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ON ZIONISM

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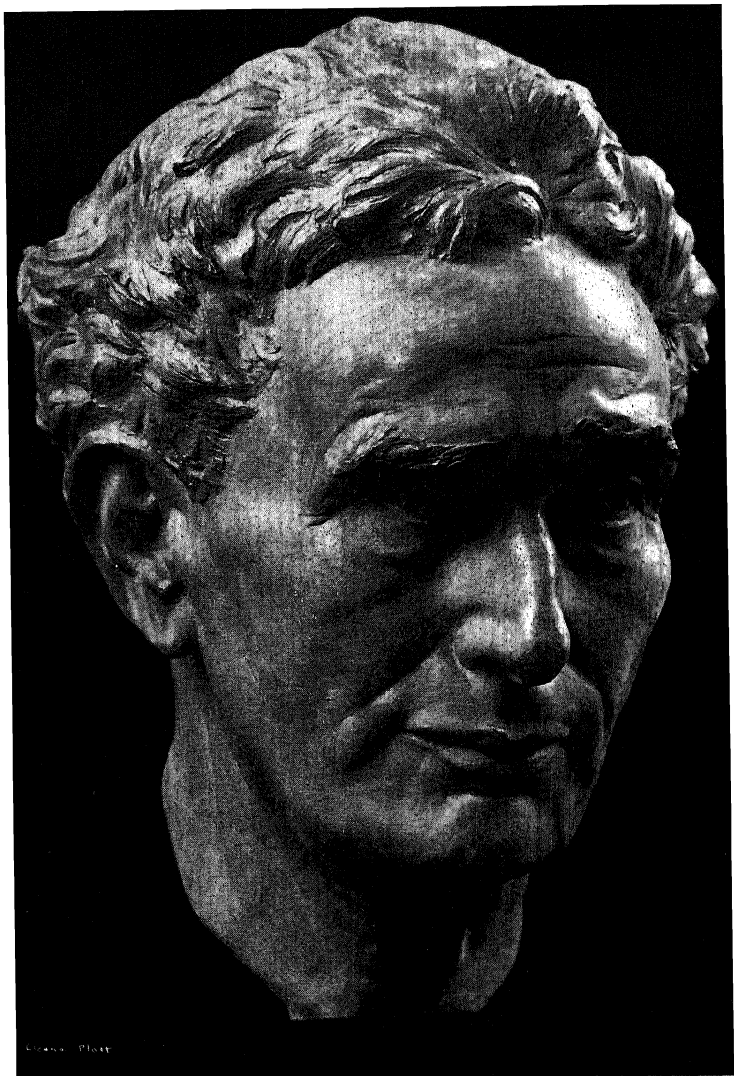
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ASSOCIATE JUSTICE LOUIS D. BRANDEIS

Portrait in bronze by Eleanor Platt

Original in United States Supreme Court

BRANDEIS
ON ZIONISM

*A Collection of Addresses and
Statements by Louis D. Brandeis*

With Foreword by
Mr. Justice Felix Frankfurter

ZIONIST ORGANIZATION OF AMERICA

WASHINGTON, D. C.

Introductory Note

It is fitting that this volume of Justice Brandeis's writings on Zionism be published by the Zionist Organization of America, with which Justice Brandeis was continuously associated, as leader, mentor and adviser, for almost three decades, until his death on October 5, 1941.

American Zionists should be grateful to Dr. Solomon Goldman for his painstaking research and devoted labors in compiling and editing this collection. Acknowledgment is also due to Mr. Abraham G. Duker and to Mr. Carl Alpert for their valuable editorial assistance.

LOUIS E. LEVINthal
*President, Zionist Organization
of America*

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Foreword

THE attempt to introduce Louis D. Brandeis's writings in any field is saved from presumption only by its folly. He himself supplied the maps to his mind. To a very rare degree, he had intellectual responsibility. He expressed views only after deep searching, and never without confronting the difficulties of a problem. His convictions were the product of long brooding; their formulation was the result of a stubborn struggle for clarity.

One may, however, publicly welcome this carefully edited collection of the Justice's utterances on Zionism. They trace the evolution of his mind from indifference to the Jewish problem up to the age of fifty, to sympathetic interest, and from sympathetic interest in Zionism to passionate espousal of the cause of establishing a Jewish National Home in Palestine. His practical understanding of affairs, his indomitable will in translating righteous aspirations into working institutions, his magnanimous and contagious devotion, above all the permeating influence of his character, made Justice Brandeis the moral symbol of Zionism throughout the world, notwithstanding the judicial insulation of his life.

His association with the Zionist cause brought Justice Brandeis, so he has told us, "understanding and happiness." It could not have been otherwise, to see a "dream" converted in his own lifetime into "a beautiful reality," and not inconsiderably of his own making. Nazism, as the reversion to barbarism, seared his soul. But whatever the fate of battle may have in store for Palestine, the spiritual meaning of what has

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been accomplished in Palestine cannot be impaired. No Panzer Korps could touch the faith of Louis D. Brandeis whereby the Zionist dream had attained for him "beautiful reality."

Most fittingly, these Zionist expressions are set in the perspective of the American credo of the Justice, spoken in 1915 at Faneuil Hall, Boston's shrine of liberty. These are the utterances of a passionate democrat, one whose life was given to the ever-enlarging fulfilment of the American dream. They reveal the purposes and convictions of one whose inspiration so largely came from parents who were among the pilgrims of '48—the Brandeis's, the Goldmarks, the Jacobis, the Liebers, and the Schurzes. For them America was the hope of free men in the days of the lesser tyranny of 1848, as it is to men everywhere longing for freedom in these days of gruesome tyranny.

FELIX FRANKFURTER

Washington, D. C.

August, 1942

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True Americanism

In this oration, delivered at Faneuil Hall, Boston, on July 4, 1915, we find an expression, in general form, of Justice Brandeis's views on nationalism and democracy in America. Against this background, the ensuing papers may be better understood and appreciated, and the striking declaration: "Loyalty to America demands that each American Jew become a Zionist," is thus seen as an inevitable conclusion derived from his philosophy of True Americanism.

E pluribus unum, Out of many one, was the motto adopted by the founders of the Republic when they formed a union of the thirteen states. To these we have added, from time to time, thirty-five more. The founders were convinced, as we are, that a strong nation could be built through federation. They were also convinced, as we are, that in America, under a free government, many peoples would make one nation. Throughout all these years we have admitted to our country and to citizenship immigrants from the diverse lands of Europe. We had faith that thereby we would best serve ourselves and mankind. This faith has been justified. The United States has grown great. The immigrants and their im-

mediate descendants have proved themselves as loyal as any citizens of the country. Liberty has knit us closely together as Americans. Note the common devotion to our country's emblem expressed at the recent Flag Day celebration in New York by boys and girls representing more than twenty different nationalities warring abroad.

On the nation's birthday it is customary for us to gather together for the purpose of considering how we may better serve our country. This year we are asked to address ourselves to the newcomers and to make this Fourth of July what has been termed Americanization Day.

What is Americanization? It manifests itself, in a superficial way, when the immigrant adopts the clothes, the manners and the customs generally prevailing here. Far more important is the manifestation presented when he substitutes for his mother tongue the English language as the common medium of speech. But the adoption of our language, manners and customs is only a small part of the process. To become Americanized the change wrought must be fundamental. However great his outward conformity, the immigrant is not Americanized unless his interests and affections have become deeply rooted here. And we properly demand of the immigrant even more than this. He must be brought into complete harmony with our ideals and aspirations and cooperate with us for their attainment. Only when this has been done will he possess the national consciousness of an American.

I say "he must be brought into complete harmony." But let us not forget that many a poor immigrant comes to us from distant lands, ignorant of our language, strange

in tattered clothes and with jarring manners, who is already truly American in this most important sense; who has long shared our ideals and who, oppressed and persecuted abroad, has yearned for our land of liberty and for the opportunity of aiding in the realization of its aims.

What are the American ideals? They are the development of the individual for his own and the common good; the development of the individual through liberty, and the attainment of the common good through democracy and social justice.

Our form of government, as well as humanity, compels us to strive for the development of the individual man. Under universal suffrage (soon to be extended to women) every voter is a part ruler of the state. Unless the rulers have, in the main, education and character, and are free men, our great experiment in democracy must fail. It devolves upon the state, therefore, to fit its rulers for their task. It must provide not only facilities for development but the opportunity of using them. It must not only provide opportunity, it must stimulate the desire to avail of it. Thus we are compelled to insist upon the observance of what we somewhat vaguely term the American standard of living; we become necessarily our brothers' keepers.

What does this standard imply? In substance, the exercise of those rights which our Constitution guarantees, the right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. Life, in this connection, means living, not existing; liberty, freedom in things industrial as well as political; happi-

ness includes, among other things, that satisfaction which can come only through the full development and utilization of one's faculties. In order that men may live and not merely exist, in order that men may develop their faculties, they must have a reasonable income; they must have health and leisure. High wages will not meet the workers' need unless employment be regular. The best of wages will not compensate for excessively long working hours which undermine health. And working conditions may be so bad as to nullify the good effects of high wages and short hours. The essentials of American citizenship are not satisfied by supplying merely the material needs or even the wants of the worker.

Every citizen must have education, broad and continuous. This essential of citizenship is not met by an education which ends at the age of fourteen, or even at eighteen or twenty-two. Education must continue throughout life. A country cannot be governed well by rulers whose education and mental development are gained only from their attendance at the common school. Whether the education of the citizen in later years is to be given in classes or from the public platform, or is to be supplied through discussion in the lodges and the trade unions, or is to be gained from the reading of papers, periodicals and books, in any case, freshness of mind is indispensable to its attainment. And to the preservation of freshness of mind a short workday is as essential as adequate food and proper conditions of working and of living. The worker must, in other words, have leisure. But leisure does not imply idleness. It means ability to work not less but

more, ability to work at something besides breadwinning, ability to work harder while working at breadwinning, and ability to work more years at breadwinning. Leisure, so defined, is an essential of successful democracy.

Furthermore, the citizen in a successful democracy must not only have education, he must be free. Men are not free if dependent industrially upon the arbitrary will of another. Industrial liberty on the part of the worker cannot, therefore, exist if there be overweening industrial power. Some curb must be placed upon capitalistic combination. Nor will even this curb be effective unless the workers cooperate, as in trade unions. Control and cooperation are both essential to industrial liberty.

And if the American is to be fitted for his task as ruler, he must have besides education and industrial liberty also some degree of financial independence. Our existing industrial system is converting an ever increasing percentage of the population into wage-earners; and experience teaches us that a large part of these become at some time financial dependents, by reason of sickness, accident, invalidity, superannuation, unemployment or premature death of the breadwinner of the family. Contingencies like these, which are generally referred to in the individual case as misfortunes, are now recognized as ordinary incidents in the life of the wage-earner. The need of providing indemnity against financial losses from such ordinary contingencies in the workingman's life has become apparent and is already being supplied in other countries. The standard worthy to be called American implies some system of social insurance.

And since the child is the father of the man, we must bear constantly in mind that the American standard of living cannot be attained or preserved unless the child is not only well fed but well born; unless he lives under conditions wholesome morally as well as physically; unless he is given education adequate both in quantity and in character to fit him for life's work.

Such are our ideals and the standard of living we have erected for ourselves. But what is there in these ideals which is peculiarly American? Many nations seek to develop the individual man for himself and for the common good. Some are as liberty-loving as we. Some pride themselves upon institutions more democratic than our own. Still others, less conspicuous for liberty or democracy, claim to be more successful in attaining social justice. And we are not the only nation which combines love of liberty with the practice of democracy and a longing for social justice. But there is one feature in our ideals and practices which is peculiarly American—it is inclusive brotherhood.

Other countries, while developing the individual man, have assumed that their common good would be attained only if the privileges of their citizenship should be limited practically to natives or to persons of a particular nationality. America, on the other hand, has always declared herself for equality of nationalities as well as for equality of individuals. It recognizes racial equality as an essential of full human liberty and true brotherhood, and that racial equality is the complement of democracy.

America has, therefore, given like welcome to all the peoples of Europe.

Democracy rests upon two pillars: one, the principle that all men are equally entitled to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness; and the other, the conviction that such equal opportunity will most advance civilization. Aristocracy, on the other hand, denies both these postulates. It rests upon the principle of the superman. It willingly subordinates the many to the few, and seeks to justify sacrificing the individual by insisting that civilization will be advanced by such sacrifices.

The struggles of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries both in peace and in war were devoted largely to overcoming the aristocratic position as applied to individuals. In establishing the equal right of every person to development it became clear that equal opportunity for all involves this necessary limitation: each man may develop himself so far, but only so far, as his doing so will not interfere with the exercise of a like right by all others. Thus liberty came to mean the right to enjoy life, to acquire property, to pursue happiness in such manner and to such extent only as the exercise of the right in each is consistent with the exercise of a like right by every other of our fellow citizens. Liberty thus defined underlies twentieth-century democracy. Liberty thus defined exists in a large part of the western world. And even where this equal right of each individual has not yet been accepted as a political right, its ethical claim is gaining recognition.

America, dedicated to liberty and the brotherhood of

man, rejected the aristocratic principle of the superman as applied to peoples as it rejected the principle when applied to individuals. America has believed that each race had something of peculiar value which it can contribute to the attainment of those high ideals for which it is striving. America has believed that we must not only give to the immigrant the best that we have, but must preserve for America the good that is in the immigrant and develop in him the best of which he is capable. America has believed that in differentiation, not in uniformity, lies the path of progress. It acted on this belief; it has advanced human happiness, and it has prospered.

On the other hand, the aristocratic theory as applied to peoples survived generally throughout Europe. It was there assumed by the stronger countries that the full development of one people necessarily involved its domination over another, and that only by such domination would civilization advance. Strong nationalities, assuming their own superiority, came to believe that they possessed the divine right to subject other peoples to their sway; and the belief in the existence of such a right ripened into a conviction that there was also a duty to exercise it. The Russianizing of Finland, the Prussianizing of Poland and Alsace, the Magyarizing of Croatia, the persecution of the Jews in Russia and Roumania, are the fruits of this arrogant claim of superiority; and that claim is also the underlying cause of the present war.

The movements of the last century have proved that whole peoples have individuality no less marked than that of the single person; that the individuality of a peo-

ple is irrepressible, and that the misnamed internationalism which seeks the obliteration of nationalities or peoples is unattainable. The new nationalism adopted by America proclaims that each race or people, like each individual, has the right and duty to develop, and that only through such differentiated development will high civilization be attained. Not until these principles of nationalism, like those of democracy, are generally accepted will liberty be fully attained and minorities be secure in their rights. Not until then can the foundation be laid for a lasting peace among the nations.

The world longs for an end of this war, and even more for a peace that will endure. It turns anxiously to the United States, the one great neutral country, and bids us point the way. And may we not answer: Go the way of liberty and justice, led by democracy and the new nationalism. Without these, international congresses and supreme courts will prove vain and disarmament "The Great Illusion."

And let us remember the poor parson of whom Chaucer says:

"But Criste's loore, and his Apostles twelve,
He taughte, but first he followed it hymselfe."

The Jewish Problem, How to Solve It

The problems raised by Justice Brandeis in this, his most comprehensive statement on Zionism, are even more urgent today than they were during the First World War, when this address was delivered. The twofold solution to the Jewish problem offered by the Justice, namely, that of securing and guaranteeing equality for Jews as individuals everywhere, and of providing for the collective survival of the Jewish people in their homeland, still remains to be applied and is more essential than ever. The implications of Zionism, as explained by Justice Brandeis, for the Jewish people and for the free world of the future, should furnish realistic guiding principles for Jewish adjustment in the new and better world which mankind hopes will be built on the structure of the victory of the United Nations. This address was first delivered in June, 1915, in New York City, before the Conference of Eastern Council of Reform Rabbis.

THE SUFFERING of the Jews due to injustices continuing throughout nearly twenty centuries is the greatest

tragedy in history. Never was the aggregate of such suffering larger than today. Never were the injustices more glaring. Yet the present is pre-eminently a time for hopefulness. The current of world thought is at last preparing the way for our attaining justice. The war is developing opportunities which make possible the solution of the Jewish Problem. But to avail ourselves of these opportunities we must understand both them and ourselves. We must recognize and accept facts. We must consider our course with statesmanlike calm. We must pursue resolutely the course we shall decide upon; and be ever ready to make the sacrifices which a great cause demands. Thus only can liberty be won.

For us the Jewish Problem means this: How can we secure for Jews, wherever they may live, the same rights and opportunities enjoyed by non-Jews? How can we secure for the world the full contribution which Jews can make, if unhampered by artificial limitations?

The problem has two aspects: That of the individual Jew, and that of Jews collectively. Obviously, no individual should be subjected anywhere, by reason of the fact that he is a Jew, to a denial of any common right or opportunity enjoyed by non-Jews. But Jews collectively should likewise enjoy the same right and opportunity to live and develop as do other groups of people. This right of development on the part of the group is essential to the full enjoyment of rights by the individual. For the individual is dependent for his development (and his happiness) in large part upon the development of the group of which he forms a part. We can scarcely conceive

of an individual German or Frenchman living and developing without some relation to the contemporary German or French life and culture. And since death is not a solution of the problem of life, the solution of the Jewish Problem necessarily involves the continued existence of the Jews as Jews.

Councils of Rabbis and others have undertaken at times to prescribe by definition that only those shall be deemed Jews who professedly adhere to the orthodox or reformed faith. But in the connection in which we are considering the term, it is certainly not in the power of any single body of Jews, or indeed of all Jews collectively, to establish the effective definition. The meaning of the word Jewish in the term Jewish Problem must be accepted as co-extensive with the disabilities which it is our problem to remove. It is the non-Jews who create the disabilities and in so doing give definition to the term Jew. Those disabilities extend substantially to all of Jewish blood. The disabilities do not end with a renunciation of faith, however sincere. They do not end with the elimination, however complete, of external Jewish mannerisms. The disabilities do not end ordinarily until the Jewish blood has been so thoroughly diluted by repeated inter-marriages as to result in practically obliterating the Jew.

And we Jews, by our own acts, give a like definition to the term Jew. When men and women of Jewish blood suffer, because of that fact, and even if they suffer from quite different causes, our sympathy and our help goes out to them instinctively in whatever country they may

live and without inquiring into the shades of their belief or unbelief. When those of Jewish blood exhibit moral or intellectual superiority, genius or special talent, we feel pride in them, even if they have abjured the faith like Spinoza, Marx, Disraeli or Heine. Despite the meditations of pundits or the decrees of council, our own instincts and acts, and those of others, have defined for us the term Jew.

Half a century ago the belief was still general that Jewish disabilities would disappear before growing liberalism. When religious toleration was proclaimed, the solution of the Jewish Problem seemed in sight. When the so-called rights of man became widely recognized, and the equal right of all citizens to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness began to be enacted into positive law, the complete emancipation of the Jews seemed at hand. The concrete gains through liberalism were indeed large. Equality before the law was established throughout the western hemisphere. The Ghetto walls crumbled; the ball and chain of restraint were removed in central and western Europe. Compared with the cruel discrimination to which Jews are now subjected in Russia and Roumania, their advanced condition in other parts of Europe seems almost ideal.

But the anti-Jewish prejudice was not exterminated even in those countries of Europe in which the triumph of civil liberty and democracy extended fully to Jews "the rights of man." The anti-Semitic movement arose in Germany a year after the granting of universal suf-

frage. It broke out violently in France, and culminated in the Dreyfus case,¹ a century after the French Revolution had brought "emancipation." It expressed itself in England through the Aliens Act,² within a few years after the last of Jewish disabilities had been there removed by law. And in the United States the Saratoga incident reminded us, long ago, that we too have a Jewish question.³

The disease is universal and endemic. There is, of course, a wide difference between the Russian disabilities with their Pale of Settlement, their denial of opportunity for education and of choice of occupation, and their re-

¹ The trumped up charges against Captain Alfred Dreyfus whereby he was found guilty of High Treason by a French Military Court in December, 1894, and sentenced to Devil's Island. It was not until 1906 that the verdict of the Court Martial was set aside, and Dreyfus's innocence affirmed.

² The Aliens Immigration Act was passed in 1905 for the purpose of restricting the entry of poor immigrants into England. The agitation for the restriction of immigration which preceded the passage of this law was not devoid of elements of anti-Semitism. Nevertheless, exemptions were provided for aliens who left their countries because of political or religious persecutions. In spite of this, the bill served to stem the influx of Russian and Roumanian Jews.

³ Unlike the political, economic and cultural forms of anti-Semitism which predominate today, discrimination against Jews in the United States manifested itself during the last decades of the 19th century mainly along social lines. The Saratoga incident is one of the outstanding instances of such action. In 1877, members of the well-known Seligmann family were excluded from a summer hotel at Saratoga, N. Y., controlled by A. T. Stewart and Judge Hilton. (In the de Haas text of this address the name "Lake Placid" appears instead of "Saratoga," p. 173.)

The Lake Placid incident is a similar *cause celebre*. Melvil Dewey, the inventor of the Dewey Decimal Catalogue System, and a public official in charge of the school for librarians of New York State, persisted in excluding Jews from his summer hotel and club at Lake Placid, N. Y. Pressure of public opinion forced him to retire from his official position in 1906.

current pogroms,⁴ and the German disabilities curbing university, bureaucratic and military careers. There is a wide difference also between these German disabilities and the mere social disabilities of other lands. But some of those now suffering from the severe disabilities imposed by Russia and Roumania are descendants of men and women who in centuries before our modern liberalism enjoyed both legal and social equality in Spain and Southern France. The manifestations of the Jewish Problem vary in the different countries, and at different periods in the same country, according to the prevailing degrees of enlightenment and other pertinent conditions. Yet the differences, however wide, are merely in degree and not in kind. The Jewish Problem is single and universal. But it is not necessarily eternal. It may be solved.

Why is it that liberalism has failed to eliminate the anti-Jewish prejudice? It is because the liberal movement has not yet brought full liberty. Enlightened countries grant to the individual equality before the law; but they fail still to recognize the equality of whole peoples or nationalities. We seek to protect as individuals those constituting a minority; but we fail to realize that protection cannot be complete unless group equality also is recognized.

Deeply imbedded in every people is the desire for full development, the longing, as Mazzini phrased it, "To elaborate and express their idea, to contribute their stone

⁴ Following the March Revolution the Jews in Russia were emancipated by the Decree of the Provisional Government of April 2, 1917. Until then Jews were frequently victims of pogroms staged with the connivance of the government authorities.

also to the pyramid of history." Nationality like democracy has been one of the potent forces making for man's advance during the past hundred years. The assertion of nationality has infused whole peoples with hope, manhood and self-respect. It has ennobled and made purposeful millions of lives. It offered them a future, and in doing so revived and capitalized all that was valuable in their past. The assertion of nationality raised Ireland from the slough of despondency. It roused Southern Slavs to heroic deeds. It created gallant Belgium. It freed Greece. It gave us united Italy. It manifested itself even among the free peoples, like the Welsh, who had no grievance, but who gave expression to their nationality through the revival of the old Cymric tongue. Each of these peoples developed because, as Mazzini said, they were enabled to proclaim "to the world that they also live, think, love, and labor for the benefit of all."

In the past it has been generally assumed that the full development of one people necessarily involved its domination over others. Strong nationalities are apt to become convinced that by such domination only does civilization advance. Strong nationalities assume their own superiority, and come to believe that they possess the divine right to subject other people to their sway. Soon the belief in the existence of such a right becomes converted into a conviction that duty exists to enforce it. Wars of aggrandizement follow as a natural result of this belief.

This attitude of certain nationalities is the exact correlative of the position which was generally assumed by

the strong in respect to other individuals before democracy became a common possession. The struggles of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries both in peace and in war were devoted largely to overcoming that position as to individuals. In establishing the equal right of every person to development, it became clear that equal opportunity for all involves this necessary limitation: Each man may develop himself so far, but only so far, as his doing so will not interfere with the exercise of a like right by all others. Thus liberty came to mean the right to enjoy life, to acquire property, to pursue happiness in such manner and to such extent as the exercise of the right in each is consistent with the exercise of a like right by every other of our fellow-citizens. Liberty thus defined underlies twentieth century democracy. Liberty thus defined exists in a large part of the western world. And even where this equal right of each individual has not yet been accepted as a political right, its ethical claim is gaining recognition. Democracy rejected the proposal of the superman who should rise through sacrifice of the many. It insists that the full development of each individual is not only a right, but a duty to society; and that our best hope for civilization lies not in uniformity, but in wide differentiation. . . .

The difference between a nation and a nationality is clear; but it is not always observed. Likeness between members is the essence of nationality; but the members of a nation may be very different. A nation may be composed of many nationalities, as some of the most successful nations are. An instance of this is the British nation,

with its division into English, Scotch, Welsh, and Irish at home; with the French in Canada; and throughout the Empire, scores of other nationalities. Other examples are furnished by the Swiss nation with its German, French and Italian sections; by the Belgian nation composed of Flemings and Walloons; and by the American nation which comprises nearly all the white nationalities. The unity of a nationality is a fact of nature; the unification into a nation is largely the work of man. The false doctrine that nation and nationality must be made co-extensive is the cause of some of our greatest tragedies. It is, in large part, the cause also of the present war.⁵ It has led, on the one hand, to cruel, futile attempts at enforced assimilation, like the Russianizing of Finland and Poland, and the Prussianizing of Posen, Schleswig-Holstein, and Alsace-Lorraine. It has led, on the other hand, to those Panistic⁶ movements which are a cloak for territorial ambitions. As a nation may develop though composed of many nationalities, so a nationality may develop though forming parts of several nations. The essential in either case is recognition of the equal rights of each nationality.

W. Allison Philips recently defined nationality as, "An extensive aggregate of persons, conscious of a community of sentiments, experiences, or qualities which make them feel themselves a distinct people." And he adds: "If we

⁵ The reference is to the First World War, 1914-18.

⁶ The most significant Panistic movements at the time of the composition of this address were the Pan-Germanic and Pan-Slavic movements which were utilized by Germany and Tsarist Russia "as a cloak for their territorial ambitions."

examine the composition of the several nationalities we find these elements: race, language, religion, common habitat, common conditions, mode of life and manners, political association. The elements are, however, never all present at the same time, and none of them is essential. . . . A common habitat and common conditions are doubtless powerful influences at times in determining nationality; but what part do they play in that of the Jews or the Greeks, or the Irish in dispersion?"⁷

See how this high authority assumes without question that the Jews are, despite their dispersion, a distinct nationality; and he groups us with the Greeks or the Irish, two other peoples of marked individuality. Can it be doubted that we Jews, aggregating 14,000,000 people, are "an extensive aggregate of persons"; that we are "conscious of a community of sentiments, experiences and qualities which make us feel ourselves a distinct people," whether we admit it or not?

It is no answer to this evidence of nationality to declare that the Jews are not an absolutely pure race. There has, of course, been some intermixture of foreign blood in the 3000 years which constitute our historic period. But, owing to persecution and prejudice, the intermarriages with non-Jews which occurred have resulted merely in taking away many from the Jewish community. Intermarriage has brought few additions. Therefore the percentage of foreign blood in the Jews of today is very low. Probably no important European race is as pure.

⁷ "Europe and the Problem of Nationality," *The Edinburgh Review*, January, 1915, pp. 27-29.

But common race is only one of the elements which determine nationality. Conscious community of sentiments, common experiences, common qualities are equally, perhaps more, important. Religion, traditions and customs bound us together, though scattered throughout the world. The similarity of experience tended to produce similarity of qualities and community of sentiments. Common suffering so intensified the feeling of brotherhood as to overcome largely all the influences making for diversification. The segregation of the Jew was so general, so complete, and so long continued as to intensify our "peculiarities" and make them almost ineradicable.

We recognize that with each child the aim of education should be to develop his own individuality, not to make him an imitator, not to assimilate him to others. Shall we fail to recognize this truth when applied to whole peoples? And what people in the world has shown greater individuality than the Jews? Has any a nobler past? Does any possess common ideas better worth expressing? Has any marked traits worthier of development? Of all the peoples in the world those of two tiny states stand preeminent as contributors to our present civilization, the Greeks and the Jews. The Jews gave to the world its three greatest religions, reverence for law, and the highest conceptions of morality. Never before has the value of our contribution been so generally recognized. Our teaching of brotherhood and righteousness has, under the name of democracy and social justice, become the twentieth century striving of America and of western Europe. Our conception of law is embodied in the American constitution

which proclaims this to be a "government of laws and not of men." And for the triumph of our other great teaching, the doctrine of peace, this cruel war is paving the way.

While every other people is striving for development by asserting its nationality, and a great war is making clear the value of small nations, shall we voluntarily yield to anti-Semitism, and instead of solving our "problem" end it by noble suicide? Surely this is no time for Jews to despair. Let us make clear to the world that we too are a nationality striving for equal rights to life and to self-expression. That this should be our course has been recently expressed by high non-Jewish authority. Thus Seton-Watson, speaking of the probable results of the war, said:

"There are good grounds for hoping that it [the war] will also give a new and healthy impetus to Jewish national policy, grant freer play to their splendid qualities, and enable them to shake off the false shame which has led men who ought to be proud of their Jewish race to assume so many alien disguises and to accuse of anti-Semitism those who refuse to be deceived by mere appearances. It is high time that the Jews should realize that few things do more to foster anti-Semitic feeling than this very tendency to sail under false colors and conceal their true identity. The Zionists and the orthodox Jewish Nationalists have long ago won the respect and admiration of the world. No race has ever defied assimilation so stubbornly and so successfully; and the modern tendency of individual Jews to repudiate what is one of

their chief glories suggests an almost comic resolve to fight against the course of nature.”⁸

Standing against this broad foundation of nationality, Zionism aims to give it full development. Let us bear clearly in mind what Zionism is, or rather what it is not.

It is not a movement to remove all the Jews of the world compulsorily to Palestine. In the first place there are 14,000,000 Jews,⁹ and Palestine would not accommodate more than one-third of that number. In the second place, it is not a movement to compel anyone to go to Palestine. It is essentially a movement to give to the Jew more, not less freedom; it aims to enable the Jews to exercise the same right now exercised by practically every other people in the world: To live at their option either in the land of their fathers or in some other country; a right which members of small nations as well as of large, which Irish, Greek, Bulgarian, Serbian, or Belgian, may now exercise as fully as Germans or English.

Zionism seeks to establish in Palestine, for such Jews as choose to go and remain there, and for their descendants, a legally secured home, where they may live together and lead a Jewish life, where they may expect ultimately to constitute a majority of the population, and may look forward to what we should call home rule. The Zionists seek to establish this home in Palestine because they are

⁸ R. W. Seton-Watson, "The Issues of the War," in *The War and Democracy*, by R. W. Seton-Watson, J. Dover Wilson and others, London, Macmillan, 1914, p. 284.

⁹ According to the *American Jewish Year Book*, Vol. 42, 5701, 1940-41, pp. 592-93, the number of Jews in the world was estimated to be 15,757,000. No revisions of these estimates were made in the 5702 edition of the same publication.

convinced that the undying longing of Jews for Palestine is a fact of deepest significance; that it is a manifestation in the struggle for existence by an ancient people which has established its right to live, a people whose three thousand years of civilization has produced a faith, culture and individuality which enable it to contribute largely in the future, as it has in the past, to the advance of civilization; and that it is not a right merely but a duty of the Jewish nationality to survive and develop. They believe that only in Palestine can Jewish life be fully protected from the forces of disintegration; that there alone can the Jewish spirit reach its full and natural development; and that by securing for those Jews who wish to settle there the opportunity to do so, not only those Jews, but all other Jews will be benefited, and that the long perplexing Jewish Problem will, at last, find solution.

They believe that to accomplish this, it is not necessary that the Jewish population of Palestine be large as compared with the whole number of Jews in the world; for throughout centuries when the Jewish influence was greatest, during the Persian, the Greek, and the Roman Empires, only a relatively small part of the Jews lived in Palestine; and only a small part of the Jews returned from Babylon when the Temple was rebuilt.

Since the destruction of the Temple, nearly two thousand years ago, the longing for Palestine has been ever present with the Jew. It was the hope of a return to the land of his fathers that buoyed up the Jew amidst persecution, and for the realization of which the devout ever prayed. Until a generation ago this was a hope merely, a

wish piously prayed for, but not worked for. The Zionist movement is idealistic, but it is also essentially practical. It seeks to realize that hope; to make the dream of a Jewish life in a Jewish land come true as other great dreams of the world have been realized, by men working with devotion, intelligence, and self-sacrifice. It was thus that the dream of Italian independence and unity, after centuries of vain hope, came true through the efforts of Mazzini, Garibaldi and Cavour; that the dream of Greek, of Bulgarian and of Serbian independence became facts.

The rebirth of the Jewish nation is no longer a mere dream. It is in process of accomplishment in a most practical way, and the story is a wonderful one. A generation ago a few Jewish emigrants from Russia and from Roumania, instead of proceeding westward to this hospitable country where they might easily have secured material prosperity, turned eastward for the purpose of settling in the land of their fathers.

To the worldly-wise these efforts at colonization appeared very foolish. Nature and man presented obstacles in Palestine which appeared almost insuperable; and the colonists were in fact ill-equipped for their task, save in their spirit of devotion and self-sacrifice. The land, harassed by centuries of misrule, was treeless and apparently sterile; and it was infested with malaria. The Government offered them no security, either as to life or property. The colonists themselves were not only unfamiliar with the character of the country, but were ignorant of the farmer's life which they proposed to lead; for the Jews of Russia and Roumania had been generally denied the

opportunity of owning or working land. Furthermore, these colonists were not inured to the physical hardships to which the life of a pioneer is necessarily subjected. To these hardships and to malaria many succumbed. Those who survived were long confronted with failure. But at last success came. Within a generation these Jewish Pilgrim Fathers, and those who followed them, have succeeded in establishing these two fundamental propositions:

First: That Palestine is fit for the modern Jew.

Second: That the modern Jew is fit for Palestine.

Over forty self-governing Jewish colonies attest to this remarkable achievement.¹⁰

This land, treeless a generation ago, supposed to be sterile and hopelessly arid, has been shown to have been treeless and sterile because of man's misrule. It has been shown to be capable of becoming again a land "flowing with milk and honey." Oranges and grapes, olives and almonds, wheat and other cereals are now growing there in profusion.

This material development has been attended by a spiritual and social development no less extraordinary; a development in education, in health and in social order; and in the character and habits of the population. Perhaps the most extraordinary achievement of Jewish nationalism is the revival of the Hebrew Language, which has again become a language of the common intercourse of men. The Hebrew tongue, called a dead language for

¹⁰ The number of Jewish colonies in Palestine was estimated to be over 250 in 1942.

nearly two thousand years, has, in the Jewish colonies and in Jerusalem, become again the living mother tongue. The effect of this common language in unifying the Jew is, of course, great; for the Jews of Palestine came literally from all the lands of the earth, each speaking, excepting those who used Yiddish, the language of the country from which he came, and remaining, in the main, almost a stranger to the others. But the effect of the renaissance of the Hebrew tongue is far greater than that of unifying the Jews. It is a potent factor in reviving the essentially Jewish spirit.

Our Jewish Pilgrim Fathers have laid the foundation. It remains for us to build the superstructure.

Let no American imagine that Zionism is inconsistent with Patriotism. Multiple loyalties are objectionable only if they are inconsistent. A man is a better citizen of the United States for being also a loyal citizen of his state, and of his city; for being loyal to his family, and to his profession or trade; for being loyal to his college or his lodge. Every Irish American who contributed towards advancing home rule was a better man and a better American for the sacrifice he made. Every American Jew who aids in advancing the Jewish settlement in Palestine, though he feels that neither he nor his descendants will ever live there, will likewise be a better man and a better American for doing so.

Note what Seton-Watson says:

“America is full of nationalities which, while accepting with enthusiasm their new American citizenship, nevertheless look to some centre in the old world as the source

and inspiration of their national culture and traditions. The most typical instance is the feeling of the American Jew for Palestine which may well become a focus for his *déclassé* kinsmen in other parts of the world.”¹¹

There is no inconsistency between loyalty to America and loyalty to Jewry. The Jewish spirit, the product of our religion and experiences, is essentially modern and essentially American. Not since the destruction of the Temple have the Jews in spirit and in ideals been so fully in harmony with the noblest aspirations of the country in which they lived.

America's fundamental law seeks to make real the brotherhood of man. That brotherhood became the Jewish fundamental law more than twenty-five hundred years ago. America's insistent demand in the twentieth century is for social justice. That also has been the Jews' striving for ages. Their affliction as well as their religion has prepared the Jews for effective democracy. Persecution broadened their sympathies. It trained them in patient endurance, in self-control, and in sacrifice. It made them think as well as suffer. It deepened the passion for righteousness.

Indeed, loyalty to America demands rather that each American Jew become a Zionist. For only through the ennobling effect of its strivings can we develop the best that is in us and give to this country the full benefit of our great inheritance. The Jewish spirit, so long preserved, the character developed by so many centuries of sacrifice, should be preserved and developed further, so

¹¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 290.

that in America as elsewhere the sons of the race may in future live lives and do deeds worthy of their ancestors.

But we have also an immediate and more pressing duty in the performance of which Zionism alone seems capable of affording effective aid. We must protect America and ourselves from demoralization, which has to some extent already set in among American Jews. The cause of this demoralization is clear. It results in large part from the fact that in our land of liberty all the restraints by which the Jews were protected in their Ghettos were removed and a new generation left without necessary moral and spiritual support. And is it not equally clear what the only possible remedy is? It is the laborious task of inculcating self-respect, a task which can be accomplished only by restoring the ties of the Jew to the noble past of his race, and by making him realize the possibilities of a no less glorious future. The sole bulwark against demoralization is to develop in each new generation of Jews in America the sense of *noblesse oblige*. That spirit can be developed in those who regard their people as destined to live and to live with a bright future. That spirit can best be developed by actively participating in some way in furthering the ideals of the Jewish renaissance; and this can be done effectively only through furthering the Zionist movement.

In the Jewish colonies of Palestine there are no Jewish criminals; because everyone, old and young alike, is led to feel the glory of his people and his obligation to carry forward its ideals. The new Palestinian Jewry produces

instead of criminals, scientists like Aaron Aaronsohn, the discoverer of wild wheat; ¹² pedagogues like David Yellin; ¹³ craftsmen like Boris Schatz, the founder of the Bezalel; ¹⁴ intrepid *Shomrim*,¹⁵ the Jewish guards of peace, who watch in the night against marauders and doers of violent deeds.

And the Zionist movement has brought like inspiration to the Jews in the Diaspora, as Steed has shown in this striking passage from "The Hapsburg Monarchy":

"To minds like these Zionism came with the force of an evangel. To be a Jew and to be proud of it; to glory in the power and pertinacity of the race, its traditions, its triumphs, its sufferings, its resistance to persecution; to look the world frankly in the face and to enjoy the luxury

¹² Aaron Aaronsohn (ca. 1875-1919) was known at the time of the delivery of this address as the pioneer of scientific agriculture in Palestine. In 1910 he established with American support the Jewish Agricultural Experiment Station at Athlit. During the World War, he headed a Jewish secret service in Palestine whose function was to furnish military information to the British Army Headquarters. Aaronsohn was killed in an airplane accident while on a diplomatic mission for Zionism. To Brandeis he was the living symbol of the "new Jew."

¹³ David Yellin (1864-1941), a native of Jerusalem, was an outstanding educator, scholar and communal leader. He served as Vice-Mayor of Jerusalem, and Chairman of the Vaad Leumi, the National Council of Palestine Jewry. He founded and directed the Hebrew Teachers' Institute in Jerusalem, and was Professor of medieval Hebrew poetry at the Hebrew University. He visited America three times in the 1920's.

¹⁴ The Bezalel School for industrial arts was founded in Jerusalem in 1906 by the sculptor, Boris Schatz (1866-1933). It was named after Bezalel ben Uri, the chief builder of the tabernacle (Exodus 31:2-11).

¹⁵ The *Shomrim* (Guards) were members of *Hashomer*, a volunteer organization of Jewish workers who defended the Jewish colonies against marauders, in the absence of proper protection from the Turkish government. The organization was established in 1908 and was eventually recognized *de facto* by the Turkish government as a Jewish police force.

of moral and intellectual honesty; to feel pride in belonging to the people that gave Christendom its divinities, that taught half the world monotheism, whose ideas have permeated civilization as never the ideas of a race before it, whose genius fashioned the whole mechanism of modern commerce, and whose artists, actors, singers and writers have filled a larger place in the cultured universe than those of any other people. This, or something like this, was the train of thought fired in youthful Jewish minds by the Zionist spark. Its effect upon the Jewish students of Austrian universities was immediate and striking. Until then they had been despised and often ill-treated. They had wormed their way into appointments and into the free professions by dint of pliancy, mock humility, mental acuteness, and clandestine protection. If struck or spat upon by 'Aryan' students, they rarely ventured to return the blow or the insult. But Zionism gave them courage. They formed associations, and learned athletic drill and fencing. Insult was requited with insult, and presently the best fencers of the fighting German corps found that Zionist students could gash cheeks quite as effectually as any Teuton, and that the Jews were in a fair way to become the best swordsmen of the university. Today the purple cap of the Zionist is as respected as that of any academical association.

"This moral influence of Zionism is not confined to university students. It is quite as noticeable among the mass of the younger Jews outside, who also find in it a

reason to raise their heads, and, taking their stand upon the past, to gaze straightforwardly into the future.”¹⁶

Since the Jewish Problem is single and universal, the Jews of every country should strive for its solution. But the duty resting upon us of America is especially insistent. We number about 3,000,000, which is more than one-fifth of all the Jews in the world, a number larger than comprised within any other country except the Russian Empire.¹⁷ We are representative of all the Jews in the world; for we are composed of immigrants, or descendants of immigrants coming from every other country, or district. We include persons from every section of society, and of every shade of religious belief. We are ourselves free from civil or political disabilities; and are relatively prosperous. Our fellow-Americans are infused with a high and generous spirit, which insures approval of our struggle to ennoble, liberate, and otherwise improve the condition of an important part of the human race; and their innate manliness makes them sympathize particularly with our efforts at self-help. America's detachment from the old world problem relieves us from suspicions and embarrassments frequently attending the activities of Jews of rival European countries. And a conflict between American interests or ambitions and Jewish aims

¹⁶ Henry Wickham Steed, *The Hapsburg Monarchy*, London, Fourth Edition, 1919, pp. 175-76.

¹⁷ The Jewish population of the United States has since then increased numerically as well as proportionately, so that today it constitutes almost one-third of world Jewry. The Jewish population of the United States in 1937 was estimated to have been 4,770,000. (*American Jewish Year Book*, 5702, Vol. 43, 1941-42, p. 654.)

is not conceivable. Our loyalty to America can never be questioned.

Let us therefore lead, earnestly, courageously and joyously, in the struggle for liberation. Let us all recognize that we Jews are a distinctive nationality of which every Jew, whatever his country, his station or shade of belief, is necessarily a member. Let us insist that the struggle for liberty shall not cease until equality of opportunity is accorded to nationalities as to individuals. Let us insist also that full equality of opportunity cannot be obtained by Jews until we, like members of other nationalities, shall have the option of living elsewhere or of returning to the land of our forefathers.

The fulfillment of these aspirations is clearly demanded in the interest of mankind, as well as in justice to the Jews. They cannot fail of attainment if we are united and true to ourselves. But we must be united not only in spirit but in action. To this end we must organize. Organize, in the first place, so that the world may have proof of the extent and the intensity of our desire for liberty. Organize, in the second place, so that our resources may become known and be made available. But in mobilizing our force it will not be for war. The whole world longs for the solution of the Jewish Problem. We have but to lead the way, and we may be sure of ample cooperation from non-Jews. In order to lead the way, we need not arms, but men; men with those qualities for which Jews should be peculiarly fitted by reason of their religion and life; men of courage, of high intelligence, of faith and public spirit, of indomitable will and ready self-sacrifice;

men who will both think and do, who will devote high abilities to shaping our course, and to overcoming the many obstacles which must from time to time arise. And we need other, many, many other men, officers commissioned and non-commissioned, and common soldiers in the cause of liberty, who will give of their efforts and resources, as occasion may demand, in unfailing and ever-strengthening support of the measures which may be adopted. Organization, thorough and complete, can alone develop such leaders and the necessary support.

Organize, Organize, Organize, until every Jew in America must stand up and be counted, counted with us, or prove himself, wittingly or unwittingly, of the few who are against their own people.

Sympathy for the Zionist Movement

This is Justice Brandeis's first recorded statement on Zionism, contained in an interview published in The Jewish Advocate of Boston, December 9, 1910.

I HAVE a great deal of sympathy for the movement and am deeply interested in the outcome of the propaganda. These so-called dreamers are entitled to the respect and appreciation of the entire Jewish people. Nobody takes greater pride than I do in the success of the individual members of my people. I mean success in a higher sense and I believe that the opportunities for members of my people are greater here than in any other country. I believe that the Jews can be just as much of a priest people today as they ever were in the prophetic days.

A Great Vision

Brandeis's first public act of participation in Zionist activities was his chairmanship at a reception for Nahum Sokolow in Boston in March, 1913. Sokolow (1859-1936), later president of the World Zionist Organization, was then touring the United States for the cause. Justice Brandeis's brief statement was greeted by the audience with great enthusiasm, "matched by the incredulity of his relatives in Louisville." (Alfred Lief, Brandeis, The Personal History of an American Ideal, New York, 1936, p. 279.)

THE JEWISH PEOPLE have a great vision. In every land they are struggling for social rights. They are trying to relieve the burden of their friends and relatives in Russia and to lessen the toil of the poor. The true happiness in life is not to donate, but to serve. The great message that Mr. Sokolow brought to Boston may sometime become a reality, and the Jewish people may establish the national state that they have aspired to and longed for so long.

We have listened to the unfolding of a wonderful dream. The great quality of the Jews is that they have been able to dream through all the long and dreary cen-

turies; and mankind has credited them with another quality, the power to realize their dreams. The task ahead of them is to make this Zionist ideal a living fact. "If they wish it, they can by service bring it about."

To Be a Jew

This is one of Brandeis's earliest speeches on Zionism. It was delivered on May 18, 1913, before the Young Men's Hebrew Association of Chelsea, Mass.

A FORTNIGHT AGO it was my privilege to spend the evening with one of the most interesting, brilliant and remarkable men I have ever met. He is the son of a poor Roumanian Jew who migrated from his native land thirty-two years ago to take up his residence in Palestine, the land of his fathers. The son, who is now at the head of the Jewish Agricultural Experiment Station in Palestine, is Aaron Aaronsohn.¹ He made what is considered one of the most remarkable and useful discoveries in recent years, and possibly of all times. He discovered what is known as the "wild wheat," the plant which botanists, all over the world, had been trying for years to locate. There is a hope that, by reason of this discovery, the food products of the world may be immeasurably increased in quantity; that it may be possible to extend the area of wheat culture by utilizing land long believed to be unfit for that purpose because of the lack of moisture. He told us that it was his

¹ Cf. p. 31, n. 12.

persistent efforts to improve the fertility of Palestine which had led to the discovery of the wild wheat, a feat which has impressed the Government of the United States and which may mean much for the future of Palestine.

He related another story even more remarkable than the first. We were discussing the series of unpleasant occurrences in New York City, with which the Jewish name was connected last year.² Then Mr. Aaronsohn told us that in Palestine, in the little communities which have grown up in the last thirty-two years and now number 10,000 Jewish souls, not a single crime was known to have been committed by one of our people during all that time. In our conversation I asked him: "How do you account for that fact?" He answered: "I account for it as follows. Every member of those communities is brought up to realize his obligations to his people. He is told of the great difficulties it passed through, and of the long years of martyrdom it experienced. All that is best in Jewish history is made to live in him, and by this means he is imbued with a high sense of honor and responsibility for the whole people. You will find in the children," he added, "none of the weakness, none of the servility, which they or their parents had when they came to Palestine."

What is being achieved in Palestine can perhaps be achieved only there in the fullest degree; but the lesson applies to the Jews all over the world. We have our obligations, the same *noblesse oblige*. Our traditions are the

² The reference is to the murder in 1912 of a certain Hermann Rosenthal by gangsters acting under the instructions of police lieutenant Charles A. Becker, who was involved in police graft in connection with gambling houses.

same. They have been transmitted also to us. We have not applied them in the same degree as those of our people who have returned to our ancestral home. But the ages of sacrifice have left us with the sense of brotherhood. That brotherhood has given us the feeling of solidarity which makes each one of us ready and anxious to fulfill its obligations. And we know, from the lesson of history, that the traditions we cherish depend for their life upon the conduct of every single one of us.

It is not wealth, it is not station, it is not social standing and ambition, which can make us worthy of the Jewish name, of the Jewish heritage. To be worthy of them, we must live up to and with them. We must regard ourselves their custodians. Every young man here must feel that he is the trustee of what is best in Jewish History. We cannot go as far as the pioneers in Palestine, but we must make their example to radiate in our lives. We must sense our solidarity to such an extent that even an unconscious departure from our noble traditions will make us feel guilty of a breach of a most sacred trust.

Here then is the task before you. Here is the work of your association and such kindred bodies. It is to promote the ideals which the Jews have carried forward through thousands of years of persecution and by much sacrifice. We must learn to realize that our sacrifices have enhanced the quality of our achievements, and that the overcoming of obstacles is part of our attainments.

Men differ in ability, however great the average ability of the Jews is, but every single Jew can make his own contribution to the Jewish way of life. Every single one of us

can do that for himself. Every one of us can declare: "What is mean is not for us." We bespeak what is best, what is noblest and finest in all civilization. This is our heritage. We have survived persecution because of the virtues and sacrifices of our ancestors. It is for us to follow in that path. It is the Jewish tradition, and the Jewish law, and the Jewish spirit which prepare us for the lessons of life. In Palestine the younger generation is taught that heritage and as a result they live for the highest and best of what life is and what it may be.

To my mind, in order that the world may gain from what is best in us, we should aid in the effort of the Jews in Palestine. We should all support the Zionist movement, although you or I do not think of settling in Palestine, for there has developed and can develop in that old land to a higher degree, the spirit of which Mr. Aaronsohn speaks. With our assistance the Jew there will develop to fullest manhood and manfully perform his fullest duty to his people and to his country.

You ask what the Young Men's Hebrew Association can do? It can do much. It can achieve almost anything worthwhile if its members respond to this hope, if they live in the spirit of our highest traditions, if they are resolved to make new records for a people distinguished for its great lives.

The Jewish People Should Be Preserved

The outbreak of World War I brought American Zionism to the fore of the world movement. Zionists, as citizens of their respective countries, were necessarily divided in their national loyalties. The central headquarters in Berlin could no longer serve as the center of a world movement, nor could most European Zionists, even those devoted to the Allied cause, assist the Jewish colonies in Palestine. Of necessity, the major responsibility for the continued existence of the movement had to be borne by American Zionists. Accordingly an emergency conference of all the Zionist societies was called in New York City at the end of August, 1914, to organize for this work. It resulted in the formation of the Provisional Executive Committee for General Zionist Affairs. The following remarks were made by Justice Brandeis upon his acceptance of the office of chairman of this Committee on August 30, 1914.

I FEEL with all of you the gravity of the present situation. I feel, perhaps more than most of you, the difficulties which confront us, because I realize my own inability to

contribute much to the removal of those difficulties. But I hold it to be my duty and my privilege to aid, and so far as it is in my power to do so, I will join you in this great work. I thank you for your confidence in my ability to help the cause.

I feel my disqualification for this task. Throughout long years which represent my own life, I have been to a great extent separated from Jews. I am very ignorant in things Jewish. But recent experiences, public and professional, have taught me this: I find Jews possessed of those very qualities which we of the twentieth century seek to develop in our struggle for justice and democracy; a deep moral feeling which makes them capable of noble acts; a deep sense of the brotherhood of man; and a high intelligence, the fruit of three thousand years of civilization.

These experiences have made me feel that the Jewish People have something which should be saved for the world; that the Jewish People should be preserved; and that it is our duty to pursue that method of saving which most promises success. While I feel unable to bring to this task the knowledge, the experience, and the ability which it requires, I am glad to work to that end with you and the other Zionists of this and other countries.

By a sudden catastrophe, the movement has been deprived of leadership by those who for many years have successfully advanced it. In the last few weeks, since the need of American aid became probable, I have endeavored to acquaint myself with what had been accomplished. I am greatly impressed with the progress made;

with the wisdom manifested; with the energy applied in overcoming difficulties.

And I may add that I am greatly encouraged, as I am sure every one of you is, by what Dr. Levin¹ has told us today. The spirit with which he has approached the questions under discussion, the unusual intelligence with which he has dealt with them, intensify my admiration for the work of the past.

To achieve our purpose we need the cooperation of everyone here and of the tens of thousands whom those here can influence. Let us work together! Carry forward what others have, in the past, borne so well! Carry it forward to the goal for which we all long!

¹ Dr. Shmarya Levin (1867-1935), was an outstanding communal and Zionist leader in Russia. During World War I he lived in the United States and was active in the Jewish and national revival. His vivid memoirs were published in English in the following volumes: *Childhood in Exile*, New York, 1929; *Youth in Revolt*, New York, 1930; *The Arena*, New York, 1932.

Strain Every Nerve

This is Justice Brandeis's first official appeal to the Zionists of America. It was issued after his election to the chairmanship of the Provisional Executive Committee for Zionist Affairs.

THE WAR in Europe has brought a crisis upon the Zionist organization. The members of our Actions Comité¹ are scattered. Our Central Bureau at Berlin is crippled. The Federations of England, Germany and Austria are partially or wholly disabled. The Zionists of these countries and of Russia are forced to take thought for themselves alone, and Palestine, which they have hitherto aided in amplest measure, is bereft of their support.

The achievements of a generation are imperiled. The young Jewish Renaissance in the Holy Land, the child of pain and sacrifice, faces death from starvation.

In this unprecedented emergency, the Zionists of America are called upon to take energetic measures, lest Zionist work in Europe and in Palestine suffer interruption and irreparable harm. At an Extraordinary Conference of

¹ The Actions Committee is the executive body of the World Zionist Congress, by which it is elected. It conducts the activities of the World Zionist movement between the Congresses.

American Zionists held at New York on August 30, 1914, a Provisional Executive Committee for General Zionist Affairs was formed, to act until such time when the Actions Comité shall reassemble.

The Provisional Executive Committee is fortunate to have the cooperation and advice of one member of the Actions Comité, Dr. Shmarya Levin. It has put itself into touch with the other members of the Actions Comité and with the Federations here and in all neutral countries. It has inaugurated the work of administration. It has made plans for the maintenance of the institutions of Zionism in Palestine, its schools, its colonizing enterprises, all the manifold social and cultural interests that have been originated and fostered by our movement. It is in communication with our pioneers in the land of the fathers, and they have received the assurance that we shall not fail them in this catastrophe. It has entered into relations with other bodies of Jews, in the hope that a united American Jewish community may be ready to act at the opportune moment.

Fellow Zionists, the work of safeguarding the continuity of our movement is begun. Upon you depends the successful issue. Grave as the Provisional Executive Committee knows its undertaking to be, so grave is your part in its accomplishment. It requires men, it requires money. You must furnish both. You must give of your devotion without reserve, of your means without stint.

For the Jew in America, at peace in a strong, neutral country, these are momentous days pregnant with serious tasks. He will be called upon to raise in large part the

relief funds that will be needed to alleviate the distress and repair the losses of the millions of our people who are now groaning under the pitiless exactions of war. He will be called upon to rescue the Jews in Palestine, who have always looked to the Diaspora for sustenance, and who are now overwhelmed by want and anxieties. In these respects we urge you to do your fullest duty as Jews when the proper time is at hand.

But you, Zionists of America, have another, paramount duty to perform. You have a particular charge devolving upon you, a peculiar treasure to cherish. Your organization, your institutions are looking to you for succor. To safeguard the one and maintain the other will require immediately the sum of \$100,000. Without this sum the Provisional Committee cannot discharge the obligations it has assumed. With this sum we hope to tide our sacred movement over these critical times.

Zionists, the duty of the hour is supreme. Strain every nerve to obtain at once the \$100,000.00 fund that is essential to the welfare of our movement. Put the machinery of all your organizations into motion without delay. Let every individual Zionist heed the solemn appeal to render service and bring sacrifices. And who knows but that opportunity may yet be wrested from disaster! Who knows but that our tried people everywhere hearing the message of Zionism ring above the din and clash of battle, will strive, united with us, for permanent justice, peace, and liberty for the Jewish people in the Jewish land.

The Fruits of Zionism

Brandeis's activities as the chairman of the Provisional Executive Committee for General Zionist Affairs entailed his travelling to many cities in the fall and winter of 1914-1915 to awaken American Jews to their war time responsibility. De Haas grouped together a number of excerpts from addresses delivered by the Justice at that time under the title, "The Rebirth of the Jewish Nation." (Jacob de Haas, Louis D. Brandeis, A Biographical Sketch, New York, 1929, pp. 163-170.) Parts of them appear below.

Americanism and Zionism

DURING most of my life my contact with Jews and Judaism was slight. I gave little thought to their problems, save in asking myself, from time to time, whether we were showing by our lives due appreciation of the opportunities which this hospitable country affords. My approach to Zionism was through Americanism. In time, practical experience and observation convinced me that Jews were by reason of their traditions and their character peculiarly fitted for the attainment of American ideals. Gradually it

became clear to me that to be good Americans, we must be better Jews, and to be better Jews, we must become Zionists. . . .

* * *

The Possibilities of Palestine

Those who undertake to describe Palestine are apt to speak of it as a miniature California, in its climate, its topography and its agricultural possibilities. Others have compared it with Sicily, long the granary of Rome. Much patience and perseverance and faith have been required to develop the possibilities of Palestine; and very much remains to be done to make the life of the Jewish settler what it should be. But a commercial test has been made. The progress is obvious to every traveler; and it may already be measured in statistics. In a single generation the orange exportation grew from 60,000 boxes to 1,500,000; and the planting of orange groves in recent years has been so extensive that exports to twice this amount are expected when these trees begin to bear fruit. The grape, the almond and the olive culture have prospered likewise, and there is an important export of wheat to Italy.

This material development has been attended by a spiritual and social development no less extraordinary; a development in education, in health and in social order; and in the character and habits of the population. . . .

Ben Yehudah and the Revival of Hebrew

It was a bold dream to plan the foundation of a new Jewish nation in Palestine by giving a common language

to the comers from many lands, particularly so when it is remembered that the language, long called dead, had not only to be introduced, but had to be adapted to modern use. Yet this has actually been accomplished in a single generation; and the man who took the first practical step, Ben Yehudah, is still in Jerusalem engaged in furthering the work.¹ His story will have its place in history.

In 1880, Ben Yehudah, living comfortably in Paris, wrote an article for a Jerusalem paper demanding that Hebrew become the language of intercourse in the Talmudic schools of Palestine. The editor of the paper in which that article appeared spoke of the proposition as "a pious wish." Ben Yehudah was not content that it should remain a wish. He purposed that the wish should become a fact. So he went to Palestine himself.

He concluded that if Hebrew was to become a spoken language the way to begin with Hebrew was, as with charity, at home. He said he would marry no woman who did not speak Hebrew to him. Fortunately he found one who could; and Hebrew became the language of his own household. Then he declared he would deal only with those who would speak Hebrew. He was naturally regarded as half crazy. But soon others followed his example. Before a generation had passed, Hebrew became in Palestine the language of kindergartens, of primary schools and of higher institutions of learning. For years,

¹ Eliezer Ben Yehudah (1875-1922) was the pioneer and champion of the restoration of Hebrew as a living, spoken language in Palestine. During the First World War he resided in the United States, where he was engaged in the compilation of his standard dictionary of the Hebrew language.

daily papers and magazines have been published, public lectures have been delivered, and plays performed in Hebrew. Many parents learned Hebrew from their children. And there are instances also of non-Jews learning Hebrew in order to avail themselves of the advantages afforded by the Hebrew educational and cultural institutions.

It was no ordinary sense of piety that made Ben Yehudah seek to introduce the Hebrew language. He recognized what the leaders of other peoples seeking rebirth and independence have recognized, that it is through the national language, expressing the people's soul, that the national spirit is aroused, and the national power restored. Despite the prevalence of the English tongue in Ireland, the revival of Gaelic became one of the most important factors in the movement which has just resulted in securing for the Irish their long-coveted home rule. The revival of Flemish was a potent factor in the rebirth of the Belgian people, who are now giving such good account of themselves. And so it was with the revival of Greek, of Bulgarian and of Serbian.

The intensity of conviction, the devotion which the revival of Hebrew has developed, was shown in the struggle last year for its maintenance in Palestinian schools. Believing that an effort was being made to supersede it in some of the schools, practically every teacher, 200 in all, struck, thus giving up his only means of livelihood rather than submit to the impairment of the position of the Hebrew language. Pupils followed teachers; parents, aided by others in the community, willingly faced, de-

spite their poverty, the burden of establishing new national schools so that their old-new national language might prevail. That is stuff out of which nations can be built.

The Responsibilities of American Jews

The burden has fallen upon America to maintain, after years of travail, the Zionist movement now so promising. The organization which has hitherto directed the movement has its headquarters in Berlin. The governing committee is composed mainly of citizens of the different nations now at war with one another. Some of the members are Russians, some Germans, some Austrians. The president of the Zionist body is a German.² The leading financial institutions, through which the business of the organization is conducted, were formed under British law. The war has scattered these officers under conditions which prevent their cooperating or indeed communicating with one another. This prevents them from directing affairs in Palestine.

The establishment in a neutral country of a provisional committee to take up the work thus became necessary; and such a committee was naturally established in America, the only neutral country which has a large Jewish population, and where more than one-fifth of all the Jews

² Prof. Otto Warburg (1859-1938), a botanist by profession, was a leading German Zionist. He had been active in Palestine colonization since 1900 and had been chosen president of the World Zionist Organization in 1911. He was a member of the Jewish Agency for Palestine, and on the faculty of the Hebrew University.

in the world live. The committee so formed has at the outset the task of providing funds necessary for maintaining the Zionist Organization and institutions. Hitherto ninety per cent of all money required for this purpose was raised in Europe. The European Jews are now prevented from contributing practically anything. Upon us falls the obligation and the privilege of providing the needed funds. For this purpose it is necessary to raise at present \$100,000 besides the other larger sums which the Jews of America must raise to relieve those made destitute by the war.

When we consider how large and generous has been the contribution of the Irish of America for the cause of home rule, the present demand upon the Jews for Zionist purposes seems small indeed. The Jews in America can be relied upon to perform fully their obligation. And indeed there are special reasons why we should be eager to do so. Palestine gives promise of doing for us far more than we can ever be called upon to do for Palestine. For the Jewish renaissance in Palestine will enable us to perform our plain duty to America. It will help us to make toward the attainment of the American ideals of democracy and social justice that large contribution for which religion and life have peculiarly fitted the Jew.

Throughout all the years of persecution the general standard of morals was exceptionally high among the Jews. The Jewish criminal was rare. For with the Jews laws were self-enforcing; and each individual was his own policeman. The Rosenthal case with its horrible revelations of violence and corruption, and the white-slave

prosecutions, with their disclosures of prostitution among Jewish women, brought to the American Jew a deep sense of humiliation, and to the thoughtful grave concern. What could be more remote from Jewish tradition than such resort to violence, unless it be the prevalence of unchastity? . . .

There is one other consideration to which the Jews of America must give thought. Though the result of this war should be, as we hope, the removal or lessening of the disabilities under which the Jews labor in eastern Europe, nevertheless when peace comes, emigration from the war-stricken countries will certainly proceed in large volume, because of the misery incident to the war's devastations. More than one-half of the Jews of the whole world live in that territory near the western frontier of Russia which has become one of the two vast battlefields of the nations. Is it desirable that America should be practically the only country to which the Jews of eastern Europe may emigrate? Is it not desirable that, as the Zionists propose, Palestine should give a special welcome to the emigrant Jews?

I am impelled all the more to ask you for your support, both moral and financial, because at this critical juncture we should all stand together, so that when the occasion arises we may be of lasting service to our people. Now is not the time to foreshadow the policy which we should engage upon. But united, we may be a factor in obtaining for the Jews of other parts of the world something more real than promises of amelioration; something more lasting than philanthropy. This greater undertaking depends

upon the readiness with which you rally in every possible way to the cause. Your loyalty to America, your loyalty to Judaism should lead you to support the Zionist cause.

Education

Education has ever been treasured by the Jewish people. Civilization without education is inconceivable to them. And so they have established in Palestine a school system almost complete. But for this war, it would have been capped with the establishment of the first department of the University of Jerusalem, the medical department. The war interrupted that forward step, as well as the opening of the Institute of Technology at Haifa. But before the war there had been established high schools in which were fitted not only Jews of Palestine, but hundreds who came from Russia and Roumania, so thoroughly that they could enter on equal terms with the European students any of the great universities of Austria, Germany and France.

Pure Democracy

In their self-governing colonies, over forty in number, ranging in population from a few families to some 2,000, the Jews have pure democracy, and since those self-governing colonies were establishing a true democracy, they gave women equal rights with men, without so much as a doubt on the part of any settler. And women contributed, like the men, not only in the toil of that which is narrowly called the home, but in the solution of broader and more difficult problems.

Social Responsibility

Among the problems which they undertook to solve is one with which we have been particularly concerned this last year, the problem of unemployment. The prosperity of the Palestine colonies had depended largely upon its export trade. When the war came, their trade practically ceased, because the export markets were closed to them. It ceased wholly later, because, when Turkey entered the war, it prohibited all exports. This stoppage of trade naturally brought on unemployment. The Zionists undertook to find employment for those who had lost their jobs. In part they did this by going on courageously with public works, road-building and drainage, and the construction of a public hospital and similar undertakings. That helped some. They suggested that the farmers look ahead and do upon their farms work that would add ultimately to their value. That took care of a large part of the workmen in the country districts. But there were many unemployed in the cities, which had been growing incident to the growth of the colonies. Whereupon the Zionists undertook to the extent of their available funds to lend money to the industries which were relatively large employers of labor. In that way they avoided a dole system and the pauperization of those for whom they held themselves responsible. Labor was most helpful. Those who had steady jobs suffered their salaries to be cut one-fourth, one-third, and in some cases these voluntary cuts were even more generous. Thus those without

steady jobs were provided with work under as fair a distribution as it was possible to achieve.

In other fields, likewise, Zionists have undertaken functions which governments should assume, but generally do not. Among their institutions is the Palestine office, so-called, an exalted information bureau and intelligence office for the prospective settler, which helps to place him in his new home with the minimum of self-sacrifice and suffering on his part, and acts in many ways as friend and adviser of the Jewish inhabitants in the land of their fathers.

I was talking not long ago with one of the men who went as a pioneer to Palestine. He referred in discussion to another Palestinian, of whom he said in severest censure: "Yes, he is a Zionist, but he thinks of his own interests first. That is all right in other countries, but in Palestine it is all wrong." And as he spoke he made me think of the words which Mazzini, when entering Rome in 1849, uttered: "In Rome we may not be moral mediocrities." That is the feeling of the Palestinian Pilgrim Fathers. That should be the feeling of their brethren throughout the world when they think of their great inheritance, of their glorious past, the mirror of the future.

A Call to the Educated Jew

This challenge to the educated Jew was delivered at a conference of the Intercollegiate Menorah Association and was published in the first issue of the Menorah Journal (January, 1915) of which Justice Brandeis was then a consulting editor.

WHILE I was in Cleveland a few weeks ago, a young man who has won distinction on the bench told me this incident from his early life. He was born in a little village of Western Russia where the opportunities for schooling were meager. When he was thirteen his parents sent him to the nearest city in search of an education. There, in Bialystok, were good secondary schools and good high schools; but the Russian law, which limits the percentage of Jewish pupils in any school, barred his admission.¹ The boy's parents lacked the means to pay for private tuition.

¹ Educational opportunities for Jews in Tsarist Russia were restricted by two orders of the Minister of Public Instructions, issued in July, 1887. They limited the proportion of Jewish students in the universities and secondary schools to 10% of the Christian school population in the Pale of Settlement (the region where Jews were permitted to reside freely); to 5% outside the Pale and to 3% in Moscow and St. Petersburg (now Leningrad). This *numerus clausus* practice was abolished automatically together with other instances of Jewish inequality by the emancipation decree issued on April 2, 1917, by Prince Lvov on behalf of the Provisional Government.

He had neither relative nor friend in the city. But soon three men were found who volunteered to give him instruction. None of them was a teacher by profession. One was a newspaper man; another was a chemist; the third, as I recall, was a tradesman; all were educated men. And throughout five long years these men took from their leisure the time necessary to give a stranger an education.

The three men of Bialystok realized that education was not a thing of one's own to do with what one pleases, that it was not a personal privilege to be merely enjoyed by the possessor, but a precious treasure transmitted; a sacred trust to be held, used and enjoyed, and if possible strengthened, then passed on to others upon the same trust. Yet the treasure which these three men held and which the boy received in trust was much more than an education. It included that combination of qualities which enabled and impelled these three men to give, and the boy to seek and to acquire, an education. These qualities embrace: first, intellectual capacity; second, an appreciation of the value of education; third, indomitable will; fourth, capacity for hard work. It was these qualities which enabled the lad, not only to acquire but to so utilize an education that, coming to America, ignorant of our language and of our institutions he attained in comparatively few years the important office he has so honorably filled.²

Whence comes this combination of qualities of mind,

² The reference, according to Rabbi Solomon Goldman, is to the late Judge Manuel Levine (1881-1939), former Chief Justice of the Court of Appeals of the Eighth Ohio District.

body and character? These are qualities with which every one of us is familiar, singly and in combination; which you find in friends and relatives; and which others doubtless discover in you. They are qualities possessed by most Jews who have attained distinction or other success. In combination, they may properly be called Jewish qualities. For they have not come to us by accident; they were developed by three thousand years of civilization, and nearly two thousand years of persecution; developed through our religion and spiritual life; through our traditions; and through the social and political conditions under which our ancestors lived. They are, in short, the product of Jewish life.

Our intellectual capacity was developed by the almost continuous training of the mind throughout twenty-five centuries. The Torah led the "People of the Book" to intellectual pursuits at times when most of the Aryan peoples were illiterate. Religion imposed the use of the mind upon the Jews, indirectly as well as directly. It demanded of the Jew not merely the love, but also the understanding of God. This necessarily involved a study of the Law. The conditions under which the Jews were compelled to live during the last two thousand years promoted study in a people among whom there was already considerable intellectual attainment. Throughout the centuries of persecution practically the only life open to the Jew which could give satisfaction was the intellectual and spiritual life. Other fields of activity and of distinction which divert men from intellectual pursuits were closed to Jews. Thus they were protected by their privations from the tempta-

tions of material things and worldly ambitions. Driven by circumstances to intellectual pursuits their mental capacity gradually developed. And as men delight in that which they do well, there was an ever-widening appreciation of things intellectual.

Is not the Jews' indomitable will—the power which enables them to resist temptation and, fully utilizing their mental capacity, to overcome obstacles—is not that quality also the result of the conditions under which they lived so long? To live as a Jew during the centuries of persecution was to lead a constant struggle for existence. That struggle was so severe that only the fittest could survive. Survival was not possible except where there was strong will, a will both to live and to live as a Jew. The weaker ones passed either out of Judaism or out of existence.

And finally, the Jewish capacity for hard work is also the product of Jewish life, a life characterized by temperate, moral living continued throughout the ages, and protected by those marvelous sanitary regulations which were enforced through the religious sanctions. Remember, too, that amidst the hardship to which our ancestors were exposed it was only those with endurance who survived.

So let us not imagine that what we call our achievements are wholly or even largely our own. The phrase "self-made man" is most misleading. We have power to mar but we alone cannot make. The relatively large success achieved by Jews wherever the door of opportunity was opened to them is due, in the main, to this product of Jewish life, to this treasure which we have acquired by

inheritance, and which we are in duty bound to transmit unimpaired, if not augmented, to coming generations.

But our inheritance comprises far more than this combination of qualities making for effectiveness. These are but means by which man may earn a living or achieve other success. Our Jewish trust comprises also that which makes the living worthy and success of value. It brings us that body of moral and intellectual perceptions, the point of view and the ideals, which are expressed in the term Jewish spirit; and therein lies our richest inheritance.

Is it not a striking fact that a people coming from Russia, the most autocratic of countries, to America, the most democratic of countries, comes here, not as to a strange land, but as to a home? The ability of the Russian Jew to adjust himself to America's essentially democratic conditions is not to be explained by Jewish adaptability. The explanation lies mainly in the fact that the twentieth century ideals of America have been the ideals of the Jew for more than twenty centuries. We have inherited these ideals of democracy and of social justice as we have the qualities of mind, body and character to which I referred. We have inherited also that fundamental longing for truth on which all science, and so largely the civilization of the twentieth century, rests; although the servility incident to persistent oppression has in some countries obscured its manifestation.

Among the Jews democracy was not an ideal merely. It was a practice, a practice made possible by the existence among them of certain conditions essential to successful democracy, namely:

First: An all-pervading sense of duty in the citizen. Democratic ideals cannot be attained through emphasis merely upon the rights of man. Even a recognition that every right has a correlative duty will not meet the needs of democracy. Duty must be accepted as the dominant conception in life. Such were the conditions in the early days of the colonies and states of New England, when American democracy reached there its fullest expression; for the Puritans were trained in implicit obedience to stern duty by constant study of the Prophets.

Second: Relatively high intellectual attainments. Democratic ideals cannot be attained by the mentally undeveloped. In a government where everyone is part sovereign, everyone should be competent, if not to govern, at least to understand the problems of government; and to this end education is an essential. The early New Englanders appreciated fully that education is an essential of potential equality. The founding of their common school system was coincident with founding of the colonies; and even the establishment of institutions for higher education did not lag far behind. Harvard College was founded but six years after the first settlement of Boston.

Third: Submission to leadership as distinguished from authority. Democratic ideals can be attained only where those who govern exercise their power not by alleged divine right or inheritance, but by force of character and intelligence. Such a condition implies the attainment by citizens generally of relatively high moral and intellectual standards; and such a condition actually existed among the Jews. These men who were habitually denied rights,

and whose province it has been for centuries "to suffer and to think," learned not only to sympathize with their fellows (which is the essence of a democracy and social justice), but also to accept voluntarily the leadership of those highly endowed, morally and intellectually.

Fourth: A developed community sense. The sense of duty to which I have referred was particularly effective in promoting democratic ideals among the Jews, because of their deep-seated community feeling. To describe the Jew as an individualist is to state a most misleading half-truth. He has to a rare degree merged his individuality and his interests in the community of which he forms a part. This is evidenced among other things by his attitude toward immortality. Nearly every other people has reconciled this world of suffering with the idea of a beneficent Providence by conceiving of immortality for the individual. The individual sufferer bore present ills by regarding this world as merely the preparation for another, in which those living righteously here would find individual reward hereafter. Of all nations, Israel "takes precedence in suffering";³ but, despite our national tragedy, the doctrine of individual immortality found relatively slight lodgment among us. As Ahad Ha'am so beautifully said: "Judaism did not turn heavenward and create in Heaven an eternal habitation of souls. It found 'eternal life' on earth, by strengthening the social feeling in the individual; by making him regard himself not as an isolated

³ Cf. Leopold Zunz, *Die synagogale Poesie des Mittelalters*, Berlin, 1855, p. 9, and Idem, *The Sufferings of the Jews During the Middle Ages* (Engl. transl.), New York, 1907, p. 19.

being with an existence bounded by birth and death, but as part of a larger whole, as a limb of the social body. This conception shifts the center of gravity of the ego not from the flesh to the spirit, but from the individual to the community; and concurrently with this shifting, the problem of life becomes a problem not of individual, but of social life. I live for the sake of the perpetuation and happiness of the community of which I am a member; I die to make room for new individuals, who will mould the community afresh and not allow it to stagnate and remain forever in one position. When the individual thus values the community as his own life, and strives after its happiness as though it were his individual wellbeing, he finds satisfaction, and no longer feels so keenly the bitterness of his individual existence, because he sees the end for which he lives and suffers.”⁴ Is not that the very essence of the truly triumphant twentieth-century democracy?

Such is our inheritance; such the estate which we hold in trust. And what are the terms of that trust; what the obligations imposed? The short answer is *noblesse oblige*; and its command is twofold. It imposes duties upon us in respect to our own conduct as individuals; it imposes no less important duties upon us as part of the Jewish community or people. Self-respect demands that each of us lead individually a life worthy of our great inheritance and of the glorious traditions of the people. But this is demanded also by respect for the rights of others. The Jews have not only been ever known as a “peculiar peo-

⁴ From “Flesh and Spirit,” in *Selected Essays* by Ahad Ha’am. Transl. from the Hebrew by Leon Simon, Philadelphia, 1912, pp. 146-47.

ple"; they were and remain a distinctive and minority people. Now it is one of the necessary incidents of a distinctive and minority people that the act of any one is in some degree attributed to the whole group. A single though inconspicuous instance of dishonorable conduct on the part of a Jew in any trade or profession has far-reaching evil effects extending to the many innocent members of the race. Large as this country is, no Jew can behave badly without injuring each of us in the end. Thus the Rosenthal and the white-slave traffic cases, though local to New York, did incalculable harm to the standing of the Jews throughout the country. The prejudice created may be most unjust; but we may not disregard the fact that such is the result. Since the act of each becomes thus the concern of all, we are perforce our brothers' keepers, exacting even from the lowliest the avoidance of things dishonorable; and we may properly brand the guilty as disloyal to the people.

But from the educated Jew far more should be exacted. In view of our inheritance and our present opportunities, self-respect demands that we live not only honorably but worthily; and worthily implies nobly. The educated descendants of a people which in its infancy cast aside the Golden Calf and put its faith in the invisible God cannot worthily in its maturity worship worldly distinction and things material. "Two men he honors and no third," says Carlyle, "the toil-worn craftsman who conquers the earth and him who is seen toiling for the spiritually indispensable."

And yet, though the Jew make his individual life the

loftiest, that alone will not fulfill the obligations of his trust. We are bound not only to use worthily our great inheritance, but to preserve, and if possible, augment it; and then transmit it to coming generations. The fruit of three thousand years of civilization and a hundred generations of suffering may not be sacrificed by us. It will be sacrificed if dissipated. Assimilation is national suicide. And assimilation can be prevented only by preserving national characteristics and life as other peoples, large and small, are preserving and developing their national life. Shall we with our inheritance do less than the Irish, the Serbians, or the Bulgars? And must we not, like them, have a land where the Jewish life may be naturally led, the Jewish language spoken, and the Jewish spirit prevail? Surely we must, and that land is our fathers' land; it is Palestine.

The undying longing for Zion is a fact of deepest significance, a manifestation in the struggle for existence.

The establishment of the legally secured Jewish home is no longer a dream. For more than a generation brave pioneers have been building the foundations of our new-old home. It remains for us to build the super-structure. The Ghetto walls are now falling. Jewish life cannot be preserved and developed, assimilation cannot be averted, unless there be reestablished in the fatherland a center from which the Jewish spirit may radiate and give to the Jews scattered throughout the world that inspiration which springs from the memories of a great past and the hope of a great future.

The glorious past can really live only if it becomes the mirror of a glorious future; and to this end the Jewish home in Palestine is essential. We Jews of prosperous America above all need its inspiration.

Group Liberty

The following excerpt is from an address delivered before the Collegiate Zionist Society of Columbia University, May 2, 1915.

WE MUST make common cause with the small nations of the world. The big nations must surely come to the day when they will recognize that it is bad national policy to suppress any people in an effort to uproot its national instinct. We have had much of that in Russia. They tried to make people of every nationality conform to the national traits of Russia.

Is England less glorious because all of the little nations that went to make up England were permitted to develop naturally and constitute units within the greater unit? Is England wronged because the Scotch are different from the Welsh and the Irish are different from the English?

Disabilities are imposed upon the Jews in Russia, where they are denied the freedom to move about, the right to own land, the rights fundamental to the pursuit of life, liberty and happiness. To win these rights is the only solution possible for the Jewish problem, for any other solution involves suicide and death to Jewish aspirations.

We must demand group liberty as well as individual liberty.

Dreams May Be Made Into Realities

The following four items consist of remarks delivered before the Convention of the Federation of American Zionists held in Boston and Chelsea in June, 1915.

THIS GREAT ASSEMBLY manifests the essential unity of the Jewish people. Those who are in this crowded hall, together with those who have failed to gain admittance, constitute a large part of the Jews of Massachusetts. You testify by your presence to your great interest in the movement which is destined to lead to the solution of the Jewish problem. Zionism points the way to a solution, because it will enable the Jewish people to help themselves and thus be also of greatest service to the world; Zionism will make it possible for Jews to put an end to wholesale misery and not merely alleviate it.

I interpret your presence here as an expression of your faith; as testimony to your interest; as a promise to aid in carrying forward the Jewish ideals; as a determination to realize the Jewish hope of the twentieth century. Realization demands of you, of course, much more than expressions of sympathy. It demands action, and since you are Americans, we expect from you that you bind your-

selves together by organizations into an effective body. By so doing you will not only manifest indomitable will; you will fashion the indispensable instrument for achievement. Stand up, each and every one of you, and be counted. Join the Zionist Organization and shoulder your part in this great movement. Only by bearing your part can you be true to the Jewish people, just as you can be true to the American Government only by doing your share. No American, man or woman, may shirk when a great cause is to be striven for and won.

Such is our duty as Jews and as Americans. By battling for the Zionist cause, the American ideal of democracy, of social justice and of liberty will be given wider expression. By such action the manhood and womanhood of American Jews will be made manifest to the world. By concrete action, the prayer of twenty centuries will be made to come true. The great Herzl was right when he said in his *Altneuland*,¹ "If you wish it, it is no fable." Dreams may be made into realities.

¹ *Altneuland* (Old-New-Land) is the name of a utopian novel by Theodor Herzl, published in German in 1902. Its title was suggested to the author by the *Altneuschul* (old new synagogue) of Prague, Czechoslovakia. An English translation of this work appeared only as late as 1941. (*Old-New-Land*, *Altneuland*, Translated by Lotta Levensohn, New York, Bloch.)

American Aid

IT IS FITTING that I should preface the report of the Provisional Committee with this statement: What has been accomplished is due primarily to the great cause which we represent, and next to the constant aid and support given us at home and abroad by the officials of the United States Government. Without the aid given by officials of the Department of State and of the Navy Department, it would have been impossible to render the assistance which has preserved the Palestinian colonies and saved our brethren from distress. In recounting the aid nobly given us by this great Republic, it would be invidious to name individuals. For help has been given, generously and graciously, by every official of the United States, highest or lowest, whenever help was possible. But it may be proper to mention Ambassador Morgenthau,¹ because he is a Jew. With signal devotion, and with the efficiency and ability which is his own, he has watched over our interests. Supported by a great and sympathetic government he has done all that man could do to aid our efforts to preserve and protect Zionist institutions and the Jews of Palestine.

¹ Henry Morgenthau served as United States Ambassador to Turkey, 1913-1916.

The path of the Zionist in America, during this year of trial, has been relatively clear solely because the Zionist ideals, the highest Jewish ideals, are essentially the American ideals. Democracy is also a Zionist concept. Social justice is also a Zionist aim. Full and complete liberty is an essential of triumphant Zionism as it is the American ideal of the twentieth century. As Americans, and as Jews battling for American ideals, we may look forward to the support of a great majority of the Jews of the United States.

The detail of the work of the Provisional Committee will be stated at later meetings of Convention week. But this I should say on behalf of the committee. We believe as must each of you, that the day for which Rabbi Berlin ² prayed is near, the day when we Zionists will speak only of Jews, for practically all Jews will be Zionists.

² Rabbi Meir (Meyer) Berlin came to this country in 1913 by invitation of the American followers of the Mizrahi (religious Zionist) movement. He was its president, 1916-1917, and held various important offices in the World Mizrahi and World Zionist Organization. He has resided in Palestine since 1933.

The Zionist Movement is Democratic

ALL OF YOU will agree with me that we have had a wonderfully successful convention or series of conventions, and that the plan of bringing together all the various organizations that we might each learn what the other is doing has proved a wise one. Now the question is one of the future. The success that we have attained, the interest that we have awakened by means of the convention throughout the country gives us hope that there is opportunity to accomplish much. We must make it our task to increase greatly the number of those who become directly affiliated with our organization, who are willing to stand up and be counted, and having been counted, are willing to lend support in various ways. The Zionist movement is essentially democratic and, being that, it must rest upon the activity of the many and their appreciation of what we are attempting. To develop our Palestine institutions we must also have large resources, and we should not get it from the affluent few but from the people, from our own members, taxing themselves voluntarily each one to the limit of his means. We ought to begin right now with a resolve to extend to the utmost of our ability the opportunities and activity of the organization in each and every community.

Every Jew a Zionist

WE HAVE come to Chelsea. We have transferred our meeting to another city. In doing so, we have made an exception to a rule hitherto adhered to vigorously by the Zionist conventions. We have not done this because the invitation extended was uncommonly gracious. We have come because in Chelsea Jews constitute a larger percentage of the population than in any other city of the United States; because the Jews of Chelsea have, by their conduct, given to the Jewish name a good reputation here and throughout the Commonwealth; because one of our great leaders has told us that nowhere in the wide world had he been given more sympathetic and intelligent attention than by your city. These are the reasons why we accepted the Chelsea invitation.

We did so, not, however, as a compliment. We have come in order to achieve for our movement something both definite and practical. We want not merely Zionist sympathy, we want definite Zionist action. That is essential to the development of our movement. It is indispensable to acquiring the influence which we expect to exercise among the nations of the world. The Jews of America must manifest their interest by overt acts. They must

stand up and be counted. They must show by sacrifices their readiness to support the cause which we espouse.

Chelsea, as we believe, is the place where the plan which we have formulated should be inaugurated; our purpose is to make every adult Jew in this city a member of a Zionist society. We say every Jew, women as well as men, for in the Zionist organization there prevails equal suffrage, equal rights. Equal rights spell equal obligations. Indeed no part of the Zionist membership has shown a more definite determination to bear its obligations than Hadassah, the women's organization. I may add that measures and projects evidencing the highest statesmanship manifested in the conduct of our Palestinian colonies have originated in the minds of the women. And they have been carried out largely through their determination, persistence and devotion. So in asking for the enrollment of the Jews in Chelsea, we are making no distinction; men and women, both, are equally welcome.

We shall not be satisfied merely with the enrollment of the twenty-five hundred adult Jews of Chelsea. We ask that in the appropriate manner every child also should be enrolled. Boys and girls should be enrolled as members of Young Judaea. There they will be trained in Zionism. There they will learn to know their ancestors' great past. There they will be taught to live in a way becoming that past; and when they grow up, they, too, shall be equipped for the harder task of Palestine building even better than their parents. Therefore, we propose that not only shall the twenty-five hundred adult Jews become members of some local Chelsea Zionist organization; their children

shall become members of Young Judaea. And as shekel payers all should be formally associated with the Zionist Organization.

More than two years ago it was my great privilege to come to Chelsea on the occasion of a banquet given by the Young Men's Hebrew Association.¹ The young men whom I then met were full of determination. They made me believe more strongly than ever in the possibilities of the American Jew. Their membership, as I recall, is about three hundred; I propose to them this task: Let these three hundred men enlist as volunteers, under a committee to be formed by your Chairman, Mr. Lourie, and undertake the task of enrolling the Jews of Chelsea, both parents and children, in the Zionist organization. In this way they may prove that they are prepared to make sacrifices for the cause.

When Chelsea has performed this task, we propose, with your example as our slogan, to attempt the same work in other cities of the Commonwealth. The other cities are less favorably situated in this respect than yours. But with your good example and the lesson learned through your experience, we shall be encouraged to attempt the enrollment of the Jews of Massachusetts. With Massachusetts won, we shall proceed to other New England States, and finally to other parts of the country. By steady pursuit of these means we may hope to secure formal recognition of the demands of the Jewish people. Such action will be compelling evidence to the world of

¹ See above p. 39.

Jewish unity. It will make manifest the Jewish determination to secure for the Jews everywhere full liberty. And in that is included the right to a publicly recognized, legally secured home in Palestine.

Numbers Count

This message was sent to the Zionist Council of Greater New York on the occasion of its tenth anniversary in December, 1915.

IT IS TO BE HOPED that your Council will be able to report a substantial increase in the number of those who have agreed in this time of trial to stand up and be counted. Such action is demanded of all Zionists in this great crisis. Zionists have met the first onset of the war in a practical, earnest and hopeful spirit. They have brought succor to all the Jews of Palestine; they have supported the movement that inspires hope in all the sorely stricken Jews of Europe.

The Provisional Committee has accomplished much. To continue our work we must make heavy demands upon every Zionist individually; and all Jews and Jewesses in New York should be moved to stand resolutely together with that group of Jews who are laboring unafraid and undismayed to heal the wounds of our afflicted people.

There may be a thousand difficulties ahead of Zionist accomplishment. We readily admit the obstacles to be overcome. But in New York City alone there should be a

hundred thousand factors in favor of its success. Let but a hundred thousand of our own people bring to the movement their enthusiasm, determination, ability and means, and all obstacles will yield and success will be assured.

Zionism has not sprung out of the war; it was vital and active before. The Zionist movement will not pass out with the ending of the war. But the war has made the necessity for the movement obvious. For Zionism aims at the fundamentals of Jewish life, the self-respect, rehabilitation and restoration of the Jewish people. Hence, he who would be counted as a loyal Jew and American, self-respecting and conscious, trusting in his people, in their ability and character, will join in aiding the Zionist cause.

Of the members of your organization I say confidently that they will understand and respond with American readiness and heartiness:

1. The Provisional Committee is pledged to make good all intentional and particularly Palestinian obligations. We rely upon you to help us make good, both to the letter and the spirit of those pledges. We must raise this year \$200,000 for our Emergency Fund; and of this amount we rely upon New York's raising at least \$50,000.

2. Double or treble this year the number of organized Zionists, for we shall shortly need the support and cooperation of every affiliated member of our organization. Numbers count, will be counted.

The Victory of the Maccabees

This message to the Zionists of America was issued on Hanukkah, December, 1915.

THE JEWISH calendar has many sorrowful days. Hanukkah, the Feast of Maccabees, is one of the few joyous Red Letter days. It celebrates a victory, not a military victory only; but a victory also of the spirit over things material; not a victory only over external enemies, the Greeks; but a victory also over more dangerous internal enemies, the Sadducees; a victory of the many over the ease-loving, safety-playing, privileged, powerful few, who in their pliancy would have betrayed the best interests of the people; a victory of democracy over aristocracy.

As a part of the eternal world-wide struggle for democracy, the struggle of the Maccabees is of eternal world-wide interest. It is a struggle of the Jews today, as well as of those of 2,000 years ago. It is a struggle of America as well as of Palestine. It is a struggle in which all Americans, non-Jews as well as Jews, should be vitally interested because they are vitally affected.

For the Zionists the day has special significance. The Maccabees' victory proved that the Jews, then already an old people, possessed the secret of eternal youth, the abil-

ity to rejuvenate itself through the courage, hope, enthusiasm, devotion and self-sacrifice of the plain people. In that distant past the plain people achieved a rebirth. They will bring again a Jewish Renaissance.

Not by Charity Alone

Chicago was the first city to respond officially to Dr. Theodor Herzl's call for a Jewish Congress (The First Zionist Congress) in 1897. After the return of the elected delegate, a small group of Zionists organized the Knights of Zion, a fraternal organization chartered in 1897. In 1913 it became a constituent part of the Federation of American Zionists, and merged with it completely in the formation of the Zionist Organization of America in 1918. Following is an excerpt of an address delivered by Justice Brandeis before the convention of the Knights of Zion in Chicago on January 2, 1916.

YOU CANNOT in my opinion do your duty as Jews unless you help raise the Jewish people to that point where it may best serve America and the world. And that can be done only by the realization of the ages long dream and the fulfillment of the prayers of Jews, that they may have again a homeland, where the Jewish life may be lived according to the Jewish spirit, without trammel of any kind. You and each of you are called upon to do your part. You may not shift that duty to others. You may not rely upon others to do more than their share and you do

less. Your own self-respect, your own duty demands that you join a Zionist organization because without organization, without a great and perfected organization the cause which brings us here this evening cannot succeed. You, who hear about Zionism without being members of an organization, cannot picture to yourselves the forces that have kept alive Zionist thought and made possible the Zionist achievement. There are no miracles. Things happen in the world of Zionism as they happen in your own businesses and in your own households. Things come from working. Men accomplish because they work, because they work with the necessary material and instruments. That means effort and it means money.

The great thing that the Zionist movement does and has sought to do in all its years is this: To look at the Jewish problem as something to be solved, and to go about it with statesmanlike aim, to remove once for all the causes of misery. We are not satisfied merely to alleviate suffering or, by charity, to lessen the tribulation and distress of centuries. We have learned, each and every one of us who are interested in the attainment of social justice, that no amount of philanthropy can ever remove social injustices unless we first remove its causes. The Zionist movement is undertaking to do just that, to remove the causes of the injustice to the Jew and thus to end his misery; to give him liberty; and not only to give him liberty but to give him that standing in the world without which no legal declaration of liberty will be of serious moment. . . .

Palestine, as you know, has not only been harassed by the war, but it has also suffered because of the cutting off

of its export and import. Palestine has lived largely from the exports of its plantations, orange groves, vineyards and wheat fields, and when the war came that was stopped. We have tried to sell some of their oranges here. You of Chicago know a little of that. But then came the complete prohibition of exports and the valuable orange crop was lost. The colonies were in great need, not in need of charity, but of capital, capital to operate their plantations, capital to continue that life of self-support and self-respect which had won the admiration of all who are acquainted with their story and their struggle. We in America, the Zionist Provisional Committee and others, undertook to raise a loan for those planters, to be repaid when better conditions would enable them to market their products.

Later there came to Palestine besides the severe sufferings incident to the war, sufferings incident to a locust plague. In the thirty-three years since the colonies were originally established there had been no locust plague there. This year the horrible pest came. Had they had a well ordered government it would have been possible to have put an end to it or to have prevented it from coming, particularly since the general direction of the thing was in the competent hands of Aaron Aaronsohn. If he had had the power of government behind him the locust pest might have been prevented, but he did not have the power of government behind him, and consequently the colonies did suffer despite the tremendous fight they made. The locust came like an enemy, devastating the land. While, thanks to the heroic efforts of the colonists, no permanent damage was sustained, the year's crop in large part was

lost. Now these planters need further help and the Provisional Committee is endeavoring to arrange another loan. That is the line of work we are doing.

But there is only one way in which we can carry on effectively, and that is through organization. We must bring behind the Zionist movement, the Zionist organization, the Provisional Committee and the Actions Committee, the support, not of a few, but of the many, because the cause for which they are fighting is the cause of the whole people. They need the whole people behind them. Everyone should give as much as he can even if he can give only little; but besides that which he gives in money there must be the giving of the heart and of the head.

You will have the opportunity in a few minutes to listen to the address of one who understands the Zionist problem so thoroughly and who feels it so deeply that each and every one of you who has a drop of Jewish blood and a speck of Jewish consciousness will, I am sure, be moved by his words. When Dr. Levin talks to you, you will feel more strongly than ever what Zionism is. No one here can move you more mightily. But do not rest satisfied even with what he says. Learn, study, read what has happened in the Zionist world. There isn't a thing that should be more interesting to a Jew today than the events of Zionism as they are occurring from week to week. Your local papers give you some information. The "Yiddishe Folk" and "The Maccabean," the two Zionist organs published by American Zionists, will give you infinitely more. Read them. Read them as they appear. Learn about Zionism, and there will be no doubt as to your own inter-

est, or your desire to move others to follow your example and to become members of the Zionist organization. There is work to be done for each and every one of you. Let no one of you, if he be a true American, shirk his duty.

Blackstone and Herzl

The Reverend William A. Blackstone (1841-1935), a fundamentalist Protestant clergyman, on March 5, 1891, presented a memorial to President Benjamin Harrison, in which outstanding American Christian and Jewish leaders urged the president to use his good offices with the various governments of Europe "to secure the holding, at an early date, of an international conference to consider the condition of the Israelites and their claims to Palestine as their ancient home, and to promote in all other just and proper ways the alleviation of their suffering condition." On May 8, 1916, he presented a petition to President Woodrow Wilson, calling on him to intercede with the European powers for the summoning of an international convention for the purpose of considering the Jewish situation and the claim of the Jews for a secured political home in Palestine. The following brief remarks indicate Justice Brandeis's reaction to an address on Zionism delivered by this minister on July 2, 1916, at the 19th Annual Convention of the Federation of American Zionists held in Philadelphia.

THOSE OF YOU who have read with care the petition presented twenty-five years ago by the Rev. Wm. Blackstone

and others, asking that the President of the United States use his influence in the calling together of a Congress of the Nations of the world to consider the Jewish problem with a view to the giving of Palestine to the Jews, must have been struck with the extraordinary coincidence that the arguments which Rev. Blackstone used in that petition were, in large part, the arguments which the great Herzl presented five years later, in setting forth to the world the needs and the hopes of the Jewish people. That coincidence alone, the sameness of the arguments presented in America and later by Herzl, shows how clearly and strongly founded they are. They come to all men who will regard in a clear and statesmanlike way the problems of the Jewish people.

Democracy Means Responsibility

An address delivered on July 7, 1916, before the Convention of the Federation of American Zionists in Philadelphia.

OUR WORK can be accomplished only if we recognize and live up to the fundamental basis of Zionism, the democracy of the Jewish people. Democracy means not merely, I had almost said not so much, the rights of the whole people, as the duties of the whole people. It means that every Jew in this land, preeminently every Jew in the Zionist Movement, has a right to be heard. What is more, he has also a duty to be heard. This duty extends down to every private in the ranks; each and every man, each and every woman, must realize that with him or her rests the power; that upon them rests the duty to spread the Zionist Movement, spread the Ideal and the work, by word of mouth, by act, and by constant sacrifice. For only by constant sacrifice on the part of the whole people can we achieve what we are seeking to achieve. There should be no such thing as shifting responsibilities and tasks to be performed to the officers, be they the officers of the Provisional Committee, or the Federation, or of any of the other numerous central and local organizations.

It is our proud boast (if boast there be on the part of the Jewish people) that we have been a literate people, accustomed for thousands of years to use the mind, and use it especially for study, learning and intellectual pursuits. We may ask, therefore, of each and every Zionist that he make study a part of his daily work; study of Zionist facts, not merely of the theory of Zionism. Doubtless every Zionist has some knowledge of the theory of Zionism; but the facts of Zionism, what is being done in Europe and what is being done in America to advance the Zionist cause, should also be known by each of us. If you know what is being done, if you understand the Zionist past and particularly if you understand the Zionist present, you will be able to picture it and the Zionist future to others; and you cannot adequately aid in our work without such knowledge.

Every Zionist should make it a part of his business to read at least one of our Zionist papers and to read it, not cursorily as he reads and throws away the daily paper, morning and afternoon, but to read it diligently and digest its contents. Read and master the facts and you will be able to overcome the indifference and the opposition which surround you. Approach the people who are Zionistically inclined but indifferent, equipped with a knowledge of the facts; make them understand what the problem is, and what the remedy is that Zionism is offering. In at least nine cases out of ten, the people you are approaching will be obliged to admit that the Zionist program is the only practical solution of the Jewish problem.

Those who wish to help, if they will use their brains, must accept that program.

No Zionist is doing his duty unless he is affiliated with a Zionist organization, and no member of a Zionist organization is doing his duty unless he sees to it that his brother and sister are also doing Zionist work. In that way and in that way only can we achieve what is before us.

We have, as the figures tell you, accomplished much. But the figures are only a part and not the most important part of what has been done. The most important work is that which has made those figures possible, the spread and intensification of Zionist conviction; that is what has made it possible to do what we have done. But what we have done is of interest mainly as an indication of what we can do. The past is valuable as the mirror of the future. In the past year, we have practically doubled the activity of the preceding year in all fields, in membership, fund raising and propaganda among Jews and non-Jews. Now we must look forward to doubling our efforts and accomplishments during this year of 1916-17. For unless we do this, we shall be inadequate for the task which is set before us and which the Jews of the world are looking to us to perform.

When shall this work begin? Here and now on the part of those who are present, and as for your friends and associates whom you can reach and to whom you can carry our message, immediately after the Convention. Every Zionist should realize that this Convention is the beginning, not the end of the season's activities. Let each and every one of us carry on during the months of July, August

and September with determination. In that way, and in that way only, can we hope throughout this year to bear the burdens which we have assumed.

All of the speakers made reference to the fund of \$240,000 which we propose to raise. Do not be deceived by the sum named. That is the money which we need for what we call the Emergency Fund. We need an infinite amount more. But that fund of \$20,000 which we must raise each and every month for the ordinary disbursements of the Provisional Committee is of vast importance. In order that you may understand what it means to raise that fund, let me remind you that last year our budget called for only \$135,000. In other words, we must almost double our regular budget. There is, in addition to that, the extraordinary work, the work for relief and those large loans of which you have heard.

No month must pass without our raising \$20,000 for the ordinary expenses and disbursements of the organization. It should be done, so far as possible, by monthly or annual pledges, by self-taxation on the part of members and societies. The Zionist Organization should have a regular income to meet its regular budget. I hope the time will come soon, when the Committee may say: "Our regular expenses are taken care of." But in addition to the budget of the Committee we require a large sum to carry forward the Zionist work throughout the world, and particularly the Zionist development in Palestine.

In conducting this work of our organization, we must call upon ourselves and upon others for an account, a monthly account, of what is being accomplished. This is

to my mind one of the most important features of our method of proceeding. I want to say a few words to you on the importance of sending to the respective organizations a monthly account of what has been accomplished, in order that you may repeat them to your associates at home. We must get from every local a monthly account of the additions of membership; a monthly account of funds raised; a monthly account of the activities and the meetings, and other functions that have been held. A difficult task you may call it. Yet you must realize, on a moment's reflection, that without that monthly account those who are endeavoring to lead and direct your organization, and to determine what obligations they may assume in its behalf, will go astray in their calculations, if you fail to provide them with such accounts. The central body necessarily relies upon the local organizations scattered throughout the country, and it must have this information if the leaders are to act intelligently in the present and plan wisely for the future. I ask each and every one of you to impress this upon your associates. Every unnecessary letter which you compel the central organization to write you about accounts and pledges detracts by just that much from what the Federation, the Provisional Committee and the other organizations could otherwise accomplish.

That task of looking after others to see that they do their work is a task which, in a democratic body like the Zionist Organization, ought to be wholly unnecessary. An organization of democrats is an organization of equals. Members of such a body ought not to require policemen

to see that they do their duty, or inspectors to see that they perform their task. Just as it is a part of the Zionist duty of each and every member to press forward in the work of propaganda instead of leaving it to the officers, so each member should, so far as possible, relieve the officers of all other kinds of work that can and should be done by the members throughout the land. The mere task of direction is a serious one. When once a rule has been laid down, when once a direction has been given, it ought to be the eager desire of each and every affiliated Zionist to obey those rules, to enforce the law upon themselves and not have it enforced upon them. It is a reflection upon ourselves, if an officer of any organization is compelled to call upon us more than once to induce us to carry out our duties to the Zionist ideal to which we have pledged our loyalty.

Such is the work before us. Such is the work for each and every one, for every man, woman and child in the service of the Zionist Ideal.

The Common Cause of the Jewish People

Almost immediately on the outbreak of the First World War the leaders of the major Jewish groups in America began to prepare for the securing of Jewish rights at the forthcoming peace conference. The Zionists led in the organization of the first American Jewish Congress. Following is an address delivered by Justice Brandeis on January 24, 1916, before a mass meeting in Carnegie Hall called by the Jewish Congress Organization Committee of which he was chairman.

FIVE WEEKS AGO many of you met in this hall to consider the misery of the Jews in the war zone, and to aid in relief measures. This week, under the proclamation of our President, a special effort will be made throughout the United States to raise funds for that purpose. The need is urgent. The matter is one of life or death. To give quickly and to give generously is imperative. Each of you doubtless will do this. For you must realize that the relief funds, though large, will still leave thousands of our brethren in danger of starvation.

But though we may give ever so generously in money,

we shall still fail to do our part in this great crisis unless we seek not merely to alleviate the suffering of individual Jews, but to end the wrongs to the Jewish people. We cannot cope with individual suffering unless we succeed in removing the cause of that suffering. And the fundamental cause of Jewish misery is not the war. The war is but an accident which has made the long existing misery obvious to the whole world. The war has acted as a magnifying glass, intensifying the suffering in some places ten or a hundred fold; so that now none, except the blind, can fail to see it.

The underlying cause of Jewish misery is ever the same. It is now the same as it was before the war. And after the war is over, the misery will continue further, unless the conditions under which more than one half the Jews of the world live are radically changed. In order to end the misery an end must be put to injustice, an end to oppression, an end to denial of opportunity. The oppression and discrimination before and during the war was and is so extreme as to make one marvel that living has been possible at all. It was oppression and unjust discrimination which brought the great masses of Russian Jews to the verge of destitution, in which the commencement of the war found them and which plunged them into starvation when the war came. It was prejudice and unjust discrimination which exposed the Jews during the war to the unnecessary hardships of hostile treatment among their own countrymen.

But the war brings amidst its horrors at least one compensation to the whole world and particularly to the Jews.

It forces the world to lay aside makeshifts; to seek ultimate truths; to deal with fundamentals. We long for peace; but we begin to see that neither international congresses and courts, nor disarmament can secure peace. Peace can exist only in a world where justice and good will reign. Justice and good will involve not merely toleration of differences, but the grant of full rights, despite differences. There must be justice and good will not only between individuals, but between different peoples. All peoples must have equal rights. . . .

The war is awakening the more fortunately situated Jews from their torpor. It is bringing them to the realization of fundamental truths which a sorrowful past had obscured. Living in various lands as minorities during the eighteen centuries of dispersion; whirled like human flotsam sometimes by eddies away from the main stream, sometimes helplessly down the rapids, Jews had too often come to regard their misery as inevitable, and themselves as individuals merely. Those individuals to whom good fortune came, rejoiced, and the others, habituated to sorrow, were prone to bear philosophically evils which through long persistence had come to be looked upon as unavoidable.

The World War has brought their monstrous condition into clear relief. Intense suffering came; but with it, hope and courage. The awakening brings also recognition that the rights of the Jewish people can be gained only by traveling the same road which other peoples travel, the road of democracy, through the people's assert-

ing their own authority in their own interest. The demand for democracy in the consideration of the Jewish problem is not a matter of form. It is of the essence. It is a fundamental Jewish conception, as it is the basic American method. It rests upon the essential trust in the moral instincts of the people; potent to create their own well-being; to perfect it; and to maintain it, if an opportunity is given.

Among Theodor Herzl's contributions to our understanding of the Jewish problem are these:

First: The recognition of the fundamental fact that the Jews are a people—one people.

Second: The recognition of the political truth that the emancipation of the Jews can come only through themselves; that is, by democratic means.

That the Jews are a people was a well-known fact long before Herzl's time; but it had been submerged by the multiform individual struggle for Jewish existence. That emancipation could come only through the Jews themselves had also been clearly stated before Herzl's time; but it was Herzl who made clear the essential democratic means when he called the first Congress.

It is eight months since the movement for an American Jewish Congress was actively organized. To some it seems that the movement has proceeded slowly. But when we consider the obstacles which had to be overcome, the progress must be deemed rapid. The time spent in discussion, which some have called controversy, was time well spent. Discussion has educated the Jews of America.

It has taught them the need, the character and the purpose of the Congress. Week by week, as this process of education was continued, opposition yielded ever more to reasoning, and former opponents declared their adhesion to the Congress idea.

In the eight months since the Congress Organization Committee was formed practically all save one of the important national Jewish organizations have declared their approval of holding a Congress; and in 72 cities general committees have been formed in which, for the first time in the history of America, the many local Jewish organizations have combined with a view to the solution of the Jewish problem. There are still differences of opinion as to the powers which the Congress shall exercise when it convenes, and as to the time and manner of assembling. But the fundamental idea has passed beyond the stage of controversy. It is accepted by the Jews of America.

To estimate truly how great is this achievement, we must bear in mind that it is only eighteen years since delegates, representing Jews from all parts of the world, gathered together in an open Congress to discuss the Jewish Problem. That was at the Basel Congress of 1897, called under the inspiration of Theodor Herzl. For centuries Jews had been forced by circumstances to abandon their own traditions of democracy inherited from their fathers and expressed in the Hebrew Commonwealth, and to seek protection not through the methods of free and open discussion, and the development of public opinion, but by secret and indirect means through the efforts of indi-

viduals who had or were supposed to have influence. When one considers the tremendous force of long continued habit and the tendency of oppression to breed methods of indirection, it is easy to understand the misgivings even of able and public-spirited men and women, who long opposed the Congress because they feared to have discussed in public the Jewish Problem, which had heretofore been discussed only in private. The opposition of conservative-minded men, accustomed to the caution which heavy responsibility ordinarily entails, was natural. Patient consideration of the objections was appropriate. But it was also clear that if America can aid materially in the attainment of Jewish rights, it will be only through those forces which an open Congress can mobilize.

Absence of discord does not imply unity. Absence of discord may be due to indifference. Unity implies interest and participation. There may be acquiescence in the decision of a self-constituted body purporting to act on behalf of a free people. But there cannot be unity of action of a free people unless the decision is the act of that people participating through its properly constituted representatives.

What is demanded of the Jewish people is action, not acquiescence. We must seek to put an end to those conditions which through the centuries, and not merely during this war, have brought misery and suffering to the Jews. The position of the Jew is not entirely unique. The history of the Bohemians, the Poles, and several other Slavic races, provides remarkable parallels, and among all these

nationalities hopes are now high that in the peace that will follow the war their elemental wrongs will be righted. We have not made less, but more sacrifices than they have, and are justified in expecting that our elemental wrongs, too, will be righted. But we must be first in making our wrongs known, and be ready to take action which will be the result of our careful deliberation and a thorough understanding of the situation.

We can do this only if the Jews of America will that those conditions shall end; and undertake to express that will through action. What this action shall be involves decisions which are both difficult and serious; decision on which reasonable men will necessarily differ. The Jews are a people of thinkers; and they have a passion for freedom. If we acquiesce in decisions made for us and not by us, it can only be because we are practically indifferent; because we do not care, or at all events, do not care enough to assert our views, we certainly shall not care enough to make the sacrifices necessarily involved in saving our brethren, and solving the problem of the Jewish people.

There is a large number of Jews in America who are not indifferent to the suffering of their brethren abroad, or to the injustice to which they are subjected. There is a large number of Jews in America who are eager that something should be done to remove the causes of their brethren's misery. These Americans have views differing widely from one another as to what can be done, and what ought to be done, and how it should be done. They

ask to be heard on these questions through their duly constituted representatives; and they ask also to hear the views of others in order that the different proposals may be subjected to the test of public criticism. They deem it necessary that in view of the grave and difficult problems involved, the minds not of a few, but of many, should be turned towards their solution. It is for these reasons, among others, that they have demanded a Congress, and have demanded that it be convened on a democratic basis, and that the proceedings shall be made public. The deliberations of such a Congress would be enriched by the public discussion from others who are not delegates to it. And the Congress itself will create needed public opinion in support of the measures which it determines upon.

But the Congress is essential also for other reasons. Besides those Jews who have already given evidence of their readiness to aid in remedying the condition of their brethren, there are many in America whom the present need of action has failed to rouse. They are indifferent largely through lack of knowledge. We have such faith in our people as to believe that, with most of them, knowledge will overcome indifference and will lead to active participation in the effort to solve our people's problem. We must bring home the situation to those seemingly indifferent and make clear to them, not merely the intensity of existing suffering, but also that they can play a part in ending it, and indeed that they must do their part or we cannot succeed. And for the awakening of interest the Congress is a necessary means.

The Congress is not an end in itself. It is an incident of the organization of the Jewish people, an instrument through which their will may be ascertained, and when ascertained, may be carried out. In order that their will may be ascertained truly the Congress must be democratically representative. In order that their will may be carried into effect, the decision of their delegates must be supported by Jewish public opinion, intelligent, widespread, and expressive of deep conviction. In order that the decision may be the wisest possible, the Congress must be preceded by general public discussion of the measures proposed. The decision must embody the wisdom, not of the few, however able and public-spirited, but the thought and judgment of the whole people. The support must be active; it must be financial as well as moral. It must be the support of the million, not of the few generous, philanthropic millionaires. In order that the support may be adequate, the Congress must also be preceded by such organization of the Jews of America as will ensure their cooperation in carrying out such measures as shall be decided upon. The Congress is not to be an exalted mass-meeting. It is to be the effective instrument of organized Jewry of America.

It cannot be effective if its functions are limited to the passing of resolutions, however carefully framed. Those whom the Congress authorizes to act for the Jewish people must have the actual support of the Jews of America. They must not only be prepared to act, but must be supplied with the means to do so.

First: The Congress, by creating spokesmen for American Israel who are representative, will provide a body through which the Jews of America, as the only great neutral group of Jews, may not only authoritatively address other Governments, but may be so addressed by other Governments desirous of dealing with representatives of the whole Jewish people.

Second: Our demands may not be extravagant. Even the language used must be temperate. But the Jews can properly ask that throughout Europe, Asia and Africa their rights be acknowledged. The Congress will have to work out those basic ideas according to two fixed democratic principles. It should recognize the conception of needs as experienced by the Jews in the various lands in which they live, and the political circumstances in which great groups of Jews find themselves at the end of the war. It must, of course, recognize and act according to what it may find to be in accord with the general will and the feasible program. But the Congress must go a great step further. Mere protest or manifesto will bring no achievement. The Congress will elect men to be its spokesmen, men who will accept its mandate. But these men must be supplied with more than authorization. The Congress must create the machinery which will assure that what these spokesmen promise will be fulfilled, and that whatever gains the treaty of peace may exhibit will be maintained by the united effort of the Jews.

How much we have to do in order to realize the seriousness of this latter task, we may learn from our experience with the Roumanian Jewish Tolerance Clause in the

Berlin Treaty of 1878,¹ which had been so eagerly worked for, and was so widely rejoiced over. It would have been infinitely better if that provision for equality for the Jews in Roumania had not been written, because the scorn with which Roumania treated it exposed the helplessness of the Jews to the world. Had the machinery of the organized Jews existed, Roumania would have been compelled to keep her word. Through the Congress we must secure that power in men, in ability, in influence and in money necessary to maintain any gains that may be made.

Third: The Congress will have the further effect of creating unity in American Jewry, without which achievement abroad is impossible. Unity will develop because the minority will cooperate with the majority to attain the common end when the judgment and will of the majority has been democratically ascertained. That is in accordance with American methods and the demands of loyalty. The impotence of three million Jews of America to aid their brethren abroad should not surprise us. With over ten thousand separate Jewish organizations, each formed for a limited purpose and serving its individual policies, there has been no effective cooperation on the large problem of Jewish life. The organizations largely

¹ Roumania was recognized as an independent state by the Treaty of Berlin (July 13, 1878) which concluded the Russo-Turkish War. At the insistence of the representatives of the great European powers, all the individual treaties between them and the Balkan states included provisions guaranteeing full civil and political equality to citizens of all faiths. However, a provision was included in the Roumanian Constitution providing that "strangers" (and an overwhelming majority of the Jews was labelled as such) could become naturalized only upon submission of individual application.

overlapped one another, and inevitably clashed when broader problems were involved. And no means existed of composing the discord. There could be no effective cooperation because there was no coordination. The Congress, in developing the practice of unity through the yielding of the minority to the will of the majority, cannot fail to immensely simplify, develop and strengthen the forces in American Jewish life.

Dr. Nordau² said some time ago that the Jews are a "miracle people," meaning by that that they expected results like freedom to be obtained without the resort to the means by which results would naturally be secured. It is indeed extraordinary that the Jews should entertain such an idea. For there is no people in the world in which the individual members are more conscious of the fact that success is the result of persistent effort. No Jew expects any results for himself by miracle. He expects to work for them, and the Jew so frequently obtains results because he does work for them. It is the persistence of the individual Jew; his willingness to exert himself; to forego pleasure and to undergo pain, to brave dangers, and submit to sacrifice, that wins his individual successes. But when the Jews have sought results for the whole people, they seem to have forgotten the lessons of everyday life. They have lacked the statesmanlike quality which should bring them together; each saying: "I as one of the people will join with each and every other member of my people

² Max Nordau (1849-1923), a leading literary figure in Europe, was an early collaborator of Theodor Herzl, with whom he cooperated in the drafting of the Basle Program. Nordau's speeches were outstanding events at the first nine Zionist Congresses.

to attain the end in which the whole people is interested, and as such I will make the necessary sacrifices so that our great end may be achieved."

What we need, therefore, is that the Jews individually shall, for the common cause of the Jewish people, be ready to make sacrifices like those which they are always making in order to attain their individual successes. When Jews are ready to do that the three million Jews of America with their high intelligence and strong will cannot fail to have a great effect in ameliorating the condition of their brethren in other lands. Patience may be necessary as well as persistence. But patience, persistence and devotion will accomplish sooner or later, in one way or another, the great end we have in view. The purpose of our deliberation, when we come together in conference and in Congress, must be to discover the best way to proceed in order soonest to attain that end. But it will never be attained unless the individual Jew is willing to make such sacrifices in time, in effort, and in money.

The great Jewish inheritance and the great American inheritance demand that each and every one should specially pledge himself to work for that end.

Zionism Brings Understanding and Happiness

Following a strenuous and extended fight, the Senate confirmed Brandeis's appointment to the Supreme Court of the United States on June 1, 1916. The induction took place four days later. The following is the first statement on Zionism issued by Brandeis after his appointment to the Supreme Court. It was made in acknowledgment of a testimonial signed by 10,000 Zionists and presented to him on the occasion of his sixtieth birthday, November 13, 1916.

THE FEW YEARS which cover my real activity in Zionist affairs have been rich in their gifts to me. They brought me understanding and happiness. This meeting is in line with what I have before experienced. I might also say, in line with what I have always experienced while working with others in the Zionist Cause. For my experience belies what I had been told, before I entered the ranks. I had been told of endless dissensions among Jews. I had been told of their unwillingness to work together, of the impossibility of uniting them for a common cause. But in the whole period during which I presided in the Provi-

sional Committee, I never had occasion to complain of lack of loyalty to the cause, to the work which I was endeavoring to further or to myself.

The last seven weeks which have separated me from that daily participation in the work of the Zionists, have not left me without knowledge of what is occurring. Conferences with Jacob de Haas, who was active originally in bringing me into the Cause and upon whose wisdom and devotion and experience I have relied so much, and daily reports from the office have kept me in touch with what is going on. There may be many details which I do not know with that accuracy with which I knew them when I was at the Zionist office every week and had Zionist conferences every day. But I do feel, in a general way, fully advised; and the aloofness of those seven weeks, the distance incident to residence in Washington, may perhaps enable me to see with greater clearness our opportunities, our necessities, and our dangers.

I feel more than ever, that the opportunities are very great, greater than at any time in eighteen centuries. The world is with us, that is, the non-Jewish world. Whether the Jewish world will be with us will depend very largely upon the Zionists themselves. But the responsibility for success or failure will rest, not upon anti-Zionists or non-Zionists. It will rest upon ourselves. The loyalty, the wisdom, the virtues of the relatively few who have declared their conviction of the truth of Zionism will determine whether the future shall bring success or failure.

Members, Money, Discipline

This brief note is an excellent example of Justice Brandeis's ability to convey much meaning in a few words. It was addressed to Morris Rothenberg, then Chairman of the Zionist Council of Greater New York, on the occasion of the Council's Eleventh Annual Convention on February 18, 1917.

PLEASE extend my greetings to your Council at its annual meeting and tell them that they can prove themselves good Zionists only by producing Members, Money, Discipline

The Time Is Urgent

Due to the War there had been no international Zionist gathering for nearly seven years since the Eleventh Zionist Congress, which met in Vienna in 1913. Finally, a "Small Congress" (international conference of the Actions Committee held in off-Congress years) took place in London, July 7-22, 1920. Its purpose was to consider the manifold problems facing Zionism in its new stage of realization which commenced with the issuance of the Balfour Declaration on November 2, 1917. Following is an address delivered by Justice Brandeis at the opening session of the London Conference on July 7, 1920.

A GREAT opportunity has come to the Jewish people. We, its representatives, are gathered here to consider and to determine how best we may avail ourselves of that opportunity. The work of the great Herzl was completed at San Remo.¹ The effort to acquire the public recognition of the Jewish Homeland in Palestine, for which he lived and died, has been crowned with success. The nations of

¹ The Council of Principal Allied Powers meeting in San Remo in April, 1920, entrusted the Mandate over Syria to France, and the Mandate over Palestine and Mesopotamia (Iraq) to Great Britain, respectively.

the world have made that recognition. They have done all that they could do. The rest lies with us. The task before us is the Jewish settlement of Palestine. It is the task of reconstruction. We must approve the plans on which the reconstruction shall proceed. We must create the executive and administrative machinery adapted to the work before us. We must select men of the training, the experience and the character fitted to conduct that work. And finally we must devise ways and means to raise the huge sums which the undertaking demands. For without these funds, the best of plans, perfect machinery, the most capable of devoted men, will avail us naught and the noble purpose which we have set ourselves would be defeated.

The task is heavy. The problems are many. The difficulties are serious. But the problem can be solved, the difficulties can be overcome. And they will be. Of this we have assurance in notable achievements, wrought by determination and self-sacrifice throughout the long centuries of adversity. This new task will be different. Though the burden is heavy it will be joyously borne. For we shall be buoyed up by the spiritual appeal and the irresistible beauty of Palestine.² We shall toil on confident and with the eager impulse for justice for all. There will be developed a new Jewish civilization worthy of the Jewish past, worthy of the aspirations for the future. And from the old Home, restored in fulfillment of prayers and striving, there will go out again to the world in all its troubles the light for which nations will bless Israel again.

² Justice Brandeis visited Palestine before his arrival at London.

Now is the time for action, for service, and for sacrifice, service and sacrifice directed by understanding. In that service and sacrifice every Jew must be made to bear his part. Let us proceed, for the time is urgent.

Efficiency in Public Service

Some of Justice Brandeis's ideas on the organizational methods to be pursued by the Zionist movement are explained in the following excerpts from a statement presented by him on July 14, 1920, to members of the American Delegation at the London Conference.

THE OPPORTUNITY for which we have been struggling has come. We have the opportunity of developing a Homeland, but nothing more than an opportunity. It is urgent that we enter upon the work, urgent because Great Britain and the other Governments expect it and require it, in order that we may establish our position in the Homeland. And the Jews, particularly the hundreds of thousands who are looking forward to relieving their present misery by going to Palestine, demand it. We must therefore act and act quickly. And yet everyone of you knows perfectly well that we are not adequately equipped in men, money or machinery to undertake that task.

So far as money goes, America, including of course Canada, has in the last two and one-half years contributed the money with which Palestine has been kept going. But we have not done anything else. All that we have done

practically in this time is to pay the living expenses of the administration. And we have done it with very great difficulty. Except as through the Medical Unit we have made life a little more possible, we have not advanced a step towards developing the Homeland. And yet it is in the series of steps beyond keeping Palestine as it has been that our problem lies. . . .

There has been a tremendous amount of talk in the past, and properly, of the political question, of political Zionism. The political question will be important hereafter, but to my mind practically the whole of politics lies in proceeding efficiently in the building up of Palestine. That is the only political act which can effectively produce the result and make of our opportunity success instead of failure. Politics as such may now be banished; certainly politics may go into suspense. There is nothing that can be accomplished from this time on by ingenious political action, however great our diplomats and however wise the individual may be in manipulating this portion of the population or that, or this official or that.

We have come to the time when there are no politics that are valuable except the politics of action. We must be in a position to act in Palestine, and we have to be strong outside of Palestine. And it is not the strength which will come through any individual or his wisdom or his position. The strength must come through the strength of Jews organized together in large part in the Zionist Organization. Now, therefore, when we consider how we are going to make an efficient organization and accomplish our results, we have to see what the work is

that is to be done. To my mind the work in the different countries of the Diaspora is no less important than the work in Palestine. Without that which will be done in the Federations of the several countries, our task is impossible of accomplishment.

Moneys must be given in several forms. A great deal will come by way of investment, and by way of quasi-investment. But it is absolutely necessary that a large part of the money which is going to develop Palestine is to come in the form of gifts from Jews throughout the world. There is no such thing as investment, in a proper sense of that term, unless there is either security or the prospect of a large return, which is the alternative in the investor's mind for security. You may run a risk if you have the prospect of a large return. That is good business, and it is not gambling. But if you have no prospect of a large return, you must have security or the approximation of security. On account of the nature and condition of the country there cannot be security in Palestine unless there is a margin created by the gifts of Jews throughout the world. And that is true for several reasons.

The first is that, unlike the land in other countries requiring development, the land in Palestine is not free. On the contrary, it is very expensive. The present price of the land in Palestine is, considered on a basis of producing power, far more than land of the same character in the world market anywhere else. And the land is in one way largely exhausted. Its trees had been cut off, and so there was produced the condition of swamps and consequent malaria. There must therefore be expended upon

the land a very large amount of money before it can become properly productive. In other words we have to expend money to convert the raw material of land into real productive land. We also have to build up the men who are going to use that land, because they are ignorant of agriculture and of the ways of the country, and they have to be educated.

Those are expenses that have to be borne in the first instance. In my opinion those expenses can ultimately become remunerative. The land can pay a return upon what we spend on it, and the country can pay a fair return in the sense of giving a living to those who go there. But there is no short cut in Palestine to earning a living. It is difficult to earn a living there. It is more difficult in my opinion to earn a living in Palestine than it is in a large part of the world which is open to Jews. Therefore no investors can expect either security or a large return on a fairly conducted business unless there are done by us certain things which a state might do if it were ready, if it had great resources. This the state, Palestine, is not ready to do. It has not the resources. And it has an appreciable debt resting upon it which the land must return. Therefore, to do the things we want done, we have to raise a very considerable amount. And we have to raise men to go with the money; men who will administer the moneys that we send there. That can be done only by an immense development of the work in the several countries of the Diaspora, America of course included.

Insufficient as our work in America may have been, I think we can say that there are other countries in which

it has been worse. And I think that attention cannot be too much directed to the fact that we cannot succeed in our attempt unless we have cooperation from all of these countries, notably Great Britain, where the prospects of successful work are even better than in America. British Jewry is a part of the mandatory, and it will feel, in a way, what Americans do not feel, an obligation and pride, and a sense of loyalty to England as well as of loyalty to the Jew, in working for Palestine.

I believe that any organization that we are to create now must recognize that the World Organization is in one way at least no more important than the Great Hinterland. The Hinterland is to be the great reservoir of money and of men, and must therefore be developed in every part. That, I think is the first proposition. We Americans must develop our organization and strength at home, and we must govern our action with that constantly in view. At the same time we must insist that all other countries, beginning with Great Britain and the British Dominions, must, to the very utmost of their ability, develop their possibilities, possibilities which I consider even more favorable, numbers and position considered, than our own in America. . . .

The only consideration which we are at liberty to regard is efficiency in that public service (to be rendered in Palestine), and not to pick men because of what they may have done in the past. The only proper test that can be applied in respect to the filling of these offices is fitness and efficiency. The man who is best fitted to perform a particular task must be selected. To my mind it is an in-

sult to a devoted Zionist to appoint him to office only because of services which he has performed in the past. It is an insult to the intelligence, to the high-mindedness of the Jew, the Zionist Jew, to consider, in filling an office, whether a proposed incumbent needs or wants the compensation which comes from it. If there are men in Palestine or elsewhere who have served us well in the past and do absolutely need for their living certain means which they are not able to get by their own effort, the question properly arises whether we should create, either through private effort or through the Organization directly, a Pension Fund just as Governments and public bodies do. But I consider it no less than treason to our Cause knowingly to appoint any man to office for any other reason than that he can with the greatest fitness fill that office. We have no right, and it would be folly, to appoint any man to any office in Palestine or elsewhere, just as it would be, with the enemy at our gates in the most terrible of war times, to appoint a man general or colonel or captain, because he was popular or because he was poor or because we love him. We have a problem so difficult, that unless we set that standard for ourselves there is, to my mind, no possibility of our solving it. And, of course, not only must we get the fittest men, but we must do with the least possible number. We must abolish every unnecessary office. We must make every man do every bit of work that it is possible for him to do. We must make men understand that every penny which they waste in any way, either by an unnecessary office or by a salary of more than is necessary, that just to that extent they are obstructing the work

which lies before us. What we can do in Palestine depends wholly upon the amount of money we can raise and what men we can get to administer it.

Waste of money raised will not only deprive us of the amount wasted. It will cost us ten and twenty and one hundredfold the amount wasted through its deterrent effect on possible contributions and investments. Men are willing to give, men can be made willing to give, when they know what they give, that whatever sacrifices they make, will result in some further approach to the end we have in mind. But every person who wastes a cent, whether it be in a cable, in a salary or in an unnecessary letter, is postponing directly or indirectly to perhaps a hundred times that extent, the achievement of our aim. More Jews ought to understand this. We Jews have the intelligence to understand this. We must have character and high spirit enough to see that we may not allow our hearts and our love and our individual fancies or favors to guide us in the selection of the men who are to serve our organization.

When you consider the inter-relation of the work to be done in the Federations in the various countries, and the specific character of the work to be done in Palestine, you will see how essential it is to have an entire rearrangement of activities. To my mind, a large part of the men who have in the past occupied themselves in international activities can best serve the cause by going to their homes, with the knowledge which they have acquired from international action and experience, and particularly a knowledge of the necessities of the Cause and the character of

those necessities, by going to their own people and making them understand that, unless that work is done in the Hinterland, success in Palestine is impossible. Make them understand the difficulties as well as the possibilities. Our undertaking is not a light thing. The time is past when jubilation is in order. There is a thing very different from jubilation before us now. Great sorrow will follow the jubilation unless our people, in the different countries as well as in Palestine, are made to understand the real situation; unless they are made to understand the difference between the unreal and the ideal. Zionism has given a new significance to the traditional Jewish duties of truth and knowledge as the basis of faith and practice.

As for the work in Palestine and the large number of people engaged in administrative work there: I am not of course criticizing their motives in any respect. They performed very important things in the past which it is no longer necessary to perform. Unless our people recognize that the greatest public service they can perform in Palestine is to earn there an honest living and not be dependent upon the Organization, we shall not accomplish our work. The highest work that can be done for Palestine is to earn a living in Palestine; to put the Jewish mind and Jewish determination and Zionist idealism and enthusiasm into the problem of earning a living in Palestine; thus setting an example for others to earn a living. That is real patriotism. A young woman who was in Palestine some time ago said that to make a good soup in Palestine was a contribution to the cause. I agree with her. But it is not a contribution to have someone else make a soup for

you. It is not a contribution to get paid for making plans for a good soup. What we have to do is to make it possible for men to earn a living in Palestine. That is a very difficult thing. It cannot be done by subsidizing people. It can be done only by the individual efforts of men actuated by the proper motives, guided in the proper ways.

Our organization can accomplish a few things to this end. In the first place, we can make it possible for people to work hard in Palestine. That is, we can overcome malaria. We cannot properly judge anybody's performance until we shall have done that. We cannot form an idea as to whether it is possible to develop any of our colonies or plantations unless we put people under conditions where they will work in health, that is, be as healthy as they are in other countries. The task is wholly one of eliminating malaria. Aside from malaria, the ordinary conditions in the country are conducive to the greatest physical wellbeing. We can, without pauperizing people, give them health if they are willing to live according to the rules essential to health.

We can also give to those who have not yet accustomed themselves to the peculiarities of the country, a certain amount of education in agriculture. We can let them have land practically free without exacting interest or returns for a considerable period, during the time of apprenticeship, while they are accommodating themselves to the new situation. . . .

Our task is to bring into Palestine, as rapidly as we can, as many persons as we can. That really comprises the whole work before us. Of course we want to do it in a way

and under conditions that will allow the men and women we bring there to become self-supporting and self-respecting and enjoy proper social position. We, of course, take this matter for granted and it requires no reiteration.

The Pilgrims Had Faith

An address delivered before the Second Annual Conference, held in New York on May 27 and 28, 1923, of the Palestine Land Development Council and the Leagues affiliated with it. The Council and the Leagues were established to promote American interest in and aid for the solution of economic problems of Palestine.

FOUR YEARS ago I visited Palestine accompanied by Jacob de Haas.¹ Since then, I have never doubted for a moment that what we are striving for can be accomplished. Since then, my difficulty has been in understanding the doubt which others feel. If any of you harbor a doubt, go see for yourselves; and the doubt will be dispelled.

The truth of Herzl's statement, "We have but to will it," impressed itself upon me at every point. Whether Jews really care for Palestine, care so much that they will

¹ Jacob de Haas (1872-1937) became the English secretary to Theodor Herzl in 1896. It was at Herzl's request that he came to the United States in 1902. He became secretary of the Federation of American Zionists in that year, and edited *The Maccabean*, its official publication, and later, *The Jewish Advocate*, a newspaper in Boston. In 1916 he was elected Executive Secretary of the Zionist Provisional Committee and of the Federation of American Zionists. He was the author of a number of works on Zionism including *Louis D. Brandeis. A Biographical Sketch*.

put their hearts, and if need be their lives, into the solution of the Jewish problem, that is in my opinion, the only question open. For the opportunity is here. Doubt-ers are not doubters of Palestine. They are doubters of Jews.

The land is an inspiration to effort. It is an inspiration not only because of its past and its associations; but because the present urges one on to make it bloom again, bloom not only physically, but spiritually. To accomplish that, we must care. We must be willing to enter upon a great adventure; must conceive of the life worth while as something other than the humdrum everyday existence to which so many of us are condemned, or rather, condemn ourselves. If, in our lives, we want something beside the commonplace, if we want adventure, if we want romance, if we want the elevation which attends intellectual and spiritual striving; if we want the deeper satisfaction of having aided in making this world and our own people better and happier, we must put our minds on what we can aid in doing there. If we cannot take a direct part within Palestine, if circumstances are such that we cannot go to the battle front, let us make sure that somebody else goes, in whose work we will interest ourselves, and in whose trials and ultimate successes we have some part.

Do we Jews care enough for the things worth while in life to take the necessary part in that adventure? That is the question. Do we care enough, not only to contribute grudgingly some money, but to be a part of the undertaking? To be a part of it we need not be physically in Pales-

tine, although for many that is the best place in which to do their part and the most satisfactory one.

What is it that we who remain in the Diaspora can do? How can we contribute directly by our hands and brains, and above all through character, to Palestine's development? We can, in the first place, know what is to be done, know what is being done, know how it is being done; and know by whom it is being done. Knowledge, which grows with what it feeds on, will stimulate effort, will beget achievement. Knowledge, if comprehensive, detailed and accurate, is indeed power. To attain knowledge in this, as in other fields, requires work. Knowledge has its source in interest, but it can be attained only through persistent pursuit. It is not something which may be had easily. Like all the other good things achieved in life, knowledge has to be toiled for. It is only by knowing intimately, and following from day to day the upbuilding of Palestine and the development of Jewish life as manifested there, that you can feel the deep interest and experience the joy and satisfaction incident to this new growth of our people. Palestine offers us the deep interest and the joy like that which all the world feels in the development of a child, an interest and a joy infinitely greater than that which attends the achievement of those who have reached maturity.

The great opportunity is here. The question is: What shall we do with it? Surely we will avail ourselves of it to the utmost. When I have felt a lack among those with whom I have worked, it has consisted less in unwillingness to make what some erroneously call sacrifices, than

in failure to acquire that intimate knowledge of the details about Palestine's needs and conditions which are an essential of both good judgment and a real joy in our high adventure. For this deep joy can be achieved only through patient, persistent effort; and by reserving our resources of time and of money for the things in life worth while. So the first thing is to know. The second is to do. We do by being a part of doing. Don't take merely a passive interest. Don't try to find out whether you have done what people call your share. Your appetite grows with what it feeds on. When you approach the matter in this spirit, the question will surely be: "What further can I do?"

The Palestine Development Council ² was organized to create an instrument by which those Jews, who are not so fortunate as to be able to take a direct part in the upbuilding of Palestine through settling there, may effectively aid in carrying the work forward by their contributions made here of money and of time. The Palestine Development Council is only an instrument for doing things. The thing that it plans to do is not to extend charity, but to create opportunities for people worthy of Palestine to upbuild and develop it. Familiarize yourselves with the work of this instrument, and with all things Palestinian so that you may aid in extending its effectiveness.

We must remember that it is Palestine we are engaged in upbuilding, not another United States. The standard of accomplishment is a very different one from the stand-

² The Palestine Economic Corporation has taken over the assets of the Palestine Development Council.

LINDA CONDON

She was relieved when the concert was over, but lingered at her seat until the crowd had surged by; it made Linda furious to be shoved or indiscriminately touched. Judith had gone ahead, when Linda was conscious of the scrutiny of a pale well-dressed woman of middle age. It became evident that the other was debating whether or not to speak; clearly such an action was distasteful to her; and Linda had turned away before a restrained voice addressed her:

"You will have to forgive me if I ask your name . . . because of a certain resemblance. Seeing you I—I couldn't let you go."

"Linda Condon," she replied.

The elder, Linda saw, grew even paler. She put out a gloved hand. "Then I was right," she said in a slightly unsteady voice. "But perhaps, when I explain, you will think it even stranger, inexcusable. My dear child, I am your father's sister."

Linda was invaded by a surprise equally made up of interest and resentment. The first was her own and the second largely borrowed from her mother. Besides, why had her father's family never made the slightest effort to see her.

receiverships. Stockholders and bondholders who lacked faith to pay burdensome assessments, or were unable to do so, lost all or much of what they personally had invested. This is true also of the original investors in the heavily subsidized Union Pacific. Most of America's 250,000 miles of railroad have a similar history. But they were great factors in our prosperity. When we think now of American successes, we think not of our beginnings but of the flowers in full bloom. Bear that in mind when you apply a test to our Palestinian undertakings.

The thing that the Palestine Development Council has been primarily endeavoring to do with such funds as have come to it for investment, is to make sure that the money which goes to Palestine shall be used to upbuild the country; that whether used for building loans or for the Rutenberg³ project, or for other projects, it shall promote the growth of the country; that it shall make possible that life, spiritual as well as material, without which we cannot conceive of the longed-for Homeland.

In the task of establishing a Homeland worthy of the highest Jewish ideals every man and woman can aid and aid effectively, if he or she will only bear in mind what it is that we wish to accomplish; and will make the daily contribution requisite to that accomplishment. I mean literally that we must give some aid each day. Why should

³ Pinhas Rutenberg (1879-1942) was a leader in the Russian Social Revolutionary Party. Following the First World War he was granted by the British government a concession for supplying electric power for most of Palestine. He formed the Palestine Electric Corporation and successfully carried out this project. He was also very active in Jewish communal life and served as Chairman of the Vaad Leumi in Palestine.

we, who care for the development of Palestine, let a day pass without increasing our knowledge of Palestine, and at least thinking in what way we may do something to advance its development?

One hears of difficulties, of discouraging incidents, in Palestine. The discouragements of which people talk do not discourage me. It is only he who keeps the mind's eye too near to the object, instead of looking afar into the future, who will be greatly disturbed by a particular failure or setback. Look courageously into the future, be it near or far. Above all things, go to Palestine, and from its hilltops look off into the distance and see what the land is and what it offers. Then you will not doubt. And you will feel that no effort is too great.

We are trying to build a new land. When Americans think of building a new land, at least those of us who have lived in New England, they are apt to think of the Pilgrim Fathers. We remember what their adventure was and what they builded. The Pilgrims had faith, we should have it. Like our early Palestinian pioneers, they did not allow themselves to be discouraged even by the death of half their number before the first year of settlement was over. Disease, death and sore trials were borne and put behind them. For the Pilgrims had the indomitable spirit. In time, Massachusetts became one of the most prosperous regions on earth. The same spirit which brought the Pilgrim west is the spirit which has sent many a Jew to the east, and should send many, many more. But those of us who remain behind may have an effective part in the

building as well as those who have gone to the front. Let us persevere with redoubled energy. There is no place on earth in which your effort may bring you and to others worthier rewards. Don't be discouraged. Don't be afraid.

The Human Resource

This address was delivered before the Second Annual Conference of the Palestine Land Development Council in 1923.

LET ME CALL attention to a fact which modesty has prevented Julius Fohs ¹ from mentioning. The greatest of all Palestinian resources is the human resource; I mean this not only spiritually, but economically. If you inquire into the history of the really great businesses which stand as examples of signal successes in America, you will find that in most cases the success is to be attributed mainly to the character, the ingenuity and the persistence of the man who established the business rather than to favorable external or local conditions. Again and again I have asked in some American city: "Why in the world should this great industry have been established in this particular place?" seeing that it was remote from both the sources of its raw materials and from the markets for its products. And the answer has come back, "An extraordinary man happened to live here." A man of brains and of will de-

¹ Ferdinand Julius Fohs (b. 1884) is a geologist and industrialist. He investigated natural and water resources in Palestine in 1919 and has been a consulting engineer for water supply of Palestine since 1930.

terminated that an industry should be established. Creation followed the will; and a century or less of wise persistence developed the small shop into one of the controlling industries of the nation. Such successes, almost without limit, we may look for in Palestine. The Jew, who has so often made bricks without straw, will find a way to take up in Palestine those industries in which brains and the work of man are the chief elements in making the product. Remember that even in the massive locomotive, the metal used represents hardly one-twentieth of the cost. It is the skilled labor, invention, management and capital which represent the main elements of cost. What may we not expect from the Jewish mind, Jewish persistence, Jewish ingenuity and Jewish capital, when employed in a country which is congenial, in a climate which is admirable and in surroundings which will call out the best that is in men.

Realization Will Not Come as a Gift

The following address was delivered before the New England members of the Palestine Land Development League in Boston on June 24, 1923.

I AM GLAD that, besides some older Zionists, we have sitting here many others, men and women who are far younger. For it is through these younger folk, aided by the older, that we shall find the full realization of our plans. To some of you it may seem that our progress has not been rapid, but when you compare where we are today, and where we stood ten years ago, when I first spoke to Boston Jews about Palestine, you will see how long a way we have traveled. Ten years ago the Homeland was a dream, a dream for which realization seemed so far. Then, we could do little more than hope and prepare ourselves for realization. Five years ago, with the Balfour Declaration, that dream began to take on the shape of opportunity. Now, for over four years the opportunity has been ours. The question is merely whether we shall take hold in that earnest, effective, and intelligent way which will make out of that opportunity the realization of our fondest dream. We know that much has not been done, but we know very much that has. What has been

accomplished is not merely providing opportunity. The first steps toward the achievement of realization have been taken. We have found in Palestine not merely an open door, but a country in which all is possible which we had pictured to ourselves as desirable.

It is now four years since de Haas and I went together to Palestine, I had read much about it, heard much about it from those who had been there, and reasoned much about it. But it was only by going there that I could convince myself in fullness how much was open to us and why we should endeavor to work out the problem, not as a dream, but as a beautiful reality. I found difficulties, but the difficulties were inviting because in respect to every one of them solution seemed to be possible. To my mind, there is nothing about the Palestinian problem which the Jews cannot solve, if they will to solve it. To solve it, we do not require the superhuman effort of extraordinary individuals. We need only the everyday earnest effort which Jews are making, and by which they are achieving successes in other fields of activity all over the world. If the persistence, devotion and ingenuity, readiness of self-sacrifice and self-control which have given Jews high station individually in every branch of human activity and in every country on earth is practiced by those who go to Palestine, and is manifested by those who have an interest in it, there is nothing worthy which cannot be realized there.

None of the pictures which have been painted exhaust the possibilities that actually exist. But realization will not come as a gift; and it will not result from the mere

giving of money. It must be earned, earned by effort, earned by a persistent, active desire to have and to hold that which lies before us. Some are making that effort on the fighting lines and are taking part there happily and effectively in the upbuilding of Palestine. Some who have gone from America have played a most creditable, as well as interesting part in that effort. Many of you know what the Hadassah Medical Unit has been doing. It undertook to make health possible in Palestine. And it really was not a difficult problem. For the lack of health was largely due to malaria. Happily, science enables us to grapple with this disease which had devastated many countries of the world for thousands of years. We know how to rid a land of it. It is a perfectly simple thing, a thing almost as simple as the removal of typhoid which once was a curse in so many of our cities. The Medical Unit, in connection with others, undertook to eliminate malaria.

It did so not only because malaria interfered with the joy of life, but because it is the disease which interfered most with self-support and the building up of the country. There remains some malaria in parts of the country. But that problem is being grappled with and in a very few years Palestine will be one of the healthiest countries in the world. For otherwise all the conditions in Palestine are conducive to a healthy life in body as well as soul. Men may go to Palestine now and settle there with the assurance that they will be able to work there as well as in any part of the world.

To have assured, within four years, the elimination of malaria is a great achievement. For hard work is the stuff

out of which Palestine must be built. Not *Halukkah*,¹ not gifts, whatever their nature, but the ability to make men self-supporting is the prime requisite. They must develop themselves and their families in the course of the development of their country. For immigrants into Palestine to become self-supporting is, in some ways, more difficult than it was for those coming to America, or going to Canada, or Australia, or South America. It is more difficult for this reason. America and Canada, South America and Australia were new countries with virgin soil. Palestine is a new-old country, old in having suffered for centuries from abuse. Its wonderful trees had been destroyed. Its water-courses had suffered from the destruction of trees. Its fertile land, no longer protected by the trees, had been washed away by the flow of the waters. Thus Palestine presents a new situation. I mean new to us, whose minds are accustomed to such things as the frontiersman, going out to build his hut with his own hand, with the expectation that next year, or the year after, it will be superseded by something better. Palestine is not like that. You must build homes for people and they must be built substantially, of stone, or cement, at a considerable cost. The slight structure which frontiersmen built in other countries is not feasible. So we have in Palestine the housing problem.

¹ *Halukkah*, the Hebrew word for distribution, was the system for rendering relief and support to those Jews who came to Palestine to pray, study and die. It was usually distributed by the *Kolelim* or *Landsmannschaften*. The funds for this purpose were obtained from various communities, frequently through the medium of the *meshulah*, the wandering fund raiser.

We have had in Palestine another problem which was very serious. The cost of living is very high; higher there in many ways than here. The war made it so, with its great influx of gold through Egypt. Jews coming there from different parts of the world, largely impoverished, came thus into a country in which the cost of the bare necessities of life was great. We were, therefore, confronted with this problem: How can we make it possible for these people coming to this sparsely settled land, to supply themselves with homes and get a living from farms which they must first make ready for cultivation? In many places in Palestine you must make the land as well as raise the crops upon it. Moreover, it will be seven years from the time you plant your orange trees before you get a return. Just as water is necessary for irrigation, credit is necessary there to enable people to conduct their business operations, to become self-supporting. We turned our minds, therefore, to devising instruments through which credits might be extended to deserving men and women, not as gifts, not as charity, but to enable them to make a living. The Palestine Cooperative Company² undertook to deal with that question in two ways. To provide loans to cooperative societies of producers or consumers and to provide building loans for those who undertake construction.

These are examples of the kind of things the Palestine Development Council wishes to promote. It wishes also to aid in the development of the Rutenberg project,³ the

² The assets of the Palestine Cooperative Company have been taken over by the Palestine Economic Corporation.

³ See above p. 131.

so-called hydro-electric plan for harnessing the Jordan to provide the country with power and irrigation. Everything that we have undertaken to do has been directly in the line of production, in the effort to make men and women effective, to give opportunity to the individual just as the Mandate has given an opportunity to the Jews of the world to make Palestine a Homeland. Our prime endeavor is to encourage initiative. It is not our brains, but the brains of the hundreds of thousands of Jews who are to go to Palestine, that will build up that country. What we are endeavoring to encourage is not anything new. It is exactly the thing which Jews are doing throughout the world. Those of us who do not wish to go, or cannot, may also have a vital part in the building of Palestine. But it cannot be done merely by giving or investing money. To have a vital part we must add to investment a willingness to take the trouble to learn what the needs of Palestine are and how they are being, or should be, met. To achieve for Palestine what the American Jew can do for it and for the American Jew what Palestine can do for him, we must make the development of the Homeland a part of the daily thought of the Jew. There are ample means of acquiring knowledge about it, and the happenings in that new-old land can be followed with the absorbing interest with which we follow the growth of a child.

We are not asking you to give. We expect you to get a return on your investment, a return in money. But the greatest return which you will get is in the joy you will have in watching the development of the country. And

when good fortune leads you to Palestine, and you see what Jews are doing there, what Jewish life really is, what it makes of men and women and children in a Jewish country, then you will get satisfactions which will make you regard your cash dividends as negligible. Make it your business to know what is going on there; know what has been achieved there. Confirm and enrich your knowledge, if it lies within your power, by visiting the country and seeing things for yourselves. If you do that you will enjoy the greatest experience of your life.

The Only Promising Road

A landmark in the history of cooperation between Zionists and non-Zionists was the all day conference held in New York City on February 17, 1924. It was called by a committee headed by Louis Marshall, Cyrus Adler, Herbert H. Lehman and Horace Stern. The conference adopted a resolution calling for the organization of an investment company to develop the economic resources of Palestine. Another resolution called for a study of the Jewish Agency for Palestine and the formulation of a plan for its extension to include non-Zionists. The following is Justice Brandeis's message to the conference.

THE HAPPENINGS of the post-war years have strengthened my conviction that the resettlement of Palestine by Jews offers the only promising road toward the solution of the Jewish problem; that there are in Palestine economic opportunities which if availed of, will afford to, at least, many hundreds of thousands the means of leading lives worthy of the high Jewish traditions; that there rests upon the Jews of America the duty of aiding in the upbuilding, by making careful studies of these opportunities, by necessary capital outlays, and by efficient leadership; and that with such aid we may hope for great advance in the economic, social, and cultural development of the country.

Palestine Has Developed Jewish Character

This is an address delivered at the first session of an emergency Palestine economic conference in Washington, D. C., November 24, 1929.

THE ROAD to a Jewish Palestine is economic, and the opportunity is open. I reached this conviction ten years ago when I became acquainted on my visit there with the country and the people, both Arabs and Jews. Since that time I have watched with deep interest the development of the Homeland. The happenings during each of those ten years, including the present,¹ have served to deepen my conviction.

Those of you who have been to Palestine know that in character and climate it resembles southern California. It is a miniature of southern California. Like California it has available water, water that has to be secured, as in California, by pumping and irrigation. But there is plenty

¹ On August 23, 1929, a series of riots which cost the lives of no less than 132 Jews, commenced with attacks on Jews in Jerusalem. For eight days an orgy of violence spread all over Palestine. The worst slaughters took place in Hebron and Safed. Six colonies were totally destroyed by Arab attackers. Heroic Jewish self defense prevented many Jewish communities in Palestine from being wiped out.

of it there for all ordinary purposes if it is conserved and utilized. It was a surprise to me to learn that the rainfall in Jerusalem was a little larger than the average rainfall in London. But until recent attempts to conserve water most of it was wasted.

So you have a country which in climate resembles what we have come to regard as the garden of America. But it differs from California in one extraordinary particular and differs very much. Whereas everything in California which nature in its bounty has given, was until a few years ago preserved for man untouched, 1,500 years and more of abuse have done all that could possibly have been done to prevent Palestine from being fruitful. The trees were cut down ruthlessly, although the old Jewish law at every point taught the value of the tree. That old code prohibited the destruction of trees even in war, for the tree is man's friend. In those 1,500 years of abuse the soil was washed away and malaria overwhelmed the desiccated wastes. That is the difference, or was the difference, up to a short time ago, between Palestine and southern California. Fortunately the neglect of the centuries had only ruined Palestine's surface. The Jewish pioneers demonstrated that it was still possible to make Palestine into a land flowing with milk and honey and with much besides. Touched by intelligent effort supplemented by science, it began to bloom almost as a miracle. When I saw what had happened I felt convinced that all that was needed was men, means and wise and arduous toil. Palestine has affected me deeply, though I have lived most of my life largely apart from the Jewish people. I realized

what it means to those who have been close to Jewish life. I said to myself then: While 1,500 years had been devastating the country, 2,000 years have developed the greatest of natural resources.

Palestine has developed Jewish character. The sufferings to which Jews have been subjected during all those centuries has bred a people who could easily regain all that Palestine has lost. Jewish suffering not only taught Jews to think; it gave them the will, courage, pertinacity to succeed under all circumstances and amidst all difficulties.

I acquired on my visit to Palestine the faith which the experience of the years has deepened. To make Palestine Jewish is only a question of our will, intelligently directed. Step by step the pioneers were surmounting all obstacles. In an incredibly short time and at more than incredibly small expense they eliminated the scourge of malaria, the greatest hindrance to the progress of the country. I lived as a small boy in a malarial region, and I have some idea how this disease can hamper and frustrate the efforts of farmers. But our pioneers have done valiantly. There were times when I thought that the moneys we were sending to the country might lessen ambition and habituate the settlers to depend on outside help. But I found in Palestine a self-dependent, self-reliant community. There was no trace of pauperisation, idleness or loafing, but rather a lively sense of responsibility, a religious passion for work.

So marched the years. Now came the riots, the massacre of helpless old people and peaceful religious students.

This too has shown the mettle of the people whom we have been aiding to develop Palestine. They have possessed the manhood and courage to look out for themselves, which is all that we could wish and all that any people on earth could wish for their pioneers in a new and difficult situation. Jewish intelligence, Jewish courage, Jewish persistence, have all been manifested, and I know of nothing, certainly in recent history, finer than the temper shown by these men and women, and I would almost include the children, under the perils which confronted them in Palestine. The massacres occurred only where there were the old, the infirm, and the helpless.

I repeat what I have often said, that our greatest asset in this effort is the character trained by 2,000 years of suffering. Therefore, I have no fear of the Arab or of any other question. I have no fear because I know in my heart, as my reason tells me from all that I have observed, in a life that is now beginning to seem long, that Jewish qualities are qualities that tell.

Our representatives in Palestine have been tested; and they stood the test superbly well. It gives me infinitely more courage, infinitely more desire to help them than I ever had before.

I was strongly in favor, and still am, of the Balfour Declaration, because I realized that it was as much to the interest of Great Britain as to our interest that Palestine should be developed by Jews. I reached that conclusion after very close relations with British statesmen who were here during the war. I believed in the feasibility of the Balfour Declaration because it was not only in accord

with British interests, but consistent with the interests of all the European powers, their allies the world over. I learned in Palestine, and I believe it is still true, recent occurrences to the contrary notwithstanding, that the danger of the Arabs is grossly exaggerated.

Even ten years ago our people were able to protect themselves against the Arabs and consequently won their respect. They soon realized that the Shomer, the mounted Jewish police that guarded the colonies, was not to be trifled with. In Palestine I already heard of legends current among Arabs about the skill of the Shomer as a sharp shooter. Nothing gave me greater assurance of the ability of our people to take care of themselves.

But all this increases our obligations to those who are already there. They have proved themselves worthy of our tradition. We must prove ourselves worthy of them. We must not stint. We must provide them every opportunity for further development. What is equally our obligation is to offer the hundreds of thousands who are ready to go to Palestine, the opportunity to do so. In my opinion a steady flow of Jewish immigration to the country and the growth of the Jewish community there will make Palestine perhaps, all things considered, the safest place in the world. There will of course be Jewish sorrow as well as Jewish joy. I found in the colonies far more of joy than of sorrow. They reminded me of our pioneers of the West and those who developed the East some two centuries earlier.

So I came to tell what I believe and what I think we are to do. Palestine needs money. It is as necessary to our

projects there as water is to its soil. But remember, the Jew has used money only as an instrument. His chief commodity has been brains and character and will and strength of every kind. And our representatives seem to possess them all to a high degree.

Jews and Arabs

This address was delivered at the second session of an emergency Palestine economic conference in Washington, D. C., November 24, 1929.

I HAVE entire confidence in the British Government. I have confidence both in its administration of justice in Palestine and in the integrity of the inquiry of the Commission.¹ It would be contrary to British tradition if the government did not examine the situation fearlessly and frankly, recognize responsibility for errors committed, pronounce the appropriate judgment and take such action as may be required to preserve order in the future. The local administration has been the subject of very grave criticism. What happened in August evidences at least lack of understanding. But the shortcomings furnish no reason for questioning the intentions of the British Government. I believe, with Mr. Warburg,² that the

¹ Following the outbreaks of 1929 the British government dispatched the Shaw Commission to investigate the situation in Palestine. Its report, issued in March, 1930, recommended a curtailment in the number of Jewish immigrants, as well as severe restrictions on the acquisition of land by Jews.

² Felix M. Warburg (1871-1937), banker and American philanthropist, was instrumental in organizing, with Louis Marshall, the enlarged Jewish Agency for Palestine in 1929. He was active in many organizations for the upbuilding of the Jewish National Home, particularly the Palestine Economic Corporation and the Hebrew University.

British intend to discharge fully the obligation assumed. That, as I view it, is demanded by the fine traditions of Great Britain, and her leaders recognize that her standing before the world is involved. The British are even more interested in the preservation of order in the Near East than we are. So I have no doubt as to what the British will do.

As to what we should do, I agree with Mr. Samuel Fels.³ We should so conduct our affairs in Palestine that what we do shall inure to the interest of all the inhabitants of Palestine, Moslem and Christian as well as Jew. And I believe that this is the prevailing opinion among Jews. Individuals there, like individuals elsewhere, may not agree. But those who feel themselves responsible for affairs recognize that prosperity for Palestine must mean prosperity for all classes of its inhabitants. No one who has been in Palestine can doubt that the Arabs of Palestine, the Christian Arabs, of whom there are relatively few, and the Moslems who live there have been greatly benefited by what the Jews have done there. I do not refer only to those Arabs who have benefited by selling their lands at very high prices; I refer also to the Arab laborer and the Arab shopkeeper. Until the agitation conducted under the cover of religious fanaticism misled the Arabs, a vast majority of them realized this.

Last summer, before there was any suggestion of an uprising, I had the opportunity of discussing with some of our people active in the conduct of our affairs in Palestine

³ Samuel S. Fels (b. 1860) is an outstanding American philanthropist and a leading figure in the communal life of Philadelphia.

and who live there what our relations with the Arabs should be in enterprises started or planned. While we were reviewing the work of the co-operatives we discussed the advisability of opening the co-operatives to the Arabs, of opening our labor unions to Arabs, of inviting Arabs to participate in our industrial enterprises and thus become more closely allied to them. We discussed the advisability of learning their language so that we might familiarly visit them in their homes, as some Jews have been doing. When the recent disorders shall have been overcome the work which has been done by Jews for Arabs will be appreciated. Through our medical organization, through the elimination of malaria and other diseases we have done for the amelioration of the condition of the Arabs an extraordinary amount, considering the shortness of time. Arabs, unlike some other peoples, have no inherent dislike of the Jew, certainly they did not have it. Jews lived among them in perfect amity before and during the war. I have confidence they will again do so.

The recent difficulties are, in my opinion, due largely to persons who own land in Palestine but live elsewhere and who object to the emancipation of the previously subservient fellaheen and the improvement in their condition resulting from Jewish settlement.

It is important not to mistake stimulated excitement for something deep-seated in the Arab nature; and it is also important not to forget that there is a very large number of Bedouins constantly coming into Palestine who are not Palestinians and who, in these troublous

times, were led to serve as the militant force. Ever since anything has been known about Palestine, Bedouins have attempted to come in, and often as robber bands. Such incursions are not limited to Palestine proper. A delegation of Circassians from the neighborhood of Lake Huleh came to me, while I was in Galilee, eager to have me lay before Mr. Balfour their desire to be included within the new Palestine. They, a peace-loving community, were constantly being subjected to the incursions of the Bedouins. They wanted to come under the British dominion because they felt that the British would protect them against such incursions. The inhabitants of these fertile lands, whether they be Jews or Circassians, must protect themselves against inroads.

Applying, as well as I can, not sentimental tests but the severe test that I have to apply in dealing with business questions throughout my life, I feel sure that the risks of Palestine development are small as compared with the possible gains. That there is risk is undoubted. That there is greater risk for the Jewish people as a whole if we do not go forward than if we do is, to my mind, clear.

To take risks is the very essence of Jewish life, that is, to take necessary risks. The wise man seeks not to avoid but to minimize risks. He minimizes them by using judgment and by knowledge and by thinking. These are, fortunately, preeminently Jewish attributes. Let us take counsel of our hopes, not of our fears. Let us inspire confidence in others by showing that we ourselves have courage to act. Confidence begets confidence, and achievement follows.

A Zionist's Vow

On the occasion of his seventy-fifth birthday, in 1931, Justice Brandeis made the following acknowledgment of the greetings extended by the Convention of the Zionist Organization of America.

PLEASE EXPRESS to the delegates my deep appreciation and my hope that each will vow not to let pass within the next twelve months a single day without furthering in some way the upbuilding of Palestine.

Jews Will Continue to Enter Palestine

The following statement was presented by Justice Brandeis to Dr. Solomon Goldman, then president of the Zionist Organization of America, following the issuance by the British Government of the so-called MacDonald White Paper on May 17, 1939. The White Paper was intended to freeze the development of the Jewish National Home and to maintain the Jewish community of Palestine as a permanent minority. It is interesting to note the similarity between this statement and the comment of Winston Churchill, who, speaking in the House of Commons in May, 1939, stigmatized the White Paper as "a plain breach of a solemn obligation" and "another Munich."

1. A legal obligation assumed by Great Britain is the basis for Jewish construction enterprise in Palestine. That legal right, sustained by humanitarian needs, cannot be obliterated for private advantage.

2. What does the world propose to do with the Jews for whom exile is enforced? Unless civilization has so reverted to primitivism as to wish the destruction of homeless

Jews, it must encourage the proved medium to solve in great measure the problem of Jewish homelessness.

3. The absorptive capacity is stated to be the criterion by which Jewish entry into Palestine should be determined. Disinterested experts have proved that Palestine is equipped to absorb 100,000 Jews a year.

4. On the basis of legal right, which Great Britain with the sanction of the world established, and of the pressing human needs, Jews will continue to enter Palestine assured of the confident support of the Jewish people that they will build in Palestine a land beneficial to all its inhabitants.

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