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Box  
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Folder  
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Arnold Toynbee and the story of Purim, 1955.

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ARNOLD TOYNBEE AND THE STORY OF PURIM

March 6, 1955

Hallel is made up of the six Psalms, Psalm 113 through 118, Psalms of thanksgiving and praise. They were sung in the Temple of old on eighteen days during the year - on the eight days of Chanukah, on the eight days of Succoth, or the Feast of Tabernacles, on the first day of Pesach, and on the first day of Shevuoth. These are great festive occasions, and these festive hymns of thanksgiving to God - Halleluyah, Praise ye the Lord! - were sung on those days. Thereafter in all the synagogues on these self-same days, these Hallel Psalms are sung or recited. But on Purim, which is also a festive occasion, celebrating the deliverance of the Jews from danger, Hallel was not recited. The rabbis gave the reason for it: "We do not recite the Hallel for any miracle, or any deliverance that took place outside of Palestine." That is, on any deliverance in the Diaspora, the Hallel is not recited. The reason for it is not far to seek. While these miracles of deliverance in the Diaspora remind us of joyous occasions, they also remind us of the fact that Israel was in exile, living in foreign lands, under alien rule. They remind us of the precarious character of such an existence in the Diaspora.

Take the story of Purim. Jews were living in these 127 provinces of the far-flung empire of Persia for many years, ever since Cyrus the Great established the Persian empire, and suddenly, at some one given moment in history, an enemy of the Jews arises by the name of Haman, a viceroy or prime minister of the king, who hates the Jews, and for one reason or another he decides to destroy them. Fortunately for them, they were saved at the very last moment by the skillful



intervention of the queen, who was herself a Jewess, and so the appalling tragedy was averted, and hence the festival of Purim. But what enduring satisfaction is there for a people which is compelled to live dependent on the will or the whim of a ruler or a minister - dependent, as it were, upon the casting of a lot, which is the meaning of the name Purim. Therefore, the Rabbi said, "Do not recite the Psalms of boundless thanksgiving on a miracle which happened outside of Palestine because it reminds us of a joy which is not unmingled with sad reflections."

This thought came to my mind on reading the last few volumes of the Study of History, just completed by Arnold Toynbee, a monumental study of human history in ten volumes in which the author ranges far and wide and up and down and seeks to discover some pattern in history and to comment upon what pattern he discovers. In a sense such efforts should really be discouraged because it is quite presumptuous today for any scholar to assume to cover the whole range of human history of thousands of years and to strike a balance sheet. Such an undertaking really means a flitting about on the part of one man, however learned he may be, from one continent to another, from one century to another, from one culture to another. He cannot possibly be an expert on any one continent, on any one century, on any one culture - picking up here and there bits of historic facts, or what he deems to be facts, particles of information selected to fit into some preconceived scheme or pattern or to prove some pet theory of the writer - piecing together these bits of knowledge and information, and presenting it all as history, as objective, historical truth, wherein, in very truth, one sees only the subjective arrangement and interpretation of what the writer would have you believe to be history.



Professor Toynbee, for example, has very strong convictions on the subject of the modern western national state. He has serious objections to the modern state. He thinks that the development of nationalism in the Western world has been unfortunate. He himself favors what he calls oecumenicalism, or internationalism, as we would call it. The future, he believes, belongs to what he calls "the millet system" modeled after the system which was established some centuries ago by Mehmed the Conqueror in the Ottoman Empire. It is a political system which grants communal autonomy on a non-territorial basis to a variety of people and religions within a single political framework. We used to call it minority rights. He prefers to give it the name "the millet system" like a bunch of cereal, of grain, held together by one common stem.

This being his political conviction, he proceeds to pass judgment on all the nationalistic uprisings of the 19th and 20th century on the part of peoples who struggled to free themselves from foreign domination and to become independent, especially those states formed out of the Ottoman empire - the Greeks, the Bulgarians, the Albanians, the Serbians, and the Roumanians. His contention is that these should never have reached out for national independence. They should have accepted or abided by the "millet system," of which I have just spoken. And this thesis of his leads Mr. Toynbee to a violent attack on the efforts of the Jews to re-establish their national life in Israel. It leads him to a violent attack on Zionism. Jews should have been satisfied to remain permanently in the diaspora. Toynbee maintains that "the historic Jewry (the Jewry of history) was the diaspora, and the distinctively Jewish ethos and institutions were a meticulous devotion to the Mosaic Law and a consummate virtuosity in commerce and finance. These were the factors which the diaspora, in the course of ages, had wrought into social



talismans endowing this geographically scattered community with a magic capacity for survival...This masterly adaptation to a diasporan environment ( to the diaspora) was the essence of "Jewishness" in the universally accepted meaning of the term," says Mr. Toynbee. "Masterly adaptation to the diaspora"!

And the Zionists, therefore, in seeking to re-establish Jewish national life in a Jewish state were really inverting all the distinctively Jewish characteristics enshrined in the traditional life of the diaspora. And even more, he says. They were guilty of an act of impiety. "While it is true," says Mr. Toynbee, "that the Jews throughout the centuries of the diaspora entertained a belief in the coming of the Messiah which would restore the Jews to Palestine," and which fact seems to negate Mr. Toynbee's contention that the diaspora is the distinctly Jewish character of Jewish survival, he counters that by saying that these pious religious Jews throughout these centuries were content to leave the future of Palestine in the hands of God. The Jews were to do nothing about it. The role of the Jew was one of "political quietism." They were supposed to wait patiently for the good Lord to bring the Messiah and to restore them to Palestine. They were to do nothing about it. And the impiety of the Zionists consisted that they decided to do something about it. They were guilty of taking initiative in the matter by mundane and political means. Their act of impiety consisted in that they decided to cooperate with the Lord in hastening the restoration of Israel.

One is inclined to ask why, if the Jews had adapted themselves so masterfully to the diaspora and had found it so congenial to their spirit and so consonant with their chief interests, why the Jews tried to get out from the diaspora, why they made such desperate efforts to get out from the diaspora? Toynbee's answer



is not very clear on the subject. Oh yes, of course there were these Nazi persecutions when six millions of Jews were done to death in this magnificent diaspora, to which Jews had adapted themselves so masterfully as they had done in Germany. There were, of course, prior to that also these pogroms in Russia, and the raging anti-semitism both in the East and in the West, and in all the preceding centuries of the diaspora, religious persecution and ghettos and the yellow badge in Moslem lands and in Christian lands, exiles and inquisitions. Oh yes, Toynbee knows of all these things and bravely and manfully he denounces all these forms of Jewish persecution. He is opposed to all racial and religious persecution. He is especially sharp in his denunciation of the Nazis, and he is very elaborate and discursive in giving the social and the economic reasons for these persecutions and for the phenomenon of anti-semitism. But somehow he finds no relation between these persecutions which have persisted throughout the centuries and which had their culmination in the most progressive and civilized 20th century - he seems to see no relationship between these facts and the status of the Jew as a minority, either in the national states of western Europe or in the "millet system" in the Moslem, the Islamic world. He seems to assume that the Jews were opposed to this "millet system," to minority rights. Actually the Jews asked for it, pleaded for it, right through the centuries and especially in the twentieth century following the first world war. Under the urgency of the official representatives of the Jews of the world, minority clauses were written into the constitution of the newly constituted states, like Poland, like Roumania, like Lithuania, which emerged as independent states after the first world war. Jews were to be permitted to live in a "millet system," retaining their cultural autonomy, their communal autonomy within the political framework of the state.



These rights were written into the basic law of these countries by the framers of the peace treaties in 1918. But it wasn't two or three years after these countries were constituted that they made a scrap of paper of these rights. They refused to grant Jews minority status along with refusing to grant them political equality as individual human beings within their states because of this rampant anti-semitism.

And Mr. Toynbee would have you assume that in Moslem countries, where the millet system had developed far more than in western Europe because in the Moslem lands the central governments were very weak, they were content to permit outlying provinces to retain territorial autonomy, and indigenous communities, living within the empire, Christian communities, and Jewish communities, a large degree of autonomy. But the autonomy meant degradation, stagnation, poverty, ghetto life. All you have to do is visit the Jewish quarters in Morocco, Tunis, Tripoli, in the Moslem world to realize what this millet system did to the Jews living there.

Being opposed to Jewish nationalism, to Zionism, therefore, the alleged expulsion of 600,000 Arabs from Palestine, which was a by-product of the war for Jewish independence, is in the eyes of Mr. Toynbee a greater crime than the Nazi massacre of 6,000,000 Jews in Europe. In making his point here, Mr. Toynbee reveals his true self, as Mr. Spengler did and Mr. Houston Stewart Chamberlain. He reveals a deep-seated, an envenomed bias against the Jewish people, a bias of which he himself, at times, is hardly aware. And so in the eighth volume of his work on "A Study of History," he writes, "But the Nazi Gentiles' fall was less tragic than the Zionist Jews'. On the morrow of a persecution in Europe in which they had been the victims of the worst atrocities ever known to have been suffered by Jews or indeed by any other human beings, the Jews' immediate reaction to their own experience was to



become persecutors in their turn for the first time since A. D. 135 - and this at the first opportunity that had since arisen for them to inflict on other human beings who had done the Jews no injury, but who happened to be weaker than they were, some of the wrongs and sufferings that had been inflicted on the Jews by their many successive Western Gentile persecutors during the intervening seventeen centuries. In A. D. 1948 some 684,000 out of some 859,000 Arab inhabitants of the territory in Palestine which the Zionist Jews conquered by force of arms in that year lost their homes and property and became destitute 'displaced persons.'" And Mr. Toynbee continues, "On the Day of Judgement the gravest crime standing to the German National Socialists' (that is, to the Nazis' account) might be, not that they had exterminated a majority of the Western Jews, but that they had caused the surviving remnant of Jewry to stumble."

I think Ambassador Eban's comment on this is very apt. He declared: "This is one of the most extraordinary sentences in the history of literature. First, 'On the Day of Judgment, the gravest crime' will be this - and this theme constantly occurs. Professor Toynbee is not merely the historian of the Twentieth Century; he is the Attorney-General of the Almighty upon the Day of Judgment; he knows already how the eternal perspectives of history will judge these matters. There are at least four or five occasions on which he falls into this blasphemy of ascribing to his own views the stature of the Divine judgment on the Day of Judgment.

"And what is the lesser tragedy? The lesser tragedy is that six and a half million Jews, including a million children, were exterminated and barbarously obliterated with all their life and institutions. That is a lesser tragedy than the 750,000 Arabs. Ponder firstly upon the arithmetical equity. Assume that Arab refugees had undergone the fate of extermination and massacre of our own brethren in Europe, even then would 750,000 have been a greater tragedy than the six and a half million? But quite apart from the falsity of the arithmetical comparison, the



comparison is between death and life. The six and a half million are dead. The 750,000, with all their suffering, are alive, but their aliveness is a greater tragedy than those irrevocable deaths. They are alive on the soil of their kinsmen; in Arab lands, not in captivity; in countries which are free, emancipated, entitled - even exhorted - to give them homes, to give them Arabic environment, Arabic national loyalty and sentiment, a vast future stretching before them; and this is more tragic than the burning of our children in incinerators, than the extermination in the crematoria, than the death trains.

Mr. Toynbee sees the Jews as invaders and conquerors of Palestine, having evicted the Arabs from Palestine. He fails to mention that there was no Arab Palestine state before the First World War. There was an Ottoman Empire before the First World War. After the allies won the war, they decided to establish in that vast Near East world a half dozen Arab states to satisfy the legitimate national rights and ambitions of the Arabs, who, by the way, had no refugees, and in that area too to establish a small Jewish state to satisfy the national aspirations of the Jewish people and to provide a place of refuge for the hundreds of thousands - millions - compelled to flee from death and persecution in Europe. These Arab states were established and they are in existence today - Syria, Lebanon, Transjordan, Iraq, Saudi-Arabia. Mr. Toynbee ignores most adroitly the fact that the right to establish the State of Israel was approved by the free nations of the world, was sanctioned by the United Nations, had the backing of the moral sentiment of mankind. He fails to mention the fact that the Jews did not drive the Arabs out of Palestine, that the five neighboring Arab states launched a war of extermination against the Jews resident in Palestine, against the decision of the United Nations. As a by-product of this war, Arabs fled from Palestine, while some hundreds of thousands of them remained and are citizens of the State of Israel today. Nearly



all these facts are carefully and adroitly ignored by this historian in order to make his point of innocent, terribly wronged Arabs, and worse-than-Nazi Jews, whose crime, in his judgment, is more heinous than that of Nebuchadnezzar, and Titus, and Hadrian, and the Spanish and Portuguese Inquisition against the Jews.

Mr. Toynbee, I am afraid, like Haman of Purim, does not like the Jewish people. It is not merely Zionism, it is not merely the fact that the Jews have not chosen to remain homeless in the diaspora that bothers Mr. Toynbee. He refers to the Jews and to Judaism constantly throughout his ten volumes as "a fossil relic of a dead civilization." The Jews are fossils. They died a long time ago, but they refuse to acknowledge that they are dead. It reminds one of the superstitious custom which prevailed in eastern Europe among some Jews that when a man died the Shammos would go up to his coffin and say, "Reb Shimeon, remember you are dead. Do not come to trouble us hereafter!" According to Mr. Toynbee, the Jews have been guilty not only of the great error of wanting to rebuild their state in modern times, they have been guilty right along of the great error of what he calls "idolizing their ephemeral self." In his fifth volume, he writes: "In a period of their history which began in the infancy of the Syriac Civilization and which culminated in the Age of the Prophets, the people of Israel and Judah raised themselves head and shoulder above the Syriac peoples round about by rising to a monotheistic conception of religion. Keenly conscious and rightly proud of their spiritual treasure, they allowed themselves to be betrayed into an idolization of this notable but transitory stage in their spiritual growth... They persuaded themselves that Israel's discovery of the One True God had revealed Israel itself to be God's Chosen People; and this half-truth inveigled them into the fatal error of looking upon a momentary spiritual eminence, which they had attained by labour and travail, as a privilege conferred upon them by God in an everlasting covenant. Brooding on a talent which they had previously sterilized by hiding it in the earth, they rejected the still greater



treasure which God offered them in the coming of Jesus of Nazareth." That's the crux of the story. This is really what is bothering Mr. Toynbee. The Jews persisted in remaining Jews. A separate and distinct people, loyal to its faith and to its way of life, which continued to influence the world in spite of the fact that they were a fossil.

One detects in Mr. Toynbee the same note of irritation which Nietzsche found to exist among certain intellectuals of his day in relation to the Greeks. "Time after time," writes Nietzsche, "hearty resentment breaks forth against this presumptuous little nation, which for all time dared to designate everything not native as "barbaric." Who are they, one asks, who, though they have nothing to show but an ephemeral historical splendor (he uses almost the exact words that Toynbee now uses) ... yet lay claim to the dignity and pre-eminence among peoples to which genius is entitled among the masses?" It is most fortunate for Mr. Toynbee, as it is for Christianity and for Islam that the Jews' contribution to civilization was not an ephemeral one, that they persisted in holding fast to their faith in spite of the many movements of assimilation and syncretism in the centuries before the Common Era, in spite of all the persecutions that followed the Common Era. The great contribution of the Jews is not merely what they gave to the world in terms of religion, in terms of monotheism, in terms of an exalted ethics and a way of life for men and nations. Equally great is the contribution of the Jewish people to civilization in the fact that they stood firm by these ideas, defended them, propagated them, spread them through the world. Otherwise these ideas like the monotheistic ideas of the Egyptian Tutankhamen would have been but a flash in the pan, would have disappeared from the face of the earth in the vast amalgam of religions which took place in the ancient world and subsequently. This fact escapes Mr. Toynbee completely.

It is really not nationalism which is bothering Mr. Toynbee so much because he himself is really a hundred per cent nationalist - when it comes to England, or



to some other nation which he favors. He doesn't like nationalism among Jews. He resented the fact that the Jews in the first century C. E. rose up in rebellion against the tyranny of the Romans. And the second century under Bar Kochba that they struck out for freedom and independence. He calls them the Satanic Jewish "e'meutes" and speaks of them with disdain and contempt. What right had they to oppose the great Roman Empire? But when it comes to his own country during the last two world wars, Mr. Toynbee sings a different song altogether. In his book, "War and Civilization," which was published in 1950, Mr. Toynbee writes: "By rising to the Warrior's level in the world wars of C. E. 1914-18 and C. E. 1939-45, un-aggressive peoples (Jews are always aggressive. The nations he favors are un-aggressive.) did exercise the cardinal virtues (now it's a cardinal virtue!) in war to such good effect that they twice defeated a militarist empire's long prepared attempt to conquer the world; and, in winning these successive victories at a fearful cost in blood and tears, they twice bought for our society an opportunity to get rid of war by a better way than submission to a world-conqueror's forcibly imposed Pax Aecumenica." So the Pax Romana which the Romans imposed upon the ancient world by blood and terror, and a tyranny, and which the Jews resisted - that was all right, and the Jews were criminals in trying to defy Rome. But the Pax Germanica, which the Kaiser and the Nazis sought twice to impose upon the world, was all wrong, and his country and the other free countries were and are to be praised as having exercised cardinal virtues in resisting that tyranny. This is how certain historians write history and pass judgment upon men and nations.

What is significant in the festival of Purim, good friends, is the fact that Mordecai refused to kneel and to bow down. That is the significant part of Purim. The intrepid spirit of a race that has spiritual conviction, spiritual dignity, and spiritual vitality, and which has survived not only the persecutions of Haman, but the multitudinous persecutions of all the subsequent centuries, right through Hitler, and which in the year 1955 finds itself, in spite of having been decimated in the



Second World War, strong, confident, and hopeful - rebuilding its national life in Israel and reinforcing its spiritual life throughout the world. This has been the persistent bafflement of all those who misunderstood Israel, whether outright enemies of Israel, like Spengler, like Chamberlain - or, to give him the benefit of saying "uninformed" - because a global historian is destined to be uninformed - like Mr. Arnold Toynbee.

May there be for the people of Israel in the days to come light and joy and progress under the grace of God, the guardian of Israel who sleepeth not and slumbereth not. Amen.





1) Ps. ~~113-118~~ Ps. 113-118 - part of service in Temple  
on 18 days, the year. (1) Eight days, 1200 (2) Eight days, 1200  
First days of 1200 and 1200. - Festive occasions

(a) עשרת הימים - Purim - Why? Bec. while <sup>Israel was</sup> reminding us  
of a great deliverance, it reminds us of Exile - living  
in foreign lands, under alien rule, and the precarious  
character of such an existence

(b) Tale story, Purim - Persia - Tolerant - has lived in  
peace - Suddenly - Haman - and lo! the whole Jewry is  
threatened with massacre and extermination.

- Fortunately, they were saved by the skillful intervention  
of the Queen, who was a Jewess by adoption -  
- And so an appalling tragedy was averted! And  
so the holiday עשרת הימים =

- But what enduring satisfaction is it for a people

to live, naturally handless, dependent upon the  
will of a Whore of a tyrant or his minister -

- dependent upon the caprice of a lot - a tower!

- No - Ps. עשרת הימים - with an unmixed joy!







3/ This position leads Trotsky to a virtual attack on Zionism <sup>13</sup>  
and on those Jews who insisted on reestablishing the J. national  
state. Jews should have been satisfied to remain permanently  
in the diaspora. ~~as~~ T. notes that "The historic Jewry was the  
diaspora, and the distinctively Jewish ethos and activities - a  
meticulous devotion to the Mosaic Law and a communal  
virtuosity in commerce and finance - were those which the  
diaspora, in the course of ages, had wrought into the social  
talismans endowing this geographically scattered community  
with a magic capacity for survival... This masterly  
adaptation to a diasporan environment was the source  
of "Jewishness" in the universally accepted meaning, the term!

4/ The Zionists, in seeking to reestablish the J. national state  
were ~~convinced~~ inventing all the distinctively Jewish  
characteristics enshrined in the diasporan tradition & life.  
Even now - they were ~~convinced~~ are guilty of impish  
Messiahism which seems to negate the diaspora <sup>→ 1848</sup>  
They were constant bores fit to leave the future  
of Palestine in the hands of God.. Jews were to do nothing  
about it. The role, the Jew was one of "political quackery"  
~~the suffering servant~~ <sup>the Jew</sup> waiting patiently & do nothing  
himself about it.

The impish, which the Z. were guilty - was that Jews took an  
interest in the matter by messianic, political means <sup>as</sup>  
were not supposed to cooperate with God! -  
<sup>T. is saying</sup>  
<sup>even as</sup>  
<sup>an extreme</sup>  
<sup>picture of</sup>  
<sup>the retro-</sup>  
<sup>grade</sup>  
<sup>type</sup>



5). But <sup>in some</sup> why were Jews so determined to escape the darkness, if it were disturbingly <sup>to think they were so masterfully adapting</sup> jumping so congenial to the spirit, so concerned with their chief aspirations and interests -

- (O. yes!) There were the Nazi persecution - which slew 6 M. Jews in the perfectly congenial darkness - and persecution <sup>in East</sup> - and royal antisemitism - in West & East - and in all the proceeding centuries - religious persecutions - Yellow badge - in Medieval & Christian had alike - Shettos - exiles - iniquities

(a) To break <sup>break</sup> down <sup>down</sup> all these forms of persecution - He is opposed to all racial & rel. <sup>persecutions</sup>. He is esp. sharp in his denunciations of the Klages - the Semites

(b) ~~And~~ <sup>And</sup> he is very <sup>deliberate and</sup> discussing in primary the reasons for these persecutions <sup>for antisemitism</sup> but. There and the But somewhere he finds no conscience but. There and the states the Jew as a community in the nat. state, W. Europ. or in the will-system <sup>in Medieval Europe</sup> <sup>idyllic</sup>

(c) He forgets that "darkness" mainly myths was lived after First world war <sup>at some instants</sup> - and failed utterly

(d) And under Islamic rule where the will-system survived longest - due to weakness of central parts - which were conducive to leave local power authority in hands of local peop. Administration a conscious autonomous community - the creditors the Jewish comm. when for them survived - "Existence for all but a few rich merchants was unsustainable in the Shettos and Malas of the Islamic world for many centuries - like Zion was born."



6/ In T's eyes the alleged ~~disproportion~~ <sup>disproportion</sup> of Gov. on Arab from Pal. was a greater crime than the Nazi massacre of 6 M. Jews.  
- And then when Mr. T. reveals his true self - as they did before him - & H. H. Chamberlain - a deep-seated bias - environment - & which, at times, he himself is unaware.

Intro 289 - books

And again he writes: Intro 290

"On the Day of Judgment the gravest  
this to Intro Amendments Intro Elhan

7/ T. represents Jews as invaders & conquerors / Pal. }  
no Arab Pal. State -

- J. nat. home idea - was part of an intern. program  
to establish in 10 thousand acres after it had been  
a number of Arab States - & a few thousand acres in India, Tang.  
Iraq, Lebanon, Saudi-Arabia

- long history - Brief Declaration - V.M. - Vote  
Arabs attack + lawful war - Flight of Refugees -

- many all these facts are carefully ignored by the  
about selection historians - To make his point of the  
innocent Arabs - the more than Nazi Jews - where  
crime is more heinous than inhumanity for - Tiber Hakman  
& Sp. Partners in persecution



8/ T. - I am afraid, with Hammer & P. <sup>disagree</sup> ~~the~~ the people <sup>16</sup>  
- are very different - for history - & the past  
It is not merely Germany - not willing to remain in her.  
hands in the darkness.

~~For~~ He refers to Jews & Judaism <sup>certainly</sup> ~~as~~  
as "a fossil relic of a dead civilization." <sup>They died a long time ago - with very, presumably, ~~the~~ ~~error~~ ~~trap~~</sup>

The Jews have been putting us and the past in the hands of the future.  
wanting to rebuild their state in modern times.  
They have been putting us at the service of the future, ideology  
their spiritual self. (Judaism p. 105-107) - Judaism - Nietzsche

This is really what's looming together. - Jews  
presented in Germany Jews - a separate distinct people  
loyal to its own faith - & its own way of life - Influenced  
world - to refer to them as "fossils" - and make them into studies  
9/ It is not nations but which really concern us - as the people

T. is a sort 100% nationalist heaven, when it comes down  
to it. To fight for our national survival in the world. He  
is opposed to Jewish independence. The struggle, the Jews is  
the first & not against Roman Germany, as before, the  
first in defence of freedom Prof. T. characterizing as "the Satanic  
Jewish "e" mentality - and speaking them with disdain. But he  
treats the orientals, his own country & the other free nations  
to Prussian independence & Nazi independence in an altogether  
different manner. I am grateful for his work "the Evolution  
(1950): Judaism



✓  
" By rising to the Warrior's level in the world wars of C.E. 1914-18 and C.E. 1939-45, unaggressive peoples did exercise the cardinal virtues in War to such good effect that they twice defeated a militarist empire's long prepared attempt to conquer the World; and, in winning these successive victories at a fearful cost in blood and tears, they twice bought for our society an opportunity to get rid of War by a better way than submission to a world-conqueror's forcibly imposed Pax Aecumenica". (Toynbee, War and Civilization, (1950), p. xi). Why do theologians and theologic historians become so sanctimoniously international and "spiritual" when it comes to the national interests of the Jewish people, while remaining so patriotically national and "worldly" when it comes to the interests of their own people?





heed to yourselves, lest you forget the covenant of the Lord your God, which He made with you, and ~~make~~ a graven image in the form of anything which the Lord your God has forbidden you." (Dt. 4.23) The covenant ~~made~~ Israel a unique people in relation to God. The Torah made Israel a unique people in relation to mankind.

Unlike Greece and Rome, whose unique roles in the world were ~~also~~ "prepared in privacy and secret", Judea's role, <sup>at least</sup> from the period of the prophets onward, was a very conscious and deliberate one, purposive, ~~zealous~~ <sup>unswerving</sup> and ~~missionary~~. The new, differing and challenging faith was out "to pluck up and break down, to destroy and to overthrow, to build and to plant anew in all nations and in all kingdoms." (Jer. I.10) <sup>The leaders of</sup> Israel never relaxed in <sup>their effort</sup> its struggle, and <sup>the people of Israel never</sup> did not abandon its separateness. Had they done so, they and their mission would have perished. Judaism would not have <sup>survived</sup> ~~arrived~~ and Christianity <sup>and Islam</sup> would never have been born.

Prof. Toynbee <sup>(and)</sup> erroneously regards this remarkable devotion of a people to an idea unparalleled in all history, as the most notorious historical example of what he calls the "idolization of an ephemeral self". He writes: "In a period of their history which began in the infancy of the Syriac Civilization and which culminated in the Age of the Prophets, the people of Israel and Judah raised themselves head and shoulder above the Syriac peoples round about by rising to a monotheistic conception of religion. Keenly <sup>conscious</sup> ~~curious~~ and rightly proud of their spiritual treasure, they <sup>allowed</sup> themselves to be betrayed into an idolization of this notable but transitory stage in their spiritual growth....They persuaded themselves that Israel's discovery of the One True God had revealed Israel itself to be God's Chosen People; and this half-truth inveigled them into the fatal error of looking upon a momentary spiritual eminence, which they had attained by labour and travail, as a privilege conferred upon them by God in an everlasting covenant. Brooding on a talent which they had previously sterilized



by hiding it in the earth, they rejected the still greater treasure which God offered them in the coming of Jesus of Nazareth." (ibid p.310)

P This we ~~are afraid~~ <sup>hear</sup> is another example of the orthodox ~~(theologic)~~ homiletics in which Prof. Toynbee's writings <sup>and</sup> abound, which are offered as historical science.

Prof. George Foote Moore, who was not an impressionistic historian out on a global tour, ~~but a specialist in his field~~, in writing of Judaism in the first centuries of the Christian era, gives no indication at all in his 'magnum opus' that the Jews who lived at that time in Palestine, had ~~per~~versely sterilized their talent by hiding it in the earth. On the contrary, he finds the Jews of that epoch very dynamic, indeed, waging war with redoubled energy upon the polytheism, idolatry and the <sup>so</sup>cial vices of ~~that~~ <sup>their</sup> day, and carrying on a very active and successful propaganda for proselytes all over the pagan world. "There is no way of estimating statistically," he writes, "the results of Jewish propaganda in the centuries that fall within the limits of our inquiry, but they were indisputably very large, even if only proselytes in the proper sense be taken into account." ("Judaism", (1927) Vol. I, p.348-9). The Scribes and Pharisees who "traversed sea and land to make a single proselyte" (Matt. 23.15) were certainly not hiding their talent in the earth. "The Jewish community in Rome exhibited from its infancy such an aggressive spirit of proselytism as to determine the government to banish the chief propagandists from the city (139 B.C.E.) (Vincent M. Scramuzza, "The policy of the Early Roman Emperor Towards Judaism" Note XXV, in Jackson-Lake's "The Beginning of Christianity" V, p.277ff) The creation of the noble post-exilic psalms of exquisite spiritual sensitiveness, the tenderest minstrelsy of the human heart in communion with God, or of the book of Job, the profoundest plumbing of human suffering and divine justice, or of the Wisdom literature of the Bible and the Apocrypha, so rich in moral insights and so sagacious, the creation of the synagogue, the most noble,



the victory of Marathon had done for the Greeks in the fifth. Even centuries later, in the Antonine Age, which, to use Gibbons characterization was "the happiest and most prosperous period in the history of the human race"--but for the Jewish people one of dark disaster and tragedy--the insurrections of 115 and the extermination of Jews in Egypt, Cyrene, Cyprus and Mesopotamia and the final agony of rebellion in Palestine under Bar Kochba followed by the prolonged Hadrianic persecutions--even in those desperate times the Jews carried on undismayed a brave and successful missionary activity in the pagan world in behalf of their faith.

Nor were the Jews "idolizing an ephemeral self," or clinging to "a momentary spiritual eminence."

One detects here in Toynbee the same note of irritation which Nietzsche found to exist among certain people in relation to the Greeks. "Time after time hearty resentment breaks forth against this presumptuous little nation, which for all time dared to designate everything not native as "barbaric." Who are they, one asks, who, though they have nothing to show but an ephemeral historical splendor...yet lay claim to the dignity and pre-eminence among peoples to which genius is entitled among the masses?" (Friedrich Nietzsche, "The Birth of Tragedy" in The Modern Library (1927) p. 1027)

Israel's was not the glory of a short-lived hour, but the heavy burden of a life-time mission. It felt itself committed to a cause whose universal triumph alone would at long last absolve it of the burdens, struggles, sacrifices and martyrdom which that mission entailed.

The originality and uniqueness of the people of Israel are to be found not merely in the fact that they rose to a monotheistic



9/. Fortunate for T. Chuskin together that J. Loyalty was ⑧  
constant - 8221 1/1 - no continuity - no labor -

① was not a monetary spiritual answer.

② What is Remembrance - "head and shoulder above" -

- suffered & endured for them - persecutions -

2/12 1/12  
2/12

10/. What is Reg. act 2712 -

~~Humanity debauchery~~ -

~~Reg. Loyalty~~ - 2712 2712

Came then - in memorial cover for us - for 2712

to Hester - I received all revenue

And an unending journey - with the help of God





## ARNOLD TOYNBEE AND THE STORY OF PURIM

March 6, 1955

Hallel is

made up of the six Psalms, Psalm 113 through 118, Psalms of thanksgiving and praise.

They were sung in the Temple of old on 18 days during the year - on the eight days

of Chanukah, on the eight days of Succoth, or the Feast of Tabernacles, on the

first day of Pesach and on the first day of Shevuoth. These are great festive

occasions, and these festive hymns of thanksgiving to God - Halleluyah, Praise ye

the Lord! - were sung on those days, and thereafter in all the synagogues on these

self-same days, these Hallel Psalms are sung or recited. But on Purim, which

is also a festive occasion, celebrating the deliverance of the Jews from danger,

Hallel was not recited. The rabbis gave the reason for it: "We do not recitethe Hallel ~~on~~ any miracle, or any deliverance that took place outside ofPalestine." That is, on any deliverance in the Diaspora, the Hallel is not recited.

The reason for it is not far to seek. While these miracles of deliverance in the

Diaspora remind us of joyous occasions, they also remind us of the fact that Israel

was in exile, living in foreign lands, under alien rule. They remind us of the

precarious character of such an existence in the Diaspora. ~~Take the story~~

Take the story of Purim. Jews were living in these 127 provinces of the



far-flung empire of Persia for many years, ever since Cyrus the Great established the Persian empire, and suddenly, at some one given moment in history, an enemy of the Jews arises by the name of Haman, a viceroy or prime minister of the king, who hates the Jews, and for one reason or another he decides to destroy them.

Fortunately for them, they were saved at the very last moment by the skillful intervention of the queen, who was herself a Jewess, and so the appalling tragedy was averted, and hence the festival of Purim. But what enduring satisfaction is there for a people which is compelled to live dependent on the will or the whim of a ruler or a minister - dependent, as it were, upon the casting of a lot, which is the meaning of the name Purim. Therefore, the Rabbi said, "Do not recite the Psalms of boundless thanksgiving on a miracle which happened outside of Palestine because it reminds us of ~~EXODUS~~ a joy which is not unmixed with ~~some solemn~~ and sad reflection."

This thought came to my mind on reading the last few volumes of the Study of History, just completed by Arnold Toynbee, a monumental study of human history in ten volumes in which the author ranges far and wide and up and down and seeks to discover some pattern in history and to comment upon what pattern he discovers ~~in~~ ~~human history~~. In a sense such efforts should really be ~~discouraged~~ discouraged



because it is quite presumptuous today for any scholar to assume to cover the whole range of human history of thousands of years and to strike a balance sheet, ~~because~~ <sup>S</sup>uch an undertaking really means a flitting about on the part of one man, however learned he may be, from one continent to another, from one century to another, from one culture to another, ~~and~~ <sup>He</sup> cannot possibly be an expert on any one continent, on any one century, on any one culture, <sup>picking up here and there bits of historic facts, or what he deems to be facts, particles of information here and there selected to fit into some preconceived scheme or pattern or to prove some pet theory of the writer, piecing together these bits of knowledge and information, and presenting it all as history, as objective, historical truth, wherein, <sup>in</sup> the very truth, one sees only the subjective arrangement and interpretation of what the writer would have you believe to be history.</sup>

Professor Toynbee, for example, has very strong convictions on the subject of the modern western national state. He has serious objections to the modern state. He thinks that the development of nationalism in the Western world has been unfortunate. He himself favors what he calls ~~ecumenicalism~~ <sup>oecumenicalism</sup>, or internationalism, as we would call it. The future, he believes, belongs to what he calls "the millet system" modeled after the system which was established some centuries ago by Mehmed the Conqueror in the Ottoman Empire. It is a political system which



grants communal autonomy on a non-territorial basis to a variety of people and religions within a single political framework. We used to call it minority rights. He prefers to give it the name "the millet system" like a bunch of cereal, of grain, held together by one common stem.

This being his political conviction, he proceeds to pass judgment on all the nationalistic uprisings of the 19th and 20th century on the part of peoples who struggle<sup>Q</sup> to free themselves from foreign domination and become independent, especially those states ~~peoples~~ formed out of the Ottoman empire, the Greeks, and the Bulgarians, and the Albanians, and the Serbians, and the Roumanians. His contention is that these should never have reached out for national independence. They should have accepted or abided by the "millet system," of which I have just spoken. And this thesis of his leads Mr. Toynbee to a violent attack on the efforts of the Jews to re-establish their national life in Israel. It leads him to a violent attack on Zionism. Jews should have been satisfied to remain permanently in the diaspora. Toynbee maintains that "the historic Jewry (the Jewry of history) was the diaspora, and the distinctively Jewish ethos and institutions were a meticulous devotion to the Mosaic Law and a consummate virtuosity in commerce and finance. These were the factors which the diaspora, in the course of ages, had wrought into social talismans



endowing ~~xxxx~~ this geographically scattered community with a ~~xxxxxxx~~ magic capacity for survival...This masterly acaptation to a diasporan environment (to the diaspora) was the essence of "Jewishness" in the universally accepted meaning of the term," says Mr. Toynbee. "Masterly adaptation to the diaspora"! \*

And the Zionists, therefore, in seeking to re-establish Jewish national life in a Jewish state were really inverting all the distinctively Jewish characteristics enshrined in the traditional life of the diaspora. And even more, he says. They were guilty of an act of impiety. "While it is true," says Mr. Toynbee, "that the Jews throughout the centuries of the diaspora entertained a belief in the coming of the Messiah which would restore the Jews to Palästine," and which fact seems to negate Mr. Toynbee's contention that the diaspora is the distinctly Jewish character of Jewish survival, he counters that by saying that these pious religious Jews throughout these centuries were content to leave the future of Palestine in the hands of God. The Jews were to do nothing about it. The role of the Jew was one of "political quietism." They were supposed to wait patiently for the good Lord to bring ~~about~~ the Messiah and to ~~xxxxxxx~~ restore them to Palestine. They were to do nothing about it. And the impiety of the Zionists consisted that they decided to do something about it. They were guilty of taking initiative in the matter by mundane and political means. Their act of impiety consisted in that they



decided to cooperate with the Lord in hastening the restoration of Israel.

One is inclined to ask why, if the Jews had adapted themselves so masterfully to the diaspora and ~~found it so congenial to their spirit~~ <sup>had</sup> found it so congenial to their spirit and so consonant with their chief interests, why ~~was it that~~ the Jews tried to get from out ~~of~~ the diaspora, <sup>why they</sup> and made such desperate efforts to get out from the diaspora?

Toynbee's answer is not very clear on the subject. Oh yes, of course there were these Nazi persecutions when 6 millions of Jews were done to death in this magnificent diaspora, to which Jews had adapted themselves so masterfully as they had done in Germany. There were, of course, prior to that, <sup>also</sup> these pogroms in Russia, and ~~this~~ <sup>the</sup> raging anti-semitism both in the East and in the West, and in all the preceding centuries of the diaspora, religious persecution and ghettos and the yellow badge in Moslem lands and in Christian lands, exiles and inquisitions. Oh yes, Toynbee knows of all these things and bravely and manfully he denounces all these forms of Jewish persecution. He is opposed to all racial and religious persecution. He is especially sharp in his denunciation of the Nazis, and he is very elaborate and discursive in giving ~~and~~ the social and the economic reasons for these persecutions and for the phenomenon of anti-semitism. But somehow he finds no relation between



these persecutions which have persisted throughout the centuries and which <sup>had</sup> their  
culmination in the most progressive and civilized 20th century - he seems to see  
no relationship between these facts and the status of the Jew as a minority, either  
in the national states of Western Europe or in the "millet system" in the Moslem,  
the Islamic world. He seems to assume that the Jews were opposed to this "millet  
system," to minority rights. Actually the Jews asked for it, pleaded for it, right  
through the centuries and especially in the twentieth century following the first  
world war. Under the urgency of the official representatives of the Jews of the  
world, minority clauses were written into the constitution of the newly constituted  
states, like Poland, like Roumania, which emerged as independent states after  
the first world war. Jews were to be permitted to live in a "millet system,"  
retaining their cultural autonomy, their communal autonomy within the political  
framework of the state. These rights were written into the basic law of these  
countries by the framers of the peace treaty <sup>is</sup> in 1918. But it wasn't two or three  
years after these countries were constituted that they made a scrap of paper of  
these rights. They refused to grant Jews minority status along with refusing to  
grant them political equality as individual human beings within their states because  
of the <sup>is</sup> rampant anti-semitism.

And Mr. Toynbee would have you assume that in Moslem countries where the



millet system had developed far more than in western Europe because in the Moslem lands the central government, <sup>was</sup> ~~is~~ very weak, <sup>and they were</sup> ~~it was~~ content to permit outlying provinces to <sup>retain</sup> ~~obtain~~ territorial autonomy, and <sup>indigenous</sup> ~~indigent~~ communities, living within the empire, ~~indigenous to the empire~~, <sup>and</sup> Christian communities, Jewish communities, a large degree of autonomy. But the autonomy meant degradation, stagnation, poverty, ghetto life. All you have to do is visit the Jewish quarter <sup>S</sup> in Morocco, Tunis, Tripoli, in <sup>the</sup> Moslem worlds to realize what this millet system did to the Jews living there.

Being opposed to Jewish nationalism, to Zionism, ~~in the eyes of Mr. Toynbee,~~ therefore, the alleged expulsion of 600,000 Arabs from Palestine, which was a by-product of the war for Jewish independence, <sup>is in the eyes of Mr. Toynbee</sup> ~~that this fact was~~ a greater crime than the Nazi massacre of 6,000,000 Jews in Europe. ~~And~~ In making his point here Mr. Toynbee reveals his true self, as Mr. Spengler did and Mr. Houston Stewart Chamberlain. He reveals a deep-seated, an envenomed bias against the Jewish people, a bias of which he himself, at times, is hardly aware. And so in the eighth volume of his work on A Study of History, he writes: "But the Nazi Gentiles' fall was less tragic than the Zionist Jews'. On the morrow of a persecution in Europe in which they had been the victims of the worst atrocities ever known to have been suffered by Jews or indeed by any other human beings, the Jews' immediate reaction to their own



experience was to become persecutors in their turn for the first time since A. D. 135 - and this at the first opportunity that had since arisen for them to inflict on other human beings who had the Jews no injury, but who happened to be weaker than they were, some of the wrongs and sufferings that had been inflicted on the Jews by their many successive Western Gentile persecutors during the intervening seventeen centuries. In A. D. 1948 some 684,000 out of some 859,000 Arab inhabitants of the territory in Palestine which the Zionist Jews conquered by force of arms in that year lost their homes and property and became destitute 'displaced persons'." And Mr. Toynbee continues, "On the Day of Judgement the gravest crime standing to the German National Socialists' (that is, to the Nazis' account) might be, not that they had exterminated a majority of the Western Jews, but that they had caused the surviving remnant of Jewry to stumble."

I think Ambassador Eban's comment on this is very apt. He <sup>declared:</sup> ~~said~~ "This is one of the most extraordinary sentences in the history of literature. First, "On the Day of Judgment, the gravest crime" will be this - and this theme constantly occurs. Professor Toynbee is not merely the historian of the Twentieth Century; he is the Attorney - General of the Almighty upon the Day of Judgment; he knows already how the eternal perspectives of history will judge these matters. There are at least four or five occasions on which he falls into this blasphemy of ascribing to his own views the



stature of the Divine judgment on the Day of Judgment.

"And what is the lesser tragedy? The lesser tragedy is that six and a half million Jews, including ~~a~~ million children, were exterminated and barbarously obliterated with all their life and institutions. That is a lesser tragedy than the 750,000 Arabs. Ponder firstly upon the arithmetical equity. Assume that Arab refugees had undergone the fate of extermination and massacre of our own brethren in Europe, even then would 750,000 have been a greater tragedy than the six and a half million? But quite apart from the falsity of the arithmetical comparison, the comparison is between death and life. The six and a half million are dead. The 750,000, with all their suffering, are alive, but their aliveness is a greater tragedy than those irrevocable deaths. They are alive on the soil of their kinsmen; in Arab lands, not in captivity; in countries which are free, emancipated, entitled - even exhorted - to give them homes, to give them Arabic environment, Arabic national loyalty and sentiment, a vast future stretching before them; and this is more tragic than the burning of our children in incinerators, than the extermination in the crematoria, than the death trains.

<sup>See</sup>  
Mr. Toynbee <sup>^</sup> the Jews as invaders and conquerors of Palestine, having evicted the Arabs from Palestine. He fails to mention that there was no Arab Palestine state before the second ~~world~~ <sup>war</sup>, before the ~~xx~~ first world war. There was an Ottoman



Empire before the First World War. ~~And~~ After the allies won the war, they decided to establish in that vast Near East world a half dozen Arab states to satisfy the legitimate national rights and ambitions of the Arabs, who, by the way, had no refugees, and in that ~~world~~ <sup>area</sup> too to establish a small Jewish state to satisfy the national aspirations of the Jewish people and to provide a place of refuge for the hundreds of thousands - millions - compelled to flee from death and persecution in Europe. ~~And~~ These Arab states were established and they are in existence today - Syria, Lebanon, Transjordan, Iraq, Saudi-Arabia. Mr. Toynbee ignores most <sup>the fact</sup> ~~adroitly~~ that the right to establish the State of Israel was approved by the free nations of the world, was sanctioned by the United Nations, had the backing of the moral sentiment of mankind. He ~~refused~~ <sup>failed</sup> to mention the fact that the Jews did not drive the Arabs out of Palestine, that the five neighboring Arab states launched a war of extermination against the Jews resident in Palestine, against the decision of the United Nations. As a by-product of this war, ~~of life and death~~, Arabs fled from Palestine, while some hundreds of thousands of them remained and are citizens of the State of Israel today. Nearly all these facts are carefully and adroitly ignored by this historian in order to make his point of ~~these~~ innocent, terribly wronged Arabs, and ~~these~~ <sup>se</sup> worse-than-Nazi Jews, who crime, in his judgment, is more heinous than that of Nebuchadnezzar, and Titus, and Hadrian, and the Spanish



and Portuguese inquisition against the Jews.

Mr. Toynbee, I am afraid, like Haman of Purim, does not like the Jewish people.

It is not merely Zionism; it is not merely the fact that the Jews have not ~~wanted~~ <sup>chosen</sup>

to remain homeless in the diaspora that bothers Mr. Toynbee. He refers to the

Jews and to Judaism constantly throughout his ten volumes as "a fossil relic of

a dead civilization." The Jews are fossils. They died a long time ago, but

they refuse to acknowledge that they are dead. It reminds ~~me~~ <sup>one</sup> of the superstitious

custom which prevailed in eastern Europe among some Jews that when a man died

the Shammos would go up to his coffin and say, " <sup>Reb Shimon,</sup> remember you are dead. <sup>Do not</sup>

<sup>come to justice vs. Remythia</sup> ~~Don't bother us.~~ According to Mr. Toynbee, the Jews have been guilty not only

of the great error of wanting to rebuild their state in modern times, they have

been guilty right along of the great error of what he calls "idolizing their ephemeral

self." In his fifth volume, he writes: "In a period of their history which began

in the infancy of the Syriac Civilization and which culminated in the Age of the

Prophets, the people of Israel and Judah raised themselves head and shoulder above

the Syriac peoples round about by rising to a monotheistic conception of religion.

Keenly conscious and rightly proud of their spiritual treasure, they allowed themselves

to be betrayed into an idolization of this notable but transitory stage in their

spiritual growth... They persuaded themselves that Israel's discovery of the



One True God had revealed Israel itself to be God's Chosen People; and this half-truth inveigled them into the fatal error of looking upon a momentary spiritual eminence, which they had attained by labour and travail, as a privilege conferred upon them by God in an everlasting covenant. Brooding on a talent which they had previously sterilized by hiding it in the earth, they rejected the still greater treasure which God offered them in the coming of Jesus of Nazareth." That is the crux of the story. This is really what is bothering Mr. Toynbee. The Jews persisted in remaining Jews. ~~The~~ A separate and distinct people, loyal to its faith and to its way of life, which ~~persisted~~ <sup>continued</sup> to influence the world in spite of the fact that they were a fossil.

One detects in Mr. Toynbee the ~~same~~ same note of irritation which Nietzsche found to exist among certain intellectuals of his day in relation to the Greeks. "Time after time," writes Nietzsche, "hearty resentment breaks forth against this presumptuous little nation, which for all time dared to designate everything not native as "barbaric." Who are they, one asks, who, though they have nothing to show but an ephemeral historical splendor (he uses almost the exact words that Toynbee now uses)... yet lay claim to the dignity and pre-eminence among peoples to which genius is entitled among the masses?" It is <sup>not</sup> fortunate for Mr. Toynbee, as it is for Christianity and for Islam that the Jews' contribution to civilization was not an ephemeral one, that they persisted in holding fast to their faith in spite of the many movements of



~~xxxxxxxx~~ assimilation and syncretism ~~that went on~~ in the centuries before the

Common Era, in spite of all the persecutions that followed the Common Era. The

great contribution of the Jews is not merely what they gave to the world <sup>great values</sup> in terms

of religion, in terms of monotheism, in terms of an exalted ethics and a way of

life for men and nations. Equally great is the contribution of the Jewish people

to civilization ~~to~~ <sup>from</sup> in the fact that they stood by these ideas, defended them,

propogated them, spread them through the world. Otherwise these ideas like the

monotheistic ideas of the Egyptian Tutankhamen would have been <sup>but</sup> a flash in the pan,

would have disappeared from the face of the earth in the vast amalgam of religions

which took place in the ancient world and <sup>subsequently</sup> ~~throughout the modern world~~. This fact

escapes Mr. Toynbee completely. <sup>P</sup> And it is really not nationalism which is

bothering Mr. Toynbee so much because he himself is really a 100% nationalist, —

when it comes to England, or to some other nation which he favors. ~~But~~ <sup>He</sup> doesn't

like nationalism among ~~the~~ Jews ~~← not merely modern nationalism~~. He resented

the fact that the Jews in the 1st century C. E. rose up ~~and~~ in rebellion against

the tyranny of the Romans. And the 2nd century under Bar <sup>Kochba</sup> that they struck

out ~~for~~ freedom and independence. He calls them the Satanic Jewish "e'mentes" and

speaks of them with disdain and contempt. What right <sup>had</sup> ~~have~~ they to oppose the great



Roman Empire? But when it comes to his own country during the <sup>last</sup> two world wars,

~~the nations that he likes~~, Mr. Toynbee sings a different song altogether. ~~And so~~

In his book "War and Civilization" which was published in 1950, Mr. Toynbee writes:

"By rising to the Warrior's level in the world wars of C. E. 1914-18 and C. E.

(Jews are always aggressive. The nations he favors are  
1939-45, unaggressive peoples ~~did~~ exercise the cardinal unaggressive).

virtues (now it's a cardinal virtue) in war to such good effect that they twice

defeated a militarist empire's long prepared attempt to conquer the World; and, in

winning these successive victories at a fearful cost in blood and tears, they twice

bought for our society an opportunity to get rid of war by a better way than submission

to a world-conqueror's forcibly imposed Pax Aecumenica." So the Pax Romana which

the Romans imposed upon the ancient world by blood and terror, <sup>and</sup> tyranny and which

the Jews resisted - that was all right, and the Jews were criminals in trying to

defy Rome. But the Pax Germanica, which the Kaiser and the Nazis sought twice

to impose upon the world was all wrong, and <sup>this</sup> ~~this~~ country and the other free countries

were and are to be praised as having exercised cardinal virtues in resisting that

tyranny. This is how certain historians write <sup>history</sup> ~~and~~ pass judgment upon men and nations.

What is significant in the festival of Purim, good friends, is the fact that

Mordecai refused to kneel and to bow down. That is the significant part of Purim.

The intrepid spirit of a race that has spiritual conviction, spiritual dignity, and



spiritual vitality, and which has survived not only the persecutions of Haman, but the multitudinous persecutions of all the subsequent centuries, right through Hitler, and which in the year 1955, finds itself, in spite of having been decimated in the 2nd World War, ~~finds itself~~ strong, ~~vigorous~~, confident, and hopeful - rebuilding its national life in Israel and reinforcing its spiritual life throughout the world.

This has been the persistent bafflement of all those who misunderstood Israel, whether outright enemies of Israel, like Spengler, like Chamberlain, - or <sup>to</sup> give him the *benefit* ~~credit~~ of saying "uninformed" - because a global historian is destined to be uninformed, ~~uninformed, and unconscious enemies of Israel~~ like Mr. Arnold Toynbee.

*R* (Hebrew) May there be for the people of Israel in the days to come light and joy and progress under the grace of God, the guardian of Israel, who sleepeth not and slumbereth not. Amen



867  
Toynbee

check

Professor Toynbee, for example, has ~~very~~ strong convictions on the subject of the modern western national state. ~~He has serious objections to the modern state.~~ He thinks that the development of nationalism in the Western world has been unfortunate. He ~~himself~~ favors what he calls oecumenicalism, or internationalism, as we would call it. The future, he believes, belongs to what he calls "the millet system" modeled after the system which was established some centuries ago by Mehmed the Conqueror in the Ottoman Empire. It is a ~~political~~ system which grants communal autonomy on a non-territorial basis to a variety of people and religions within a single political framework. ~~We used to call it minority rights. He prefers to give it the name "the millet system" like a bunch of cereal, of grain, held together by one common stem.~~

people in

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These rights were written into the basic law of these countries by the framers of the peace treaties in 1918. But ~~it wasn't~~ <sup>scraped</sup> two or three years after these countries were constituted, ~~that they made a scrap of paper of~~ <sup>and refused</sup> these rights. They refused to grant Jews minority status ~~along with refusing~~ to grant them political equality as individual human beings within their states because of ~~this~~ rampant anti-semitism.

~~Mr.~~ Mr. Toynbee would have you assume that ~~in~~ Moslem countries, where the millet system had developed far more than in western Europe ~~because in the Moslem lands the central governments were very weak, they were content to permit outlying provinces to retain territorial autonomy, and indigenous communities, living within the empire, Christian communities, and Jewish communities, a large degree of autonomy.~~ <sup>such</sup> But ~~such~~ autonomy meant degradation, stagnation, poverty, ghetto life. All you have to do is visit the Jewish quarters in Morocco, Tunis, Tripoli, in the Moslem world to realize what this millet system did to the Jews living there.

Being opposed to Jewish nationalism, to Zionism, therefore, the alleged expulsion of 600,000 Arabs from Palestine, which was a by-product of the war for Jewish independence, is in the eyes of Mr. Toynbee a greater crime than the Nazi massacre of 6,000,000 Jews in Europe. In making his point here, Mr. Toynbee reveals his true self, as <sup>did</sup> Mr. Spengler ~~and~~ and Mr. Houston Stewart Chamberlain. He reveals a deep-seated, an envenomed bias against the Jewish people, a bias of which he himself, at times, is hardly aware. ~~And so~~ <sup>in</sup> the eighth volume of ~~his work on~~ <sup>"A Study of History,"</sup> he writes, "But the Nazi Gentiles' fall was less tragic than the Zionist Jews'. On the morrow of a persecution in Europe in which they had been the victims of the worst atrocities ever known to have been suffered by Jews or indeed by any other human beings, the Jews' immediate reaction to their own experience was to



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Mr. Toynbee would have you assume that Moslem countries, where the millet system had developed far more than in western Europe were content to permit outlying indigenous communities--Christian communities, and Jewish communities--a large degree of autonomy. But such autonomy meant degradation, stagnation, poverty, ghetto life. All you have to do is visit the Jewish quarters in Morocco, Tunis, Tripoli, in the Moslem world to realize what this millet system did the the Jews living there.

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