

Daniel Jeremy Silver Collection Digitization Project

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MS-4850: Daniel Jeremy Silver Papers, 1972-1993.

Series III: The Temple Tifereth-Israel, 1946-1993, undated. Sub-series A: Events and Activities, 1946-1993, undated.

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Men's Club, Oberlin retreat, notes and lecture, 1964.

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1974 ANNUAL REPORT

CENTPAL FUND FOR TRADITIONAL INSTITUTIONS

What is CFTI?

Cleveland's Central Fund for Traditional Institutions is a planned program for the perpetuation of traditional Jewish institutions. Among its primary beneficiaries are more than 20,000 yeshiva students in Israel who are preparing themselves as rabbis, teachers, and informed laymen. They also carry the message of Torah Judaism to isolated communities where it might not otherwise be heard, through outreach programs of the yeshivas. Homes for the aged, orphaned, and handicapped in Israel, Europe, and the United States are also supported.

History . . CFTI was established thirteen years ago as an organized, economical method of soliciting funds from an entire community, with distribution of those funds limited to traditional institutions. We acknowledge the cooperation and encouragement received from The Jewish Community Federation of Cleveland from the beginning in 1962. We are also grateful for the leadership provided by Messrs. Irving I. Stone and H. D. Wilkoff, our first co-chairmen. The pattern they designed has proven successful and is still followed.

Our "once-only" per year centralized campaign effort was organized with the consent and cooperation of the institutions involved. It replaces the personal visits of "meshulachim" and eliminates the prohibitively high costs involved in their coming. It also does away with much mail solicitation. Thus, maximum funds reach our beneficiary institutions.

Grants are based on authenticated information regarding the size and budgetary requirements of the various institutions. We believe that the institutions supported are happy with their association here because they now have an annual subvention from Cleveland on which they can depend and plan. They have also enjoyed increases as we could afford them through the years. The number of institutions has increased from 85 in 1962 to 182 today. Subscribers have increased from 53 to 495 in that time. Funds available for distribution have increased from \$31,000 to \$62,000 today. This includes an annual grant made available through Federation's budgeting process.

Appreciation

We wish to thank our growing ranks of supporters who through the years have proven out the soundness of Central Fund's concept. We also express our deepest appreciation to the loyal corps of workers--most of whom are members of our Board of Directors--who are the backbone of our efforts. They are the key to our success.

The Future

We look to the past with some pride and satisfaction; we look to the future with some hope and confidence that CFTI will continue to grow, so that it can render maximum help to the increasing number of traditional institutions.

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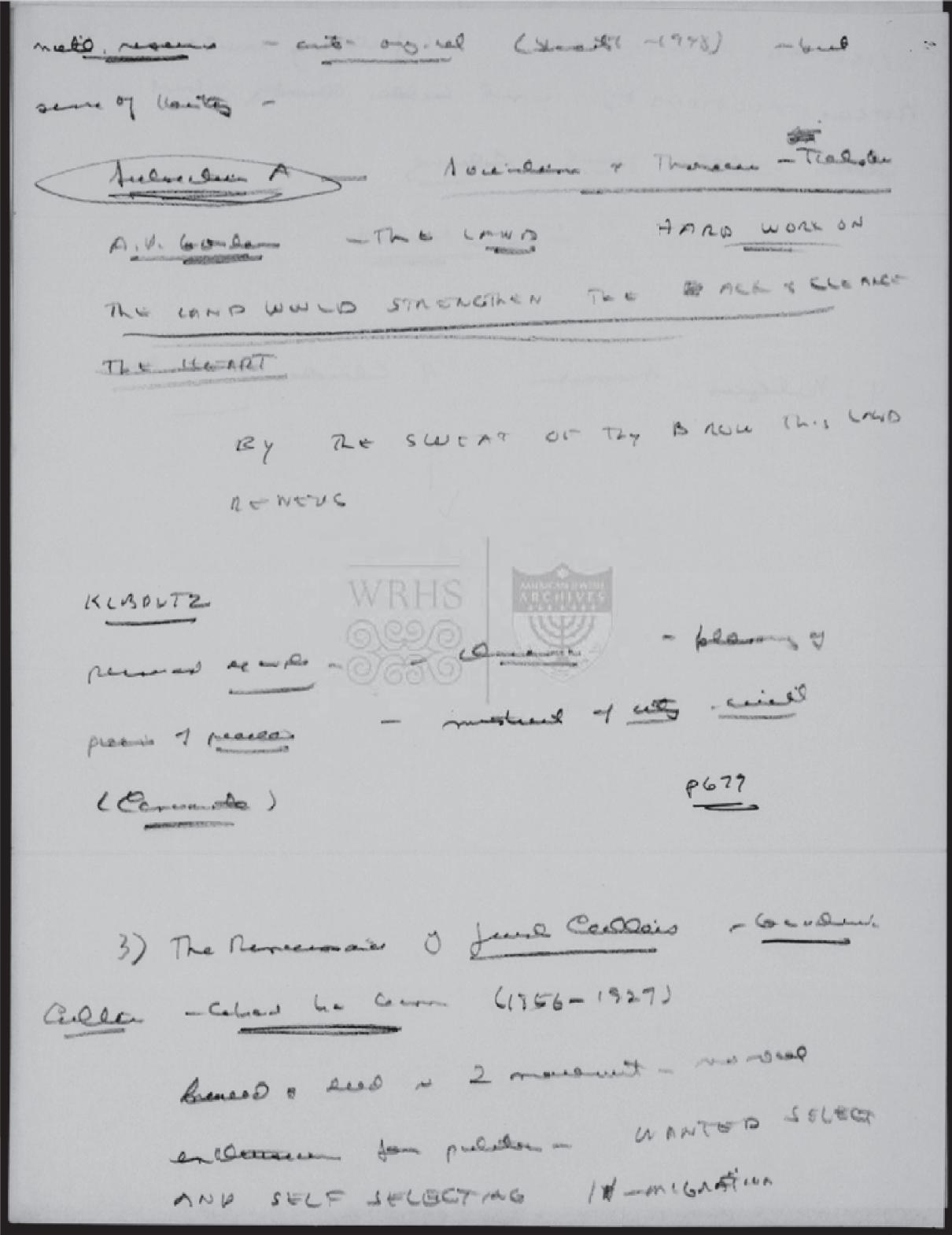
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THE MEANING OF ISRAEL

To live is to dream. Our dreams are made of insubstantial stuff, yet they can pick us up and make our lives over.

We are dedicating this weekend to Israel. Tomorrow and Sunday we will deal with things as they are, what Israel is, what Israel is accomplishing, and what the existence of Israel can mean for us. Tonight I would paint in a background for you, and I would remind you of the dream which created Israel.

First I must make this point. The original drive to create an independent Jewish State was not born of the urgency of settling the survivors of a hundred concentration camps. Zionism preceded Hitler by a hundred years -- the Russian pogroms by thirty. Those who first settled in Israel and those who first expressed the hope of a Jewish State dreamed of a radical and necessary change in Jewish

would outline for you some of their dreams and hopes. By understanding what was expected of Israel, we can appreciate how Israel became as she is.

Some, as we shall see, expected Israel to be a center of religious renaissance: "For out of Zion shall go forth the Law, and the word of the Lord from Jerusalem." Others saw Israel as the first purely Socialist

State. By political example, Jewish genius would teach all Europe the benefits of the government of the proletariat. To Een-Gurion a Jewish State

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Israel was born of other dreams. An Achad Ha Am expected Israel to be a center of intellectual ferment. An A. D. Gordon looked for Israel to peocleanize The Jewish life. A disciple of Tolstoy and of Rousseau, he looked to the land and to agriculture -- Hechalutz - Avodah. We would be be farmers and pioneers. The new Jew of Tolstoy of the land and muscular, would become a hero image to his stoop-shouldered and overly bookish coreligionist in the Diaspora. Israel was to see the Hebrew University and the Technion, and the Canasnites -- anti-intellectuals who championed dirty hands and clean hearts. Was the farmer or the engineer or the scholar the true hero? Was Israel to be a country of cities or of the kibbutz? Men brought many dreams to Israel, and each of these over dreams touched Israel with something of its present color and made the harmony which is Israel's national purpose.

Hess. Burn in Bonn, Germany in 1821, his early life was one of traditional (A mathing - (Augusta))

Jewish learning followed by a bitter rebellion. Hess revers were not opened so much by the richness of western thought as by the poverty of Europe's working class. Though he rejected his traditional upbringing, the single dominant theme in Hess' life was a prophetic social conscience. Hess became one of the early and classic Socialists. He co-authored with Karl Marx and Frederick Engels a number of works, and then he broke with them because he could not accept the Communist Manifesto, a view of life which was wholly materialistic and economic. Not every means was an acceptable technique to achieve the Workers' Revolution. (Indeed, a good section of the Communist Manifesto was devoted to an attack on Hess for what Marx labeled raive ethical attitudes.)

Eess was a revolutionary in an age of romantic revolutionaries.

During the liberal revolt of 1848 in Germany he was an active organizer

and pamphleteer, and later the German government put a price on his head. Hess was a man of intense commitment. He found himself at one time in Paris and out of money. A street prostitute befriended him and took him in and fed him and gave him her last francs to mail in his latest manuscript. Hess, ever the romantic, married the prostitute, and strange to say, they lived happy ever after. / What turned this crusader for the working class into a Zionist? We do not know. Perhaps it was that Hess recognized that the privileged classes were using anti-Semitism as a deliberate propaganda weapon for their selfish ends. Perhaps it was no more than his instinctive romantic spirit, which saw the birth of nationalism in Italy and Austria and Germany. The early nationalists Manzini and Garibaldi were romantic and liberal figures, champions of the underprivileged against the privileged. s the poor Jewish worker would find his justice in Israel. There, under the almost magical skies of the Holy Land, a just economic organization of society would evolve. As a romantic, Hess believed there was something unique about the Holy Land, a happy contagion which would bring out the best of Jewish spirit. Knowing it to be a wilderness, Socialist Hess saw the Holy Land as an empty place in which men could engineer a proper society without having to destroy in cold blood the privileged orders. S MARY'S COMMUNICT happy solution.

be the sanctification not only of man's individual life but also his social life. It was their aim to further the development of mankind and to prepare it for that harmony and unity of life which is the final aim of social evolution -- a messianic state which would measure up to the revealed divine

thers of the knowledge of God were always

people not only created in antiquity the most sublime religion, which was destined to become the common priority of a civilized world, but as human society progressed it continually developed it. This mission will last until the end of days, until the time will come when in the words of our prophets the knowledge of our God will fill the world. For the end of days of which Judaism prophesied is not, as other people misunderstood it, the end of the world but rather the accomplishment of historic development and the education of humanity. Judaism is above all a nationality whose history, outlasting millenia, goes hand in hand with that of humanity. It is a nation which has once been the spiritual instrument of regeneration for society and today, as the rejuvenation of the historic nations is being accomplished, Judaism celebrated its own resurrection with its cultural rebirth."

Jewish life has always held to the piety that the Holy Land was unique. Aliyah means not only in-migration but a going up. Immigration to the Holy Land was an ascent to a place where one is closer to God. It was in the Holy Land that the Messiah would reveal himself and establish his kingdom. The uniqueness of the Holy Land was a part of many dreams. Religious, Socialist, nationalist, their common element was the prayer for a better society. Israel would quicken the Jewish spirit, consequently Israel would become the unrivalled moral State.

Hess was only the first of many thousands of settlers who came to

Zionism only after they had come to Socialism. These men rebelled against

the ghetto and what they labeled its stifling medievalism by joining the was an income to proposition to medievalism - there was no religious hoteradory in eastern

Jewish Territor (1967)

Europe, so they joined the parties of the proletariat and they accepted the fearings of proletariat leaders that religion was the cpiate of the masses and that the clerics were among the enemies of the working class. In Russia and in Poland the church was joined with the State in a rigid and ugly defiance of the simple mandates of justice. In Germany and in France the High Church alined itself with the rich and the feudal. Traditional Judaism has, of course, no voice beyond the ghetto walls. But traditional

community. Judaism was faulted by these young revolutionaries for the

WHICH EX-NAM SOUTHWATE THE THE CHORGE

Semitism brought these revolutionaries from the economic were to Stonism.

NATIONALE

Exposure to the German and Polish working class groups made them realize

that anti-Semitism was as dangerous in Socialist as in Royalist circles,

the Jewish worker was not welcomed into the larger lator organizations,

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Let me introduce you to a man whose name you probably do not know,

Ber Borcchov. He was born in 1881 in the Ukraine. He died in Kiev in 1917

during the first days of the Bolshevik revolution. Borochov was a Marxist - Taken And

footfassional

A polemicist and pamphleteer. His interest in Zionish seems to have been born

of no more consequential fact than that he and his fellow Russian revolutionaries were never allowed to forget their Jewishness. Borochov's Zionist

writings are tortured as he attempts to be consistent. On the one hand, he prizes the internationalism of Socialism, and on the other he defends Jewish nation making. He resolves the dilemma by insisting that Palestine will be sui generis, a clean and new creation of the laboring class. Palestine will be settled by the Jewish proletariat, and they will create there a pure Socialist State. Borochov's writings are heavy with Marxist jargon, but they are important for any who would understand Israel, because it was he together with Yitzhak ben Zvi, later the President of Israel, who are 1917 wrote what became the fundamental document of the Labor Zionist Movement. The bulk of the leadership of Israel between 1940 and 1960 came from eastern Europe came in the second Aliyah of the 1920's and came with Borochov's dream, an ideal Socialist State. Partnership of the Histradut and the THE MEBBUTZ SYSTEM HAS ITS PLOTO HERE TOO Socialist grew from this early revolutionary doctrine. Latterly, Ben-Gurion They argued that the and others abandoned the dialectic of a class war. classes never shad a chance to become organized in Israel, but they merely have abandon their vision of a planned economy, of the ownership by the people of the natural resource, and of the partnership of the working class in the ownership of the factories and plants in which they dahned. Few of these men was able to shake his early and militant antireligious philosophy. I remember in nineteen hundred and forty-eight taking Moshe Sharett to the synagogue in New York the day after the announced establishment of Israel, and his remarking to me that this was the first time in a quarter of a century that he had set foot inside a congregation. Strangely Socialist doctrinaires remained impervious to Israel's history as a holy land. Een-Gurion, as you know, has a vigorcus interest in the Bible and takes part in a weekly circle of Bible study. This interest in Israel's spiritual roots was rationalized as, a) historical, and b) as a return to

RELIMON CHERRY COLUMN PO camery. QUESTION the pure bedrock of our people's experience. Rabbinic Judaism is viewed as a perversion and an empty theology. The Bible speaks of land, farming, of national vigor, of war, and of the ethical and just community. This is the true and the pure source of Israel's national purpose. That the prophets spoke in the name of God is an inconvenient fact which is simply overlooked.

Zionism was born of a restive and revolutionary spirit. The early immigrants were dissatisfied with the ghetto and the ghetto man. They wanted a new State and a new kind of Jew. How would this new Jew come into being? A. D. Gordon taught Israel to think in the company of Rousseau and The company.

Hard work on the land would straighten the back and cleanse the heart. mystical winter of the Holy Land was given by Gordon a practical twist. the sweat of thy brow this land renews." Gordon taught a generation of Israeli to look on farming and the hardships of the pioneer as a blessing. "Son of man, there will come a day when your sons and your daughters will dream a dream, a profound dream . . . and your sons and daughters will come and seek the interpretation of this dream in the land of their fathers. They will seek it with all the power of their heart and with all the strength of their hand. Seeking it, they will dig in hidden places. They will do all manner of work in field and vineyard, and as they work they will grow. And they will see what no man before them saw. Then will the Jewish people blossom again. Then will it live again. Then will it become a nation." Gordon, by personal example and by the mystical and charismatic quality of the many his words, taught a generation to see hardship as a blessing and as a HUCAALUT Z purification. The transfer and in Israel a profound mistrust of the city Fno and of civilization. It is no matter of chance that Gen-Gurion retreats to the small wilderness settlement of Sde oker; Working the land building simply on the land, a pure civilization will evolve. The kibbutz is the

permit. It is free and unfettered, communal and based on the soil. We can find echoes of this fear of the city even in such a western Zionist as Chaim Weizmann.

Whether prophets will once more arise among the Jews in the near future it is difficult to say. But if they choose the way of honest and hard and clean living, on the land in settlements built on the old principles, and in cities cleansed of the dross which has been sometimes mistaken for civilization; if they center their activities on genuine values, whether in industry, agriculture, science, literature or art, then God will look down benignly on His children who after a long wandering have come home to serve Him with a psalm on their lips and a spade in their hands, reviving their old country and making it a center of human civilization.

The conflict between the land and the laboratory, between the pioneer and the petty bourgeois, between the Sabra and the later settler, is a basic philosophic gulf which yawns across the landscape of Israeli thought.

If some services of a morality become a State, others dreamed of a rebirth of livre and of a proof sense of identity. Asher Ginsberg -- Achad Ha Am -- was born in 1856 in the Ukraine. He died in 1927 in Tel Aviv. He received a traditional education, and later educated himself in the whole burden of western thought. Achad Ha Am lived and died within the Zionist Movement. He attended Zionist Congresses. He was a friend and confidente of Weizmann. But he had no real enthusiasm for the political program of the Zionist Movement. Achad Ha Am wanted a select and self-selecting in-migration. He hoped that in Israel the best and most intelligent

of Jews would settle and in rather more free atmosphere spark a spiritual renaissance throughout the Diaspora. More critic than constructive, Ahad Ha-am reiterated the basic hope of a spiritual renaissance, but in a unique and agnostic way. Ahad Ha-am had no belief in God. He might be called the father of modern reconstructionism, for hw was fundamentally convinced of the unique virtues of what we might loosely call the Jewish way of life. He did not hope for better theology but for a better citizenship and a better sense of family solidarity and a more critical philosophic spirit to be born in Israel. He saw Israel as a place where a few brave men -- Ahad Ha-am was almost Nietzschean at times -- might find the intellectual way to lead Israel back into the mainstream of humanity.

Most of those who emphasized the aspect of a cultural renaissance were rebels against the narrowness of Eastern European Judaism. But not all. The FIRST CHIEF There were a number of men, like the Orthodox mystic Abraham Isaac Kook, who looked to Israel for a rebirth and purification of the traditional faith. "In the Foly Land man's imagination is lucid and clear, clean and pure, capable of receiving the revelation of diwine truth and expressing in life the sublime meaning, the ideal of the sovereignty of holiness. There the mind is prepared to understand the light of prophecy and to be illumined by the radiance of the holy spirit. An outsider may wonder how can seeming unbelievers be moved by this life force, not merely to nearness to the universal God but even towards authentic Jewish life -- to expressing the divine commandments concretely in image and idea, in song and deed. But this is no mystery to anyone whose heart is deeply at one with the soul of the Jewish people and who knows its marvelous nature. The source of this in power is mux the power of God and the everlasting glory of life." Socialist and Orthodox Jev shared the dream of a zion reborn, but their dream had a far different substance and has led, as we shall see tomorrow, to tension IRPAN - A PIRE RADDINISM IN THE HOLY LAND - CONSUMNATION and restiveness in the reborn land. 1816: (4) C. (4) (1) OF A MILLEMA

There were others who saw in Israel still another dream, the end of the immemorial exile, the end of the dispersion. Herzl came close to having this dream. Ben-Gurion certainly has it. Phrased simply, they longed for an end to the Jewish problem, to the Wandering Jew, to the prejudice so deeply etched in the Exile. Let me quote to you a paragraph by the rather scholarly Zionist Jacob Klatzkin:

Such a life, even if it continues to exist, will represent no more than a rootless and restless wandering between two worlds. It will cause rent and broken human beings to persist -- individuals diseased by ambivalence, consumed by contradictions, and spent by relentless inner conflict. What will survive will be a people that is depressed, bereft of the soil for healthy growth and with geographical-political foundations for real existence, but a people, on the other hand, with an exaggerated amount of worldly intellectualism living a false and perverted existence by means of surrogates for reality. . . .

Nonetheless, let us not be deceived. We know that such means of existence cannot long endure; we know that in the Galut a national life, (bereft of a soil on which to live a natural existence) is only artificial. We know that the struggle against assimilation has no chance of victory. But this is an era of transition between an age falling into ruin and a time of building. It is our task to delay the end and to slow the process of disintegration so that, meanwhile, our people may be rebuilt. This is no meaningless procreastination, for it has a purpose. This transitional existence is of significance, precisely because it is transitional.

This dream was, of course, not shared by American Zionists or by

most of the Zionists from the more liberal countries of Western Europe.

Dr. Silver, for instance, said simply:

(pgs 7A-7D)

One important fact must be borne in mind. The majority of the Jewish people will live outside of Israel. The idea of the ultimate disappearance of the Diaspora may be theoretically held or even justified. It is not practically valid. Assuming that Israel will, in the course of time, come to contain three or four million Jews, the majority of the Jewish people will nevertheless still reside outside its borders.

This was the case also during the Second Commonwealth, especially in the centuries immediately preceding the destruction in 70. It has been estimated that in the closing centuries of the Second Commonwealth about two and one-half million Jews lived in Palestine and about five and one-half million lived outside. There was a considerable dispersion of our people in the six centuries before the Common Era, which extended from the borders of Persia in the east to Spain in the west, and from Ethiopia clear to the Black Sea.

Important centers of Jewish life existed, simultaneously with the Jewish State, in Babylon, Egypt, Syria and Asia Minor, in the islands of the Mediterranean, in Greece and in Italy. It has been estimated that every tenth person living in the Roman Empire in the first century of the Common Era was a Jew, and every fifth person living in the eastern Mediterranean world was a Jew. The great dispersion was not always the result of expulsions. It was not always involuntary. Jews emigrated from Palestine for reasons also of trade and commerce, of economic opportunities elsewhere, perhaps also because of crowled conditions in the homeland.

What was the relationship of the Jews who lived outside of Palestine to the Jewish State? They owed no political allegiance to the Jewish State, and the Jewish State exercised no political control over them. We have the testimony of the Jewish philosopher, Philo, who lived in Egypt in the first century, who writes:

No one country can contain the whole Jewish nation, by reason of its populousness; on which account they frequent all the most prosperous and fertile countries of Europe and Asia, whether islands or continents, looking indeed upon the holy city as their metropolis in which is erected the sacred temple of the most high God, but accounting those regions which have been occupied by their fathers and granifathers and great grandfathers and still more remote ancestors, in which they have been born and brought up, as their country.

The country in which they lived was their country. The existence of a Jewish State did not diminish by an iota their loyalty to the countries in which they lived and in which they and their children were born. Theirs was no dual allegiance. Dual allegiance was never a fact in Jewish experience. It is the frightened and the insecure Jew, the one who is generally unhappy about his Jewish lineage who tried to curry favor with the non-Jewish world on the basis of self-effacement and spreads the charge of dual allegiance against those fellow Jews who are not so frightened and servile.

The Jews who lived outside of Palestine in those days nevertheless recognized Palestine as the non-political center of world Jewry, especially because it was the center of their religion. It was the Holy Land. In Jerusalem was the Temple dedicated to the God of Israel. They were mindful of the prophecy: "Out of Zion shall go forth the Law, and the word of the Lord from Jerusalem." Palestine was their ancestral home and the center of Jewish religious worship. They made frequent pilgrimages to Palestine. On the festivals of the pilgrimage, thousands of Jews from all parts of the world poured into Jerusalem.

It was a revered custom of Jews everywhere to contribute annually a half-shekel which at stated periods was collected and carried to Jerusalem as their voluntary contribution towards the maintenance of their central religious institutions. They helped the nation to defend itself when Rome

attacked it, and they supported the rebellion of Bar Kochba against Rome in the second century when the Jews of Palestine attempted to regain their independence. They wanted the Jewish State to survive.

Even after the destruction of the Temple, they continued to recognize the authority of the religious and spiritual leaders of Palestine, of the Sanhedrin and of the great religious academies, and to send their self-imposed tax for the support of the office of the Nasi and of scholars. The Jewish communities in other parts of the world, which later on established their own academies and produced their own illustrious religious leaders, nevertheless accepted the superior authority of the religious leaders and centers in Palestine.

The authority of the patriarchate which existed to the fifth century and of the Palestinian academies and their prerogatives in such matters as the fixing of the calendar for world Jewry and the ordination of rabbis, was, with but occasional exceptions, accepted by all. The Jews fully understood the importance of maintaining a center, a unifying and organizing center of Jewish Life, especially after the descruction both of the State and the Temple. They felt the need of some visible authority to hold them together against the forces which threatened to disintegrate them. They knew themselves to be and they wished to remain one people, one historic community, sharing many likenesses, and cooperating with each other for common purposes and against common enemies.

Rome destroyed Carthage. It destroyed also the Carthaginian nation.

Rome destroyed Judea. It could not destroy the Jewish nation. It only

disrupted its political center and added to the dispersion of the people.

To sum up: there persisted throughout the centuries the liveliest interaction between Palestine and the Jews of the Diaspora which was a boon

to both and which safeguarded the integrity of the people and the character of its faith. When the center in Palestine had become totally disrupted, and the Jews of the Diaspora were forced to turn to other centers for spiritual guidance -- to Babylonia, Northern Africa, Spain and elsewhere -- they nevertheless kept alive in their strong Messianic faith the hope of the return of the nation to Palestine and the restoration of its religious center there.



Dr. Silver, instead, looked to a renewed Israel as a place for the quickening of our spiritual and emotional energies and for a strengthening and hardening of our bodies and of our character. The phrase with which he summed it up was, "Israel will become the non-political center of our Jewish lives."

These, then, are the dreams; or rather the dreams of some of the most articulate of Zionist spokesmen. In less delineated ways these dreams were shared by millions. Some cannot be Palestine as to a help land. These dreams together catalyzed and inspired the century long political drive towards 1948. None of these dreams have been fulfilled in full or in major part. But each must be understood if we would understand the spirit of Israel today. I would add only this footnote. What is the nature of our dream for Israel, of the dream of those who contribute to its support but whose homes are elsewhere.

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[&]quot;And indeed it is the land of hope."

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And whatever we attempt there for our own benefit will redound mightily and beneficially to the good of all mankind.

FIRST CONGRESS ADDRESS (1897)

Delivered at Basel, August 29, 1897

FELLOW DELEGATES: As one of those who called this Congress into being I have been granted the privilege of welcoming you. This I shall do briefly, for if we wish to serve the cause we should economize the valuable moments of the Congress. There is much to be accomplished within the space of three days. We want to lay the foundations of the edifice which is one day to house the Jewish people. The task is so great that we may treat of it in none but the simplest terms. So far as we can now foresee, a summary of the present status of the Jewish question will be submitted within the coming three days. The tremendous bulk of material on hand is being classified by the chairmen of our committees.

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We shall hear reports of the Jewish situation in the various countries. You all know, even if only in a vague way, that with few exceptions the situation is not cheering. Were it otherwise we should probably of have convened. The unity of our destiny has suffered a long intercuption, although the scattered fragments of the Jewish people have everywhere endured similar vicissitudes. It is only in our days that the marvels of communication have brought about mutual understanding and union between isolated groups. And in these times, so progressive in most respects, we know ourselves to be surrounded by the old, old hatred. Anti-Semitism-you know it, alas, too well!-is the upo date designation of the movement. The first impression which it made upon the Jews of today was one of astonishment, which gave way to pain and resentment. Perhaps our enemies are quite unaware how deeply they wounded the sensibilities of just those of us who were possibly not the primary objects of their attack. That very part of Jewry which is modern and cultured which has outgrown the ghetto

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and lost the habit of petty trading, was pierced to the heart. We can valed assert it calmly, without laying ourselves open to the suspicion of want-

Since time immemorial the world has been misinformed about us. The sentiment of solidarity with which we have been reproached so frequently and so acrimoniously was in process of disintegration at the very time we were being attacked by anti-Semitism. And anti-Semitism served to strengthen it anew. We returned home, as it were! For Zionism is a return to the Jewish fold even before it becomes a return to the Jewish land. We, the children who have returned, find much to redress under the ancestral roof, for some of our brothers have sunk deep into misery. We are made welcome in the ancient house, for it is universally known that we are not actuated by an arrogant desire to undermine that which should be revered. This will be clearly demonstrated by the Zionist platform.

Zionism has already brought about something remarkable, heretofore regarded as impossible: It close union between the ultramodern
and the ultraconservative elements of Jewry. The fact that this has
come to pass without undignified concessions on the part of either
side, without intellectual sacrifices, is further proof, if such proof is
necessary, of the national entity of the Jews. A union of this kind is

possible only on a national basis.

Doubtless there will be discussions on the subject of an organization the need for which is recognized by all. Organization is an evidence of the reasonableness of a movement. But there is one point which should be clearly and energetically emphasized in order to advance the solution of the Jewish question. We Zion ists desire not an international league but international discussion. Needless to say this distinction is of the first importance in our eyes. It is this distinction which justifies the convening of our Congress. There will be no question of intrigues, secret interventions, and devious methods in our ranks, but only of unhampered utterances under the constant and complete check of public opinion. One of the first results of our movement, even now to be perceived in its larger outlines, will be the transformation of the Jewish question into a question of Zion.

A popular movement of such vast dimension will necessarily be attacked from many sides. Therefore the Congress will concern itself with the spiritual means to be employed for reviving and fostering the national consciousness of the Jews. Here, too, we must struggle against misconceptions. We have not the leas: intention of yielding

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a jot of the culture we have acquired. On the contrary, we are aiming toward a proader culture, such as an increase of knowledge brings with it. As a matter of fact, the Jews have always been more active

mentally than physically.

It was because the practical forcrunners of Zionism realized this that they inaugurated agricultural work for the lews. We shall never be able, nor shall we desire, to speak of these attempts at colonization in Palestine and in Argentina otherwise than with genuine gratitude. But they spoke the first, not the last word of the Zionist movement. For the Zionist movement must be greater in scope if it is to be at all. A people can be helped only by its own efforts, and if it cannot help itself it is beyond succor. But we Zionists want to rouse the people to self-help. No premature, unwholesome hopes should be awakened in this direction. This is another reason why public pro-

cedure, as it is planned by our Congress, is so essential.

Those who give the matter careful consideration must surely admit that Zionisan cannot gain its ends otherwise than through an unequivocal understanding with the political units involved. It is genenally known that the difficulties of obtaining colonization rights were not created by Zionism in its present form. One wonders what motives actuate the narrators of these fables. The confidence of the government with which we want to negotiate regarding the settlement of Jewish masses on a large scale can be gained by plain language and upright dealing. The advantages which an entire people is able to offer in return for benefits received are so considerable that the negotiations are vested with sufficient importance a priori. It would be an idle beginning to engage in lengthy discussions today regarding the legal form which the agreement will finally assume. But one thing is to be adhered to inviolably: The agreemen: must be based on and not on pleation. Indeed we have had enough experience of toleration and of "protection" which could be withdrawn at any

Consequently the only reasonable course of action which our movement can pursue is to work for publicly legalized guarantees. The results of colonization as it has been carried on hitherto were quite satisfactory within its limitations. It confirmed the much disputed fitness of the Jews for agricultural work. It established this proof for all time, as the legal phrase has it. But colonization in its present form is not, and cannot be, the solution of the Jewish question. And we must admit unreservedly that it has failed to evoke much sympathy. Why? Because the Jews know how to calculate in fact, it has been

asserted that they calculate too well. Thus, if we assume that there are nine million Jews in the world, and that it would be possible to colonize ten thousand Jews in Palestine every year, the Jewish question would require nine hundred years for its solution. This would

seem impracticable.

On the other hand, you know that to count on ten thousand settlers a year under existing circumstances is nothing short of fantastic. The UC Turkish government would doubtless unearth the old immigration restrictions immediately, and to that we would have I tile objection. For it anyone thinks that the Jews can steal into the land of their fathers, he is deceiving either himself or others. Nowhere is the coming of Jews so promptly noted as in the historic home of the race, for the very reason that it is the historic home. And it would by no means be to our interest to go there prematurely. The immigration of Jews signifies an unhoped-for accession of strength for the land which is now so poor; in fact, for the whole Ottoman Empire. Besides, His Majesty the Sultan has had excellent experiences with his Jewish subjects, and he has been an indulgent monarch to them in turn. Thus, existing conditions point to a successful outcome, provided the whole matter is intelligently and felicitously treated. The financial help which the Jews can give to Turkey is by no means inconsiderable and would serve to obviate many an internal ill from which the country is now suffering. If the Near East question is partially solved together with the fewish question, it will surely be of advantage to all civilized peoples. The advent of Jews would bring about an improvement in the situation of the Christians in the Orient.

But it is not solely from this aspect that Zionism may count upon the sympathy of the nations. You know that in some lands the Jewish problem has come to mean calamity for the government. If it sides with the Jews, it is confronted by the ire of the masses: if it sides against the Jews, it may call considerable economic consequences down upon its head because of the peculiar influence of the Jews upon the business affairs of the world. Examples of the latter may be found in Russia. But if the government maintains a neutral attitude, the Jews find themselves unprotected by the established regime and rush into the arms of the revolutionaries. Zionism, or self-help for the Jews, points to a way out of these numerous and extraordinary difficulties Zionism is simply a peacemaker And it suffers the usual fate 101 of peacemakers, in being forced to light more than anyone else. But should the accusation that we are not patrio ic figure among the more or less sincere arguments directed against our movement, this equivo-

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cal objection carries its own refutation with it. Nowhere can there be a question of an exodus of all the Jews. Those who are able or who wish to be assimilated will remain behind and be absorbed. When once a satisfactory agreement is concluded with the various political units involved and a systematic Jewish migration begins, it will last only so long in each country as that country desires to be rid of its Jews. How will the current be stopped? Simply by the gradual decrease and the final cessation of anti-Semitism. Thus it is that we understand

and anticipate the solution of the Jewish problem.

All this has been said time and again by my friends and by myself. We shall spare no pains to repeat it again and again until we are understood. On this solemn occasion, when Jews have come together from so many lands at the age-old summons of nationality, let our profession of faith be solemnly repeated. Should we not be stirred by a premonition of great events when we remember that at this moment the hopes of thousands upon thousands of our people depend upon our assemblage? In the coming hour the news of our deliberations and decisions will fly to distant lands, over the seven seas. Therefore enlightenment and comfort should go forth from this Congress. Let everyone find out what Zionism really is, Zionism, which was rumored to be a sort of millennial marvel—that it is a mocal, lawful, humanitarian movement, directed toward the long-yearned-for goal of our people. It was possible and permissible to ignore the spoken or written ulterances of individuals within our ranks. Not so with the actions of the Congress. Thus the Congress, which is henceforth to be ruler of its discussions, must govern as a wise ruler.

Finally, the Congress will provide for its own continuance, so that we do not disperse once more ineffectual and ephemeral. Through this Congress we are creating an agency for the Jewish people such as it has not possessed heretofore, an agency of which it has stood in urgent need. Our cause is too great to be left to the ambition or the whim of individuals. It must be elevated to the realm of the impersonal if it is to succeed. And our Congress shall live lorever, not only until the redemption from age-long suffering is effected, but afterward as well. Today we are here in the hospitable limits of this free city—

where shall we be rext year?

But wherever we shall be, and however distant the accomplishment of our task, let our Congress be carnest and high-minded, a source of welfare to the unhappy, of defiance to none, of honor to all Jewry. Let it be worthy of our past, the renown of which, though remote, is eternal! AFTER A MASS MEETING IN THE EAST END (1896)

London, July 15, 1896

I saw and heard the rising of my begond. The people are sentimental; the masses do not see clearly. I believe that even now they no longer have a clear idea of me. A light mist has begun to beat about me, which will perhaps deepen into a cloud in the midst of which I shall walk. But even now if they no longer see my outline clearly, at least they understand that I mean well by them, I am the man of the poor

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