subdued the Kingdom of Judah but whose armies were decimated by a plague before Jerusalem.

For the context, see Isaiah 10: 5-23.

7. The period from 520 B.C.E., when the Second Temple was built, until its destruction in the year 70 by the Romans under Titus.
8. Yavneh=Jamnia, an old Palestinian city on the Mediterranean in which Rabbi Johanan ben Zakkai founded a famous academy during the siege of Jerusalem by the Romans. See also Introduction, section VI.
9. On Magnes, see the biography given as introduction to his essay reproduced in this volume, Part 7.
10. *Ain Jacob* (*Well of Jacob*), one of the best known works of rabbinic literature, is a collection of the moralistic, historical, and folkloristic passages of the Talmud. It was edited at the end of the fifteenth century by a recent exile from Spain, Rabbi Jacob ben Solomon ibn Habib.
11. Rashi is the abbreviation of the name of Rabbi Solomon ben Isaac (1040-1105), of the Rhineland, who wrote the classical commentaries on both the Bible and the Talmud.
12. *Menorat Hamaor* (*Candle-burn of the Light*), written by Isaac Aboab, who lived in Spain in the fifteenth century, was intended to serve as a moral guide.
13. A gardening and agricultural school to train Jews to work the land of Palestine, set up in

- 1870 by the predominantly Franco-Jewish Alliance Israélite Universelle, near Jaffa. It was named Mikveh Israel.
14. Hovevei Zion=Lovers of Zion, i.e., the adherents of the Hibbat Zion movement, for which see above, Note 4.
15. *Gduft*=exile, i.e., the status of Jewry as a dispersed people living in many lands among gentile majorities.
16. See Part 2, Lilienblum's "The Future of Our People."
17. The reference is to Simon Dubnov (1860-1941), the celebrated Jewish historian, who is best known for his synthetic *World History of the Jewish People*, in ten volumes, which has appeared in Russian, German, Spanish, Hebrew, and Yiddish. He was the founder of the school of thought here being discussed. Some of Dubnov's own writings on Jewish nationalism are now available in English in Koppel Pinson (editor), *Nationalism and History*, Philadelphia, 1958.

BIALIK

1. Lord Balfour, Arthur James (1848-1930), Foreign Secretary in the British War Cabinet, who wrote the famous letter to Lord Rothschild on November 2, 1917, which pledged the Government to "view with favor the establishment in Palestine of a national

and restored to full rank. (See also introductory biographical note to Herzl, Part 3.) As Syrkin remarks, the French Left, not wanting to seem lacking in patriotism, joined the outcry against Dreyfus.

BOROCHOV

1. *The Essentials of Marx*, Algenon Lee (editor), New York, 1931, p. 176.
2. Engels, Friedrich (1820-1895), German socialist theoretician and close collaborator of Marx. (See also above, Syrkin, Note 4.)

GORDON

1. Hermann Struck (1876-1944), Berlin-born Jewish artist and etcher.
2. Rabbi Isaac Jacob Reines (1839-1915): scholar and Zionist, Reines founded the Mizrahi, the organization of those who combined Zionist nationalism with an orthodox religious outlook, in 1901.
3. These are two cities in Babylonia, in which two famous talmudical academies were founded in the third century.
6. Ninth day of the Hebrew month of Ab. It is an important day of fasting, commemorating the destruction of the Temple.

KATZENELSON

1. Maxim Gorky (1868-1936), the famous Russian writer.

MOHILEVER

1. See Ahad Ha-Am, Notes 4 and 14.
2. These were the traditional alms collected throughout the Jewish world for the support of the pious in the Holy Land.
3. See Herzl, Note 4.
4. Baron Edmond de Rothschild (1845-1934), the head of the French branch of the house of Rothschild. He was motivated by religious allegiance to Zion and Jerusalem to lend large support to the early and faltering colonies in Palestine in the 1880's and 1890's. Despite obstacles, including rebellions by the colonists themselves against his paternalist regime, Rothschild persevered to remain, throughout his life, the greatest single benefactor of Zionism's practical efforts in colonization.

KOOK

1. Sabbath 31. The reference is to the first section of the Mishnah, the second-century code of Jewish law, which deals with rules governing agriculture.

BUBER

1. Simon Bar Kokba, the leader of the Jewish insurrection against the Romans (132-135) which ended in failure.
2. See Nordau, Note 3.
3. By David Ben-Gurion, first Prime Minister of Israel.

FLEG

1. August 15-17, 1899.

LEWISOHN

1. Leopold Zunz (1794-1886), Famous Jewish historian, who was the founder of the *Wissenschaft des Judentums*, the modern scientific study of Jewish history and literature.

GOTTHEIL

1. Impelled by the Russian pogroms, Jewish migration to England had been growing in the 1880's and 1890's. In 1898 limitation of this immigration was proposed for the second

time (an earlier effort had been made in 1894) by the Conservative Party. Ultimately there was a Royal Commission on this subject in 1902, before which Theodor Herzl testified, and a restrictive law was enacted in 1906.

2. The reference is to Benjamin Disraeli, Lord Beaconsfield (1804-1881).

3. For Drumont, see Silver, Note 4: Adolf Stöcker (1835-1909) was the court preacher of Wilhelm II of Germany and a notorious, and very active, anti-Semite; Karl Lügner (1844-1910) was the mayor of Vienna at the turn of the century and the founder, earlier (1878), of the Austrian Christian Socialists (i.e., anti-Semites). The adolescent Adolf Hitler was one of Lügner's adherents.

SCHECHTER

1. Ludwig Philippson (1811-1889) founded the *Allgemeine Zeitung des Judentums*, which served as the organ for German Reform Jewry. The mention of synods is an allusion to the rabbinic meetings of the nineteenth century in which the doctrines of Reform Judaism were announced.

2. Julius Wellhausen (1844-1918), a German Protestant biblical scholar whose name is identified with the theory that the Pentateuch is of multiple and of relatively late author-

ship. Schechter had often repeated his bon mot, addressed at the biblical critics as headed by Wellhausen, that "the higher criticism is the higher anti-Semitism."

3. Isaiah 2:3; Micah 4:2.

BRANDEIS

1. Robert W. Seton-Watson (1879-1951), a British historian who specialized in the multinational regions of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy and the Balkans.

2. Aaron Aaronson (1875-1919), agronomist and Zionist leader; he headed a secret information center which was of great service to the British campaign in Palestine during the First World War.

3. David Yellin (1864-1941), Jerusalem-born writer, educator, and philologist; he was the son-in-law of I. M. Pines and, in his own right, a leader of Palesthian Jewry, of particular prominence in its practical affairs in the first quarter of this century.

4. Boris Schatz (1886-1932), sculptor, painter, and art educator, who founded the Bezalel School of Art in Jerusalem.

5. *Shomrim*=Guardsmen, a self-defense corps, founded in Palestine in 1907 to protect Jewish settlements against Arab marauders.

6. Henry Wickham Steed (1871-1956), English journalist and

author, who was correspondent of the *London Times* in Vienna, 1902-1913. Out of this experience he wrote a book, *The Hapsburg Monarchy* (London, 1913) from which the passage is being quoted.

KALLEN

1. Morris R. Cohen (1880-1947), prominent American philosopher and teacher.

2. Houston Stewart Chamberlain (1855-1927), an English expatriate to Germany, published his *Die Grundfragen des Neurenthent Jahrhunderts* in 1899, in which he maintained that only the "Nordic-Aryan" race is the bearer of true civilization. He is a direct ancestor of Nazism.

3. Mikhail Nikiforovich Katkov (1818-1887), a Russian publicist and editor who began as a liberal but turned Slavophile after the Polish insurrection of 1883. In the concluding decades of his life Katkov was the leading apologist for the most ruthless Russian nationalism and tsarist absolutism.

4. David Lloyd George (1863-1945), British statesman and head of the War Cabinet during the latter years of the First World War; it was in his regime that the Balfour Declaration was issued.

5. Arthur Ruppin (1876-1943), agronomist and sociologist,

was a leader among the pioneers in the building of the Zionist settlement in Palestine.

6. Ignaz Zollschan (1877-1948), Austrian-born physician, anthropologist, and writer on Zionism.

7. A famous Hasidic rabbi; his name is here invoked, of course, to stand for the ultra-orthodox in religion.

8. Benjamin L. Leonard (born 1896), well-known New York pugilist and sports figure.

9. Stephen Wise (1874-1949) was one of the leading American Zionists throughout his life.

10. Leon D. Trotsky (originally Lev Bronstein) 1877-1940, a leader in the Bolshevik Revolution in Russia and organizer of the Red Army.

11. Cyrus Adler (1863-1940), prominent educator and lay leader of American Conservative Judaism and the American Jewish Committee. Adler was one of the most important non-Zionists in American Jewry.

BAR-ILAN

1. Ecclesiastes 1:18.

CHAIM WEIZMANN

1. The shekel was a biblical coin; in modern times the name was used to denote a contribution to the World Zionist Organization, which permitted the contributor to cast a vote in the

- elections to the Zionist Congress.
2. The Jewish Colonial Trust was formally organized in 1899, following out an idea of Herzl's that a bank should be created, through selling shares widely among the adherents of Zionism, to be the mainstay of future colonization efforts in Palestine. Both the initial stock sale and the ultimate business future of the Trust were disappointing.
3. The Jewish National Fund was created by resolution of the Fifth Zionist Congress, December 1901. Its purpose was to acquire soil in Palestine as the inalienable property of the Jewish people. Successful from the start in enlisting wide practical support, this agency has been a principal instrument of the practical work of the Zionist movement.
4. See Herzl, Note 4.
5. An itinerant preacher, skilled as a narrator of stories.
6. Young man.
7. Allegory.
8. Edmund Allenby (1861-1936), British general whose armies wrested Palestine from the Turks in 1917; he then revealed himself as unsympathetic toward Zionism.

SILVER

1. Johann Gottlieb Fichte (1762-1814). His *Reden an die Deutsche Nation* (1807) helped

launch German nationalism and conservative romanticism. He is Hegel's predecessor in the notion that history is to end in a German era.

2. The six-year-old child Edgar Mortara of Bologna, Italy, was abducted in 1858 by Papal Guards after his governess revealed that she had secretly baptized the child. The incident had international repercussions and led to the formation of the Alliance Israélite Universelle, in 1860 in Paris, for the defense of Jewish rights.
3. This Hungarian town was the scene of a blood accusation in which several Jews were falsely accused in 1882 of murdering a Christian child. The accused were subsequently acquitted.
4. An anti-Semitic book published in France in 1886 by the notorious Jew-bater Édouard Adolphe Drumont (1844-1917). This, the first of many such works from his pen, sold in many editions both in France and all over the world. It became a "classic text" for international anti-Semitism.

BEN-GURION

1. Leviticus 19:18.
2. E.g., Isaiah 2:1-4.
3. Saul Tchernichowsky (1875-1943), distinguished Hebrew poet, whose views resembled those of Berdichevski (Part 5). He translated a number of epics

from various classic literatures into Hebrew.

4. Yevsekztzia—the bureau of Jewish affairs created within the People's Commissariat of Nationalities after the Bolshevik revolution in Russia. In that form, it was dissolved in 1930, but the reference is to the policy which it represented and which continued, i.e., the forcible imposition of Communist thought on Russian Jewry and the repression of religion, Hebrew, and Zionism. "Fraction" is an early term for the Communist Party in Palestine.
5. This comment is an obvious, though somewhat veiled, attack on the socialists to the left of him, as spearheaded by the Hashomer Hatzair, the organization of those living in the collective colonies (the *kibbutzim*) whose political orientation was at once Zionist and pro-Soviet Russia.
6. Hehalutz, a nonpolitical, worldwide agency to develop pioneers for Palestine. It was organized in 1924, at a meeting in Danzig, Poland.
7. Histadrut is the general trade union organization of Palestine. This body was created in 1920 and is, to this day, the largest nongovernmental force in Israel. It is dominated by Mapai, the Social-Democratic Party of David Ben-Gurion, though it includes a substantial minority belonging to more leftist groups of Mapam and Achdut Avodah.
8. The pioneering movement in Palestine. The term, as here used, has overtones both of the need to return to physical labor on the land and the fostering of mass immigration as the imperative task of the Zionist movement.