

## CAN YOU ANSWER THESE QUESTIONS?

1. Explain the difference between Political Zionism and Cultural Zionism.
2. Who were the founders and ideologues of each movement?
3. What was the Brit Shalom?
4. With what movement was Aaron David Gordon associated?
5. Who were the Mensheviks and what was their connection to the Bund?

This and much more will be addressed in the fourth lecture of this series:

### **“The Many Streams Within Zionism -Part Four: Ideologies and Non-Zionists.”**

To derive maximum benefit from this lecture, keep these questions in mind as you listen to the lecture and read through the outline. Go back to these questions once again at the end of the lecture and see how well you answer them.

PLEASE NOTE: This outline and source book were designed as a powerful tool to help you appreciate and understand the basis of Jewish History. Although the lectures can be listened to without the use of the outline, we advise you to read the outline to enhance your comprehension. Use it, as well, as a handy reference guide and for quick review.

**This lecture is dedicated to the memory and *Li-ilui Nishmas***

**רייזל בת ר' משה ע"ה**

**Mrs. Ruth Gardin of blessed memory**

THE EPIC OF THE ETERNAL PEOPLE

Presented by Rabbi Shmuel Irons

Series XXIII Lecture #4

THE MANY STREAMS WITHIN ZIONISM: PART FOUR

IDEOLOGIES AND NON-ZIONISTS

**A**

**ANTISEMITISM**

**N**

**NATIONALISM**

**I**

**INTELLIGENTSIA**

**M**

**MOSHIACH**

**A**

**ARAB RELATIONS**

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**ASSIMILATION**

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**MISSION OF ISRAEL**

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**IDEOLOGIES**

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**NON-ZIONISTS**

## I. Cultural Zionism and the “Moral” Rebirth of Israel

A. What is jargon? It is an image of Israel in exile. . . . Language of the ghetto! These words best characterize Jewish German. . . . This mishmash is not an appropriate language of a people, not the least for the language of a people that wishes to climb up from two thousand years of exile to the heights of national independence and its previous greatness [Anyone who would speculate that Yiddish could become a national language] is not really a nationalist Jew, for he lacks the alpha and the omega of the Jewish national conviction, and that is the recognition of the necessity of the **moral rebirth** of Israel. **Dr. Nathan Birnbaum in an Essay, “Der Judische Jargon,” Selbst Emancipation 3:13, November 2, 1890**

B. . . . I should, however, not at all like to see a legal authorization of the Jewish German dialect [*Judendeutsch*], nor a mixture of Hebrew and German as suggested by Mr. Fraenkel (Rabbi Yosef Yonah Fraenkel (1721-1793) of Breslau). I am afraid this jargon has contributed more than a little to the uncivilized bearing of the common man. In contrast, it seems to me that the recent usage of pure German among my brethren promises to have a most beneficial effect on them. It would vex me greatly, therefore, if even the law of the land were to promote, so to speak, the abuse of either language. It would be much better if Mr Fraenkel tried to put the entire admonition into pure Hebrew so that it could be read in either pure German or pure Hebrew, or possibly in both, whichever might be best under the circumstances. Anything at all rather than a mish-mash of languages! **Mendelssohn, Letter to Ernst Ferdinand Klein, Assistant Councilor of Law in Breslau, August 29, 1782**

C. We must create an atmosphere in which the national purpose can flourish. This atmosphere can emerge only through the spirit of its own language. . . . Therefore, bring the Hebrew language once more to a place of honor in your midst! As with the Hebrew language, so should you spread awareness of Jewish history. From the long neglected history of the joys and tribulations of our people will our children gain the correct understanding . . . that there is only one way for us, and the aim for redemption beckons, the way of self-sufficiency. Which land should we choose for these endeavors? The answer rings out: ‘There is none other than Palestine.’ Palestine is our tribal land, and the call of our hearts emanates from there; Palestine is the land of our national traditions and only there is it worthwhile [to expose] the colonial groups to the trials they must undergo as they change from petty merchants to farmers.. . . **Dr. Nathan Birnbaum in an Essay, “What Is to Be Done?” Judische Volkszeitung, March 13, 1894**

D. . . . The Western Jew, after leaving the Ghetto and seeking to attach himself to the people of the country in which he lives, is unhappy because his hope of an open-armed welcome is disappointed. He returns reluctantly to his own people, and tries to find within the Jewish community that life for which he yearns -- but in vain. Communal life and communal problems no longer satisfy him. He has already grown accustomed to a broader social and political life; and on the intellectual side Jewish cultural work has no attraction, because Jewish culture has played no part in his education from childhood, and is a closed book to him. So in his trouble he turns to the land of his ancestors, and pictures to himself how good it would be if a Jewish State were re-established there -- a State arranged and organized exactly after the pattern of other States. Then he could live a full, complete life among his own people, and find at home all that he now sees outside, dangled before his eyes, but out of reach. Of course, not all the Jews will be able to take wing and go to their State; but the very existence of the Jewish State will raise the prestige of those who remain in exile, and their fellow citizens will no more despise them and keep them at arm's length, as though they were ignoble slaves, dependent entirely on the hospitality of others. As he contemplates this fascinating vision, it suddenly dawns on his inner

consciousness that even now, before the Jewish State is established, the mere idea of it gives him almost complete relief. He has an opportunity for organized work, for political excitement; he finds a suitable field of activity without having to become subservient to non-Jews; and he feels that thanks to this ideal he stands once more spiritually erect, and has regained human dignity, without overmuch trouble and without external aid. So he devotes himself to the ideal with all the ardor of which he is capable; he gives rein to his fancy, and lets it soar as fit will, up above reality and the limitations of human power. For it is not the attainment of the ideal that he needs: its pursuit alone is sufficient to cure him of his moral sickness, which is the consciousness of inferiority; and the higher and more distant the ideal, the greater its power of exaltation.

This is the basis of Western Zionism and the secret of its attraction. But Eastern Chibbath Zion has a different origin and development. Originally, like "Zionism," it was political; but being a result of material evils, it could not rest satisfied with an "activity " consisting only of outbursts of feeling and fine phrases. These things may satisfy the heart, but not the stomach. So Chibbath Zion began at once to express itself in concrete activities -- in the establishment of colonies in Palestine. This practical work soon clipped the wings of fancy, and made it clear that Chibbath Zion could not lessen the material evil by one iota. One might have thought, then, that when this fact became patent the Choveve Zion would give up their activity, and cease wasting time and energy on work which brought them no nearer their goal. But, no, they remained true to their flag, and went on working with the old enthusiasm, though most of them did not understand even in their own minds why they did so. They felt instinctively that so they must do; but as they did not clearly appreciate the nature of this feeling, the things that they did were not always rightly directed towards that object which in reality was drawing them on without their knowledge.

For at the very time when the material tragedy in the East was at its height, the heart of the Eastern Jew was still oppressed by another tragedy -- the moral one; and when the Choveve Zion began to work for the solution of the material problem, the national instinct of the people felt that just in such work could it find the remedy for its moral trouble. Hence the people took up this work and would not abandon it even after it had become obvious that the material trouble could not be cured in this way. The Eastern form of the moral trouble is absolutely different from the Western. In the West it is the problem of the Jews, in the East the problem of Judaism. The one weighs on the individual, the other on the nation. The one is felt by Jews who have had a European education, the other by Jews whose education has been Jewish. The one is a product of anti-Semitism, and is dependent on anti-Semitism for its existence; the other is a natural product of a real link with a culture of thousands of years, which will retain its hold even if the troubles of the Jews all over the world come to an end, together with anti-Semitism, and all the Jews in every land have comfortable positions, are on the best possible terms with their neighbours, and are allowed by them to take part in every sphere of social and political life on terms of absolute equality.

It is not only Jews who have come out of the Ghetto: Judaism has come out, too. For Jews, the exodus is confined to certain countries, and is due to toleration; but Judaism has come out (or is coming out) of its own accord wherever it has come into contact with modern culture. This contact with modern culture overturns the defences of Judaism from within, so that Judaism can no longer remain isolated and live a life apart. The spirit of our people strives for development: it wants to absorb those elements of general culture which reach it from outside, to digest them and to make them a part of itself, as it has done before at different periods of its history. But the conditions of its life in exile are not suitable. In our time culture wears in each country the garb of the national spirit, and the stranger who would woo her must sink his individuality and become absorbed in the dominant spirit. For this reason Judaism in exile cannot develop its

individuality in its own way. When it leaves the Ghetto walls it is in danger of losing its essential being or -- at best -- its national unity: it is in danger of being split up into as many kinds of Judaism, each with a different character and life, as there are countries of the Jewish dispersion. And now Judaism finds that it can no longer tolerate the galuth form which it had to take on, in obedience to its will-to-live, when it was exiled from its own country, and that, if it loses that form, its life is in danger. So it seeks to return to its historic centre, in order to live there a life of natural development, to bring its powers into play in every department of human culture, to develop and perfect those national possessions which it has acquired up to now, and thus to contribute to the common stock of humanity, in the future as in the past, a great national culture, the fruit of the unhampered activity of a people living according to its own spirit. For this purpose Judaism needs at present but little. It needs not an independent State, but only the creation in its native land of conditions favourable to its development: a good-sized settlement of Jews working without hindrance in every branch of culture, from agriculture and handicrafts to science and literature. This Jewish settlement, which will be a gradual growth, will become in course of time the centre of the nation, wherein its spirit will find pure expression and develop in all its aspects up to the highest degree of perfection of which it is capable. Then from this centre the spirit of Judaism will go forth to the great circumference, to all the communities of the Diaspora, and will breathe new life into them and preserve their unity; and when our national culture in Palestine has attained that level, we may be confident that it will produce men in the country who will be able, on a favourable opportunity, to establish a State which will be a Jewish State, and not merely a State of Jews.

This Chibbath Zion, which takes thought for the preservation of Judaism at a time when Jewry suffers so much, is something odd and unintelligible to the "political" Zionists of the West, just as the demand of R. Jochanan ben Zakkai for Jabneh was strange and unintelligible to the corresponding people of that time. And so political Zionism cannot satisfy those Jews who care for Judaism: its growth seems to them to be fraught with danger to the object of their own aspiration. . . . In a word: Chibbath Zion, no less than "Zionism," wants a Jewish State and believes in the possibility of the establishment of a Jewish State in the future. But while "Zionism" looks to the Jewish State to provide a remedy for poverty, complete tranquillity and national glory, Chibbath Zion knows that our State will not give us all these things until "universal Righteousness is enthroned and holds sway over nations and States": and it looks to a Jewish State to provide only a "secure refuge" for Judaism and a cultural bond of unity for our nation. "Zionism," therefore, begins its work with political propaganda; Chibbath Zion begins with national culture, because only through the national culture and for its sake can a Jewish State be established in such a way as to correspond with the will and the needs of the Jewish people.

Dr. Herzl, it is true, said in the speech mentioned above that "Zionism" demands the return to Judaism before the return to the Jewish State. But these nice-sounding words are so much at variance with his deeds that we are forced to the unpleasant conclusion that they are nothing but a well-turned phrase. **Ahad Ha'Am (Asher Ginsburg), The Jewish State and the Jewish Problem, 1897**

E. By [Jewish renaissance] we understand the peculiar and basically inexplicable phenomenon of the progressive rejuvenation of the Jewish people in language, custom and art. We justifiably call it 'renaissance' because it resembles—in the transfer of human fate to national fate—the great period that we call Renaissance above all others, because it is a rebirth, a renewal of the entire human being like this Renaissance, and not a return to old ideas and life forms; [it is] the path from semi-being to being, from indolence to productivity, from the

dialectical petrification of scholasticism to a broad and soulful perception of nature, from medieval asceticism to a warm, flowing feeling of life, from the constraints of narrow-minded communities to the freedom of the personality, the way from a volcanic, but formless cultural potential to a harmonious, beautifully formed cultural product. . . . The Jewish renaissance does not mean a return, but a rebirth of the whole human being: a rebirth that evolved very slowly, very gradually from the days of the *Haskalah* and of Hasidim to our time and will continue to evolve. Slowly and gradually a new type of Jew will develop. . . . **Martin Buber, Jewish Renaissance, Published in *Ost und West*, 1903**

F. Our situation is truly tragic; the situation of those who, having lost their religious faith without hope of recovering it, still cling to that entire national universe which depends upon that faith for its life. **Dr. Yechezkel Kaufman, Hefetz HaKiyum HaLeumi, p. 194, 1920**

G. . . . This, then, is the Jewish Problem in all its gravity and ominousness, namely, how to maintain Judaism as a religion and as a culture, in the broad sense of the word, in its integrity, as a distinct unified entity, in the midst of the various national cultures which threaten to absorb it, and how to stem the stream of disintegration within Jewry and Judaism? To answer this grave question by denying its existence, is a poor remedy. The question mark is written red in the life history of the Jewries of every country during the last fifty years. Not only do American and West European Jewries bear evidence to the existence of such a danger, but even Russia, in spite of its large, concentrated number of Jews and its excellent type of Judaism, contains the germs of such disintegration as it is borne out by the events of the last fifteen years, namely, the spread of Socialism in its most anti-Jewish form among the Jewish masses. Those who attempt to deny the existence of the problem are either spiritually blind or foolhardy. The future of the existence of Judaism should concern every Jew of whatever shade, if he still retains some interest in the continuation of the historical existence of his people. Unless one has reached the line of total indifference, when the affairs of Jews and Judaism do not affect him, he cannot pass over the problem in utter silence. . . . **Dr. Meyer Waxman, The Mizrachi, Its Aims and Purposes, 1917**

II. The Rebels: Micha Yosef Berdechevski, Max Nordau, and Yosef Brenner

A.

(1) כִּי לִי בְנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל עֲבָדִים עָבְדֵי הֵם אֲשֶׁר-הוֹצֵאתִי אוֹתָם מֵאֶרֶץ מִצְרַיִם אֲנִי ד' א-לֹהֵיכֶם: וִיקְרָא כהנה

For to Me the people of Israel are servants; they are My servants, whom I brought forth out of the land of Egypt; I am the L-rd your G-d. **Leviticus 25:55**

B.

(1) וְהָיָה לָכֶם לְצִיצִת וּרְאִיתֶם אֹתוֹ וּזְכַרְתֶּם אֶת-כָּל-מִצְוֹת ד' וַעֲשִׂיתֶם אֹתָם וְלֹא תִתּוּרוּ אַחֲרֵי לְבַבְכֶּם וְאַחֲרֵי עֵינֵיכֶם אֲשֶׁר-אַתֶּם זֹנִים אַחֲרֵיהֶם: לְמַעַן תִּזְכְּרוּ וַעֲשִׂיתֶם אֶת-כָּל-מִצְוֹתֵי וְהִייתֶם קְדוֹשִׁים לֹא-לֹהֵיכֶם: אֲנִי ד' א-לֹהֵיכֶם אֲשֶׁר הוֹצֵאתִי אֶתְכֶם מֵאֶרֶץ מִצְרַיִם לִהְיוֹת לָכֶם לֹא-לֹהִים אֲנִי ד' א-לֹהֵיכֶם: בַּמִּדְבָּר טו:לט-מא

And it shall be to you for a fringe, that you may look upon it, and remember all the commandments of the L-rd, and do them; and that you seek not after your own heart and your own eyes, which incline you to go astray; That you may remember, and do all My commandments, and be holy to your G-d. I am the L-rd your G-d, who brought you out of the land of Egypt, to be your G-d; I am the L-rd your G-d. **Numbers 15:39-41**

(2) תניא: אחרי לבבכם - זו מינות, וכן הוא אומר: (תהלים י"ד) אמר נבל בלבו אין א-להים, אחרי עיניכם - זה הרהור עבירה, שנאמר: (שופטים י"ד) ויאמר שמשון אל אביו אותה קח לי כי היא ישרה בעיני, אתם זונים - זה הרהור עבודה זרה, וכן הוא אומר: (שופטים ח) ויזנו אחרי הבעלים. ברכות יב:

It has been taught: "After your own heart" refers to heresy; and so it says (Psalms 14:1), "The degraded one (נבל) has said in his heart, There is no G-d." "After your own eyes" refers to the yearning after immorality; and so it says (Judges 14:3), "And Samson said to his father, Get her for me, for she is pleasing in my eyes." "After which incline you to go astray" refers to the yearning after idolatry; and so it says (Judges 8:33), "And they went astray after the Baalim."

### **Berachos 12b**

3) Our verse, as it is explained in Berachoth 12b, presents the profound truth that מינות, the denial of G-d, is not the cause of a heart wishing to be free from the laws of morality, as it seemingly boasts, but rather it is its product. The נבל "the morally faded, withered one" attempts to quiet his conscience by denying the existence of G-d (Psalms 14:1, 53:2). And מינות, denying G-d, degenerates into ע"ז, paganism. Only the consciousness of G-d makes us spiritually free. He who in order to escape the mastery of One Power immediately denies Its existence only throws himself under the yoke of בעלים, a host of blind forces of nature casting him all about like a toy balloon in the wind. **The Commentary of Rav Shamshon Raphael Hirsch to Numbers 15:39**

C.

אמר רמי בר אבא: כתיב אברם וכתיב אברהם בתחלה המליכו הקב"ה על מאתים וארבעים ושלושה אברים, ולבסוף המליכו על מאתים וארבעים ושמונה אברים, אלו הן: שתי עינים, ושתי אזנים, וראש הגוייה. נדרים לב:

R. Ammi b. Abba also said: [First] Abram is written, then Abraham: at first G-d gave him mastery over two hundred forty three limbs, and later over two hundred forty eight, the additional ones being the two eyes, two ears, and the phallus. **Nedarim 32b**

D. We must cease to be Jews by virtue of an abstract Judaism and become Jews in our own right, as a living and developing nationality. The traditional "credo" is no longer enough for us. We desire to elevate our powers of thought, to enrich our spirit, and to enlarge our capacity for action; but let us never force our spirits into set forms which prescribe for us what we may think and feel. It is not reforms but transvaluations that we need—fundamental transvaluations in the whole course of our life, in our thoughts, in our very souls. Jewish scholarship and religion are not the basic values—every man may be as much or as little devoted to them as he wills. But the people of Israel come before them—"Israel precedes the Torah." The world about us, life in all its aspects, the many desires, resolves, and dispositions in our hearts—all these concern us as they would any man and affect the integrity of our soul. We can no longer solve the riddles of life in the old ways, or live and act as our ancestors did. We are the sons, and sons of sons, of older generations, but not their living monuments. . . . We must cease to be tablets on which books are transcribed and thoughts handed down to us—always handed down. Through a basic revision of the very foundations of Israel's inner and outer life, our whole consciousness, our predispositions, thoughts, feelings, desires, and will and aim will be transformed: and we shall live and stand fast. Such a fundamental revision in the people's condition, the basic drive toward freedom, and the boundless urge to new life will revive our souls. Transvaluation is like a flowing spring. It revives whatever is in us, in the secret places of the soul. Our powers are filled

with a new, life-giving content. Such a choice promises us a noble future; the alternative is to remain a straying people following its erring shepherds. A great responsibility rests upon us, for everything lies in our hands! We are the last Jews — or we are the first of a new nation. **Michah Yosef Berdechevki, Wrecking and Building (סתירה ובנין), 1900-1903**

E. 1) We must think of creating once again a Jewry of muscles. . . . In the narrow Jewish street our poor limbs soon forgot their gay movements; in the dimness of sunless houses our eyes began to blink shyly; the fear of constant persecution turned our powerful voices into frightened whispers, which rose in a crescendo only when our martyrs on the stakes cried out their dying prayers in the face of their executioners. But now, all coercion has become a memory of the past, and at last we are allowed space enough for our bodies to live again. Let us take up our oldest traditions; let us once more become deep-chested, sturdy, sharp-eyed men. **Dr. Max Nordau, Muskeljudentum (Muscular Jewry), 1903**

(2) לא בגבורת הסוס יחפץ לא־בשוקי האיש ירצה: רוצה ד' אֶת־יִרְאָיו אֶת־הַמִּיחָלִים לְחֶסֶדוֹ:  
תהלים קמז:י-יא

He does not delight in the strength of the horse; He does not take any pleasure in the legs of a man. The L-rd takes pleasure in those who fear Him, in those who hope in His loving kindness. **Psalms 147:10-11**

(3) אין המלך נושע בִּרְב־חַיִל גִּבּוֹר לֹא־יִנָּצַל בִּרְב־כֹּחַ: שֶׁקֶר הַסּוֹס לְתַשׁוּעָה וּבִרְב־חַיִל לֹא יִמְלֹט:  
הִנֵּה עֵינֵי ד' אֶל־יִרְאָיו לְמִיחָלִים לְחֶסֶדוֹ: תהלים לג:טז-יח

A king is not saved by a great army; a mighty man is not saved by great strength. A horse is a vain thing for safety; nor shall he save any by his great strength. Behold, the eye of the L-rd is upon those who fear Him, upon those who hope in His loving kindness. **Psalms 33:16-18**

F. This thesis is: There was outward humiliation and servility, but inward pride and beauty. It is possible, of course, that some Jews who were sensitive to their mortification consoled themselves with the promise to Jews of a better life in the world to come. Perhaps they assured themselves that despite all the gentile's earthly possessions of large estates, horses, carriages, minstrels, and all the pleasures of this world, he would never inherit Paradise with us. This was a consolation, but nothing more. . . . Yes, our environment is crumbling. This is nothing new, for this environment has never been stable; it has always lacked a firm foundation. We never had workers, never a real proletariat. What we had and have are idle poor. Basically nothing has changed, but now the very forms of life have dissolved. We live now without an environment, utterly outside any environment. We have to start all over again, to lay down a new cornerstone. Can we do it, with our sick character? . . . But let logic argue what it may. Our urge for life, which stands above logic, says otherwise. Our urge for life says: All this is possible. Our urge for life whispers hopefully in our ear: Workers' Settlements, Workers' Settlements. Workers' Settlements—this is our revolution. The only one. **Yosef Chaim Brenner, Self Criticism, 1914**

### III. Aaron David Gordon and the Religion of Labor and Working the Soil

A. The Jewish people has been completely cut off from nature and imprisoned within city walls these two thousand years. We have become accustomed to every form of life, except to a life of labor—of labor done at our own behest and for its own sake. It will require the greatest effort of will for such a people to become normal again. We lack the principal ingredient for national life. We lack the habit of labor—not labor performed out of external compulsion, but



labor to which one is attached in a natural and organic way. This kind of labor binds a people to its soil and to its national culture, which in turn is an outgrowth of the people's soil and the people's labor. Now it is true that every people has many individuals who shun physical labor and try to live off the work of others. But a normal people is like a living organism which performs its various functions naturally, and labor is one of its basic and organic functions. A normal people invariably contains a large majority of individuals for whom labor is second nature. But we Jews are different. We have developed an attitude of looking down on manual labor, so that even those who are engaged in it work out of mere compulsion and always with the hope of eventually escaping to "a better life." We must not deceive ourselves in this regard, nor shut our eyes to our grave deficiencies, not merely as individuals but as a people. The well-known talmudic saying, that when the Jews do G-d's will their labor is done for them by others (see Berachos 35b), is characteristic of our attitude. This saying is significant. It demonstrates how far this attitude has become an instinctive feeling within us, a second nature. Who among us thinks about this problem? Who is sensitive to it? We have no labor—and yet we are not aware that anything is missing. We take no notice of it even when we talk of our national rebirth. Labor is not only the force which binds man to the soil and by which possession of the soil is acquired; it is also the basic energy for the creation of a national culture. This is what we do not have—but we are not aware of missing it. We are a people without a country, without a living national language, without a living culture—but that, at least, we know and it pains us, even if only vaguely, and we seek ways and means of doing what needs must be done. But we seem to think that if we have no labor it does not matter—let Ivan, or John, or Mustapha do the work, while we busy ourselves with producing a culture, with creating national values, and with enthroning absolute justice in the world.

After very prolonged and very stubborn battles, the ideal of culture has finally won a place in our national (Zionist) movement. But what kind of culture is it? By culture we usually mean what is called in Zionist circles, "the rebirth of the spirit," or "a spiritual renaissance." But the spirit which we are trying to revive is not the breath of real life which permeates the whole living organism and draws life from it, but some shadowy and abstract spirit, which can express itself only within the recesses of heart and mind. Judging by the deliberations at the Zionist Congress, culture is entirely a matter of ideas or ideology. Such being the case, culture may mean to some of us the ideology of Hermann Struck and Rabbi Reines, i.e., the religious orthodoxy of Mizrahi, while to others it may signify the outlook of the school of Marx and Engels.

A vital culture, far from being detached from life, embraces it in all its aspects. Culture is whatever life creates for living purposes. Farming, building, and road-making—any work, any craft, any productive activity—is part of culture and is indeed the foundation and the stuff of culture. The procedure, the pattern, the shape, the manner in which things are done—these represent the forms of culture. Whatever people feel and think both at work and at leisure, and the relations arising from these situations, combined with the natural surroundings—all that constitutes the spirit of a people's culture. It sustains the higher expressions of culture in science and art, creeds and ideologies. The things we call culture in the most restricted sense, the higher expressions of culture (which is what is usually meant when culture is discussed in our circles)—this is the butter churned out of culture in general, in its broadest sense. But can butter be produced without milk? Or can a man make butter by using his neighbors' milk and still call the butter all his own? What are we seeking in Palestine? Is it not that which we can never find elsewhere—the fresh milk of a healthy people's culture? What we are come to create at present is not the culture of the academy, before we have anything else, but a culture of life, of which the culture of the academy is only one element. We seek to create a vital culture out of which the cream of a higher culture can easily be evolved. We intend to create creeds and ideologies, art

and poetry, and ethics and religion, all growing out of a healthy life and intimately related to it; we shall therefore have created healthy human relationships and living links that bind the present to the past. What we seek to create here is life—our own life—in our own spirit and in our own way. Let me put it more bluntly: In Palestine we must do with our own hands all the things that make up the sum total of life. We must ourselves do all the work, from the least strenuous, cleanest, and most sophisticated, to the dirtiest and most difficult. In our own way, we must feel what a worker feels and think what a worker thinks — then, and only then, shall we have a culture of our own, for then we shall have a life of our own. It all seems very clear: From now on our principal ideal must be Labor. Through no fault of our own we have been deprived of this element and we must seek a remedy. Labor is our cure. The ideal of Labor must become the pivot of all our aspirations. It is the foundation upon which our national structure is to be erected. Only by making Labor, for its own sake, our national ideal shall we be able to cure ourselves of the plague that has affected us for many generations and mend the rent between ourselves and Nature. Labor is a great human ideal. It is the ideal of the future, and a great ideal can be a healing sun. Though the purpose of history is not, to be sure, to act the teacher, still the wise can and must learn from it. We can learn from our condition in the past and in the present, for we must now set the example for the future. We must all work with our hands. We need a new spirit for our national renaissance. That new spirit must be created here in Palestine and must be nourished by our life in Palestine. It must be vital in all its aspects, and it must be all our own. What we need is zealots of Labor—zealots in the finest sense of the word. Any man who devotes his life to this ideal will not need to be told how difficult it is, but he will also know that it is of immense importance. **Aaron David Gordon, People and Labor, 1911**

B.

(1) אמר רבי אלעזר: כל אדם שאין לו קרקע אינו אדם, שנא': (תהלים קט"ז) השמים שמים לד' והארץ נתן לבני אדם. . . . ואמר רבי אלעזר: עתידים כל בעלי אומניות שיעמדו על הקרקע, שנאמר: (יחזקאל כ"ז) וירדו מאניותיהם כל תופשי משוט מלחים כל חובלי הים על הארץ יעמדו. ואמר ר' אלעזר: אין לך אומנות פחותה מן הקרקע, שנאמר: וירדו. רבי אלעזר חזיא לההיא ארעא דשדי ביה כרבא לפותיא, א"ל: אי תשדיה לאורכיך, הפוכי בעיסקא טב מינך. רב על לביני שיבלי, חזנהו דקא ניפן, אמר להו: אי ניפת איתנופי, הפוכי בעיסקא טב מינך. אמר רבא: מאה זוזי בעיסקא - כל יומא בשרא וחמרא, מאה זוזי בארעא - מילחא וחפורא ולא עוד, אלא מגניא ליה אארעא, ומרמיא ליה תיגרי. אמר רב פפא: זרע ולא תזבין, אע"ג דכי הדדי נינהו הני מברכן. 'במות סג.

R. Eleazar stated: Any man who owns no land is not a proper man; for it is said (Psalms 115:16), "The heavens are the heavens of the L-rd; but the earth hath He given to the children of men." R. Eleazar further stated: There will be a time when all craftsmen will take up agriculture; for it is said (Ezekiel 27:29), "And all that handle the oar, the mariners, and all the pilots of the sea, shall come down from their ships; they shall stand upon the land." R. Eleazar further stated: No occupation is inferior to that of agricultural labour; for it is said (ibid.), "And they shall come down." R. Eleazar once saw a plot of land that was ploughed across its width. 'Were you to be ploughed along thy length also', he remarked, 'engaging in business would still be more profitable'. Rav once entered among growing ears of grain. Seeing that they were swaying he called out to them, 'Swing as you will, engaging in business brings more profit than you can do'. Rava said: A hundred zuz in business means meat and wine every day; a hundred zuz in land, only salt and vegetables. Furthermore it causes him to sleep on the ground and embroils him in strife. R. Papa said, 'Sow but do not buy, even if the cost is the same; there is a blessing in the former.' **Yevamos 63a**

(2) שאין לך אומנות פחותה כו'. אף על גב דרבי אלעזר גופיה קאמר לעיל כל אדם שאין לו קרקע אינו אדם לריך לומר קרקע לצנות עליו שידור צו וגם ללורך מזונותיו כדאמר רב פפא צסמוך זרע ולא תצון והכא מיירי צאדם שעיקר אומנותו צקרקע: תוספות שם

**No occupation is inferior:** Even though Rabbi Elazar, himself, said above that any man who owns no land is not a proper man, one needs to see land upon which to build a dwelling and also to provide him food [that he be self sustaining], as Rav Papa said, "Sow but do not buy." Here we are speaking about someone whose principle profession is working the land. **Tosefos, ibid.**

(3) אמר רבי אלעזר: לא נתנה קרקע אלא לבעלי זרועות, שנאמר ואיש זרוע לו הארץ. ואמר ריש לקיש: מאי דכתיב (משלי י"ב) עבד אדמתו ישבע לחם אם עושה אדם עצמו כעבד לאדמה - ישבע לחם, ואם לאו - לא ישבע לחם. סנהדרין נח:

R. Eleazar said: The earth was given only to the strong, [who will fight against those who would cast their eyes on his property and attempt to illegally take it away,] as it is said (Job 22:8), "But as for the mighty man, for him is the earth." Resh Lakish said also: What is the meaning of the verse (Proverbs 12:11), "He that serves his land shall be satisfied with bread"? If one enslaves himself to his land [continually toiling thereon] he shall be satisfied with bread: if not, he shall not be satisfied with bread. **Sanhedrin 58b**

#### IV. Israel Zangwill and the Jewish Territorialist Organization

A. The Kishineff massacre has brought home to the blindest the need of a publicly and legally safeguarded home for our unhappy race. When you come to consider where this centralized home should be you will find no place as practicable as Palestine, or at least for a start, its neighborhood. **Israel Zangwill in an address to the Federation of American Zionists, 1903**

B. Herzl is dead: he worked for his people as no man ever worked for them since Judas Maccabaeus. His people called him dreamer and demagogue, and towards the end men of his own party called him traitor and broke his heart. He worked for his people: they paid him his wages and he has gone home. **Israel Zangwill in a 1905 speech on the East Africa offer**

C. If you wish to give a country to a people without a country, it is utter foolishness to allow it to be the country of two peoples. This can only cause trouble. The Jews will suffer and so will their neighbours. One of the two: a different place must be found either for the Jews or for their neighbours. **Israel Zangwill in a conversation with Vladimir (Ze'ev) Jabotinsky, 1916**

D. 'Give the country without a people,' magnanimously pleaded Lord Shaftesbury [in 1853], 'to the people without a country.' Alas, it was a misleading mistake. The country holds 600,000 Arabs. **Israel Zangwill in a speech in 1917**

#### V. Jewish Autonomy and the *Folkspartei*

A. Assimilation was bound to reveal itself as national suicide. . . . We have become alienated from our own people, without being able to become integrated into the nations around us. Assimilation turned out to be in practice psychologically unnatural, ethically damaging and practically useless. We gave up autonomy, the virtual artery of every national body, and exchanged it for heteronomy, an alien principle of development **Simon Dubnow, Autonomism," translated in English in "Nationalism and History," Kopel Pinson, pp. 134-5**

B. The Jew says: "As a citizen of my country I participate in its civic and political life; but as a member of the Jewish nationality I have, in addition, my own national needs, and in this sphere I must be independent to the same degree that any other national minority is autonomous in the state. I have the right to speak my language, to use it in all my social institutions, to make it the language of instruction in my schools, to order my internal life in my communities, and to create institutions serving a variety of national purposes; to join in the common activities with my brethren not only in this country but in all countries of the world and to participate in all the organizations which serve to further the needs of the Jewish nationality and to defend them everywhere." **Simon Dubnow, *ibid.*, pp. 136**

C. How then should Jewish autonomy assert itself? It must, of course, be in full agreement with the character of the Jewish national idea. Jewry, as a spiritual or cultural nation, cannot in the Diaspora seek territorial or political separatism, but only a social or a national-cultural autonomy. **Simon Dubnow, *ibid.***

D. In order to strengthen the Diaspora we'll use the weapons of national struggle which served us for thousands of years and which are adapted to the worldview of our time. You ask what wall we shall erect in place of the fallen ghetto walls? Every period has its own architecture, and the powerful vital instinct will unmistakably tell the people what style to use for building the wall of national autonomy which will replace the former religious 'fence to the fence'. **Simon Dubnow, "Letters on Old and New Judaism," published in the Russian-Jewish journal Voskhod, Nationalism and History, pp 186-187**

## VI. The Bund

A. [The nation is defined as] "a historically evolved, stable community of language, territory, economic life, and psychological make-up manifested in a community of culture. What sort of nation, for instance, is a Jewish nation that consists of Georgian, Daghestanian, Russian, American and other Jews, the members of which do not understand each other (since they speak different languages), inhabit different parts of the globe, will never see each other, will never act together, whether in time of peace or in time of war? No, it is not for such paper "nations" that the Social Democratic Party draws up its national program. It can reckon only with real nations, which act and move, and therefore insist on being reckoned with. **Joseph Stalin, "Marxism and the National Question", 1913**

B. Let us consider the case of a country composed of several national groups, e.g. Poles, Lithuanians and Jews. Each national group would create a separate movement. All citizens belonging to a given national group would join a special organisation that would hold cultural assemblies in each region and a general cultural assembly for the whole country. The assemblies would be given financial powers of their own: either each national group would be entitled to raise taxes on its members, or the state would allocate a proportion of its overall budget to each of them. Every citizen of the state would belong to one of the national groups, but the question of which national movement to join would be a matter of personal choice and no authority would have any control over his decision. The national movements would be subject to the general legislation of the state, but in their own areas of responsibility they would be autonomous and none of them would have the right to interfere in the affairs of the others. **Vladimir Medem, *Social democracy and the national question*, 1904**

C. The conference regards Zionism as a reaction of the bourgeois classes to the phenomenon of antisemitism and to the abnormal civic status of the Jewish people [in Russia]. The conference views the ultimate goal of political Zionism, i.e. the acquisition of a territory for the Jews—as an objective of little value, because such a territory would contain but a fraction of the whole nation, and thus would be incapable of solving the Jewish question. Hence, to the extent that the Zionists seek to concentrate the Jewish people, or even only a major part of the Jewish people, in a single land they pursue a utopian goal. Furthermore, the conference holds that Zionist propaganda inflames nationalist feelings and hinders the development of class consciousness amongst the Jewish proletariat. **Resolution at the Bund's Fourth Conference. May 1901**

D. Di Shvue - The Oath of the Bund

Brider un shvester fun arbet un neyt  
 Ale vus zaynen tsezeyt un tseshpreyt,  
 Tsuzamen, tsuzamen, di fon iz greyt,  
 Zi flatert fun tsorn, fun blut iz zi reyt!  
 A shvue, a shvue, af lebn un teyt.

Himl un erd veln undz oyshern  
 Eydes veln zayn di likhtike shtern  
 A shvue fun blut un a shvue fun trenn,  
 Mir shvern, mir shvern, mir shvern!

Mir shvern a trayhayt on grenetsn tsum Bund.  
 Nor er ken di shklafn bafrayen atsind.  
 Di fon di reyte iz heykh un breyt.  
 Zi flatert fun tsorn, fun blut iz zi reyt!  
 A shvue, a shvue, af lebn un teyt.

\* \* \* \* \*

Brothers and sisters in toil and struggle  
 All who are dispersed far and wide  
 Come together, the flag is ready  
 It waves in anger, it is red with blood!  
 Swear an oath of life and death!

Heaven and earth will hear us,  
 The light stars will bear witness.  
 An oath of blood, an oath of tears,  
 We swear, we swear, we swear!

We swear an endless loyalty to the Bund.  
 Only it can free the slaves now.  
 The red flag is high and wide.  
 It waves in anger, it is red with blood!  
 Swear an oath of life and death!

**Di Shvue - The Oath, Composed by S. An-ski (Shloime Zanvil Rapaport)**