

A

0000469767



UC SOUTHERN REGIONAL LIBRARY FACILITY

University of California
Southern Regional
Library Facility



B/358

12291

Cosmopolitanism

and

Zionism

by

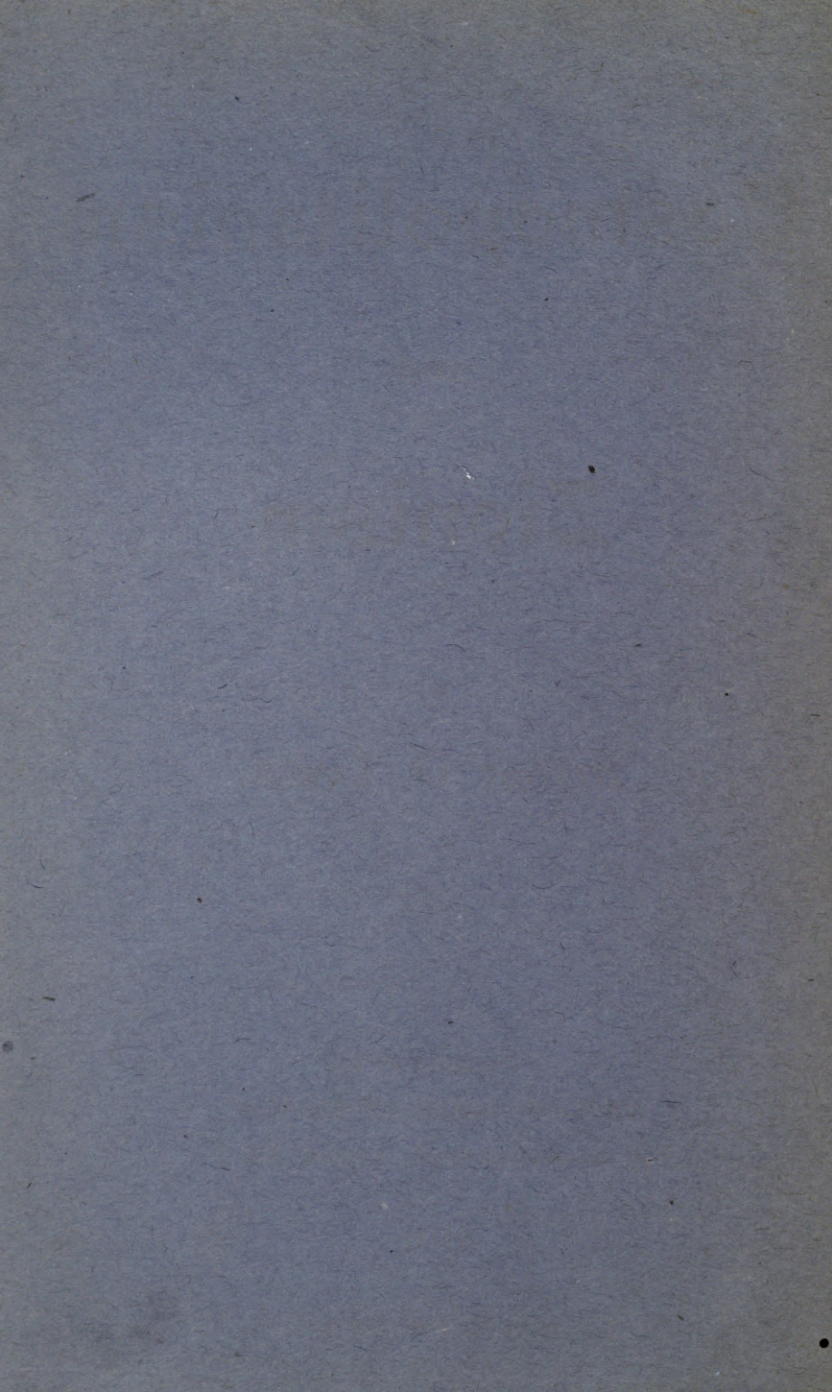
Arthur D. Lewis.



Published by the
ENGLISH ZIONIST FEDERATION,
69, Leadenhall Street, London, E.C. 3.

1919.

Price 4d. Post free 4½d.



Cosmopolitanism

and,

Zionism

by

Arthur D. Lewis.



Published by the
ENGLISH ZIONIST FEDERATION,
69, Leadenhall Street, London, E.C. 3.

1919.

Price 4d. Post free 4½d.

Cosmopolitanism

and

Zionism

Arthur D. Lewis

Published by the

AMERICAN JEWISH FEDERATION

60 West 44th Street, New York, N. Y.

1912

Price 44 Cents

INTRODUCTORY NOTE.

Some internationalist Socialists, "advanced" people, and intellectuals, oppose Zionism because they consider it reactionary. Their objections are dealt with in the following pamphlet, which contains a consideration of the objections to Zionism advanced by those who look upon nationality as a regrettable fact, and who regard the Jews as pioneers on the way towards a world of the future in which there will be no frontiers that separate hearts. To such people any attempt to add another colour to the political map, another spoken language to the Babel of the world's speech, is a movement to be discouraged. Although this type of opinion is not very common in the world as a whole, it is not uncommon among Jews, some of whom have an idea that "humanism" or "universalism" is opposed to nationalism, whereas nationalism is really the only way of uniting men and preparing for universal brotherhood.

A.D.L.

Cosmopolitanism and Zionism.

The union of a sane universalism with a sane patriotism is not often achieved, because on the one hand we have the so-called intellectuals, who would boil down all the nations, strain off their local peculiarities, and retain the pure tea of the enlightened international, or rather cosmopolitan, man; on the other hand, we have the violent jingoes, who would save the world by conquering it and impose on it the government of the one nation they hold to be really able to educate and develop the other races—that one nation being, of course, their own.

We have to defend ourselves against both the cosmopolitan and the jingo. People imagine a cosmopolitan man who does not exist. They talk of intellectuals being the same in all countries. So they would be if there were any pure intellectuals or brains walking, but there are not; all those called intellectuals retain some national prejudice and some peculiarities of race temperament; they may not know this, but it is so. The ideal intellectual man, or the ideal capitalist, is a mere diagrammatic man. If you could enter a world where all men were moved by one motive—desire for impersonal knowledge or acquisition of wealth or dominion,—there would be no nationality. All men would be the same.

But such similitude, if ever it could be established over any large part of the earth, certainly would show us among other things how uniformity condemns society to petrification by depriving it of all mobility and faculty of progress. The history of the human race has proved by unimpeachable facts the impotence of all these theories. As long as we think as cosmopolitans, in the name of whatever theory our cosmopolitan ideals suggest to us, we shall have adherence in words, not in deeds. The national tradition, the love of brother for brother, the religious sentiment, sleeping, waiting to be awakened—these alone can arouse the inert to action, give faith to the fearful, the courage of self-sacrifice to the calculating, enthusiasm to those who reject with distrust all merely intellectual ideas. It is not the purely reasonable arguments which thrust us into the groups in which we are born, and by which our social sympathies and instincts of cohesion and self-assertion are awakened—it is not these reasonable arguments which greatly influence us. We are moved by something very different, and the argument here to be developed may be stated as briefly as possible in the following way :—

(1) It is groups, not individuals, which must solve the great problems of mankind.

(2) The natural groups based on blood-relationship or on unescapable circumstance are stronger than the groups on a credal basis, based on an opinion—the nation can over-ride the church, the class outlast the political party.

Every real man is national. He was born in a particular place, speaks some language as his native language, has certain customs of life. What then is cosmopolitanism?

If you make a mere diagram of a man, drawing very simply what is really complex, and crudely supposing him purely a bargaining animal, or a creature that always calculates concerning happiness before he enlists to fight for his country, you may see him as without nationality, because you have falsified him to such an extent that he appears devoid of the particularities of real men; or if you represent man as seen from a distance and in relation to the whole universe, his features will be blotted out and only the most general actions and feelings be recognizable—he is without nationality, and free from the peculiarities due to class, climate, and training. Man is cosmopolitan as a diagram illustrating a theory or as a poetic symbol. True it is that when Job said: "Man that is born of a woman is of few days, and full of trouble," he meant all men, and not merely black, white, or yellow men; but the fact remains that every actual man is a black, white, or yellow man, and not a mere man. In every single man you find both cosmopolitan and national qualities.

When Shylock asks, "Hath not a Jew eyes?" expecting the answer, "Yes," he asks a question which suits his argument. Had he said, "Hath not a Jew usually a humped nose?" the answer would equally have been "Yes". Furthermore, had he been speaking as a novelist, not as a poet, he would have had to say, "Is not Shylock Shylock?"

The poet always complains of most books that he feels deeply
"That while they most ambitiously set forth
Extrinsic differences, the outward marks,
Whereby society has parted man
From man, neglect the universal heart."

If these obvious facts have frequently been seen only confusedly, it is because observers have not distinguished between the natural grouping of mankind and the artificial grouping. Conquest and a thousand chances of history have built up states which have cohered because of military, economic, and administrative advantages, in some cases shared by all. These, however, were artificial groups. The great war was a contest between the artificial state

and the natural nation—it was a struggle in which the Balkan peoples and the Belgians, consisting of individuals fully capable of self-government and allied by blood, by faith, by history, by desire, opposed the ambitions of state-builders. “In Austria there is no one nationality that very largely outnumbers the others.” Poland, Bohemia, Serbo-Croatia, as natural groups, are necessarily opposed to the ambitions of the “autocratic, ruling and domineering” policy of the German and Austrian states. Fear and need cannot build up permanent states. It is not only for profit, for defence and for glory that nations exist, but for comradeship, sympathy, and a more perfect life.

Look now at the Jews. We find them in an exceptional position among the nations of the world, and, for this reason, they afford a curious problem, which may be stated briefly in this way:—

- (1) The Jews are the only living nation (or if you deny them nationality, the only natural race group) held together by an idea and not by material power; and this, even if it be difficult to define to the satisfaction of a large number of Jews exactly what is the idea that has bound Israel and held them apart from other nations, yet, in the promise it gives of a collective spiritual will, makes them appear as a great possible source of benefit to the world.
- (2) But the Jews of Western Europe and America who are not living compactly as Jews among Jews and educated as Jews, do not retain the special gifts and ideas of Jews because they are too much influenced by their surroundings, and this is really “slavery in freedom”; while wherever opposite conditions prevail and Jews are segregated and without a free social life, they are equally hindered and slaves, though in quite another way; they are impotent to express themselves—the oppressed and dispersed cannot influence their oppressors.

Therefore the re-establishment of the Jews as a nation among the nations is needed for the full life of the Jew, and in order that he may work out his solution of the problems presented by life on earth for the use of mankind; it is necessary for the individual Jew, for the salvation of Israel, and for the enrichment of the world; it is called for by a sane patriotism and a sane universalism.

Every living man is at once national and cosmopolitan and individual, and any contest between the claims of nationalism, of cosmopolitanism and of individuality, must end in a compromise. The universal duties of our common humanity, the spiritual nature common to all men, must be recognised. We should save a man from drowning before asking where he was born. Every man lives alone, and has to develop his own powers. But it is a foolish

individualist error to suppose that excess of solitude can ever be useful for even an individual purpose. Each man owes his powers to the efforts of the past and to the efforts of his contemporaries. He owes gratitude to his ancestors and to his contemporaries. He would be but a mad man or an imbecile if cut off from the life of his fellows.

I argue, then, that Cosmopolitanism is a mere abstraction; no real man is cosmopolitan. Let me try to make this clearer. Science is cosmopolitan, because scientists meet to use one another and add to their heap of facts and supposed facts. Two and two make four in every country, and so far as science is true, it has no nationality; science, however, has also no temperament or style. But group-life is a physical necessity, and is also necessary for a full individual or spiritual life; for full development of personality, sympathetic surroundings are needed; the mind and character cannot be educated correctly by minds and characters foreign to them.

When confronted by the Jews, the cosmopolitan would have them take pride in their unfortunate position, while the jingo would have them throw in their lot with those who own the material bases of nationality, and become more English than the English, as well as more German than the Germans, sinking as Jews to the level of those who are only a religious sect. But such a plan, even if it were desired by the majority of the Jews, is not so simple in practice as it might appear. Cosmopolitanism is impossible. You can, in a few generations of marriage with the English, become practically English, but this will not at all lessen nationality. There will be in consequence fewer Jews and more English; that is all. Do not be led away by the illusion of uniting the world without first reckoning with and solving the national question. You cannot do it.

Nationality is a matter of more or less. A complete nation has built up by its history, customs, language, institutions, religion, desires, and racial temperament, a special type of man. You do not, even if you wish to do so, escape from within the boundaries of your past.

Nationality acts for the development of individuality, since nationality provides the individual with a stock of ideas rooted in the past, fused from a collective purpose and life, and belonging to his own temperament. It is the only means by which he can live freely and in accordance with his special tendencies.

Sympathetic surroundings are needed for the development of all the more interesting qualities of man. The ideal is that language, art, surroundings, government, institutions, shall be expressive of the soul of the people.

The Jew (here it is possible to agree with the anti-Semites) lacks his full share of real creative power, just because he lives in Gentile surroundings, and parasitically profits by institutions created by Gentile genius. He succeeds where mechanical intelligence, persistent energy, patient accumulation of material and evidences is enough. He fails generally where extremely individual creative power is needed. He fails because his nationality hangs by a thread and is confused. It is lost in the tangle with other nationalities.

Of course, every doctrine must be interpreted with common sense. While it is detrimental to development of character that all your energy should be spent in defence against foreign ways of seeing things or in adoption of customs that do not suit your temperament, it is no less bad for the mind never to meet with criticism, only with approval and agreement. But Jews among Jews would never suffer from this. When it is said that full development needs sympathy in surroundings, there is no intention of advocating a society of insincere mutual admiration.

Obviously, it is a mere confusion of mind to think of the Jew as international. He is of mixed nationality. The Jew born in England (for example) is English, so far as he derives his ideas from English schools, from English friends, from English politics (in which he may naturally be deeply interested), from English literature; Jewish by countless unescapable and unconscious influences strengthened in so far as his knowledge of Jewish history, literature and religion prompts him to special sympathy with Jews, special interest in the fate of his people. The Jews are in one respect the least cosmopolitan of peoples; they have preserved their nationality at a greater cost and in face of greater difficulties than any other people. The Englishman is English because he cannot help it; the Jew because his fathers wished and thought it right to be Jews. Moreover—but here, of course, we arrive at a difficult point to deal with accurately—the Jew born in England is Jewish in so far as his body and soul are inherited from the Jewish race and not due to his surroundings. It is hardly worth arguing with anyone who denies this entirely; let him consult a Life Insurance Company with regard to the differences between Jewish and British mortality from certain diseases. And if our bodies are peculiar, this in itself probably will be enough to show that our minds are different.

Still, although common sense says that we must have peculiar characteristics, and perhaps it were safer to leave the matter there, and not attempt to particularise them, some suggestion may be made as to what they are.

First, the Jew is adaptable; that in itself is a characteristic. Next, he is articulate; what he has learnt he expresses. In a

mixed audience of English and of Jews, the Jew is usually ready before anyone else to express his views, even if his views have nothing else distinctive about them except their readiness to be put into words. The desire to express himself, the lyrical impulse, is strong in the Jew.

Then it is universally admitted that the Jews have strong wills. The average Jew is extreme in temperament, either very obedient or very sceptical, very hopeful or very despairing; in the arts, also, he is either very musical or very unmusical, very artistic or very inartistic.

Probably the Jew tends to philosophise and to build up abstract theories; hence he is wanting to some extent in sense of reality and in feeling for the details of nature. His thinking is essentially disorderly and intuitional; his best ideas are not neatly arranged. Jewish mysticism, where it exists, is based on thought (or philosophy) rather than on nature contemplation; or it is a mysticism of national destiny and providence in history. The Jew may have great feeling for nature, so far as he delights in colour and form; but he contemplates and considers—he seldom feels absorbed into nature.

The unpleasant Jew suffers from reckless individualism, aggressive bumptiousness or incurable timidity of intellect, which makes him always try to conciliate everyone and avoid any clear principles.

Finally the Jew is, broadly speaking, unromantic and insensitive in matters of love, while very affectionate and fond of children; and these qualities, combined with fidelity by habit, give his domestic quality. It must not be supposed that this tendency towards an unromantic view of love is to be regarded as entirely bad. Romance necessarily leads to license. If complete spiritual companionship and sympathy is necessary in marriage, satisfactory marriages will seldom take place, and in consequence the low degree of marital fidelity found in modern novels will prevail.

The Talmud compares Israel to the stars of the heaven and to the dust of the earth; if it rises, it rises to the stars, if it falls, it falls even to the dust.

Now the argument has been that there is no such thing as a cosmopolitan man, but that nationality is a matter of more or less, and therefore you can have a mixed nationality, and that the Jew is of mixed nationality.

The mixed nationality of the Jew is not a unique phenomenon. When the Irishman speaks no Irish, or the Welshman intermarries with an Englishwoman; when the Mohammedan India owes allegiance at once to the Emperor of India and the Caliph, when the

Polish child learns history from the Russian history book, one nationality is more or less diminished or mingled with another. The history of the Jews is unique, not their position. The Jew is not international ; he has a double nationality.

Nationality exists ; is it a necessary evil or a good ? Is it to be suppressed or encouraged ?

The " advanced " people of to-day (or of yesterday) make a great mistake in not realising the force of a national feeling which is based on unescapable facts. Past history, kinship, present community of experience form a necessary basis of union. The " advanced:" people of to-day (or of yesterday) failed to see that groups such as the family, the trade or occupational union, the class, the nation have an advantage over associations formed deliberately, such as the political party, the sect, the partnership. The intellectualists have attributed too much importance to persuading people to agree to an argument ; the natural facts of affinity, class and nationality are the strongest bases for association. The ideal is that in each case the past history and inherited aptitudes of a people or a nation should fit it for its special task in the world of men. Nations differing in creed, speech, and manners there must be ; the question is how to inspire them with great national ideals. *Nationality calls for sacrifice and the facing of danger : should not that sacrifice be used for some good purpose ?* The members of a class or nation have instincts in common, or, if you prefer, tendencies to act spontaneously in the same way on the same occasions, and this gives a common inspiration such as unions on a merely credal basis can never attain ; or we may even say (as some people suppose) that strongly-united groups have a real group-soul, are possessed of a group will differing from the sum of the wills of the individuals composing the group. At any rate, it must be granted that groups of people united by any deep tie or emotion are capable of feelings and actions of which the isolated individual is not capable. Every politically-minded man feels the value of union ; where men cling together, they may achieve what is worth achieving. They may unite for evil, for hate, and not for love, for destruction, not for construction ; for power, not for service ; for domination and exploitation, not for assistance and education. This is true, but it not less true that where they are not united, little that is great or inspiring can be possible. A wise group finds out how to express its will. There is, as modern political experience is showing, no easily-found machinery for expressing the lasting desires and strongest determinations of any group ; but either through some prophet or hero, who, for a time, may actually oppose the group, or through spontaneous movements, the group comes at last to express its real desires.

What might not a nation do, if it really existed for some great

purpose, if it seriously associated its very existence with the expression of some great idea, thought of itself as living to achieve some solid end in the visible world ; if it lived with the fixed intention not to be abandoned after a few generations of failure, of showing how a nation may be fair to other nations, or may have ideals which, if universally adopted, would make war unnecessary ; or may abolish wagedom, or establish for the world a new religion and make its temple a house of prayer for all nations, a guidance to all the different temperaments of men—white, yellow, and black ? If a nation stood for fairness, not for domination and great possessions, if it prided itself on carrying out the tasks of peace and not of war, in such a spirit of devotion to man that peace seemed as heroic as war, how great for ever would be its fame and influence.

We have now considered the claims of nationality : what of the special claims of the Jewish nation ? The Jews are unique among the nations of the world in that their patriotism is religious, is idealistic, is attached to the idea of unique obligations, special duties for them to carry out that are not imposed on the rest of the world. The Jews are the only nation that has been kept alive by ideas ; for their nationality, having lost all that is involved in government on a given territory, has lasted because of its *belief* in its own value.

The position of the Jews, with their nationality hanging by a single thread, is a very difficult one. Assimilation in Western Europe may easily lead them to a shameful and painless suicide. From this the Jews who are in close touch with Gentile life can be saved only either by segregation in voluntary ghettos or by a return to Palestine. There is no other salvation. The Jews cannot revive spiritually and religiously, while living in small numbers scattered among the nations.

The Jews think that they are destined to accomplish a task which no other nation can accomplish. Much courage is needed in order to discuss at all what it is they are to do and how they are to do it, for opinions on this matter are many ; but perhaps the reader will bear with the present discussion, because its very superficiality may enable it to point out where Judaism at the very first glance has a message for the Gentiles of to-day, where for the modern mind the religion of the Jews has aspects which are of interest to non-Jews.

The first and easiest to understand of the Jews' national duties is the duty by self-protection to stand up for the rights of freedom of belief and unprotected nations. The Jews in Poland and Roumania and the East of Europe have had the first claim on the Jews of England among all that are oppressed. If a man does

not feel gratitude to the fathers, physical and mental, that gave him birth, if he does not love those whom he has seen, he will never love and help those alien to him. I do not emphasise this point, because it is obvious, and only a cad would want to contradict it. Our duty to the Jews who have been persecuted on account of their faith is also our first duty to mankind, irrespective of nationality. Let us hope that the need for this duty is ending.

But, secondly, in what sense are we to understand the work of Israel as expressed in the command, "You shall be unto me a kingdom of priests and a holy nation" ?

The more specifically Jewish attitude towards the fate of the Jews has, if I understand it rightly, been that the Jews, guided by instinct, need not argue concerning religion, or their mission : they are to exist, and by their existence are destined ultimately to convert the world. This, I think, must, when analysed, mean that their *faith* will convert the world, however un-Jewish insistence on mere faith may seem.

Judaism as a national religion has not the sublimated desire for conquest which makes philosophers wish to convince other people that they are right. But, speaking frankly, this method of inaction has disadvantages. The religion that is not a missionary religion is likely to lead to a self-contained pride—that is the moral danger. By not having to confront its beliefs with the wisest beliefs of the best of those of other faiths, it suffers intellectually, and is in danger of failing to understand what is most essential in its own creed or practice—what is to be valued as most sacred. Besides, the conception of inaction tends towards fatalism. It forms a religion for the middle-aged, a religion of contemplation and association, not one of action. Nevertheless, if you have any insight into the roots of opinion, the task of religious propaganda is seen to be very difficult ; indeed, it is not likely that Israel in exile can accomplish such a task. Man's feelings are based on early association, on subtle concords (or discords) of personal fate and temperament with world movements, rather than on argument or demonstration.

A universal religion may seem almost unattainable, since every religion has a tone, is either in its general character solemn or glad ; for religion is a dramatic representation of man's idea of the universal drama in which he as an individual finds himself improvising only the smallest part. But there is more than this : religion is a poem expressive of the deepest feelings of a race when confronted with the world in moments of deepest sensibility. There is more than one such race-poem. Judaism is fundamentally optimistic, approaches God predominantly with praise, declaring perpetually that His name is to be blessed. Unlike Christianity, Judaism sees good in all God's works.

For Judaism has no doctrine of original sin. Thus, while in Christianity marriage and the family are regarded as being concessions to man's frailty and the continuance of the life of the race on earth not necessarily good, Judaism blesses God for all that He has made, for day and for night, for the sun and for the stars, for our lives and for wine, and for the happiness of bridegroom and bride in their bridal chamber.

The deeper opinions are largely a matter of temperament. Other races will have other feelings about the universe; feelings or instinctive reverence, or of fear and contempt; desire for life or desire for death.

Judaism looks forward. Judaism takes the view that as soon as men's desires are pure, as soon as men serve God, as soon as they are ready for a more perfect state of society in which poverty will cease and every man sit under his tree, enjoying the harvest of his own work, not wishing to exploit or feel his power over others, God will turn to himself all the wicked of the earth, and all nations be able to walk side by side towards the worship of a God, whose worship may by them be approached in different ways—some by nature and beauty, some by love of man, some by thought, and some by direct experience of the love of God, attaining to His presence. As soon as man has done his part, God will send geniuses. This indeed is the foundation of Jewish optimism. The Jews know that in the greatest tasks that confront mankind it is their duty to work and hope, although success may seem almost impossible; as, for instance, the abolition of war must be struggled towards, although hardly attainable. Nor are we to be satisfied with an over-spiritual victory, substituting heavenly recompense for earthly justice, faith for works, atonement for effort and reform, spiritual satisfaction for visible triumph in the material world. We are to remember that "he whose wisdom exceeds his works is like a tree whose branches are many, but whose roots are few, and the wind comes and plucks it up and overturns it upon its face."

Again, how excellent is the attitude of the Jew who considers the needs of Israel as the needs of the whole people—he refuses to break them up into individual needs—he accepts to the full collective responsibility. Compare the *Kaddish* with the Lord's Prayer; the Jew forgets his own daily bread, even his own spiritual needs, and remembers only God and Israel, and the establishment of the reign of God:—"Magnified and sanctified be His great name in the world which He hath created according to His will. May He establish His Kingdom during your life and during your days, and during the life of all the house of Israel, even speedily and at a near time." This unity of collective feeling, which is so essentially Jewish, may be illustrated in many ways.

The typical Old Testament miracle occurs (as Dr. Melamed points out*) on behalf of the whole people, and is an expression of their vitality and energy of will. When Pharaoh will not let the people go, the elements of nature are called upon to break his will; when the people stand at the Red Sea and cannot pass, the sea must part; Jordan opens for the bearers of the ark; the walls of Jericho breaking at the trumpet sound, and the sun standing still at the command of Joshua are an expression of the aid of God given to the nation in its wars. Contrast with them the miracles of the New Testament, all of which are for the aid of the individual—the blind man sees, the dead lives. Such miracles are executed for the purpose of converting an individual to a right faith.

The morals of Judaism are comparatively secular: they glorify the normal instincts. The Hebrews glorified the mother and house-mistress. Christianity and European chivalry, with reckless romance, glorified the personal feelings of the lover, treasuring the sterile glances of his mistress, cultivating his own fine sentiments as in religion he saved his own soul.

In relation to patriotism, there is a similar feeling of moderation and normality in Judaism.

A sane universalism, which knows in how many ways man must be particularist—an individual belonging to a nation—will recognise that the Jews always were more universalist than other nations. Their history begins with Adam, they connect him with their ancestors and with the human race. Their teachers and prophets all accept certain universalist principles, which limit thought and prevent us from rotating, as European philosophers do, in a whirligig from one idea to its opposite. These Jewish principles are the unity of God, the Creator of all nations, and consequently the unity of the human race, and the unity of history; three ideas of such a nature as to lessen antagonisms between nations and to direct attention to the principles that unite. The Jewish attitude unites sane universalism with sane patriotism; it does not declare the whole world and every man as equally sacred and inspired, but expects that the word of the Lord will go forth from Zion, even when God is the acknowledged King of the whole earth.

At times there has been a wearisome controversy as to whether it was more important to change people's hearts or to better their conditions. Of course, both are important. Judaism may claim to have laid proper emphasis on material prosperity on earth as one of the elements of the future reign of perfection. In this Socialism is Jewish. Both Judaism and Socialism look forward to lustice

**Die Psychologie des jüdischen Geistes.*

on earth ; not (as Christianity does) to recompense in heaven, not (as Buddhism does) to extinction. They have both seen in their vision this reign of justice as being brought about as the result of violent shock or catastrophe ; they have considered, I believe quite correctly, violent and unexpected events as being great possible sources of good to man, turning the wicked to God, reviving in the shock of their terrible occurrences impulses forgotten and overlaid by yielding to temptation. Danger increases fellowship, and terror inspires heroism, the prudent routine and apathy and selfishness of the world can be checked only by a shock and by terror. Whereas Christianity has based its hopes chiefly on one-by one conversions.

The Jewish prophets not only saw universal prosperity brought about by violence, but peace also as following a day of terror and vast battle and slaughter ; they were not Christian universal unresisters. Those Socialists who believe that all can be done by step-by-step reforms (probably accidentally) have repudiated the essence of Socialism. The essence of Socialism is the reform of the world by catastrophe. It is not an accident that the founders of modern Socialism—Marx, Engels, and Lassalle—were Jews. Socialism is Jewish in its desire to see justice on earth and in its catastrophic Messianism.

Judaism is optimistic because it centres round the God of Justice, who stands above the cruelties of nature, which are to be fought against by man. There is room for philosophic mysticism in Judaism, but hardly for nature mysticism.

Each nation ought to add to the world's common stock. The long-lived nation must collectively work out problems which the single individual cannot solve.

The Jews have a special view of the world to teach to the world, and a message still undelivered on morals and religion : in particular it is for them to teach the danger of over-spiritualising religion and forgetting that Justice is to reign over the whole earth, that man must face the greatest problems not by himself but as one of a human family.

The sense of mission, or (if that seem a Gentile word) of purpose, God's purpose, in the history of Israel is unavoidable, and itself constitutes a possibility of future good. But since the Jews become more and more divided as emancipation merges them into all the nations under the sun, their power of achieving any purpose grows daily fainter. The Allies have offered them a great opportunity by recognising their existence as a nation and the justice of their claim to their former land. Surely they possess enough vigour to build on England's declaration a national home containing cultivators of the soil, thinkers and rulers—the germ of a new civilisation based on the remains of a very old civilisation.

The despised and conquered or partly denationalised nations need to deliver themselves. They are the younger sons among the nations; they believe that they have gifts denied to the other sons, who have hitherto been more successful and yet have failed. It is for them to acquire full national existence and attempt to solve for themselves all the problems of life.

The Jews will not be able to deliver their message while they are despised, because of their parasitic position—parasitic because dependent on governments and institutions which they use, but did not create—and while their individualities suffer by drawing in foreign influences at every pore. It is only if the Jews re-establish themselves as a nation, facing all the problems that life offers, that they can fully understand their own peculiar way of solving these problems. They cannot fully express themselves except in action—action involving every part of the structure of a State.

To reduce the argument once more to a series of bare propositions:—

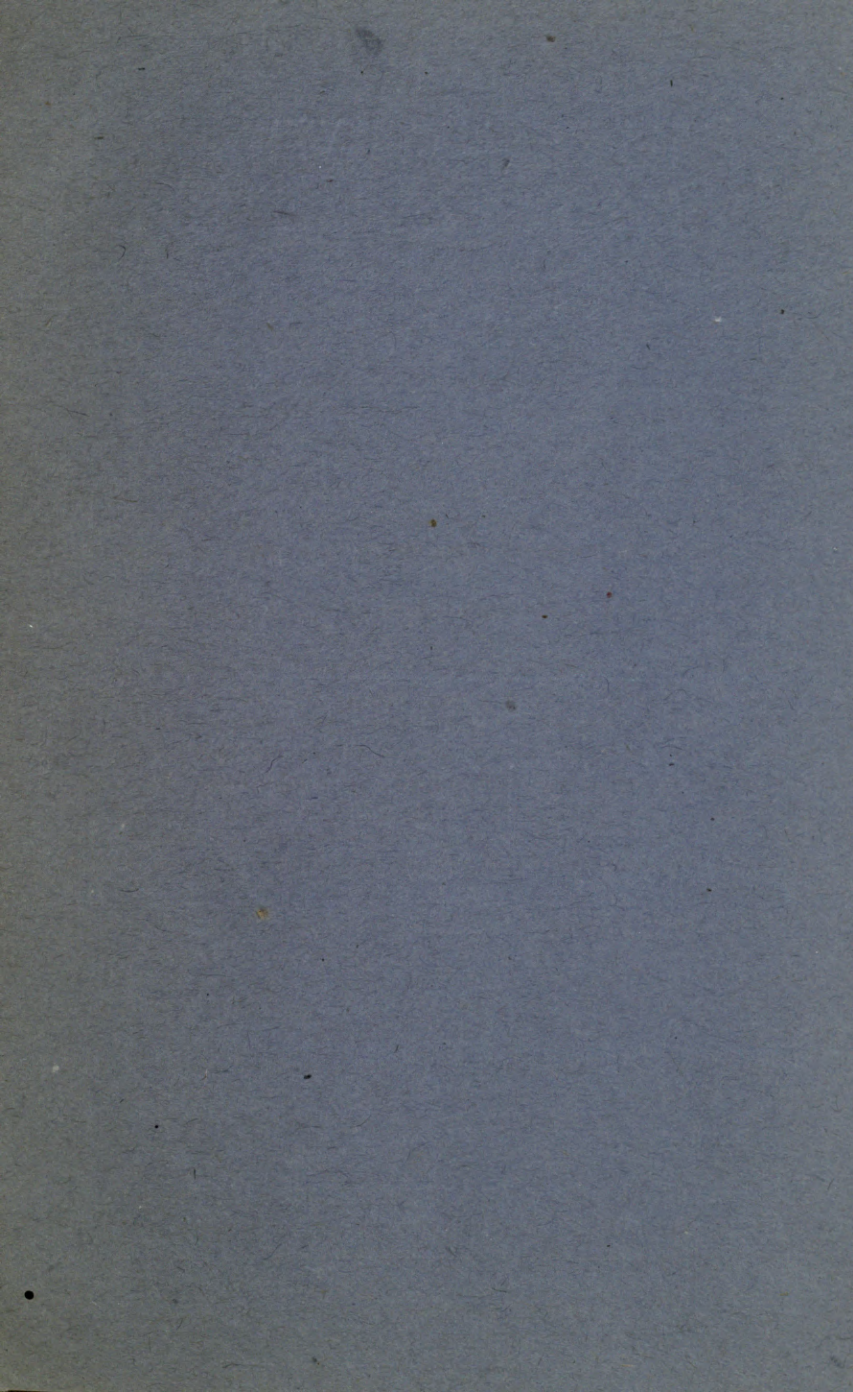
It is groups, not individuals, which must accomplish the great tasks of mankind. The natural groups, such as the nation, have a great advantage over the groups based only on opinion.

And the Jewish natural group, strong because it is not held together only by agreement with ideas, has idealised itself, has conceived itself to have a God-given purpose, as no other people has.

But the Jews, as they move into conditions which give equal rights with other citizens in Western Europe and America and bring them into close contact with alien civilizations, lose their gifts and ideas, they cannot in dispersion accomplish any great task for mankind.

The re-establishment of the Jews as a nation among the nations is needed for the development of the Jews, and as a means for their working out their distinctive solution of the problems of humanity; that is, it is needed for the sake of a sane patriotism and a sane universalism—it would help Jew and Gentile.

The life of the Jews needs to be made normal where it is at present abnormal; they need a country, a class of cultivators of the soil, a full variety of occupations among their own people. When they are once again a people, they will be admitted on equal terms to the fellowship of peoples; the contempt felt for them will be gone—the Jewish nation as well as the individual Jew will be completely self-supporting; their self-respect will be restored, and their power of uniting and determining their own fate.



THE ZIONIST REVIEW

(The Organ of the English Zionist Federation).

Price 3d. Monthly; Annual Subscription 4/-, post free.

Regular features include:

NOTES AND COMMENTS.

REVIEW ON THE MONTH.

SPECIAL ARTICLES AND BELLES-LETTRES.

PALESTINE PAGE.

LITERARY NOTES AND BOOK REVIEWS.

REVIEW OF THE PRESS.

LOCAL ZIONIST NEWS.

Special Supplement: THE JUNIOR ZIONIST.

Order through any Bookseller or Newsagent, or direct from
English Zionist Federation, 69, Leadenhall Street, E.C.3.

ZIONIST PAMPHLETS.

THE JEWISH COLONISATION IN PALESTINE, by *S. Tolkowsky*, 4d.

ACHIEVEMENTS & PROSPECTS IN PALESTINE, by *S. Tolkowsky*, 4d.

HISTORY AND DEVELOPMENT OF JEWISH COLONISATION IN
PALESTINE, by *L. Kessler*, 4d.

THE JEWISH EMANCIPATION: THE CONTRACT MYTH, by
H. Sacher, 4d.

THE JEWISH RESETTLEMENT OF PALESTINE, by *S. Tolkowsky*, 1d.

4d. ... החיים העבריים בארץ ישראל מאת א. סימון

1d. 1917 ידיעות איבער דעם ישוב אין ארץ ישראל פֿון נ. ד. לעוואָסטיץ
(5/- פֿער 100 נעט)

2d. ... אידישע פֿרוי, פֿון נחום סאַקאַלאָו, 1917
(10/- פֿער 100 נעט)

1d. דער נײַער ישוב אין ארץ ישראל (אָרט אַן געהאַלטען אויף דעם
יעהרליכען קאַנפֿערענץ פֿון דער פֿערעראַציע, 3-טען פֿעברואַר, 1918)

For particulars of other Zionist publications apply to
the Secretary, The English Zionist Federation,
69, Leadenhall Street, London, E.C.3.

The Jewish
Return to -
Palestine.

AN ADDRESS

- - BY - -

Dr. MAX NORDAU

Delivered on January 11th, 1920



Published by the English Zionist Federation.
75, Great Russell Street, London, W.C. 1.

PRICE 3d.



NOTE.

The following address by DR. MAX NORDAU was delivered at a Public Reception held on Sunday evening, January 11th, 1920, at the Prince's Galleries, Piccadilly, under the auspices of the Council of the English Zionist Federation, for the purpose of extending a welcome to the veteran leader upon his arrival in England.

Dr. WEIZMANN, President of the Federation, who presided over a very large and enthusiastic gathering, paid a glowing tribute to the services rendered by Dr. NORDAU to the Zionist cause, and, in the name of the Council, presented him with an Illuminated Address in album form.

Mr. P. HOROWITZ (Hon. Secretary) read the text of the address, as follows :—

Dear Dr. Nordau,

We, members of the Council of the English Zionist Federation and representatives of its affiliated societies, and of other Zionist bodies in all parts of the United Kingdom, desire to offer you the sincerest and most heartfelt welcome in the traditional and time honoured Hebrew greeting: שלום — Peace!

Isolated as you have been during the last five years from the scene of your life's activity, you were able, nevertheless, from your neutral point of vantage, to observe the chaos and carnage that have been wrought in the world, and above all in the life of our own people. And now when the moment has come when the great task of reconstruction must be taken in hand, and the re-building of our National Home must begin, we gladly acclaim your presence in our midst as that of a sage, revered, and well-trying counsellor, whose invaluable co-operation and inspiring exhortation are urgently needed in the mighty labours before us.

Your part in our national movement has indeed been unique, for though you have never held office in the Zionist Organisation, you have always shared the innermost counsels of our leaders, who seldom ventured on any decisive step without first seeking the help of your judgment and guidance. You strengthened the hands of our immortal leader, Theodor Herzl, from the very day when he took up his heroic burden; and you have throughout loyally answered every call of his successors to take part in their difficult deliberations.

To the Jewish world, nay, to the world in general, you have been the spokesman of Jewry. No Zionist Congress was complete without your masterly survey of the tribulations of our people; no oration that you delivered but thrilled your hearers with the glowing passion by which it was inspired. You proclaimed to humanity in trumpet-tones the wrongs from which we suffered; you demanded, as the Tribune of the Jewish people, the justice that had been denied to us so long; and yours has been the fortune to see at last the dawn of the day of our Redemption.

Your tongue and pen, your fame in the realm of letters, your invaluable knowledge of men and affairs, and the potent spell of your personality, have been at the service of our cause for nearly twenty-five years, throughout the tedious and often harassing period of preparation. Now that it has been vouchsafed to us to enter once more into our Promised Land, and to rebuild the rightful Home of our storm-tossed, scattered people, we rejoice that you, lightly bearing your seventy years, will be able once more to devote your commanding eloquence, your ripe experience, and your unabated mental vigour to the enduring triumph of our imperishable cause.

The REV. J. K. GOLDBLOOM and DR. SAMUEL DAICHES (Vice-Presidents), MR. M. SHIRE (Treasurer), MR. PAUL GOODMAN, and MR. ISRAEL COHEN, joined in tendering a cordial welcome to DR. NORDAU.

The Jewish Return to Palestine.

Address by Dr. Nordau.

MR. CHAIRMAN, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—The more than kind words of welcome which I have just heard from the lips of the Chairman and the other gentlemen that have spoken in various languages after him, and which I find repeated and fixed in the beautiful document with which you have honoured me, move me deeply. I am neither ingenuous nor conceited enough to take them literally; I know what allowances to make for courtesy and affection. Nevertheless, even your exaggerated appreciation of my work in behalf of Zionism has its value and usefulness. It will act as a stimulant to him who is the object of your eulogies. To a man of some pride, to a man of honour and dignity, such praise is an incentive to make his greatest efforts in order to deserve it at least in the future, if he feels he has not merited it in the past.

And such a spur is not superfluous in the present circumstances. The people of Israel is now living through the most momentous hour of its three thousand years' history. It stands on the threshold of a new evolution which may lead to glorious achievements or end in disaster.

The world war has been largely the war of the Jews. This seems a paradox, yet it is the truth. There are approximately 13 millions of Jews in the world, including the neutral countries. They have furnished about 900,000 soldiers to the armies of all the nations at war, or about 7 per cent. of their total number. This is

a proportion that has been attained by few peoples and surpassed, I believe, by only one, the French. The number of our dead, those that have fallen on the battlefields and those that have died of their wounds, is about 80,000, that of our casualties approaches 200,000.

All other nations fought for an immediate interest which they felt as being worth risking and sacrificing their life for; the aggressors were moved by criminal egotism, by lust of domination and conquest, by greed of profit, the others by love of their attacked and imperilled country and by the determination of brave men rather to die than to become slaves of ruthless enemies. But our 900,000 Jewish soldiers, what did they fight and die for? They had nothing to gain for their own people. They were inspired exclusively by their sense of duty, by their loyalty to the country of their birth. They braved death enthusiastically for their fatherland when this treated them with justice and generosity and granted them the same rights as to all its children. They did it without joy, but unhesitatingly, heroically even, for those countries which discriminated heinously against them, humiliated and enslaved them like criminals, hunted them like beasts of the wilderness.

If their heroism has been disinterested, have our gallant boys at least the satisfaction of seeing their exemplary behaviour recognised and appreciated? May they now indulge in the pleasure of persuading themselves that having done their bit, and considerably more, they have at least vindicated the Jewish name, and secured to their people a better position in the world?

Look around you and your eyes will everywhere meet the desolating answer to this question.

Even in the free and enlightened western countries, perhaps with the exception of Italy, a huge wave of Anti-Semitism is welling up from the darkest and most secluded depths of hereditary prejudice and atavistic cruelty, and sweeps furiously over the

whole surface of the globe, threatening to drown us all, and drenching, covering us at least with foam and mud. Everywhere a cloud of deadly gases seems to rise from abysses and condense around us to an unbreathable atmosphere of mistrust, suspicion, aversion, which too often develops into aggressive hatred and direct persecution.

But however unpleasant this condition of existence may be, it is nothing compared with the situation of our people in Eastern Europe. Even the rabid hostility of the Jew-baiters which drove the unbalanced mind of that poor Jewish Pan-Germanist Max Spaeth, of Munich, to such madness that he killed himself because he had been denied the bliss of admission into a "Judenrein" society of students and demobilised soldiers, of the Austrians who expel by the tens of thousands the poor Jewish refugees from the former Austrian provinces that have been severed from the vanquished and mutilated empire of the Hungarians, killing and torturing thousands of innocent Jews in a fit of murderous bestiality. Even these orgies of outrages and infamies sink into negligible insignificance when we think of the unspeakable horrors that for months have been committed and continue being perpetrated in Russia, especially in the Ukraine. I have not the courage to dwell on this sickening sight. I turn my eyes shudderingly away from the ghastly spectacle of a hundred thousand hideously mutilated Jewish corpses strewn over the soil soaked with Jewish blood. I am tortured by the shrieks of agony which the eastern wind carries to our ears from that cursed country where millions of our brothers and sisters tremble in unceasing anguish before the constant and awful danger of death and worse than death. When I think of these atrocities to which millions of Jews in the barbarous East of Europe are a prey, I am positively ashamed to find myself here in this comfortable hall, well lighted, well heated, in peace and security.

So this is the actual position of the Jewish people after

having shed its blood without limit or measure for the cause of its birth-lands. An atmosphere of hostility in the West, hideous persecution, an undisguised intent of extermination in the East. In this deep black picture, however, there is one bright spot, the declared intention of the British Government to give us an opportunity of returning to Palestine and of building up there a national home for Israel.

I believe it would be a mere loss of time to try to determine the precise meaning of a national home and to skirmish about the exact political definition of this formula. I have no doubt its calculated vagueness is intentional. England cannot be expected to organise Palestine as a well-ordained state, with a perfect administration, sound finances, a reliable, numerous army for defence and the maintaining of order and security, a complete system of international relations and alliances; and, when everything is finished to her own satisfaction, to turn towards the Jews and graciously invite them to remove from their present homes and to take possession of the new, comfortable, palatial house, so carefully and lovingly built, furnished and prepared for their reception.

It is superfluous to show the folly of such a conception. All that England can do is to give us Jews an opportunity to undertake with our own forces the renewal of our destinies, to show the earnestness of our desire for becoming an independent, self-governing nation again, and our capacity for building up a small, but prosperous sovereign state, strong enough to live in the midst of the other powerful or modest states, to take an honourable rank among the nations of the world, to introduce culture, justice and thrift into a backward country, and to become a valid factor in the common work of universal progress and civilisation.

This is all England can do, and I have full confidence that she is willing to do it. If we are slow to understand her intention, if we are weaklings, if we are timid, apathetic, sceptical, the "national home" will indeed dwindle to a home of some of our

co-nationals ; in other words, there will be a few more Jewish colonies surrounded by a more or less well-disposed immense majority of Arab neighbours, perhaps not quite as flourishing as Woodbine in the United States or Mosesville in Argentina : in short, a new Ghetto, only adorned with the poetical halo of historical reminiscences, which would connect it with a remote past.

But if we prove equal to the occasion, if we display all that energy and capacity which I am sure we possess, if we stream rapidly in very large numbers to the land which England is opening to us, if we cover it with crops and fruit trees and herds of cattle, with villages and towns, with mills and factories, with roads, railways and canals, if we raise there a generation of healthy, strong, well-tutored men and women, capable and willing to undertake the responsibility of governing themselves and making their country a model of advanced culture, then we shall soon, perhaps in a quarter of a century, perhaps much earlier, be entitled to step forth and to say to our British protector : " We are now come of age. We thank you effusively for your kind and efficient tutorship. But now we shall take into our own hands the management of our own affairs." On that day, I am absolutely convinced of it, England will only be too glad to be liberated of her charge which she surely feels as heavy enough, she will formally hand us over Palestine, with the consent of the League of Nations, she will withdraw with a " God speed you, my Jewish friends," and our " national home " in Palestine will have become what we wish it to be, the independent Jewish state, manfully fulfilling all its duties in the League of Nations.

It is not my habit to think and speak in terms of mysticism. But this time I cannot resist the impulse to call providential the fact that, when the British Government, in harmony with their Allies, had to take a decision with regard to the future of Palestine, there were in England and Paris two men, Dr. Weizmann and Monsieur

Sokolow, who could efficiently plead before the statesmen with whom the decision rested, the cause of the Jewish people, argue out with them our claim to Palestine, and obtain from them the solemn promise contained in Mr. Balfour's declaration and in the subsequent explicit confirmation of it by Monsieur Pichon.

I call this fact providential, for if these two men had not been on the spot at the opportune moment, who else could have directed the minds of the British statesmen towards our aspirations, in a time when the Zionist World Organisation was paralysed, because the universal war tolerated no organisation embracing the Old and the New World and comprising Jews almost all of whom were considered as alien enemies by one group of the contending nations? And who could have acted as more skilful, more devoted, more highly gifted advocates of Zionism than those two great Jews, Dr. Weizmann and Monsieur Sokolow? They possess in a wonderful measure all that is required for their exceptional function: a clear mind, a strong will, a convincing and winning eloquence. They knew how to put logic, perseverance and ever ready repartee in the service of a sublime cause which in the hands of less qualified spokesmen, represented by counsel endowed with minor attainments, ran the risk of being judged by sober, practical, somewhat prosaic and matter-of-fact statesmen as chimerical, as quixotic, perhaps simply as silly?

In the souls of Dr. Weizmann and Monsieur Sokolow was contained the soul of Israel. In their hearts burned the flame, the perennial Chanukah flame, of the never extinguished millenary hope of Israel. They had only to ask their own minds, their own conscience, their own feelings: What does the Jewish people yearn for? What does it aspire after? What is it that it desires to work and strive for with all its power, devotion and enthusiasm? And they were sure that the subjective answer that flashed up in their inner consciousness, was identical with the answer which the Jewish people would have given, could it have been consulted,

was virtually the answer of the Jewish people, and this gave them the moral right to speak and act in the name of the millions that for the time being were reduced to silence.

Have Dr. Weizmann and Monsieur Sokolow obtained already all that we desire? That remains to be seen. But really, it has no vital importance. We must credit the British Government with good faith and honest intentions. This postulated and granted, the more or less satisfactory wording of this or that article of the agreement has not much importance, as all depends on the spirit in which it is read, interpreted and executed. If on the other hand we could not trust the intention of the British Government, if we had to suspect them of ill-will, then even the most brilliant treaty might eventually turn out a mere "scrap of paper."

Perhaps our spokesmen have not always been bold enough in their demands. Perhaps they have not realised that the Governments have a clearer consciousness of our importance as an element of the world polity and the world economy, of our national possibilities, than we ourselves have, uncertain, timid, doubting, as two thousand years of injustice and persecution have rendered many of us. But whatever the future may have in store for us, whether the brilliant efforts of Dr. Weizmann and Monsieur Sokolow will appear to coming generations as a full or only a partial success, they are sure to see their names inscribed in the annuals of Jewish history with letters which time will never wipe out.

But now, see once more the tragedy of Jewish fate! In the hour of Israel's deepest distress, when millions of our brethren are shrieking for help, Britain is about to open a door for them and to offer them more than a mere refuge: a definite, permanent home with peace and honour. Millions of our people have only one idea: to rush at once to the new home, to the port of salvation. But these millions are now totally ruined, they are robbed of everything they possessed. They are like paralytics in a burning house; they cannot move to save themselves.

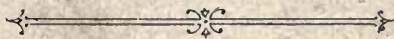
Emigration, once the permission to enter into Palestine is obtained, is exclusively a money question, and the Eastern Jews longing to emigrate have no money now. The happier Jews of the Occident must now see their duty clear before them : they must carry out in their arms the paralytics from the blazing house. They must ! They must advance them the money which is to save them. If the stronger half of the Jewish people does not refuse its aid to the weaker half, then there is no doubt that the living generation will see the re-birth of the Jewish nation constituted as a Jewish State in Palestine, that it will see the realisation of our millenary dream soon, in our days, במהרה בימינו.

ק"ק בנסת ישראל

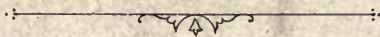
United Synagogue

5623
1863

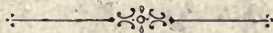
5673
1913.



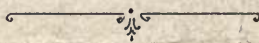
Bayswater
Synagogue



Fiftieth Anniversary
of
Consecration
of
Synagogue



July 5th 5673-1913.





ק"ק כנסת "ישראל

United Synagogue.

Bayswater Synagogue,
Chichester Place, Harrow R^d W.

The Honorary Officers & Members of the
Board of Management

cordially invite your attendance at
a Special Service
to be held in commemoration of the
Fiftieth Anniversary
of the Consecration of the
Synagogue
on Saturday, July 5th 5673-1913.

Rev a. Chautsin

SERVICE WILL COMMENCE AT 10 A.M.

OFFICERS—1913.



Preacher:

The Rabbi Prof. Hermann Gollancz, M.A., D. Lit.

First Reader:

Rev. Isaac Samuel.

Reader and Secretary

Rev. David Klein.

Wardens:

Lewis M. Myers, Esq., C.C.,
Piza Barnet, Esq.

Financial Representative:

Arthur Bergtheil. Esq.

Board of Management:

Adolph Aronson, Esq., R.S.A.
Dr. Morris Clifford,
Sir Herbert B. Cohen, Bart.,
Leopold Frank, Esq.,
Lawrence Jacob, Esq.,
Nathaniel S. Lucas, Esq.,
David Moses, Esq.,
Isidore Salmon, Esq., L.C.C.,
Nelson Samuel, Esq.,
Howard, J. Walford, Esq.

University of California Library
Los Angeles

This book is DUE on the last date stamped below.

Phone Renewals
310/825-9188

QL JAN 23 1998

REC'D YRL MAY 03 2004
JAN 12 2004

2-WEEKS REC'D LD-URL
URL-LD JAN 04 1998

REC'D LD-URL
DEC 21 1998

MAR 11 1999

QL APR 19 1999

REC'D LD-URL
QL APR 19 1999
APR 07 1999

JAN 12 2004

UC SOUTHERN REGIONAL LIBRARY FACILITY



A 000 046 976 7

Univers
South
Libr