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A Reply to Mr. Laurie Magnus.

By ISRAEL COHEN, B.A.

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Zionism and Jewish Ideals.

A REPLY TO MR. LAURIE MAGNUS.*

BY ISRAEL COHEN, B.A.

We are gathered here to-night for the purpose of considering and refuting a recent attack upon the Zionist movement. Some of my friends are doubtful about the wisdom of holding such a meeting; they declare that we should not dissipate our energy in answering criticisms that have long ago been disposed of, but should reserve it for the positive work of advancing our cause. I maintain, however, that one of the most important methods of advancing our cause is to repel any assault to which it may be subjected, and thus to disseminate a rightful knowledge of our ideals and objects. The more plausible and eloquent the attack, the greater the need of a refutation, the wider the publicity it has gained the more imperative is our duty to achieve a similar publicity. Such, in short, are the circumstances that have prompted us to discuss the address on "Zionism and Jewish Ideals," recently given by Mr. Laurie Magnus, before the Jewish Young Men's Association in Birmingham. The presence of Mr. Magnus here to-night is at least a proof that we have in him a courteous opponent who is open to argument. I trust that by the time this meeting is over he will have found serious reason to reconsider his position, and if we cannot enjoy the spectacle of witnessing him make

A PUBLIC CONFESSION OF ERROR AND REPENTANCE,

I hope that we shall at least succeed in rescuing from delusion those over whom he has cast the spell of his charming sophistry.

For the sake of those who have not read, or who only remember dimly the main theses and contentions in the Birmingham address I think it well to present a summary of them before proceeding to discuss them, and my summary will be as objective as possible. Mr. Magnus proclaimed himself a Zionist. The Zion at which he aimed he conceived as "universal and remote." He believed in "an ultimate Zion, not geographically fixed, nor dated in time, but gradually to be approached by the fulfilment of our mission in the countries in which we are dispersed." He described this belief as being in accordance with "traditional Jewish idealism," and he declared that "the political Zionists of recent years are travelling away from the Jewish idealism of all the ages." The object of these political Zionists, he said, is to afford "relief from local persecution," and he opposed it on the ground that Zion realised in our day would "deflower Judaism of its essence, and make the name of Jew an empty boast." He declared that if they founded their Zion in Mesopotamia, "the Restoration will be *ex hypothesi*, accomplished," and in such an event he asked: "What is there left for me to pray for? Why should I bring my children up as Jews?"—and he predicted that "large numbers of educated Jews . . . who deem their adhesion worth while for the sake of the mission of the race" would say ". . . now Judaism is played out; it is a spent force among the moral forces which make for progress: there is nothing left to keep me a Jew." Turning from the consideration of ideals to that of facts, he quoted the statement of Dr. Herzl in his *Judenstaat*, published in 1896: "I imagine that Governments will, either voluntarily or under pressure from the anti-Semites, pay certain attention to this scheme," and he asked: "Where has 'certain attention' been paid, either voluntarily or under pressure, by the

*Delivered before the London Zionist League, on Sunday, December 5, 1909.

Governments of Europe to the Zionists?," and he supplied an answer by referring to Turkey and Russia. With regard to Turkey, he quoted the reported utterances of a Jewish member of the Chamber of Deputies: "There is no chance for Zionism; none of its programmes would be accepted by the Turkish Government," and further: "I am afraid of a great catastrophe if the suspicions of Jewish loyalty, engendered by Zionism, should grow stronger"—and Mr. Magnus declared that it is "in the highest degree imprudent to subject Jews to this suspicion." With regard to Russia, he said that there, too, no favourable attention had been accorded Zionism. He referred to the historic document published last July in the *JEWISH CHRONICLE*, a Draft Bill to eliminate from Jewish legislation "superfluous and obsolete oppressive regulations," which was considered by the Council of Russian Ministers in the autumn of 1906, and submitted to the Tsar, who marked it for submission to the Duma; and while welcoming this Bill, he hesitated to conjecture "how far the spread of Zionist propaganda, engendering suspicion of Jewish loyalty, has played its part in the postponement of the reforms contemplated in 1906." Finally, he dealt with the question of Zionism and patriotism. He admitted that "in the broadly tolerant England of to-day" Zionist societies do not "constitute a danger to the State," but he thought it "injudicious that a movement which touches acute danger in countries less settled than our own should derive support from British Jews. Jewish solidarity should help us to the wiser, the slower, and the more historical course of assisting Jews of other nations to win and maintain the same confidence as the Jews of this nation enjoy." And in his peroration he exhorted "the younger members of the community" to follow in the footsteps of Moses Montefiore, Francis Goldsmid, and Frederic Mocatta, so that "Jewish interests, when they arise, in questions of trade, labour, education, or finance, should still be represented by men who enjoy the fullest confidence of their fellow-citizens."

These are the principal points and the salient passages in Mr. Magnus' address, and I have given them as much as possible in his own words. I shall deal with them *seriatim*, and I hope to prove to your satisfaction that his address is the product of

A DEFICIENT KNOWLEDGE OF JEWISH HISTORY

and of an imperfect appreciation of the Jewish needs of to-day, and that the counsel he offers would make not for the advancement of Jewry but for its dissolution. We can divide his argument into three main sections: the first is concerned with ideals, the second with facts, and the third with our attitude to the future. I shall try to show that he misrepresents the traditional Jewish ideals for which he professes such fervid devotion, that his facts are either fiction or else they have been carefully selected and sifted from a much larger array of facts that disprove his contentions, and that the attitude he asks us to take up towards Jewish interests is one that may secure the temporary comfort of a section, but can never contribute to the permanent welfare of collective Jewry. I shall also lay bare the inconsistencies of which he is guilty, the looseness with which he uses words of established meaning to suit his purpose, and the extent to which he allows his imagination to usurp the place that should be occupied by a reasoning mind.

First, now, as to ideals. Mr. Magnus proclaims himself a Zionist. By what right does he assume that title and what does he mean by it? He tells us that he believes in "an ultimate Zion, not geographically fixed, nor dated in time, but gradually to be approached by the fulfilment of our mission in the countries in which we are dispersed." Whence has he derived that doctrine, upon what authority is it based? He tells us that it is derived from traditional Jewish idealism, but he offers no

proof. His reticence is wise, for no proof of his claim can be offered. Read the pages of Jewish history, study the contents of the Jewish Prayer-Book, and you will find abundant and overwhelming evidence that the Zion for which our people hoped and yearned was the Zion whose synonym is Jerusalem, and whose geographical position is in Palestine. It was a Zion of geographical fixity, of physical foundations and spiritual splendour, for which they longed and prayed and suffered, and they believed in its restoration by a Messiah. That was why whenever the cry arose that the Messiah had come, a false alarm that sounded so often in the long dark night of the Middle Ages, the people were so ready to gird up their loins and take the pilgrim's staff for the journey to Jerusalem. From the days of Bar Kochba to the days of Sabbatai Zevi the history of Israel contains repeated record of these events, heralded with joy and mourned with grief, yet whose futile passing never shook the faith of the people in

A PHYSICAL AND VISIBLE ZION.

That was why there were so many pilgrimages to Jerusalem, of Rabbis, philosophers and poets. That was why Jehuda Halevi, whose whole life personified the longing of Israel for Zion, exclaimed in one of his poems:—"My heart is in the East and I am in the farthest West." And that was why, at an advanced age, he left his home in Spain to die in the Holy Land of his forefathers. You may call these individual instances and ask for more convincing evidence of the real nature of the ideals and aspirations of our people throughout the centuries of their dispersion. You will find that evidence in every page of the Hebrew Prayer-Book. "Gather our dispersed ones from among the nations, and assemble our scattered ones from the corners of the earth." . . . "And unto Jerusalem, Thy city, return Thou in mercy and dwell therein as Thou hast promised, and rebuild it speedily in our days, an everlasting structure." Such is the recurring refrain throughout our prayers, whether in home or synagogue, on Sabbaths and week-days, on feasts and fasts; such has been the longing of catholic Israel in every age and in every clime down to the present day. It was a longing for the Restoration of Zion. And Mr. Magnus tells us that there is no fibre of his Jewish consciousness "that does not thrill to the prayer for the Restoration." But the Restoration as he conceives it is a Zion not geographically fixed. That is

NOT A RESTORATION: IT IS A DISLOCATION.

His view is utterly at variance from the faith that has been treasured for nineteen centuries, the ideal that has been sanctified and strengthened by unbroken tradition. And yet he claims the authority of tradition for his own conception. The earliest exponent of that view was Samuel Holdheim, the father of Reform Judaism, who presided over the first Rabbinical Conference at Brunswick in 1844, and who repudiated the age-long faith in the coming of the Messiah, the restoration of Zion, and the in-gathering of our people in our ancestral land. That became one of the cardinal doctrines of Reform Judaism; it was a bold revolt from tradition. Mr. Magnus accepts the view of Holdheim and consecrates it with the name of tradition. But it is not tradition: it is sedition. There is a line in Shakespeare that "the poet's pen . . . gives to airy nothing a local habitation and a name." Mr. Magnus would reverse the process: he would turn the local habitation and name of Zion into airy nothing.

Why is Mr. Magnus opposed to the rebuilding of Zion, although there is no fibre of his Jewish consciousness "that does not thrill to the prayer for the Restoration"? It is because he believes in

THE SO-CALLED MISSION OF ISRAEL,

because he holds the view that the Jews have been dispersed in order to disseminate the principles of righteousness, to advance the age of universal

peace, and that a return to Palestine would thwart the design of Providence. What authority is there in Scripture or tradition for this view? If Mr. Magnus were right, if our people did indeed hold the faith that they must remain for ever scattered in order to subserve a mission, we should expect proof of this in the prayer-book, the only authentic and irrefutable evidence of their beliefs, hopes and ideals. We should expect to find prayers that God should *not* "gather our dispersed ones from among the nations," that He should *not* rebuild Jerusalem "speedily in our days," but that He should postpone the building unto the very end of time. And at the Seder Service on Passover night we ought to say, not "Next year in Jerusalem!" but "Next century in Jerusalem!" But what do we actually find? The words are plain and unmistakable: "Because of our sins have we been exiled from our land." The dispersion was regarded as a punishment, and not as a blessing, and that is the view still held by the overwhelming mass of Jews. There are some who look upon dispersion as an end, a glorious end in itself, and Mr. Magnus is of their number. But this view, like that concerning the dislocated and evaporated Zion, only came into vogue at the beginning of the nineteenth century, thanks to the efforts of Holdheim and Geiger, and it is another of the distinguishing doctrines of their school of thought. It is not a century old; it is held by a comparatively small section of our people, and yet Mr. Magnus would represent it—or misrepresent it—as the ancient and uninterrupted tradition of all Israel. Do we then deny that the Jews have a mission, do we doubt that they have some purpose in the world? We agree and we believe that it is their duty—as it is the duty of every civilised people, but more especially of the People of the Book—to spread the light of truth and the principles of justice; but we deny that it is necessary for them to remain in dispersion in order to fulfil this function. We declare that as a minority in every country of the world—in most of them despised, oppressed, and outraged, and in others only tolerated—it is impossible for them to act as teachers and exemplars to mankind. Study the pages of mediæval history, examine the conditions at the present day, and you will find that it is a mere mockery to talk of the Jews serving as models of righteousness to the nations and governments with whom they have come into contact. They have always been too weak and too few; they may have evoked individual admiration, but they have always been attacked by popular resentment. Think of the Inquisition, of the Crusaders, of the Blood Accusation, think of the expulsions from Spain, from England and France, and then say where and when those who most needed moral uplifting were influenced by

OUR RACE OF MARTYRS.

Think of Russia and Roumania, where half of our people are living, or trying to live, at the present day, where they display an intenser piety than any of their brethren throughout the world, and where they suffer a more galling bondage than is to be found anywhere else on the face of the globe, and then say what moral influence they are exercising, or can exercise, over their inhuman oppressors. And finally think of the Jews in the Western lands where they are becoming slowly assimilated, not only in appearance, but in thought and ideals, to the surrounding nations, where they are exposed to countless forces of corrosion in their social, intellectual, and religious life, where they are being sapped of their Jewish individuality and weakened in their racial consciousness, where they are being slowly absorbed into their environment—so many more atoms to the general mass—and then say what mission they are subserving or can subserve? It is because of these countless forces of destruction to which they are exposed that we say the crying need of the Jewish people is national regeneration, and that we advocate the re-establishment of Jewish national life on Jewish national soil. Then, and only then, when we are able to develop our gifts

and capacities free from bondage, whether of body or soul, in the inspiring land of the psalmists and prophets, will we be able to exert a mission worthy of the name and worthy of our splendid heritage.

The movement that is trying by practical and political means to realise this object is known as Zionism, and it owes its present organisation and development to Dr. Herzl. But Mr. Magnus says that he was

A ZIONIST BEFORE DR. HERZL,

“when *Der Judenstaat* had still to do its work in altering the acceptance of the term Zionist.” Does Mr. Magnus know that the terms Zionism and Zionist were first coined in 1886 by Dr. Nathan Birnbaum in his fortnightly paper, *Selbst-Emancipation*, and that the designation was used to distinguish the political movement for the national rehabilitation of the Jewish people from the activity of the Chovevei Zion? Never before 1886 was the term Zionism in use, and never since has it been used to mean anything else but the Jewish national movement, except on two occasions, first by the notorious Dr. Dowie of unholy memory, and secondly, by Mr. Laurie Magnus. In his desperate attempt to justify his usurpation of the title, he qualifies it by calling himself a pre-Raphaelite Zionist. There is only one pre-Raphaelite Zionist that I know of—the celebrated painter, Holman Hunt, who has appeared and spoken on many a Zionist platform. Mr. Magnus is not a pre-Raphaelite Zionist; he is simply a post-Holdheimian Messianist. I only wish that he were a Zionist—“would that all the people of the Lord were Zionists!” But before he can reach that position he must at least understand the principles, ideals, and aims of our movement, and he must study its history. At present he seems to have a very imperfect appreciation of the depth of the subject and of its splendid potentialities.

Let us examine what he posits as facts, and we shall find that they are largely fiction. He says that Zionists claim “a monopoly of sympathy with foreign Jews who are suffering persecution for race or creed” and he indignantly rebukes them for it. Zionists have never made any such claim: they have always acknowledged the arduous work accomplished by the great philanthropic bodies for ameliorating the distress of our fellow-Jews in Eastern countries, but they maintain that philanthropy, however generous and unceasing, will never solve the Jewish question. Mr. Magnus says that Zionism is “relief from local persecution.” It is nothing of the kind: it is a movement for the preservation and consolidation of Jewry by the establishment of a national centre in Palestine. But these things are trifles compared with the language in which he speaks of “utilising the name Zion on the prospectus of a company formed for colonising some out-of-the-way soil where Jews can lay down their burden and abandon their privilege, and forget Jerusalem.” “Out-of-the-way soil”—“forget Jerusalem”! Does Mr. Magnus think we wish to found

A COLONY IN PATAGONIA

or in the Trans-Himalaya? The countries specified in the Memorandum of the Jewish Colonial Trust are Palestine and the neighbouring lands, and not a penny of its funds has been spent on any enterprise outside this area. How we can colonise Palestine and forget Jerusalem is a conundrum that baffles me. But what seems to have obsessed our critic's imagination is that blessed word Mesopotamia. Well, we Zionists are not responsible for that. Mesopotamia may have figured very largely in the Press in recent months, but so far it has not come within the arena of the practical politics of Zionism. If Mr. Magnus had studied recent history, he would know that a new organisation, the Ito, was founded in 1905, and it is that body which is anxious to secure the colonisation of Mesopotamia. But I realise very well that his objection to Zionism would hardly be diminished even if we confined our area of operations within the walls of the Holy City itself, for he speaks with a note of

sarcasm about "the new Jerusalem in Asia." Where then was the old Jerusalem—in Africa or America? But then Mr. Magnus does not like the new Jerusalem to be geographically fixed; it would not harmonise with his volatile imagination. He has even a horror of such a thing; he is seized with a regular panic at the prospect of Jerusalem being restored to its former splendour. For, says he, "Rob Israel of Zion, bring Zion again in our day . . . and you render nugatory all that we have won, you deflower Judaism of its essence, and make the name of Jew an empty boast!" What a passion there is in these words! But I must tear this passion to tatters, for it contains

A GREAT AND MONSTROUS FALLACY

—nay, two fallacies. Fallacy number one is this: Mr. Magnus has told us that his Zion is "universal and remote," that it is "not geographically fixed nor dated in time, and that it must await Messianic fulfilment." How then can Zion in Palestine, or even in Mesopotamia, realised by Zionists in our day, rob him of his nebulous vision? How can a localised and accessible Zion rob him of one that is "not geographically fixed," and which must be "gradually approached by the fulfilment of our mission"? If he had not allowed his imagination such free play he would not have been plunged into such a dilemma. And now we come to fallacy number two: He says that if Zion were a fact the "mission of Israel will be accomplished," and he asks pathetically: "What is there left for me to pray for? Why should I bring up my children as Jews?" This fallacy is really a double one, and it involves a self-contradiction. In several passages he told us that the fulfilment of our mission in dispersion is to lead gradually to a universal Zion. How then can a local Zion imply that the mission has been fulfilled? And now for the second part of fallacy number two: he asks: "What is there left for me to pray for?" and he speaks of Judaism as being "played out," and of there being nothing left to keep anybody a Jew. One may read these passages a dozen times to discover a grain of reason, but one simply becomes more and more bewildered. Does Mr. Magnus seriously mean to imply that if a Jewish national centre were founded in the Holy Land, that even if the whole of Palestine were covered with a flourishing Jewish population developing on national lines, that that would deprive him of his prayers and that there would be nothing to keep educated Jews within the fold? True our prayers re-echo with the yearning for the Restoration—I am glad he realises the fact—but, in the first place, our religious life—I suppose it is mainly about the religious life that he is anxious—is not confined to prayers for the Restoration, and secondly, we shall never claim, however far we may advance to the realisation of our ideal, that we have anticipated or supplanted Messianic fulfilment.

LONG AFTER THE ZIONIST FLAG HAS BEEN RAISED ALOFT IN THE HOLY CITY

Mr. Magnus may continue to observe Sabbaths and festivals and the Day of Atonement, he may continue to worship in the synagogue in Hebrew, and he may continue to spread the mission of Israel which will gradually lead to a Zion "not geographically fixed nor dated in time." Doubtless he will still continue to taunt us and to ask: "In their vaunted national ambition do they not forget to think imperially of Zion?" But we do think imperially of Zion, we think of her as holding the same moral relation to the scattered Jewish settlements throughout the world that England does to her Colonies. It is our critic who thinks of Zion

NOT IMPERIALLY BUT EMPYREALLY

—as something akin to the empyrean, something refined beyond the elemental ether.

We now come to the practical side of the movement, to the region of facts. Mr. Magnus has tested Zionism and found it wanting on the

ground that after thirteen years it has not received attention from the Governments of Europe. The only two Governments he mentions are Russia and Turkey, and in neither case can he discover any evidence of sympathy for our cause. On the contrary, in both cases he says that our activity has had an injurious effect upon the Jewish situation. I shall deal with this presently, but first let me refresh your memories with a few facts that have been overlooked. Dr. Herzl had not an interview with the late Sultan, as Mr. Magnus says, but several interviews, and if nothing else was achieved but an assurance of the Sultan's sympathy, the fault was that of the Jewish people which had not backed Dr. Herzl with its material support. In November, 1898, he was publicly received at the head of a Zionist deputation in Palestine by the German Emperor, who expressed his sympathy with the efforts for the revival of the Holy Land. In August, 1903, he had interviews with the Russian Premier, Count Witte, and with the Minister of the Interior, M. Pléhve, and the latter promised, in a letter, which was published at the Sixth Congress, that if the Zionist movement confined its agitation to the creation of an independent State in Palestine, the Russian Government would give its moral and material support to Zionist negotiations at Constantinople. In January, 1904, he had interviews with the King of Italy and his Minister, Signor Tittoni, as well as with the Pope and Cardinal Merry del Val, all of whom expressed their approval of the Zionist idea. And need I remind you in this country of the greatest Government of all that has given favourable attention to our movement? Is it so long since Mr. Chamberlain, the Colonial Secretary, spontaneously offered Dr. Herzl a tract of land in British East Africa for an autonomous settlement? And need I remind you that in the spring of 1903 a Zionist Commission, with the approval of the Egyptian Government, obtained by recommendation from the British Government, investigated the Sinai Peninsula with a view to founding a colony? And all these things were achieved not in thirteen years, but within seven years, for the Zionist organisation was only founded in 1897 and Dr. Herzl died in 1904.

Let us now consider

THE CASE OF RUSSIA.

Mr. Magnus referred to the Draft Bill for alleviating Jewish oppression, which was considered by the Council of Ministers in the autumn of 1906 and submitted to the Tsar, who marked it for submission to the Duma. The fate of that Bill is unknown, and Mr. Magnus' comment is: "How far the spread of Zionistic propaganda, engendering suspicion of Jewish loyalty, has played its part in the postponement of the reforms contemplated in 1906, I verily hesitate to conjecture." That is a very grave and serious charge to make at a public meeting. Upon what facts is it based? Not a shred of proof are we given, not a syllable of evidence. The implication is that Zionism is regarded by the Russian Government as a revolutionary and dangerous movement. If that were so would the Russian Zionists have been allowed to hold a Conference of nearly 600 delegates, at Minsk, in 1902, with the express permission of Pléhve? Would Dr. Herzl have been received by Witte and Pléhve, and given assurances of moral and material support? You may say this was before 1906. Then allow me to remind you that on July 10th, 1908, Herr Wolffsohn, the President of the Zionist Organisation, was received in St. Petersburg by the Prime Minister, M. Stolypin, who, after a lengthy interview, expressed his fullest sympathy with the Zionist ideal, and declared that the Russian Government had no intention of placing any obstacles in the way of the Zionists in Russia so long as their activity was confined to the realisation of their formulated object—to create a publicly-recognised, legally-secured home for the Jewish people in Palestine. And need I add that the official Zionist organs in Russia, *Haolam* and the *Rasvriet*, are regularly published without interference, and that the Central Executive of the Russian Zionists held a

conference only a few weeks ago in St. Petersburg, and issued a circular about their deliberations, which appeared in the Russian Press? Perhaps Mr. Magnus will now withdraw his accusation, and find some other explanation for the shelving of the proposed reforms. If only he will bear in mind the general trend of Russian politics during the last few years, and the tightening of the forces of reaction, he will not need any special explanation of the fate of those reforms. If only he will reflect upon the fact that the Diet of Finland has been dissolved for the third time in the last four years by the Tsar, and that the autonomy which the Grand Duchy of Finland has enjoyed for a hundred years is now to be made null and void, he will not wonder at the opposition of the Russian autocracy to improving the Jewish position, and he will not seek in Zionistic propaganda a key to the workings of the autocrat's mind. He tells us that "the best hope for the Jews in Russia lies, not in inspiring them with ideas of political Zionism, but in assisting them to convert the rulers of Russia to just Government." What soothing counsel this is, but how is it to be carried out? How can the Jews of England, who have failed to prevent the passing of an Act in this country for the restriction of alien immigration, assist their persecuted brethren "to convert the rulers of Russia to just Government"? Remember the friendly understanding that is growing between the British Government and the Russian Government, despite the prevalence of reaction and injustice and the Tsar's fraternising with the plotters of pogroms, and then you will realise what prospect there is of converting the rulers of Russia to "just Government." "The way of redemption," says our critic, "lies along the road of moral endeavour." His words of consolation fall like

THE GENTLE DEW FROM HEAVEN, .

and they are just as effective for moving the minds of modern despots. For the last thirty years the road of moral endeavour has been followed by Western Jews in trying to compel the Roumanian Government to observe its pledges and grant the rights of citizenship to its Jewish subjects; and whilst the Western Jews have plodded and are still plodding on the road of moral endeavour the Roumanian Jews have travelled on the road of emigration, and over 100,000 have been driven forth to seek a home across the ocean.

And now for Turkey. Mr. Magnus quoted the opinion of a Jewish member of the Chamber of Deputies, who said that "there is no chance for Zionism," and who added: "I am afraid of a great catastrophe if the suspicions of Jewish loyalty, engendered by Zionism, should grow stronger." The opinion of the Jewish deputy was his own personal opinion and has no official weight; his fear was simply his own subjective state of mind. Zionist activity which implies and acknowledges and insists upon the continued integrity of the Turkish Empire will not, and cannot, engender suspicion of Jewish loyalty. It is the malicious misrepresentation of Zionism which will engender such suspicion, and any catastrophe that may occur will be

THE GUILTY WORK OF THE ENEMIES OF OUR MOVEMENT,

and not the fault of its adherents. When we find that in the placid atmosphere of this country a Jewish writer, who has all the means at his disposal for acquiring a correct idea of Zionism, is capable of misunderstanding it so seriously, we cannot be surprised that in the unsettled conditions of Turkey, where a keen battle between conflicting interests and ideas is still raging, there should be not only misunderstanding, but gross and mendacious misrepresentation. As for the chances of Zionism, they are not dependent upon the political programme of the Government of to-day or of to-morrow; they are dependent upon the convictions and the determination of the whole Zionist body which will survive many changes of the Cabinet at Constantinople. A people that has been kept alive by its national hope

during two thousand years of dispersion, which has witnessed the rise and fall of empires and dynasties that have tried to crush it, is destined to realise its ideal in the end, and it will enjoy the security and dignity of its national life long after the episode of the Turkish Revolution has become a forgotten chapter in the history of the world.

Those who have the faith and the hope that are

INSPIRED BY THE JEWISH NATIONAL CONSCIOUSNESS

are amazed when they are told that the work of the Jewish Board of Guardians in London is superior in importance to the endeavours to realise our national ideal. We wonder at the perverted outlook and cramped imagination of our critics. We tell them that charity is good for the relief of poverty, but we remind them that greater than the problem of local poverty is the problem of universal dissolution. We point out to them that more than half of our people, six millions in number, are living in lands of oppression and persecution, where their bodies are battered and their souls are stunted, where they are treated not as human beings but as pests, where they can find no hope of permanent relief either in a change of nature in their masters or in the unceasing flow of charity from their Western brethren, and whence they can find no refuge save in the lands of the West and the free which do not want them—or in the grave. We point out to them that the rest of our people, living in lands of emancipation, where they can enjoy all the rights of citizenship, are exposed to a thousand forces of disruption which are making increasing inroads into their social, religious, and intellectual life, where they are becoming victims, in growing numbers, of

APOSTASY AND INTERMARRIAGE,

where the economic conditions make their religious observances difficult if not impossible, where the intellectual conditions enfeeble their Jewish consciousness, and slowly, subtly rob them of their Jewish individuality, where freedom of social intercourse tends only to assimilation and absorption to drift and decay. And we say to them: there is only one of two alternatives. Either these forces of dissolution will continue or else there must be a great counter-acting movement for national regeneration. If Jewish ideals are only a name to you, if Judaism is only a theory, then you will let dissolution continue and it will proceed to its natural end. But if you desire the living realisation of those ideals, if you wish that the people which has sanctified the Holy Land with its glorious past, which has suffered and survived for twenty centuries, shall have any future at all, then you will join your efforts to ours for the fulfilment of our national ideal.

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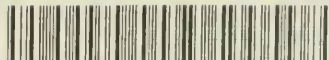
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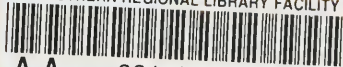
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