

The Zionist Movement

Its Aims and Achievements

by Israel Cohen, 1879-1961

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Preface

Although there is now quite a voluminous literature upon the Zionist movement, there is no need to apologise for a further contribution on the subject. Parliamentary debates and newspaper articles in various countries show that the aims and aspirations of the movement are still misunderstood and misrepresented, and this lack of appreciation is prevalent even in Jewish circles. The present pamphlet is issued, therefore, in the hope of disseminating a better knowledge of the Jewish national ideal, and of securing wider sympathy and support in its favour. It has also been prompted by the necessity of providing a concise history in popular form of the Zionist movement from its early beginnings to the present day. Young as Zionism is, it has already passed through a considerable development both from a practical and theoretical point of view, and the official pamphlet, »Ten Years of Zionism«, issued in 1907, is now out of date. The present publication reviews the work accomplished until the close of the Tenth Zionist Congress, and takes note of a pregnant phenomenon—the Turkish Revolution—which had been undreamt of five years ago. It is the record of a great national movement whose progress is determined both by internal and external forces, and whose subsequent evolution must be followed with attention by all who have any interest in the travails of the Jewish people.

I. C.

Zionist Central Office, Berlin,
March 21, 1912.

Chapter I

Its Aims and Aspirations.

The Aim of Zionism is the name of the movement—Zionism—which aims at the restoration of Jewish national life in Palestine. It is based upon the conviction that the Jews are a nation, and that they can best fulfil their destiny by reviving their corporate life upon a national basis in their ancestral country. It is propounded as the only effective solution of the many problems of the Jewish people in the lands of their dispersion, and is advocated as the only

certain means of preserving Jewish life from the forces of disintegration to which it is now exposed, and of securing its permanent and progressive development. It represents the first organised endeavour of the Jewish people since its banishment from Palestine nearly two thousand years ago to put an end to its alternating lot of oppression, tolerance, or fatal drift, by securing the status and dignity of a nation in the land in which its national life first came into being. Its adherents are spread far and wide, in the East and the West, in the Old World and in the New, in the lands of unfettered liberty as in those of unmitigated oppression; and they are knit together in a democratic organisation which determines the policy of the movement at periodical Congresses. But whilst it receives an impetus from the present, it draws its inspiration from the past, for Zionism represents in modern form the traditional love of Zion which animated the Jew throughout the centuries, the hope in the ingathering of Israel in the Holy Land which soothed the sufferings of exile.

Hitherto the Jew had only prayed for the restoration of Zion; now he is working for it. And the zeal and energy with which he is working for this restoration are due not merely to traditional sentiment, but to a lively consciousness of the abnormal position of his people.

What is this position, and how will the Position of Jewry be removed or improved by Zionism? It is different according as we consider the conditions in the East or those in the West, but in either case it will be found to be inimical to the conservation of Jewry. By the East we also mean certain Eastern European countries, which by reason of their social and political conditions have more kinship with the East than with the West. The Jews of the East consist of some seven millions, who live in conditions of political outlawry and economic distress. The Jews of the West consist of four to five millions, who live in lands of freedom, where they are either socially ostracised or else exposed to the slow and subtle process of absorption. More than half of the Jews in the world are a prey to poverty and persecution. The rest are a prey to the less painful but equally powerful forces of assimilation. The moral of the situation, for those who desire the continuance of the Jewish people with all its specific racial qualities, is that the national life of the Jews must be restored in the land in which it was evolved, and in which alone it can congenially prosper. But before we develop this conclusion, let us examine in a little more detail the actual conditions of the Jews in the East and in the West.

The Jews in Russia, Roumania, and in Eastern Galicia form more than half of the European Jews in the world, and their conditions constitute the most serious factor in the Jewish problem. In the Russian Empire they are strictly confined to a Pale of Settlement, which forms less than a fifth of European Russia and little more than a twenty-fifth of the Tsar's entire dominions. Those who are privileged to live beyond the Pale are chiefly merchants of the first guild, professional men, and master artisans, but they form less than 6 per cent, of the five million Jews in the Empire. The Pale, in which the Jews form one-ninth of the population, would afford sufficient scope for their economic activity, but even within its confines they have no freedom of movement. They are herded together in a few hundred towns, where, under the burden of ruinous competition, they make a wretched livelihood as petty traders and artisans. They are cut off from the land, which they can neither buy, rent, nor even till. They are shut out from the civil service, and are restricted in the adoption of the liberal professions. Their children may not form more than 10

per cent, of the pupils in the Government schools, nor more than 5 per cent, of the students in the universities. They are deprived of the rights of citizenship, but they must discharge its duties—they must pay taxes and serve in the army. And merely to be able to live unmolested and to attend to their business without hindrance, they must bribe the police for protection. The culminating terror of their lives consists in the uncertainty of life itself, for at any moment they may be expelled from their homes on some trumpety plea, or a riot may break out in which they become victims of plunder and massacre.

In Roumania the native Jews are treated as foreigners, although they have an uninterrupted history of 1,500 years in the country, and although the independence of the country was recognised by the Treaty of Berlin upon the express condition that it granted civil equality to its Jewish subjects. Not only has Roumania violated its solemn pledge, but it has enacted a set of oppressive laws against the Jews which make a living almost impossible and life intolerable. The Jews are not allowed to own land or to till it as hired labourers. They have been driven from the rural districts into the towns, only to find that most of the avenues to an honest living have been closed to them. They are excluded from the public service and the learned professions, and may engage only in the lowest trades and handicrafts. They are barred from the secondary schools and universities, and their children will not be admitted into the public free schools until those of other citizens have been provided for, and then only after paying exorbitant fees. In Galicia the Jews live nominally under a constitutional Government, but the power is concentrated in the hands of Polish officials, who more than neutralise the blessings of a constitution. Harassed by an anti-Semitic bureaucracy, and denied the possibility of gaining a proper livelihood (as by the recent legislation in regard to innkeepers and pedlars), the Jews of Galicia find their lot tolerable only in comparison with the more miserable plight of their brethren in Russia and Roumania.

Effects of the constant pressure thus exercised Oppression—by political persecution and economic Emigration. distress upon these seven million Jews of Eastern Europe has set into motion a tide of emigration which flows unceasingly across Europe to find an outlet in a dozen different channels. The vastness of this migratory movement may be easily gathered from the fact that within the last twenty-five years over one and a half million Jews have transplanted their homes from Eastern Europe, where they have been concentrated since the Middle Ages, to the free lands of Western Europe and of America. During the last few years 100,000 Jews have emigrated from the East to the West each year. In the two years 1905-7 the exodus from Russia exceeded the number of exiles (300,000) driven out from Spain in 1492. Emigration might thus be urged as the simplest solution of the problems in Eastern Europe. But the lands of the West are no longer so hospitable as in the days gone by. The growth of local economic troubles in England and the United States has provoked an agitation against the alien immigrants, who are charged with being the source and origin of all ills to which the working classes are exposed. The charge is utterly groundless: on the contrary, the Jewish immigrants have actually introduced industries of their own into the countries of their adoption. The anti-alien agitation, however, has proved so strong, especially as there is always a political party ready to adopt the popular cry, „Our country for ourselves!“ that there is not a single country in which Jews have settled in considerable numbers that has not adopted measures of self-

protection. The United States, England, Canada, Argentine, South Africa, and Australia, all demand that the immigrant shall be in good health, that he shall be in possession of a sum of money varying from £4 in the case of the United States to £20 in the case of South Africa, and that he shall give proof of being able to support himself by the toil of his hands. These regulations are administered so severely, and often so capriciously, by the immigration officials, that they form an effective barrier to the attempts of the Jewish refugee to find a home in the vaunted lands of liberty. Many thousands have been turned back from the ports of entry in England, America, and South Africa, after having sold up all their belongings to buy a passage—turned back hopeless and homeless. And the future affords not the least glimmer of hope that the situation will improve. On the one hand, there is no measurable prospect that the causes of emigration from Eastern Europe will abate in force; on the other hand, there is a ceaseless agitation in the United States, as in England, to increase the severity of the anti-immigration laws. Thus is the physical, moral, and spiritual welfare of the greater half of the Jewish people imperilled if no other solution of the problem can be found. That solution is offered by the Zionist programme—it is the creation of a legally secured home in Palestine.

If we turn to the conditions of the (***) We find that although they are free from physical persecution, they are exposed to a species of moral oppression. True, they enjoy for the most part political liberty and civil equality, but, with the exception of a few countries, they are subjected to a social hostility which is as painful to the Western mind as any bodily violence to the Jews in the East. Despite the (***) age of enlightenment in which we live, and the generally accepted principle that racial or religious prejudice is unworthy of an educated generation, there are few countries in the West—and this term includes America as well as Europe—which are utterly free from the poison of Anti-Semitism. The war against the Jews, generally provoked by their success, is fought not with swords, but with pens and tongues that are sharper than swords. And whilst these hostile forces are pitted against them, the Jews nevertheless strive to adapt themselves to their social environment, and to obliterate any differences between them and the surrounding nation. They have espoused modern education with enthusiasm; they have engaged in all trades and industries; they have invaded the liberal professions; they have made notable contributions to science and art, to music and literature; they have entered into the civil service, and have made a mark in municipal and political life; they have flocked into every sphere of activity and penetrated into every avenue of laudable ambition. The consequence of this social and intellectual struggle has been disintegrating. The process of assimilation to an Occidental environment has been injurious both to the domestic and communal life; it has wrought havoc to religious conformity; it has undermined the Jewish national consciousness. The Western Jew has been slowly and subtly seduced from the beliefs and ideals of his ancestors; he has sold his birthright for a mess of pottage; he has received the waters of baptism; he has married outside the pale of his people. The dry rot of religious indifference and the canker of inter-marriage are eating into the vitals of modern Jewry. Communities, indeed, are officially organised, with elaborate synagogues and imposing institutions; but behind this ecclesiastical facade the traditional faith for which our fathers suffered and died has but a flickering life in most places, while in many it has

already become extinct. What is to arrest these forces of corrosion, which are increasing in virulence every day?

Assimilation.

It may, perhaps, be urged that the Advance of (***) successive contingents of immigrants (***) from Eastern Europe who make their way into the Western communities may act as a check upon the forces of disintegration at work in their midst by reason of their religious orthodoxy. But, in the first place, the level of religious observance among these immigrants is no longer as high as it was twenty years ago: their minds have been saturated even in the Eastern Ghetto with modern ideas, and the Russian Revolution has stimulated the intellectual ferment. And secondly, even those who resisted these dissolvent forces in their native clime succumb more readily to the process of assimilation in the land of their adoption, whilst their children offer still less resistance. Religion is losing—if it has not already lost—its power in Western Jewry: it is gradually becoming a diminishing factor in its cohesion and conservation. It may also be argued that outbreaks of Anti-Semitism are not likely to cease from off the face of the earth, and can always be relied upon to supply a periodical tonic to a lethargic community. Did not the Dreyfus affair arouse the Jewish consciousness from its torpor the whole world over? Did not the pogroms in Russia in 1905-6 evoke a magnificent demonstration of Jewish solidarity? But to appeal to the demon of destruction as the guardian of Israel is indeed a policy of despair and self-humiliation. It means that the Jewish people can only be expected to be roused into life by dwelling on the edge of a volcano—a position fatal not merely to mental tranquillity, but also to physical security. Besides, the argument, if carefully analysed, is really not valid. In those countries in which Anti-Semitism is most rampant, apostasy and intermarriage are also most widespread. The Dreyfus affair has failed to give vitality to French Jewry, which is rapidly decaying. The Russian pogroms have had none but a disintegrating effect upon the Jews in Russia, and have become merely a memory to the Jews in the rest of the world. What is needed for the conservation of Jewry are not instruments of violence, but a positive force, a dignified aspiration. a constructive ideal. That ideal is provided by Zionism alone.

Zionism.

To the suffering millions of the Jewry Zionism offers the hope of a land where they will be able to till the soil of their forefathers in peace, where they will be able to live „every man under his vine and under his fig-tree.“

National Destiny only means lands of the East (***)).

To the Jews of the West, Zionism offers the hope of a land where they will be able to live naturally and normally, free from any social hostility or hindrance, where they will be able to devote their gifts and energies to the service of their own people. And to the Jews of all the world, without distinction of clime or class, it offers the only means whereby they can effectively secure the natural development of their national life and best achieve their national destiny.

Chapter II

Its History and Organisation.

The Zionist Organisation was re**sors founded at the first Zionist Congress in Basle, in August, 1897. But the Zionist idea—the Jewish longing for a return to Palestine—has a much more ancient history: it goes back to the day when the Jewish people was exiled from its land by the Romans. For nearly two thousand years the sentiment found expression merely in a religious form—in prayers and pilgrimages—whilst ever and again, in the gloom of the Middle Ages, it was fanned into flame by a false Messiah who heralded the return to Zion and then abandoned his deluded followers. Not until the nineteenth century was any serious desire evinced to secure the translation of the sentiment into a reality by means of practical measures. In 1862, Moses Hess and Hirsch Kalischer, men at opposite poles of thought, the one a Socialist, the other an orthodox Rabbi, raised their voices in Germany in advocacy of the colonisation of Palestine as the only solution of the Jewish question, and twenty years later Leon Pinsker and Perez Smolensky, in Russia, again urged the resettlement of the Jewish people in the Holy Land as the only way of putting an end to its sufferings and securing its continuance as a nation. The result of their advocacy was that a certain sympathy was aroused, and the work of agricultural colonisation in Palestine was actually begun in 1870. The supporters of this movement were known as Chovevei Zion (Lovers of Zion): they founded numerous societies in various parts of Europe, but the work of colonisation made little progress until they received the munificent assistance of Baron Edmond de Rothschild. They were, it is true, animated by the national sentiment, but the general character of their activity was a blend of philanthropy and religious piety, whilst the aid contributed by Western Jews was also prompted by charitable motives tinged with the racial consciousness. Not until the advent of Dr. Theodor Herzl, in 1896, was the Jewish national sentiment propounded as an idea whose expression should not limit itself to the creation of scattered colonies in the Holy Land, but which should expand into an organised endeavour of the Jewish people to work for its national regeneration. Hitherto the national idea had meant that Western Jews helped Eastern Jews to settle in Palestine; henceforth it was to mean that Western Jews were to work together with their Eastern brethren for the restoration of Jewish national life in Palestine, not for a section of the people, but for the whole people. The religious-philanthropic movement became a national political movement: Chovevei Zionism became political Zionism. Dr. Herzl first promulgated his ideas in a pamphlet to which he gave the name of »The Jewish State«. He set forth therein with a masterly hand the deep-seated evils from which the Jewish people was suffering, advocated the establishment of an autonomous settlement as the only worthy and effective remedy, and outlined a plan whereby this settlement was to be brought into existence. His pamphlet encountered bitter opposition in Western Jewry, not merely on the part of influential laymen, the leaders and magnates of the organised communities, but also on the part of a large majority of the Rabbis. The former declared that Herzl's ideas were subversive of local patriotism; the latter preached that his scheme was a violation of the »Mission of Israel«, and a contradiction of the Messianic doctrine. But the pamphlet was welcomed by all in whom the national consciousness had been aroused, though some of the Chovevei

Zionists hitherto engaged in haphazard colonisation in Palestine at first held critically aloof. Between Herzl's followers and his opponents arose a wordy war, which often assumed acute vehemence, and the entire communal life of Jewry, from one part of the world to another, was plunged into a heated discussion on the aims and principles of Zionism.

Objections.

The main objections were easily refuted. Zionism, it was rightly argued, was not incompatible with local patriotism, since those who strove for its fulfilment could just as well discharge all their civil and political obligations, and the fulfilment itself, so far from being inimical to the interests of their native country, would benefit these by diverting the undesired stream of alien immigration. Moreover, half of the Jews in the world were treated as outlaws and pariahs by their respective Governments, so that the taunt of lack of patriotism in their case was mere unthinking irony. The religious argument, that the Jews must remain scattered among the nations as moral exemplars until the appearance of the Messiah, was refuted even more easily since it has no valid basis. So far from praying for the prolongation of their exile, the Jews always pray for its immediate termination: if they believed they must remain in dispersion until the Messianic era they would not pray, „Next year in Jerusalem!“ but at least, „Next century in Jerusalem!“ And, further, the attainment of the Zionist goal will in no way conflict with the faith in the coming of the Messiah, since the perfection of mankind involved in this creed will still (***) be accomplished. It was also argued that the Jews, having been town dwellers for so many centuries, could not adapt themselves successfully to agricultural life—the basis of Palestinian industry; but there are thousands of Jewish farmers in Russia and Roumania, and hundreds of prosperous farmsteads have also been established during the last twenty years by Jewish immigrants in the Argentine, the United States, and Canada. As a final objection, it was argued that Palestine was not large enough to contain all the Jews in the world—an objection inconsistently advanced by the same critics who declared that very few Jews would migrate to the Holy Land. But Zionism does not demand that all the Jews in the world should settle in Palestine, merely that the Jews shall form their national home there, that they shall again have their spiritual metropolis in Jerusalem; and in any case it has been carefully estimated that the country could accommodate and maintain a population of three to four millions, if the intensive system of cultivation is adopted.

Despite the relentless and powerful Congress opposition, often conducted with unfair means, which Dr. Herzl had to encounter, he nevertheless inspired his followers with sufficient enthusiasm to induce them to come together from all parts of the world for the purpose of deliberation. He convened a Congress in Basle on August 27, 1897, which was attended by 206 delegates. That Congress—the first Zionist Congress—was a turning point in Jewish history, for it represented the first organised endeavour of the Jewish people to work for its national salvation by a re-settlement in the ancestral land. The objects of the Congress were expounded in clear and forcible terms by Dr. Herzl, a man of majestic and magnetic mien, who owed the success of his appeal in part to his personal qualities as well as to the excellence of the cause itself. He declared that Zionism had united the most diverse elements in Jewry upon a national

basis, and that it signified a return to Judaism even before a return to the Holy Land. The Zionists formed no secret league, but would be welded together in an organisation which would discuss the Jewish question in the full light of day, and which would endeavour to re-establish a home for their people in Palestine with the necessary guarantees. The colonising efforts that had already been carried on were proof of the fitness of the Jew for agriculture, and the realisation of their aim could bring nought but benefit to the Ottoman Empire. Dr. Herzl's exposition of the objects of the movement was followed and fortified by an impressive address by Dr. Max Nordau, who gave a review of the general situation of the Jews, emphasising their economic plight in the East and their moral oppression in the West, and contending that a remedy must be devised by the Congress. That remedy, after various other addresses had been delivered on the theoretical and practical aspects of the movement, was formulated in the following declaration, which received the name of the Basle Programme:

Basle Programme.

„The aim of Zionism is to create for the Jewish people a publicly legally secured home in Palestine.

„In order to attain this object the Congress adopts the following means:

- „1. The promotion of the settlement in Palestine of Jewish agriculturists, handicraftsmen, industrialists, and men following professions.
- „2. The federation and association of entire Jewry by means of local and general institutions conformably to the local laws.
- „3. The strengthening of Jewish sentiment and national consciousness.
- „4. The procuring of such Government sanctions as are necessary for achieving the object of Zionism.“

This programme was adopted with unanimity and enthusiasm. It formed the basis upon which all further activity was to be conducted, and it remains intact and inviolate unto the present day. To provide the elementary conditions necessary for aiming at its realisation the Congress created an Organisation of a world-wide character. The Zionists in each country were to form local societies, which should be grouped together as a local Federation, and each Federation should stand in immediate communication with the Central Administration. The government of the Organisation was entrusted to a General Council (Greater Actions Committee) composed of representatives of different countries, and to a Central Executive (Inner Actions Committee), whose members all lived in Vienna, the residence of Dr. Herzl, who was elected as President. Every person was regarded as a Zionist who subscribed to the Basle Programme and paid the small annual tax of a shekel (one shilling or its equivalent) to provide the Central Administration with its working fund. The payment of the shekel conferred the right to vote for a delegate to Congress, which was to be the controlling organ of the movement, the ultimate arbiter upon all great and decisive measures to be undertaken in the name of the Organisation.

Propaganda.

The first Congress was followed by energetic propaganda in all parts of the world, and numerous adherents were won over to the Basle Programme. In almost every country in Europe in which Jews lived in considerable numbers, in North and South America, in South Africa, in Far Eastern Asia, and even in Australasia, societies were formed which registered their affiliation to the Zionist Organisation. The opposition of the Anti-Zionists continued, but this merely stimulated the Jewish nationalists to redoubled energy. Zionism became the leading question throughout the Jewish world: it infused new life into the communal organisations, with their policy of *Laissez faire* and their promotion of assimilation. It came as a redeeming angel to thousands of cultured Jews in the West who had lost their faith in the religion of their forefathers, and who were faced either by despair or by utter absorption into their non-Jewish environment, for it aroused their national consciousness. It enkindled a love for Jewish literature and a pride in Jewish history; it caused the Hebrew language to be cultivated anew as a modern speech, capable of expressing all the thoughts and ideas of the cultured mind. It quickened the growth of Jewish dignity and self-respect; it caused Jewish thinkers to take a deeper and more comprehensive view of the Jewish question, and it attracted the attention and consideration of the non-Jewish world. Its aspirations were expounded in countless newspapers in various languages, ranging from the official organ »Die Welt«, to periodicals in English and French, Hebrew and Yiddish, Russian and Polish, Italian, Hungarian, Roumanian. The progress of the movement may be gathered from the fact that its societies increased eightfold within the first year, and each succeeding Congress was able to record a growth of numbers or an extension into new and outlying regions, such as Fiji and Singapore, Nairobi and Fort Winnipeg. All the subsequent Congresses, with the exception of three, also took place in Basle; the fourth was held in London (1900), the eighth at The Hague (1907), and the ninth at Hamburg (1909).

Jewish Propaganda alone, however, was not sufficient. In view of the political aim, which Zionism had set itself, it was necessary to create a financial instrument to facilitate this aim. Dr. Herzl conceived his task to be the securing of a charter from the Sultan of Turkey to enable the Jews to create an officially recognised settlement in Palestine. He, therefore, established a bank under the name of the Jewish Colonial Trust, which should afford him the requisite aid in his endeavour. The bank, registered as a Joint Stock Company in London in 1899, is unique in the financial world, for its 100,000 shareholders and more are distributed throughout the globe. Despite these numbers, however, the capital of the bank, which was originally fixed at £2,000,000, is so far only £200,000. This simple statement of fact is the clearest indication of the attitude of Jewish financiers towards the national ideal of their people. It also shows plainly enough why the practical realisation of the Zionist programme has not advanced beyond the stage it has reached at present. (***)

Palestine.

Undaunted by this consideration, however, the directors of the bank proceeded with their business, and in 1903 they established an offshoot, the Anglo-Palestine Company, in Jaffa, which subsequently opened branches in Jerusalem, Beyrout, Haifa and Safed. The operations of these banks have given a powerful impetus to commercial and industrial life in Palestine, and have

contributed to the general improvement of the economic conditions in the country.

Jewish National Fund.

Another important institution that was founded was the Jewish National Fund, whose object is to acquire land in Palestine as the inalienable property of the Jewish people. Originally suggested at the first Congress by the late Professor Hermann Schapira, of Heidelberg University, the Jewish National Fund was established at the fifth Congress in 1901, and registered as an English limited liability company. The cardinal principle of this fund is voluntary contribution, and hence even the smallest sums have always been gladly accepted. So energetically have the collecting agencies of the fund in various countries carried on their propaganda, that it has now accumulated a capital of nearly £150,000. Part of this money has been devoted to the purchase of land in Palestine (which has been put under cultivation) and (***) agriculture, part has been applied to the betterment of housing accommodation in the cities and the farm settlements, and part has been used to support institutions of public utility, such as schools conducted on Jewish national principles. The three principal methods of contributing to this fund—by presenting £10 for the inscription of an honoured name in the »Golden Book«, by subscribing for the planting of an-olive tree, or by simply dropping a coin into an attractive collecting-box— have made this fund the most popular institution within the Zionist organisation.

Diplomatic Activity.

Important and indispensable as those financial institutions were, the high aim which Zionism set itself also demanded diplomatic activity, and to this Herzl devoted himself with all the power of his peculiar genius. He entered into negotiations with the Turkish Government, he endeavoured to enlist the sympathy of the Great Powers, and he tried to secure material support from Jewish financiers and wealthy charitable organisations. He had several interviews with the late Sultan (Abdul Hamid) between the years 1899 and 1902, and received cordial assurances of goodwill. What he had set his heart upon was a charter for a recognised settlement in Palestine, but this he could not obtain. To what an extent the limited funds at his disposal prevented the realisation of his aim cannot be set down in precise and tabulated terms. But the knowledge that he was an honoured guest at the Sultan's Court and that he had already advanced so near to his goal without being able to reach it, throws an unpleasant light upon the magnates of Jewry, whose wealth merely arouses the odium of the nations against their people, but is seldom at the service of their people. Denied the support of the so-called „princes in Israel,“ he yet succeeded in gaining the ear of European monarchs and eliciting expressions of sympathy with his endeavours. In 1898 he had a memorable interview with Emperor William II. of Germany on the road to Jerusalem. He later had an audience of the King of Italy, and in 1902 he unfolded his scheme to the late Grand Duke of Baden. Not confining his diplomatic activity to his ultimate political objective, he went to St. Petersburg to plead that the Zionists in Russia should not be hampered in their propaganda, and he obtained from the late M. Plehve a letter promising not only liberty of action to the local Zionists, but even a prospect of support in the final stage of Zionist endeavour.

Sinai Peninsula Project.

Gratifying as these diplomatic measures were—for it was the first time in Jewish history that a Jewish leader had discussed with crowned sovereigns the national regeneration of his people—they afforded but a passing joy. They yielded nothing concrete, nothing that could serve as a material foundation upon which the Jewish national home could be built. The Jew in the West could, indeed, wait, but the suffering of those in the East—in Russia and Roumania—cried out for instant relief. Hence, Herzl and his advisers were impelled to seek other means of achieving their end. In October, 1902, they negotiated with the British Government for the promise of a concession of land in the Sinai Peninsula, bordering upon Palestine. The British Government recommended the proposal to the Egyptian authorities, who were prepared to grant not only the land, but also local autonomy. Unfortunately, a Commission of Inquiry found that the suggested territory suffered from a dearth of water, and hence the scheme had to be abandoned. Thereupon the British Government offered Herzl a large tract in East Africa, and likewise coupled with it the promise of local self-government if the land were found suitable, and thus was ushered in a new and momentous chapter in the history of the movement.

Dr. Herzl submitted the offer to the Project at the Congress, which met at Basle in July, 1903, and it was greeted with a mixed reception. There was a unanimous appreciation of the magnanimity of the British Government—the first Great Power which had negotiated with the Jews as a nation; but the consideration of the offer involved a serious question of principle. The aim of Zionism was to create a legally secured home in Palestine, and the Basle Programme knew nothing of any other country. How, then, could the offer of a territory in British East Africa be considered, let alone accepted? A long, passionate and stormy debate ensued, in which the compatibility of this offer with Zionist aspirations was vehemently denied. Dr. Herzl protested that an East African colony was not Zion, and never could become Zion, but he urged it as a measure of emergency, in view of the terrible misery that faced the Jewish people. Dr. Max Nordau vindicated it as a „Nachtasyl,“ a night-shelter. But the opponents of the offer contended that Zionism was not philanthropy and that to consider the suitability of a tract in East Africa was a deflection from Jewish nationalism. The question, however, that was submitted to the Congress was not to accept or to reject the offer, but simply to vote upon the sending of a Commission of Inquiry to the territory to ascertain whether it was suitable for a Jewish settlement. It was even agreed that the costs of the Commission should not come out of Zionist funds, though no stipulation was made as to what would be done with the land if it were found suitable—that is, whether its colonisation should be undertaken by the Zionists or whether it should be handed over to some Jewish philanthropic organisation. A majority voted in favour of the despatch of a Commission, and this was the signal of a renewed combat against the scheme. The opposition was led by the (***)-Zionists, who regarded the decision of the Congress as a surrender of Zionist principles, and they continued their agitation until, at a meeting of the Actions Committee in Vienna, in April, 1904, Dr. Herzl solemnly assured them—as he had, indeed, affirmed at the Congress itself—that he remained as true as ever to the Zionist ideal, and that he would continue his efforts unabated for its realisation. This declaration in Vienna was his last official utterance, for he was soon after

seized with illness, which prevented any further action. On July 4, 1904, he passed away, at the early age of forty-four, struck down in the fulness of his powers, a martyr to his own devotion. In the eight brief years of his Zionist activity he had founded a world-wide organisation, roused the Jewish national consciousness to incomparable strength, and taught the Jewish people the invaluable lesson of self-help. He has written his name in indelible letters on the pages of history.

The passing of the leader brought a feeling of calm — not to say of pessimism — upon the organisation, and the turmoil aroused by the East Africa question abated. The Commission had explored the land and found it unsuitable; hence it was expected that the task of the seventh Congress, which met at Basle in August, 1905, would be comparatively simple. The Congress put on record in dignified terms its gratitude to the British Government for the offer of a territory and its inability to accept it, it expressed the hope that it would obtain its good offices in any further important matter it might undertake, and it renewed and emphasized its adhesion to the Basle Programme. But a small though determined body of delegates clamoured for the acceptance of the British offer, and when they found their protests unavailing they seceded. Under the leadership of Mr. Israel Zangwill they created a new organisation, the Jewish Territorial Organisation (Ito), which adopted as its programme the establishment of a Jewish autonomous settlement in any part of the earth, arguing that the urgency of the Jewish situation did not justify the restriction of effort to Palestine. Hitherto, however, despite various attempts to find a territory, the programme of the „Ito“ simply remains a pious wish.

The settlement of the East Africa Colonisation question and the absence of any early of Palestine.

(***) of fruitful negotiation with the Turkish Government brought home to the leading minds in the Zionist organisation the necessity of devising a practical policy, which, whilst satisfying the general demand within the ranks for colonising work in Palestine, would also further the political aim of the movement. It was, therefore, resolved at the seventh Congress, whilst eschewing any petty or haphazard colonisation, to promote, the agricultural, industrial and intellectual life in Palestine by suitable and systematic measures, so as to strengthen the Jewish position in the country. Even in the lifetime of Dr. Herzl, at the sixth Congress, a Palestine Commission had already been appointed to make a scientific investigation into the economic resources of the Holy Land and to lay the foundations of a systematic development of agriculture and industry. The decision of the seventh Congress was thus both a logical and practical sequence. It came to be realised more and more that the best argument that the Zionists could advance to the Turkish Government was the argument of useful work already accomplished, and hence the Zionist Executive has steadily devoted itself to a programme of economic and intellectual activity in Palestine, which in a few years has already conferred a substantial benefit upon the country.

The death of Dr. Herzl involved the organisation election of another leader. He was eventually superceded in 1905 by his friend and trusted lieutenant, Herr David Wolffsohn, of Cologne, who had hitherto been chairman of the Jewish Colonial Trust, and the seat of the Executive and the Central Office of the Organisation were accordingly removed from Vienna to Cologne. For the

next six years the affairs of the organisation were conducted under the presidency of Herr Wolffsohn, who devoted himself with zeal and energy to his difficult charge. The period of his administration witnessed the internal consolidation of the movement and the rise of a new regime in the Ottoman Empire. The internal development of the organisation produced two new federations, constituted not on a local basis, like all previous federations, but on the basis of a participarist principle, and hence inter-territorial in their character. These are the Mizrachi (Eastern), who stand for the maintenance of traditional Judaism, and the Poalei Zion (Zionist Workers), who have combined a Socialist programme with the Jewish national ideal. The desire for co-operation with other great Jewish organisations was signalised by the Brussels Conference, which was convened by the Zionist Executive in 1906 for the purpose of taking concerted measures on behalf of the Jews in Russia, and was also manifested in providing the »Hilfsverein der Deutschen Juden« with a site at Haifa for a technical college. But more pregnant than either of these events was the revolution in Turkey in July, 1909.

A new period in the history of the Zionist Organisation was opened at the tenth Congress, which was held on August 9-15, 1911, at Basle, by the adoption of a revised constitution, the product of several years' discussion and deliberation. The most important provisions of this constitution aimed at improving the strength and efficiency of the administration by raising the number of members of the Central Executive (Inner Actions Committee) and reducing the membership of the General Executive (Greater Actions Committee). From 1907 to 1911 the Central Executive had consisted of three members resident in three different cities, who met periodically for deliberation. The new constitution provided that this body should consist of five to seven members, of whom the majority should live in the same city so as to secure constancy of collaboration, whilst the General Executive, which formerly comprised over sixty members, scattered over the globe, of whom several seldom or never could attend the meetings, was converted into a working body of twenty-five members, confined to Europe, who should meet every three months. A new body was also created under the name of the Central Committee, consisting of representatives of all the Federations and also of the official Zionist institutions, for the purpose of meeting once in the alternate years in which no Congress is held. The members elected to the new Inner Actions Committee were Professor Otto Warburg, Dr. Arthur Hantke, Dr. Victor Jacobson, Dr. Schmarya Levin, and M. Nahum Sokolow, of whom the first-named was appointed chairman. As a result of this election, the Central Office of the organisation, together with the official organ »Die Welt«, and the publication department, »Jüdischer Verlag«, was removed from Cologne at the end of September, 1911, to Berlin.

Apart from the revision of the constitution and the consequent change of administration, the tenth Congress was also notable for the important part played by the Hebrew language in the proceedings, for a debate upon the Jewish emigration question, and for the special advocacy of women's activity in the movement. In a sitting which was conducted wholly in Hebrew for the first time at a Zionist Congress, Herr Nahum Sokolow delivered a powerful address upon the modern revival of the ancient language, and uttered an appeal for the promotion of Hebrew culture. The emigration question was dealt with by two

reporters (Dr. N. Katzenelsohn and Dr. L. Motzkin), who pointed out that the migration of the Jews from Eastern Europe to the lands of the West, particularly America, has a disintegrating and denationalising tendency, and expressed the hope that the stream would be diverted in greater measure to Palestine; and a resolution was adopted that in the event of a Jewish Emigration Congress being convened the Zionist organisation should be represented thereat. The position of woman in Jewish life and her special duties and capacities in regard to the advancement of Jewish nationalism were ably expounded by a lady speaker (Mlle. Schach), and a resolution was passed aiming at the fostering of women's societies in the organisation. A prolonged debate also took place upon the colonising work in Palestine, and a series of resolutions were adopted, which laid down the lines along which this work should be continued, particularly in regard to agriculture, housing accommodation, and education.

Chapter III

Zionism and Young Turkey.

By the (***) people in the world was the establishment of constitutional government in Turkey greeted with such enthusiasm as by the Jews, and by no section of them was it regarded with such sympathetic interest and genuine goodwill as by the Zionists. The Jews had, indeed, enjoyed continued hospitality in Turkey from the memorable year 1492, when, driven from Spain, they received a ready welcome under the Crescent. But their very gratitude for the friendly asylum they had found animated them with a wish to see the fruitful development of their adopted country, and this they felt could only be secured under the benign influence of a constitutional regime. They proved their zeal by taking no unimportant part in the series of events whereby the former system of government was replaced by one more in accordance with modern ideas of personal liberty, and it was but natural that they should be represented in the first Parliament that met in Constantinople. The change was not confined to the political system, but also manifested itself in a cordial fraternisation of the members of all creeds and races, and a new era of freedom and happiness seemed at hand.

The Zionist Executive fully appreciated the significance of the change, and felt that it must ultimately be of advantage to their cause. They saw that what Young Turkey most needed was an adequate labour force to cultivate its large undeveloped tracts of territory, and they believed that the Young Turks would appreciate the signal opportunity offered by the Zionist movement to supply that need. They accordingly took suitable steps to inform themselves at first hand upon every essential factor in the new condition of things and upon the probable course of development. The dissemination of the Zionist idea was furthered by various Jewish newspapers, which clearly explained that the fostering of Jewish nationalism was fully compatible with Ottoman patriotism, seeing that various nationalities in the Empire had co-operated fraternally to bring about constitutional government. The absolute compatibility of Zionist Loyalty (***) with loyalty to the Ottoman (***) Empire was further forcibly

proclaimed by President Wolffsohn at the ninth Congress at Hamburg in December, 1909—the first Congress attended by delegates from Turkey. Herr Wolffsohn declared that the objects of the movement would be pursued in complete harmony with the Ottoman Constitution and with the fullest regard for the laws and institutions of the Empire. There was, indeed, one point in Dr. Herzl's policy which had now become questionable, namely, the desire for a charter, which had now become out of place, in view of the constitutional regime, and hence Dr. Nordau, the President of the Congress, declared that the charter idea had outlived its day. There was, however, no need to alter the Basle Programme, since this made no mention of a charter; and as for the reference to „Government sanctions“ which it contained, and which might have been interpreted as the „sanctions of Governments,“ it applied solely to the sanctions of the Ottoman Government. The great value of an energetic and willing body of immigrants for the economic development of the Ottoman dominions was brought home in a special address by a delegate from Salonika, M. Moise Cohen, which was received with the warmest interest. The confidence generally felt in an appreciation by the Turkish authorities of the aims of Zionism was evidenced in the enthusiasm that greeted a new departure in the programme of Palestinian work—the decision to found, upon the proposal of Dr. Franz Oppenheimer, an agricultural colony upon co-operative principles. This enthusiasm was by no means short-lived, as the minimum sum fixed for starting the colony, £4,000, was over-subscribed by voluntary contributions within twelve months, without prejudice to the numerous other Zionist funds and institutions.

The hope that had been entertained by the Zionist Executive, that their plans would find favourable consideration in authoritative circles in Turkey, has, unfortunately, been disturbed by the machinations of a malevolent group of people who have carried on a systematic campaign of misrepresentation against the movement. This band of opponents, it is strange and sad to say, are Turkish Jews, who, mainly through the medium of certain local organs, have denounced their own co-religionists as traitors. They have wilfully distorted the ideals of Jewish nationalism, accused the Zionists of pursuing separatist aspirations, and even insinuated that the Zionist organisation is working in the interests of some foreign Power. Not content with the jargon medium, the Judajo-Spanish papers, in which these slanders usually first appear, their authors contrive to get them reprinted in the Turkish Press, as to secure for them a wider publicity and a more baneful effect. Utterly baseless as all these accusations are, they have, nevertheless, brought about a feeling of confusion in the public mind, and a certain distrust towards a movement that is so transparently peaceful in its character. This effect was notably shown in a debate on Zionism—the very first of its kind—which took place in the Turkish Parliament in March, 1911, on the occasion of the discussion of the Budget Estimates. An attack upon Zionism was made by an Opposition deputy, who betrayed the most grotesque ideas of the movement and its representatives; and the reply of the Government, whilst dissipating some of the fables that had been uttered, nevertheless revealed a fallacious view, inasmuch as it represented the Zionist objective to consist in the creation of a Jewish state in Palestine. This view was immediately repudiated by Herr Wolffsohn in a newspaper interview (»London Daily News«, March 6, 1911), and suitable steps were subsequently taken by the Zionist Executive to correct the erroneous opinions current in

Ottoman circles in regard to the real nature of the principles and aims of the movement. The Turco-Jewish traducers of Zionism, however, must have meanwhile learned that their attempt to arouse prejudice against a section of their community threatens to involve a much wider circle, and upon their heads, therefore, will lie the responsibility for any evil consequences that may arise.

Chapter IV

Colonising Work in Palestine.

The most effective refutation of the various charges brought against Zionism consists in a calm review of the work it has already accomplished in Palestine, and of the practical measures which it has in contemplation for the near future. Such a review will expose the hollowness of the charge that Zionism is pursuing aims detrimental to the interests of the Ottoman Empire, and will show, on the contrary, what services it has rendered already and will continue to render to the welfare of rejuvenated Turkey.

When the Zionists first began to undertake colonising work in Palestine they were confronted by a serious and stupendous task. It consisted of nothing less than the adaptation of an Eastern land that had been neglected for centuries as the home for an industrious and highly civilised people that had long been nurtured amid Western, or semi-Western, conditions. The indolent spirit of the East, however welcome to the pious pilgrim or to the greybeard come to die on sacred soil, seemed to diffuse its torpid influence throughout the country. Industry pursued a slow and somnolent course, because in this undeveloped agricultural region there was lacking the economic stimulus of credit. There was, indeed, a certain system of credit in vogue, but it was not calculated to encourage enterprise or to quicken a sense of responsibility. A rich landowner would lend money to a struggling farmer at usurious interest without any security, and in default of repayment he would seize some of the debtor's cattle, with the help of hired soldiers. Even if this dramatic development were unnecessary, the rate of interest that had to be paid scarcely permitted the farmer or tradesman to make any progress in their respective callings. Not until the Anglo-Palestine Company was established by the Zionist Organisation in 1903 was a radical change brought about in this direction.

Zionist Banks.

Zionist Bank was the first to introduce European conceptions of credit into the Holy Land, thus conferring a boon upon all classes of society and all grades of industry. It undertook to grant loans for short periods at moderate interest to merchants and manufacturers of recognised solvency, and loans for longer periods to farmers and building societies, the repayment of which was guaranteed respectively by the harvest or rent. It also promoted the formation of co-operative loan societies among the artisans, small traders, and agricultural workers, a movement that is now represented by about thirty societies, with 1,200 members enjoying the credit of nearly half a million francs. Starting with a capital of only 215,000 francs, the Anglo-Palestine Company

has now at its disposal nearly £100,000, and the confidence which it enjoys is evidenced by its deposits, which amount to about £200,000. It has branches in Jerusalem, Jaffa, Haifa, Hebron, and Safed, and even as far as Beyrout, and its operations have been so successful, considering the peculiar field of its activity, that in the last three years it has declared a dividend of 4 per cent. Indeed, the remarkable influence that it has exercised upon commercial conditions may perhaps best be gathered from the fact that, in the opinion of a director of the Imperial Ottoman Bank, the doubling of life exports and imports of Palestine, which has taken place in the last five years, is due to the activity of the Anglo-Palestine Company. Moreover, a kindred institution, the Anglo-Levantine Banking Company, in Constantinople, founded towards the end of 1908, is also proving a successful venture, and yielded a dividend of 7 per cent, on the operations of the first fifteen months. The benefits conferred by the branches of the Anglo-Palestine Company upon the business life of Palestine and Syria are by no means confined to Jewish circles, for Moslems and Christians are also among their clients, and the success they have already achieved within the few years of their existence affords a gratifying prospect of more extensive usefulness in the near future.

Bezalel School of Arts and Crafts.

Zionism given a general stimulus to the social and economic life of Palestine, but it has also taken a direct interest in the promotion of manufacturing and agricultural industries, in the improvement of housing accommodation, and in the advancement of education. It has brought into being an institution for applied arts and crafts, the Bezalel in Jerusalem, which points a way to the solution of the problem of poverty in the Holy City. It has departments for carpet-weaving, basket-making, filigree ornaments, lace manufacture, carpentry, Damascus metal work, and copper work, all under the supervision of expert craftsmen, and there have lately been added other departments for metal-chasing and ivory-carving.

Starting from very humble beginnings, when the workmen had to be taught their respective crafts, the Bezalel now employs over 450 people, and the quality of its products may be appreciated from the fact that their sale increased from 20,000 francs in 1908 to 133,000 francs in 1911. Indeed, its carpets have lately undergone such an improvement that European connoisseurs declare they will soon be able to vie with the famous carpets of Turkey and Persia. The Bezalel has also acted as a pioneer in establishing a domestic industry in the open country. It has settled a group of Yemenites at Ben Schamen, near Lydda, who have been provided with cottages, gardens, and a workshop, and who, while mainly engaged in filigree work and carpet-weaving, will also be able to devote some time to market gardening and poultry rearing. Thus has the Bezalel indicated the way in which the problem of the growing congestion of Jerusalem, with all its social and sanitary evils, can be solved in a manner that will benefit both the people and the country. The industrial colony of Ben Schamen is but the forerunner of many others, which will gradually draw away the poor, unproductive elements from the cities into the country, and convert them into a productive and self-supporting class.

A practical spirit has also guided Agrarian Zionist plans in the field of agricultural industry. The agrarian problem in Palestine is two-fold: most of the land is in the hands of large landowners, who prefer the intensive system of

cultivation, and whose labourers have no personal interest in the amount of their output; and, secondly, the methods of cultivation are still largely of a primitive nature. What Palestine needs is a body of healthy and willing immigrants, who should take a personal pride in the tilling of the soil, and who should employ modern methods of cultivation. Unfortunately, would-be settlers who wish to purchase a piece of land for farming purposes are generally frightened away because the plots for sale are too large for their requirements, and the legal formalities connected with the transfer would involve a considerable loss of time.

It was to remove these drawbacks that the Palestine Land Development Company was created under the auspices of the Zionist organisation. This company acquires large tracts, prepares them for cultivation, and divides them into small holdings suitable for farmers of moderate means, whilst it also constructs ways of communication and provides a water supply. For persons of even more moderate means a scheme of settlement has been devised that will secure the greatest amount of labour out of the individual and give him a material interest in the success of his efforts. This scheme consists of an agricultural colony on a co-operative basis, which has already succeeded on a small scale at Dagania (formerly called Umdjuni), on the shore of the Sea of Tiberias, and which is now being tried on a more ambitious scale at Merchabia (near Nazareth) by the »Erez Israel Colonisation Association«, in accordance with the principles laid down by Dr. Franz Oppenheimer. About a hundred labourers are employed in both centres.

Apart from these modern methods of Afforestation, providing a competent labour force for the cultivation of the soil, Zionism is also helping in the needful afforestation of Palestine. It has raised a special fund amounting at present to £17,000 (and steadily increasing) for this purpose, which is to be carried out by the plantation of olive groves in various parts of the land. Nor has Zionist effort stopped at these individual agricultural projects, but it also gave the first impetus to the establishment of the Agricultural Experiment Station at Haifa, and carried out the preliminary stages concerned therewith. The work of this Experiment Station will be to make a thorough scientific investigation of the botanical and agricultural resources of Palestine and of all local methods and practices of cultivation, with a view of suggesting how these resources can be exploited most profitably and how obsolete methods can be replaced by modern ones. It will provide a finishing training for young-farmers, it will send trained teachers to lecture on natural history and agriculture at rural schools, it will issue popular leaflets on the use of the latest implements and machines, and on the best methods of preparing for harvest, and, what is most important, it may make the discovery of a new culture which will utterly transform the economic complexion of the country. Needless to say, the activity of this Experiment Station, the only one of its kind in Palestine, will benefit not any single class or denomination, but the entire agricultural industry of the land.

Another important sphere in which Zionist initiative has distinguished itself is that of housing accommodation. Mainly through the agency of the Jewish National Fund, modern quarters have been erected in Jaffa and Haifa, which are equipped with every comfort and hygienic requirements, and which are in striking contrast to the miserable, unhealthy dwellings they are intended to replace. The erection of modern houses is but the first stage in the hygienic programme of the Zionists. They contemplate the „...establishment in the near

future of a ... Hygienic Institute, which will devote itself to the suppression and prevention of contagious diseases, which will enlighten the people on the most important hygienic questions by means of popular leaflets, and which will also act as an advisory centre to the Government and municipal authorities in regard to all problems of sanitation. The increasing danger of plague infection, not merely to Palestine, but also to Europe, which is likely to result from the new railway connections with South Arabia on the one side, and Constantinople on the other, is alone sufficient to indicate the necessity of the proposed institute.

In the sphere of education in Palestine, the activity of the Zionist organisation has hitherto not been very considerable, but it can point to an up-to-date higher grade school (Hebrew Gymnasium) in Jaffa, where two hundred pupils receive efficient instruction in modern subjects, and are prepared for a University course. A number of pupils intend proceeding to the Military Academy at Constantinople, where they may duly qualify for a commission in the Army. Zionists, moreover, have provided a site at Haifa for a Technical College, which, will train native students in the various departments of applied science, and thus render the Ottoman Empire less dependent upon the engineers and electricians of Europe. They have also put together the nucleus of a Natural History Museum in Jerusalem, in which the most interesting and representative specimens of the flora and fauna of the country are exhibited; and the latest result of Zionist private initiative is the establishment of a school of music at Jaffa.

The results of Zionist activity that have thus been outlined have all been accomplished within the last seven years, and most of them within the last three or four. They have contributed in an appreciable, if not a considerable, measure to the improvement of the economic conditions of the country, and they have indicated the way in which further improvements may be expected and achieved in increasing degree in the future. They show that Zionist endeavours have modernised and quickened commercial life, stimulated industrial crafts, introduced rational reforms in agricultural colonisation, improved the conditions of housing and sanitation, and contributed to the advancement of education and science. They prove that Zionist activity aims at rendering the soil more fertile, the cities more habitable, the people more healthy and productive, and the country more flourishing. Whether such activity can be harmful to the interests of the Ottoman Empire is a question that can only suggest itself to those who have these interests less at heart than the gratification of their own prejudices.

Conclusion

The activity of Zionism is not confined to the economic and intellectual development of Palestine. That is, indeed, its principal task—the work to which the greater part of its energy and its funds is devoted; and in proportion as this work is advanced so much the nearer is the movement brought to its appointed goal. But this work represents only one aspect of Zionist activity; another consists in the zealous and incessant propaganda which is carried on by countless societies throughout the world.

Despite the fifteen years in which the Zionist organisation has been in existence, it cannot as yet count upon the active adhesion of anything but a minority of the Jewish people. The process of assimilation had been allowed too long a start: the disintegrating effects of a hundred years of social emancipation cannot be arrested in a day. But the national idea has nevertheless made conquests in the Western citadels of assimilation, and its progress is particularly significant among the Jewish students of universities, from Heidelberg to Harvard, from Cambridge to Montreal.

Parallel with the work of propaganda by meetings, by publications, and a world-wide Press, a systematic activity is carried on for the promotion of Jewish national culture—the study of Hebrew as a living language, the study of Jewish history and literature, the popularisation of Jewish music, the development of Jewish art, the cultivation of a Jewish spirit in every sphere of thought and endeavour. For simultaneously with the preparation of the land for its people, the people must also be prepared for a renewal of its collective life in the land.

Such is the road—the only road—that will save the Jewish people from absorption and lead it to a position of self-respect among the nations.

The fate of the Jewish people lies in its own hands.

[**Note:** Text partly illegible, marked by (***)].

