

THEORIES OF JEWISH NATIONALISM

By

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CHAPTER I
Introduction

Section 1. The Problem.

In the midst of the most advanced scientific age in human history there has emerged and grown to universal power, one of the most mystical and withal vibrant forces ever conceived by man - the spirit of nationalism. In a world primarily scientific and mechanical in organization and function there has grown to fruition that most irrational of all forces - nationalism. In every country, amongst every people nationalism has become "the main pillar of the faith of the men of the new age". In the smallest and weakest as well as in the greatest and strongest, in the Democracies as well as in the Authoritarian states, its presence is universal, its power uncalculable.

Nevertheless, like so many other concepts, that of nation together with its derivatives nationality and nationalism have created a tremendous literature of conflicting theories and opinions as to their origin, their processes of development and on many other aspects of the problem. Though the past two centuries have witnessed the rise, development and growing influence of the doctrines of nationalism and nationality, the constantly increasing literature centering upon these most important phenomena still manifest diverse and opposing conceptions of these terms.

Renan¹, in emphasizing the will or desire to live together as the essence of a nation and A. Zimmern¹ in defining it as a "body of people united by a corporate sentiment of peculiar intensity, intimacy, and dignity, are far removed from Stalin² who believes a nation "is an historically evolved stable community of language, territory, economic life and psychological makeup manifested in a community of culture."

And Stalin is far removed from K. Renner³ who believed "the nation is not a concept belonging to national history, to ethnology or to sociology but to politics. Simply as inert bodies, nations are exceedingly ancient but as conscious active units they have not existed very long. The science of politics regards the nation as organized masses of humanity or at least masses capable of organization which detach themselves spatially from the whole body of mankind and mark themselves out by a unique history, language and civilization strives after power side by side and in conflict with one another and exercise power..."

The problem as to what constitutes a nation or nationality is no mere pedagogic bagatelle for each specific interpretation and definition will set off its own practical consequences - and affect the problem of nationalities in

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1. E. Renan - Qu'est ce qu'une nation - Levy's; Paris 1882, 2nd Ed.
A. Zimmern - Nationality and Govt. Clatto & Windus; London, 1918, P. 52.
 2. J. Stalin - Marxism and the National Qjestion, Int'l Pub. N.Y. P. 8 (N.D.)
 3. K. Renner - Quoted in H. Kohn - Nationalism and Imperialism, P. 51. Harcourt Brace & Co. N.Y. 1932.

general and that most puzzling ethnic phenomenon -- the Jews -- in particular. With the problem of the Jewish group as intricate as ever, and still far from solved, further investigation in this field is imperative for all who are concerned for the fate of our people.

In this paper we are concerned primarily with several theories concerning and affecting the status of the Jewish people. Before proceeding any further however it must be made clear that in any treatment of the problem of the Jew and nationalism three important factors must be taken into consideration.

1. Modern Jewish nationalism is an outgrowth of European nationalism "in one sense the most ancient, in another the latest of the nationalisms which awakened by the French Revolution dominated the socio-political history of Europe during the nineteenth century..."⁴. An understanding of the origin and rise of nationalism in Europe therefore is prerequisite to an understanding of Jewish nationalism.

2. It is inevitable that one's attitude to nationalism as a movement must ultimately affect one's attitude to Jewish nationalism. With increasing numbers the merits and usefulness of nationalism as a movement is being questioned.⁵ With the rise of Mussolini and Hitler and the ascension to

4. H. Kallen - Judaism at Bay, Bloch Pub. Co. 1932, P. 127.

5. R. Tagore - Nationalism - P. 27.

power of authoritarian governments elsewhere, nationalism in general seems to have long outlived its purposes. "In the social order of Europe it had its significance and justification when there was need to supercede feudalism and tribal and local patriotism based upon agriculture, local markets and small towns, and to rise to the larger territorial units required by the capitalist economic system. Nationalism was the intellectual form assumed by the needs of incipient capitalism and the youthful middle class. In the west today, when industry and social forces demand fields of activity which cross and shatter national frontiers, nationalism is in reality an outworn myth which however for that very reason clings obstinately to its place in men's thoughts, resorts to violence and since it is no longer capable of mastering social and economic problems throws off its early democratic guise and tends towards dictatorships."⁶

If it be true then that nationalism in Europe is an outworn myth and has become an evil easily manipulated by unscrupulous leaders against the interests of mankind, the rise of another nationalism -- Jewish nationalism -- can be viewed only with suspicion and distrust. Nevertheless while it is true that Internationalism and its "opposite" -- nationalism are considered mutually hostile, it cannot be denied that an internationalism is conceivable

6. H. Kohn - op. cit. P. 19.

which not only does not question nationalism but presupposes it, a kind of nationalism devoid of the dangerous solipsistic tendencies inherent in certain forms of nationalism.

C. Hayes⁷ has summed up this aspect of the problem when he wrote "Nationalism in many of its doctrines and much of its practise has undoubtedly been a beneficent influence in Modern history. Unfortunately it has tended to evolve a highly intolerant and warlike type which we have arbitrarily termed integral. Clearly the outstanding task before national education is to train among the coming generation a large number of men and women of character and reason who will perceive the dangers of integral nationalism not only to humanity at large but to each and every nation and who will guide the future evolution of nationalism again into channels of international peace and justice."

3. The third consideration is that with the analysis and interpretation of the position and status of the Jewish group, the ultimate fate of the Jews will be inextricably bound. For this reason the attitude of any student of the problem to Jewish history and its development will have a decisive effect in the formulation of a specific program.

For these reasons it is necessary therefore that a brief survey be made of the forces of nationalism as they

7. C. Hayes - Historical Evolution of Modern Nationalism; R. R. Smith Inc. N.Y. 1931. P. 320.

were manifested in the rise of European nations to power insofar as it may have some bearing on Jewish nationalism and supplementing it a review of modern Jewish nationalism as an off-shoot of the era of nationalism and showing the position attained by Achad Haam, Dubnow, and Soviet Russia in its development.

Section 2. Forces in the Rise of Nationalism in Europe.

In his book "Essays on Nationalism" Hayes points out that "nationality has always existed. Patriotism has long existed, either as applied to a locality or as extended to an empire. But the fusion of patriotism with nationality and the predominance of national patriotism over all other human loyalties -- which is nationalism -- is modern, very modern."⁸

The roots of modern nationalism reach down to three vital movements, from the Industrial Revolution, the French Revolution and the Romantic Movement which swept over Europe in Germany, France and England in the last quarter of the Eighteenth and the first quarter of the Nineteenth century.⁹ Essentially out of these three events emerged the modern nationalist movements.

The Industrial Revolution beginning on an extensive scale towards the end of the Eighteenth century made incalculable contributions to the spread of nationalist doctrines.

8. Hayes, C. - Essays on Nationalism, Macmillan Co. N.Y. 1937. P. 29.

9. Ibid P. 43 ff.

While it is true the Industrial Revolution has been an agency contributing equally to both national and international sentiments, in the last half of the Eighteenth century it was influential primarily in the direction of nationalism. Its effects were two-fold.

1. Beginning in a national state and the organization of production resting on a national basis, the Industrial Revolution aided in spreading the doctrines of nationalism beyond the confines of Europe and created those forces in Asia and the East which lead to nationalist aspirations. H. Kohn has described the social and economic transformation of the East today -- a transformation directly traceable to the effects of the Industrial Revolution. "In the East nationalism...meets social and economic needs. Capitalist forms of industry are making their way into the East, money economy and industrialization are taking their place beside barter and agriculture.¹⁰

2. Secondly, the Industrial Revolution in perfecting the mechanical arts ushered in the vastly important agencies of popular propaganda, the prime need and weapon in the arsenal of nationalism. "Population has prodigiously increased with the advent of power driven machinery, and the very vastness of our modern cities -- has provided favorable and fertile fields for mass education.

10. H. Kohn - op. cit. P. 19.

Time and space have been so lessened by railway and motor car and so nearly annihilated by telegraph, telephone and radio, as to bring rural communities within the educational orbit of capital cities. Journalism and warfare, like education, have been revolutionized both by mechanical developments and increased numbers of human beings. The armaments, the journalism, and the national education which flourished so conspicuously in all national states before and during the recent Great War would have been unthinkable without the industrial Revolution.¹¹

The second vital agency responsible for the spread of nationalism was the French Revolution. It was in this great political and social revolution in France and its aftermath, that nationalism became of age, and several basic contributions elaborated -- contributions that have now become so deeply engrained in every nationalist movement.

1. The French Revolution promulgated first and foremost the dogma of national democracy, of popular sovereignty and its implications. They were (a) the founding of state directed systems of popular elementary education where the nation's citizens could learn to read and write the national language.

(b) The founding of state controlled systems of universal military training so that those who enjoyed the rights and privileges of self-government could "assume its

11. C. Hayes - Essays on Nationalism. P. 52.

duties and burdens and hence be prepared and willing to fight for their country and to pay the supreme sacrifice."¹²

2. But not only did the French Revolution promulgate the dogma of the right of individuals to determine their own form of government but it asserted also the doctrine of national self-determination. "Old nationalities which had long been subject to the rule of alien nationalities were induced to struggle both for political liberty and for national independence. Nationalities which had long been broken into political fragments were moved to seek national unity and national democracy."¹³ And Kohn has pointed out that "nationalists of one country were enthusiastic for the national freedom of other peoples."¹⁴

3. And thirdly, the French Revolution made many signal contributions to the technique of nationalism. It elevated the loyalty due the state to the highest pinnacle; it inaugurated such national standbys as the national flag, the national anthem, and national holidays. It asserted the principle of "the nation in arms", and gave tremendous impetus to nationalist journalism.

But it was left to the Romantic Movement, the third great agency of modern nationalism to give it a rationalist basis, its *raison d'etre*. Romanticism

12. Ibid - P. 45.

13. Ibid - P. 57.

14. H. Kohn - Nationalism in the Soviet Union -
G. Rautledge & Sons, London, 1933. P. 22.

represented the intellectual and esthetic justification for nationalism. "It had a pronounced nationalist bent. Its interest in common men and common things stimulated the study and revival of folk-ways, folk-legends, and folk-music. Being a literary movement, Romanticism exalted folk-language, and folk-literature and folk-culture; being philosophic, it attributed to every folk a soul and inherent mental qualities and distinguishing manners and customs; being emotional, it tended to consecrate the peculiarities of national life and to inspire a popular worship of nationality."¹⁵

These were the three fountain heads of nationalism. Emerging out of the intersection of the Industrial Revolution in England, the French Revolution and the Romantic Movement in Germany it swept these countries and soon engulfed all Europe. Thus, it was in the Nineteenth century, which earned for itself the name in history "the Era of Nationalism", that the German and Italian peoples attained territorial unity and the nationalist movements of Eastern Europe -- that of the Chechs, Magyrs, Poles and the Greeks -- found expression.

Nor have the repercussions which these movements released, ended, for these Eighteenth century agencies of nationalism have continued to bear their fruit beyond Western Europe. They have continued to spread and today

15. C. Hayes. Essays on Nationalism. P. 53.

finds Asia and the East the new untapped areas of awakened nationalism.

Nevertheless, important though these agencies were and still are, the rise and spread of nationalism would have been seriously affected and impaired were it not for three important factors, found in every new born national group.¹⁶

1. The first factor is the universal emergence in every national movement of a company of eminent native intellectual historians, philosophers, literary men, etc. -- who are engaged wholly or in part in constantly elaborating a doctrine of nationalism in the interest of their own particular national group. They are the leaven in the emergence of any national movement.

2. The second factor and probably most influential in the emergence of any national group is the role played by the middle classes. It is this group which almost always becomes the first overt and practical initiators of the national movement. "If we were to review the actual course of nationalism in any European country in the Nineteenth Century we would be struck by the early prominence of professors, lawyers, physicians, merchants and bankers. The most conspicuous nationalists in France, during the restoration and the Second Empire were of those callings and so were the bulk of the deputies in the German National Assembly at Frankfort in 1848 and in the Slav National

16. Ibid. P. 62.

Assembly at Prague in the same year...In France, Spain, and England, and also among Germans, Italians, Greeks, Poles, Czechoslovaks and Yugoslavs it was the same story."¹⁷

3. The third important factor is the role played by the "masses" in the national liberation movement. Without the help of the people no nationalist movement has ever succeeded. Only until the doctrine of nationalism can find lodgement in the popular mind will the wheels of nationalist liberation begin to turn. "Even though the nationalist movement has its origin in the middle-class intelligentsia, it finds support in the laboring masses, the peasants and workers. National resistance depends upon the masses of peasants and workers, upon the fellaheen whose determination to win social freedom inevitably assumes the form of a national struggle and who, when their historical leaders -- are alienated from their own people, produce a new middle class and new leaders from their own midst."¹⁸.

In this brief review we have noticed what we may consider the dominant factors which determined the rapid growth of the spirit of nationalism in Europe. We turn now to a consideration of the rise of Jewish nationalism as it has been affected and influenced by the rise of nationalism in Europe.

17. Ibid P. 70

18. H. Kohn - Nationalism and Imperialism. P. 42.

Section 3. Forces in the Rise of Modern Jewish Nationalism

EMANCIPATION

Until the French Revolution the point of view that the Jews were a separate ethnic body, a people, a nation in everything but that of being a political entity on its own land was unquestioned by Jew and non-Jew alike. Throughout the Jewish middle ages which lasted to the end of the 18th century, Israel continued to think of itself as a united though dispersed and scattered people. "...In the 18th century, everybody spoke of a Jewish nation. Even such friends of Emancipation as Mendelssohn, Dohm and Mirabeau indiscriminately used the expressions. *Judische Nation* -- *Judische Volk*, *La Nation Juive*, and *Le peuple Juif*."¹

But this unity and unanimity was broken with the opening of the period of Emancipation which was ushered in by the French Revolution and its aftermath. It was a queer turn in History that the period which saw the demise of cosmopolitanism and the flowering of nationalism in Europe beheld at the same time the deliberate attempt on the part of a great section of Jewry to deny their own nationalism and merge with the particular national group with whom they lived. The national consciousness, which had been part of the heritage the Jew took with him in all his wanderings in the exile -- a consciousness manifested in

1. S. W. Baron - *A Social and Religious Hist. of the Jews*
Columbia Press, N.Y. 1937 - vol. II.
P. 262.

his prayers, his literature, in the rise of his mystic movements, (Hasidism) and his messianic movements (Sabbatianism) -- this national consciousness was now being throttled by those who deliberately tried to identify themselves with the dominant nationality with whom they lived. The reasons for this must be sought in the very soil in which nationalism flourished.

The nationalism which had superseded the old cosmopolitanism of the 18th century, viewed as its goal the creation of national states coterminous with their own specific nationalities. Such pure national states presupposed the disappearance of every minority within their midst, and their absorption and integration with the dominant ethnic nationalities. These attempts at achieving homogeneous ethnic entities in the west, in France, Italy and elsewhere, were paralleled by the policies of Russification, Magyarization and Turkification in the east. ²

Viewed as foreign elements, minorities in general, and Jews in particular were induced, by means of promises of political emancipation, propaganda, or more forceful measures, to adopt and become absorbed within, the culture of the dominant power under whose shadow they lived. Forced to choose between an Emancipation which would open wide the doors to assimilation, and maintaining their own national

2. A. E. Zimmern - op. cit. P. 69.

entity, the Jewish communities in western and central Europe wholeheartedly surrendered their national entity for the price of Emancipation. These groups, who were the most articulate elements, while maintaining their religious identity proceeded to deny the existence of a Jewish nationality, imbued themselves in the culture and spirit of the country within which they lived and considered themselves only as French, German, or Austrian citizens of the Mosaic persuasion.

The chief effect then of the French Revolution and its aftermath, insofar as it impinged itself upon Jewish life in the west was an Emancipation that led directly to the surrender of the Jewish nationality and into a headlong process of assimilation within the national body politic. Nevertheless assimilation through emancipation was not the only force let loose by the French upheaval. In another direction, though to a lesser extent it is true, the Revolution brought into being at almost the same time a Jewish variety of nationalism, a nationalism summed up by Hess when he confesses: "Had I not lived in France it never would have entered my head to interest myself in the revival of Jewish nationalism,"³ or when he declared, "the national movement of the present day is only another step on the road to progress which began with the French Revolution. The French nation has, since the great

3. M. Hess quoted by M. Lowenthal - Jews of Germany - P.257

Revolution been calling to the other nations for help... the call has reached also our ancient nation, and I would unite my voice with that of France that I may at least warn my racial brothers in Germany against listening to the loud noise of the reactionaries."⁴

Beginning with the 3rd and 4th decades of the 19th century there began to trickle through the wall of assimilation in the west a type of Haskala, of enlightenment quite different from that which developed with mushroom growth after the days of Mendelssohn, in Germany, France and elsewhere. This new stream was the Haskalah of Luzzato in Italy, Krochmal in Austria and Graetz and Frankel in Germany. Here was an Haskala that refused to divest itself of its own birth-right -- its own national entity. "As the History of a people our history is far from being a mere chronicle of literary events or church history; why therefore characterize it as such? The literature and religious development, just as the tragic martyrdom are only incidents in the life history of the people, not the substance."⁵

Nourished by this different concept of enlightenment of Haskalah and influenced by the ideals of the French Revolution there soon arose a group of Jewish intellectuals and philosophers devoted to the salvaging of the Jewish nationality, who were to form the leaven in the final development and growth of Jewish nationalism at the end of the

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4. M. Hess - Rome and Jerusalem - Bloch Pub.Co.N.Y.1918.P.55
 5. H.Graetz - Hist. of Jewis, German Edition. Vol. 5. Intro. P. 3. For a discussion of Graetz and other Jewish Hist. and their Phil. of Hist. in B. Dineberg - Israel in Exile - Ovid - Jerusalem 1926. P. 9-32.

19th century.

By the middle of the 19th century then, assimilation and nationalism were the two main tendencies in the life of western Jewry, with assimilation for the weightier and more influential factor. Both assumed the form of Emancipation -- a process nourished both from within Jewish life itself and from without by the national movements sweeping Europe.

In the east however, where the forces of emancipation took root later, the positions of assimilation and nationalism were reversed. In the east it was nationalism which was the more dominant and weightier movement and assimilation the weaker factor. The experiences of western Jewry and their own peculiar position were not without this effect on the east. Nor are the reasons far to seek.

Emancipation in the east began long after it had already attained the dominating position it attained in the west. Moreover, except for the short interlude of the reign of Alex. II, sporadic and intermittent attempts, the government generally did little in the way of paving the road for Emancipation. It was primarily from within the body of eastern Jewry that efforts at Emancipation were made.

But even these attempts were unavailing insofar as the masses of Eastern Europe were concerned. Relatively small sections, of the multitude of minorities including the Jewish accepted the offers of Emancipation. The major section of the ethnic groups refused it. Forceful attempts

on the part of the government only stiffened their resistance and served merely to inflame the sentiments of national freedom higher. Particularly was this true of the Jewish group who in the face of their miserable economic position, of the stubborn adherence of the masses to their old traditions and in the face of the horrible pogroms culminating in the massacres of the 1880's refused to surrender the status. Their events effectively nipped in the bud "the cosmopolitan dreams of the Jewish youth of Russia and their enthusiastic and honest attempts at assimilation."⁶

There then were the specific circumstances which led eastern Jewry in the direction of nationalism -- the influence of the west and the repressions and denial of equal rights, as well as the devotion of the Jewish masses to their customs and traditions. These were the factors that brought the bearers of nationalism in the east, Smolenskin, Lillinblum and the others, pressing hard upon the heels of the assimilationists -- Lebinson, Gordon and their group.

SECULAR NATIONALISM

If Jewish nationalism was deadened during the period of Emancipation it was a new kind of nationalism that was quickened into life once the flow of assimilation had run its course. No longer was it the old religious dream of an ingathering of the exiles by an act of God, or the

6. S. Spiegel - Hebrew Reborn - Macmillan Co. N.Y. 1930. P. 214.

Utopiean vision of a return to Zion under the banner of a messianic upheaval. It was now metamorphasized into a practical enterprise, advocated and translatable into life by practical human agencies and forces.⁷ The road had been prepared for this regenerated nationalism by the Haskalah which had secularized all the ramifications of Judaism⁸, and strengthened by those forces which found their consummation in the French Revolution -- the spirit of rationalism, the doctrine of democracy and nationalism, etc., Jewish nationalism became a modern people's movement devoted not so much to the revitalization of Judaism as to the regeneration of Jews.

It was in this spirit that Hess wrote: "If Jewish nationalism is a live movement, it will not be deterred by any doubts that may arise from devoting its energy toward obtaining political regeneration...the main problem of the Jewish national movement is not of a religious nature but centers around one point namely, on how to awaken the patriotic sentiments in the hearts of our progressive Jews and how to liberate the Jewish masses by means of this patriotism from a spirit deadening formalism."⁹

Hess was not the first to treat this problem in such terms. Hirsch Kalischer had already published his pamphlet

7. M. Kaplan - Judaism as a Civilization. Macmillan Co. N.Y. 1934. P. 240.

8. S. Spiegel - Op. cit. 206 ff

9. M. Hess - op. cit. P. 162.

in which he attempted to prove that Jewish rehabilitation of Palestine must proceed the messianic redemption. And in the same spirit Pinsker wrote:

"No...equality in rank appears in the intercourse of the nations with the Jews. In the latter case the basis is lacking for that mutual regard which is generally regulated and secured by international law or by treaties. Only when this basis is established, when the equality of the Jews with the other nations becomes a fact can the problem presented by the Jewish question be considered solved."¹⁰

And Herzl unknowingly echoed him when he declared the Jewish question "is a national question which can only be solved by making it a political world-question, to be discussed and settled by the civilized nations of the world in council."¹¹

Though Herzl, Pinsker, Hess and others in the nationalist movement recognized the essentially dual character of the Jewish ethnic group,¹² the religious and the national, the tendency toward secularization gained swift momentum. The secularists now began to stress the ethnic and national elements to the exclusion of the religious characteristics just as strongly as Reform in the period of

10. L. Pinsker - Anti-Eman. Masada, N.Y. 1925. P. 5.

11. Herzl - Jewish State, London, 1934. P. 15

12. C. Hayes - Essays on Nationalism for a discussion on this aspect of the Jewish question. P. 213, ff.

Emancipation had stressed the religious character to the complete exclusion of its national elements.¹³ The fact that increasing attention was being paid to such question as state, territory, autonomy only aided the rapid process of secularization. "The more radical the break with tradition the less essential seemed the choice of country in which to erect a Jewish state."¹⁴ Hence it isn't surprising that the territorialists should seize on Uganda; nor that this process should reach its logical conclusion with the Jewish proletarian parties in the soviet union and its affiliates elsewhere.

Nevertheless, while it is true Bolshevism is primarily responsible for this extreme position -- it must be recognized that long before the Communists won power, almost all the Jewish left wing groups tended to deny the religious element in the Jewish nationality. With these groups however its acceptance was optional by the individual.¹⁵

This extreme position of secular nationalism which finds its consummation in the Soviet Union however, represented and still does the weaker element in the Jewish National movement. The dual character of the Jewish movement still remains the dominant tendency amongst the other sections. Nevertheless, secular nationalism continues as one of the chief factors of division and conflict in the national movement.

13. S. Baron - P. 362. Vol. II.

14. Ibid - P. 332

15. Ibid - P. 363

Section 4.Propagation of Jewish Nationalism

In his basic book, "Essays on Nationalism", Hayes¹⁶ develops a theory of the various stages through which the propagation of nationalism in Europe evolved in the past. Though the author denies Jewish claims to nationality¹⁷ the development and propagation of the doctrines of Jewish nationalism followed the lines essentially as laid down by him, with but slight variations.

According to Hayes "In the propagation of nationalism three factors or sets of factors must be considered. First and fundamental is the elaboration of a doctrine of nationalism by an eminent company of "intellectuals" -- philologists, historians, anthropologists, economists, philosophers and literateurs. Second and very influential is the championing of the doctrine by groups of citizens who discover in it a satisfaction and refreshment for their souls and sometimes an advantage to their pockets. Thirdly, the doctrine finds lodgment in the popular mind by means of new and - but singularly universal, forms of mass education."¹⁸ Coincidentally or otherwise, these three stages were traversed in the propagation of Jewish nationalism as well.

As elsewhere the first stage saw a constantly augmented circle of intellectuals who formed the spearhead in

16. C. Hayes - op. cit. P. 61

17. Ibid. P. 213 ff.

18. Hayes - Ibid. P. 62.

the evolution and growth of Jewish nationalism. Its philosophers and publicists, its historians and philologists, literateurs -- all contributed heavily to the doctrine of Jewish nationalism.

Paralleling the activities of anthropologists and scientists of France, or Germany or Italy who discovered the doctrine of peculiar national souls and attributes, and who traced them back to differentiation in primitive life groups, were the efforts of men like Krochmal and Hess and others. Very early in the history of Jewish nationalism, Krochmal began to write of the peculiar unique character of the Jewish national soul and likewise traced humanity in its complex structure to diverse primitive origins. Thus for example Krochmal notes the plan of Providence to have the human species "combined into groups large and small -- thence into the highest groupings of a nationality living in a definite way and being called a 'folk' and a nation. This is the development implied in the verse: When the Most High gave inheritances to the folks and separated the children of men."¹⁹

In the eyes of Krochmal every nationality has its own spirit or God. It may be the "spirit of grace and splendor, spirit of law and justice, spirit of courage and power."²⁰ His own conception of the peculiar Jewish

19. N. Krochmal - Guide of the Perplexed of the Times, Lemberg 1863 - Chap. VII - P. 20.

20. Ibid - P. 21

national spirit is indicated by the very quotation which heads Chap. VII: "Let all peoples walk each in the name of its God but we will walk in the name of our God forever and ever."²¹ The spirit of Israel is the Absolute Spirit, or the Eternal God and hence continues to live eternally because its ideal is eternal." It is in it that we are the teachers of the great multitude of nations; in it we exist to this day; and on the strength of it we stand and are saved for an eternal salvation."²² Here we have an affirmation of a Jewish mission clothed in the terminology of 19th century nationalism, with but one difference, and this difference is indicated in the first half of the verse which he quotes from Micah - Let all peoples walk each in the name of its God...

Whereas in the writings of intellectuals of other nationalities the tendency was essentially one of portraying the superiority of a specific nationality over others, the aim of Krochmal and his confreres was to insist on the need for democracy and equality between nationalities. That this plea may or may not have been motivated by the fact that theirs was the most oppressed and degraded of all ethnic groups does not affect the validity of their demand. But not only were they asking for equality and democracy; they insisted on the need of variety and diversity in national life and the inclusiveness of nationalism and

21. Ibid - P. 20

22. Ibid - P. 24

humanitarianism. This was what Hess was pleading for when he wrote: "The present day national movement not only does not exclude humanitarianism, but strongly asserts it; for this movement is a wholesome reaction, not against humanism but against the things that would encroach upon it and cause its degeneration, against the levelling tendencies of modern industry and civilization which threaten to deaden every original organic life-force, by introducing a uniform inorganic mechanism....It is against these encroachments on the most sacred principles of creative life that the national tendencies of our time react, and it is against these destructive forces that I appeal to the original national power of Judaism.²³

It is in this plea for variety and diversity, for democracy and equality in national life, that we must distinguish between the race theories, which, originating in the early 19th century, have finally reached their apotheosis under Fascism and those racial doctrines underlying the work of Krochmal, Hess, Achad HaAm and the others. The appeal of these Jewish nationalists was in effect a plea that "all nationalities are created free and equal, endowed with certain inalienable rights, and among these rights are life, Liberty and the pursuit of happiness". Disregarding this essential point of difference can lead only to confusion and misunderstanding.

23. M. Hess - op. cit. P. 122.

But these men were not alone, for supplementing the work of the philosophers were the efforts of the historians Graetz and Dubnow and the historical studies of the Haskalah (Luzzato, Rappaport) in promulgating doctrines of Jewish nationalism. In opposition to early reform which denied the national character of the Jews, these historians followed in the footsteps of historical writers of other nationalities in setting forth Israel's invaluable contributions to world history, its historic national rights, the role it played in the past and could continue to play in the future.

The work of Graetz and Dubnow in spreading the doctrine of the Jewish nationality is incalculable. Through their histories generation after generation was enabled to relieve again "the experiences of (its) forefathers not as the theological development of a sect but as the full blooded life of a nation whose course was not yet done."²⁴

It was Graetz for example who was to influence so deeply, that most restless spirit Moses Hess and bring back to the Jewish fold one who was to become a pioneer in the evolution of political Zionism; and it was Graetz who was to continue to mold the minds of Jewish youth along the lines of positive historical Judaism at the conservative theological seminary of Breslow.

Similarly, it was Dubnow who more than any one

24. M. Lowenthal - The Jews of Germany - Jewish Publication Society, N.Y. 1936. P. 257.

individual perhaps influenced the development of Jewish nationalism in Eastern Europe and who determined the direction towards nationalism which the Bund and the various socialist and Zionist parties took in those decades before and during the World War.

But the actual leavening force in the propagation of Jewish nationalism amongst the intellectuals, was to be found in its publicists and literary men. And as with other ethnic groups, the question of a native language also loomed large in the development of Jewish nationalism. But here the Jewish nationalists were confronted with a dilemma which was completely absent in most other ethnic groups.

The Jewish nationalists were torn between two forces -- Hebrew which had been their ancient mother tongue and which had had a glorious past but was now weak and anemic; and Yiddish which was relatively new but was now being used by the great mass of people, particularly in Eastern Europe. So deeply ingrained did this new "mother tongue" become that it has continued to confront the Jewish national movement to the present day, and remains as one of the factors dividing it. In spite of the dilemma however, so strong did the nationalist aspirations become, whether in the form of Zionism or diaspora nationalism or secular nationalism that both languages developed to an extent never dreamed of by the early nationalist writers.²⁵

25. S. Baron - op. cit. Vol. II - P. 333 ff.

Hebrew which had been revived by the assimilationist Haskalah the better to contact Jewish youth was soon taken over by the nationalists who made it one of the chief instruments in winning Jewry over to nationalism especially the Zionist variety which in turn metamorphasized it into a living modern tongue.

"When healthy national self-realization began in Europe to take the place of anaemic cosmopolitan ideals, it was Hebrew literature that paved the way for the Jewish renaissance."²⁶

Beginning in 1868 with the founding of the Hashachar, a magazine "usually looked upon as the dawn of a new phase in Hebrew literature, that of the national awakening, just as the beginning of the enlightenment is usually taken to date from the appearance of Hameasef in Konigsberg eighty-five years before,"²⁷ Hebrew literature became a mine of nationalist thoughts, hopes, and aspirations. It counted amongst its publicists the names of Smolenskin, Lilienblum and Achad HaAm; its philologists in Luzzatto and the fanatic Ben Yehudah; in its poets the name of Bialik. Beginning as a small stream, Hebrew nationalist literature became a veritable flood centered primarily around the Zionist movement.

Paralleling the development of Jewish nationalist literature in Hebrew, Yiddish, which became the mouthpiece

26. S. Spiegel - op. cit. - P. 207.

27. Ibid - P. 226

of Diaspora and secular nationalism in Eastern Europe, likewise experienced a new impetus.

Apart from those who wrote in both Hebrew and Yiddish -- men like Bialik, Mendelē, Perez and others -- the Yiddish press soon began to feature the names of Nathan Birnbaum, Zhitlovsky, Borochoy and a host of other leaders and writers in the Jewish national movement. To-day it still continues to maintain itself as the primary vehicle for Diaspora nationalism and has found unlimited possibilities for development in the Soviet Union where it becomes recognized as one of the official national languages.

Though the initial stage in the propagation of nationalism then, the formulations of doctrines of nationality was fully observed in that of the Jewish entity, it is in its second stage that appreciable differences appear.

In this stage according to Hayes, the doctrines of nationalism as they are outlined by the intellectuals are taken over by the upper classes, the upper bourgeoisie, "who discover in it a satisfaction and refreshment for their souls and sometimes an advantage to their pockets."²⁸

Whereas the tendency of the upper classes in all rising nationalist movements, whether in Europe, Asia or in the colonial countries, has been to lend political, financial and moral aid, to support their own budding nationalist forces, Jewish Nationalism has had little if

28. C. Hayes - op. cit. 62.

any of their support at all. Far from aiding their own group they as a class were to be found in the ranks of those nationalists in whose country they happened to reside. In this, complete assimilation or as was most prevalent, Reform was the perfect expression of their anti-Jewish national bias.

These Jewish upper bourgeoisie condemned, despised and feared the nationalist movement for they saw in it a powerful corroding counter attack against their natural propensity to assimilate as quickly and as thoroughly as possible.²⁹ It was in their adopted nationality that all their political, economic and social interests lay. These upper classes feared the nationalists even more than they did the anti-semites for contrary to those of other nationalities who "found that the masses when brought under its spell not only were less inclined to criticize their leaders but also more disposed to accept the status quo in economic matters,"³⁰ the Jewish bourgeoisie saw in nationalism a danger to their newly acquired status (Frenchmen of the Jewish persuasion) and the source of their downfall.

Borochov summed up the problem of the bourgeoisie as a factor in Jewish nationalism when he wrote: "The upper bourgeoisie because it is not confined to the home market is not national in any true sense but highly cosmopolitan. The Jewish bourgeoisie finds its interests

29. A. Ruppin - Jews in Modern World - Macmillan N.Y. 1934 - P. 236.

30. C. Hayes - op. cit. P. 73

best served by assimilation, and were it not for the "poor ostyuden" the Jewish upper bourgeoisie would not be disturbed by the Jewish problem...the East European Jewish bourgeoisie is of course more directly affected by the status of Jewry. The west European upper bourgeoisie however considers the entire problem to be a gratuitous and unpleasant burden...Everywhere the Jewish upper bourgeoisie is engaged in the search for a solution to the Jewish problem and a means of being delivered of the Jewish masses."³¹

Where support for the Jewish national movement on the part of the "classes" was found, was among the middle and petty bourgeoisie, it was from these that aid for the movement was obtained and from whom the bulk of the intelligence was derived. But even here, there was a tendency for these classes to support the antonomy movements to a greater degree than Zionism, and the cause for this is to be found in the very precariousness of their position in the economic political and social life of the people.

"The middle bourgeoisie is bound more closely to the Jewish masses. In general, the economic interests of a middle and petty bourgeoisie depend on the market which the mass of the people affords, which market is coextensive with the national language and cultural institutions. Therefore, in the case of territorial nations, the middle

31. P. Borochoy - Nationalism and the class struggle. Young Poale Zion Alliance, N.Y. 1937. P. 185 ff.

and petty bourgeoisie is the chief supporter of all types of "cultural" nationalism -- Jewish misery is closer to them than to the upper bourgeoisie. Their nationalism, however is of a specifically middle and petty bourgeois character. Lacking any means of support in their struggle for a market they tend to speak of an independent political existence and of a Jewish state where they would play a leading political role. They feel the effects of state anti-semitism very strongly and therefore strive to protect Jewish civil and national rights. Since they are directly affected by the poverty and degeneration of the Jewish masses they tend to advocate a Jewish national policy."³²

Formulated by the intellegentsia and taken up by the bourgeoisie, the third stage or factor in the promulgation of Jewish nationalism paralleled that of any other nationalist movement -- its acceptance by the masses -- by the proletariat.

But here too specific variations crept in due to the anomalous position of the Jew. Because of the rather late start of Jewish nationalism, the Jewish proletariat (the peasantry as a class was totally absent) was more deeply divided than was usual in other nationalist movements. When it first made its appearance within the workers' circles it discovered that a great section had already become thoroughly immersed in the socialist and communists

32. Ibid - 186 ff.

movements which, particularly in its early years fought the concept of Jewish nationality and advocated an assimilationist policy. It was only in their later stages that the Bund and the other socialist parties (and today in the latest phase of Russian nationalist theory) were reoriented in the direction of Jewish national rights. Certainly as time went on there was a considerable decrease in hostility amongst the proletarian parties to Jewish nationalism.

Nevertheless, though the movement amongst the proletariat initially had tremendous difficulties to overcome (traditionalism, radicalism, anti-semitism, immigration) the movement began to grow by leaps and bounds. Spurred on by economic political and social disabilities on one hand, and by nationalist propaganda emanating from the camps of Zionists and Diaspora nationalists on the other, the proletariat emerged as one of the most important if not the most important sector in Jewish nationalism.

That the greatest sector of mass support amongst the proletariat came from eastern Europe, in absolute and well as relative numbers was due the fact the great bulk of Jewish workers was settled there. Here "amongst the Jewish masses in Eastern Europe, the ancient yearning for Zion survived undiminished. Economic distress and political oppression intensified their desire to find a land where the Jewish masses could live in security, enjoying perfect freedom and forming part of an economic organization that should

embrace all branches of social life."³³

The rebuilding of Palestine within the last three decades and the example of Russian recognition of the Jewish nationality (socialist recognition had been gained during and immediately after the World War) have been vital forces in molding the nationalist sentiments of the Jewish proletariat -- sentiments which have served as a force of self-preservation against assimilation anti-semitism and those factors leading to the breakdown of Jewish national group life.

These were the stages and factors in the propagation of Jewish nationalism -- factors which, with variations growing out of the peculiar position of the Jewish people, were to be found in the evolution of practically every nationalist movement throughout the world.

In this chapter we have traced rather sketchily the forces in the rise of nationalism in Europe, their effect on Jewish nationalism and the stages in the propagation of this movement. In the following chapters we will trace the evolution of two specific doctrines of nationalism which have so deeply affected the Jewish people, the doctrines of Achad HaAm and Dubnow.

33. H. Kohn - op. cit - P. 123.

CHAPTER II

The Nationalism of Achad Haam

Section I. Introduction

The story of Achad Haam is in a real sense the story of modern zionism; the two are inextricably bound together: To understand one, is to understand the other; both provide the background for each other. Here however we are concerned only with Achad Haam and his formulation of a doctrine of Jewish Nationalism - spiritual zionism. We can at best only hint at the more inclusive movement as it is reflected in our discussion.

The life of Achad Haam spans the whole of the history of modern Jewish nationalism as it developed in eastern Europe. He was already twelve years old when Smolenskin issued the first call for Jewish nationalism in the pages of the Haschacher in 1868, and forty-one years old when Herzl founded political zionism at Basle in 1897. When Achad Haam died in January 1927, Zionism was already a strong world-wide movement which long before, had incorporated his teaching and made it one of its central and most important pillars.

It is characteristic of the man that his work is all of one piece and that to understand his labors, whether they be in the field of Judaism proper or in that of Jewish nationalism one must first understand his approach to life in general, and his philosophy of history in particular. Not that Achad Haam ever worked out this philosophy systematically. It is woven

into the warp and woof of all his work; it is the guiding principle, the axis around which all his writings revolve.

This guiding principle, this dominant motif, is his theory of natural evolution. The emphasis here is on the natural, for the supernatural plays but a minor role if at all in his philosophy. Whatever force it wields it does so only by virtue of its ideological hold upon mankind and becomes for him, a purely natural phenomenon whether it manifests itself abstractly or embodied in the acts of an historical personage. Thus the man Moses or the revelation at Sinai need never have been (and indeed Achad Haam seems sceptical concerning their historicity. Nevertheless, while it may be true that whatever life they do have has been breathed into them by those generations who accepted them, their actual role in history clothes them with a reality that cannot be questioned. Therefore when he writes of Moses, it is not the actual historical personage with the attending supernatural phenomena that has any meaning for him. It is the Moses who has influenced history throughout the ages that interests him.

"I care not whether this man Moses really existed --- whether he was really the savior of Israel and gave his people the law in the form in which it is preserved among us; and so forth; we have another Moses of our own whose image has been enshrined in the hearts of the Jewish people for generations and whose influence on our national life has never ceased from ancient times till the present day. (1) (S.E. P. 308)

(1) Achad Haam Al Parshat Hadrachim, Jewish-Verlag-Berlin - 1930 - Vol. III P. 211

Along with this natural rather than supernatural formulation - a formulation so much in line with his leaning towards the Positivism of Comte - he sees the growth of society in terms of a gradual evolutionary process, of a slow but constant development in which there are no short cuts, no sudden leaps and transformations.

Speaking of the prophet with his own point of view in mind, he wrote: "He no longer believes in a sudden revolution; he knows that signs and wonders and visions of God can arouse a momentary enthusiasm, but cannot create a new heart, cannot uproot and unplant feelings and inclinations with any stability or permanence. So he summons all his patience to the task of bearing the troublesome burden of his people and training it by slow steps till it is fit for its mission.² Borrowing from Spencer, Achad Haam, who is primarily the student of sociology rather than metaphysics sees this development in terms of a determinist process of cause and effect. For him as for Spencer society and social institutions are not made - they grow. And their growth follows the laws of causation. It was in this spirit that he wrote of the new attitude being taken to ancient society and to which he associated himself.

"But since the conception associated with the term 'evolution' arose in the domain of natural science, and made their way subsequently into philosophy and history the situation has changed completely... the modern critic analyzes human opinions and actions.. He regards all human actions

² Ibid - Vol. III p. 218

and thoughts as natural phenomena, the inevitable result of certain causes, fruits as it were of the human tree which came to birth and went thru the slow process of ripening according to definite laws, like those which determine the growth of all things in the vegetable and animal worlds."³ (S.E.207)

However, the essence of this determinist natural evolutionary process is not primarily of a materialist character - of cause and effect in a physical sense. As with Krochmal, who in turn derived it from Hegel, the development of society for Achad Haam is but the external outer markings of an inner spiritual growth. In accordance with the Hegelian dialectic he agrees that material conditions can and do effect in turn the spiritual life - whether it be of men or institutions built by men. Nevertheless the prime factor is the power and the life of the spirit - its growth and its self-realization.

Section 2. - Conception of the nation

In an examination of the many different points of view of Jewish philosophers on Judaism and the forces which molded and determined its development, one is immediately struck by the kinship that exists between Krochmal and Achad Haam. In a very deep sense Achad Haam is perhaps the best commentator on Krochmal, for he was deeply influenced by this one of the earliest of modern Jewish nationalists in many more ways than one. But it was in the elaboration of the role of the Jewish national spirit that the influence is so manifest.

³ Ibid Vol. III P. 45

As in Krochmal, so in Achad Haam the history of the Jewish "spirit" is revealed in the history and development of the Jewish people. And the essence of this "spirit" - one might term it the "mission of the Jewish spirit" - is its religious and moral character. It is in this character, that the Jews differ from the rest of the peoples of the world. Not in being the only spiritual people for every people is thus qualified - but in making their ideal a religious and moral one, does the difference lie.

The stages thru which this national spirit has passed and evolved extend through all history, for it can never remain static. It must either continue to be realized in life or failing that, meet the fate of other peoples who have disappeared from history. Despite his faith that Israel will continue to exist, he recognized the dangers that beset it for the national spirit does not operate "in vacuo". Time and circumstances could stultify its existence or quicken it again to a fuller and richer life. From this it may be inferred that there is no continuous upward process of development of the national spirit. Rather is it a state of ups and downs, now reaching tremendous heights as with the prophets; now falling to its lowest depths as with the Karaites. Where the people is endangered, whether thru persecution or assimilation, the national spirit is put in jeopardy, - where a full life is permitted the national spirit expands and blooms.

Thus Achad Haam in his essays Priest and Prophet⁴ and elsewhere, traces the development of the Jewish national

⁴ Ibid - Vol. I P. 188

spirit and the conditions of its survival in the course of Jewish history. And in this examination he points out the role of the prophets, the Pharisees and Rabbis on the one hand, in strengthening this spirit, and on the other that of the priests, the Sadducees and the Karaites and others who endangered its existence.

It will be remarked that Achad Haam does not deal with the question - are the Jews a national entity. For him there can be no meaning to it-- he isn't interested in it. He assumed from the very start that Israel was a nation and from that as a starting point, strove with all his powers to enrich it, bring it closer to his fellow-Jews and sought those means by which it could be saved and strengthened.

"I at least can proclaim from the housetops that my kith and kin are dear to me wherever they are without being constrained to find forced and unsatisfactory excuses... I at least have no need to exult my people to heaven to trumpet its superiority above all other nations in order to find a justification for its existence. I at least know "why I remain a Jew"- or rather I can find no meaning in such a question any more than if I were asked why I remain my father's son."⁵

But if Achad Haam did not find himself obliged to explain why he was a Jew, he did find it necessary to answer the question - How did Israel remain on the world scene and did not perish despite the unparalleled difficulties with which it was encumbered. The decisive factor in maintaining the

⁵ Ibid - Vol. I P. 132

Jewish national spirit according to Achad Haam was the innate instinctive will to live, an instinct common not only to the Jewish group but to every nationality. "This all-powerful force disguises itself in innumerable changes of shape and form; but a penetrating eye will recognize it, beneath them all as the desire for life and well-being. This desire, which is implanted in us by nature, forces every living thing to pursue at all times that which brings life and pleasure and to shun that which leads to destruction and pain... In the case of human beings, it is the supreme force which influences, recognized or unrecognized, consciously or unconsciously, not only their actions and their schemes, but also their beliefs and opinions."⁶

Nevertheless powerful though this urge be, yet it too can die. So long as this national will to live remains alive and functions, just so long will Israel continue to remain as a national group on the world scene. Circumstances may weaken and destroy this instinctive biological urge. Should this happen, Israel, as other groups before it, will go down along with it.

Just such danger signs were in the air when Achad Haam made his appearance in the Jewish national movement. And it was to combat these signs, to safeguard the survival and continuity of the Jewish national spirit, to assure its existence that he addressed himself.

And the answer to the problem as it presented itself to him, appeared in the form of a double prospective both

⁶ Ibid Vol. I P. 116

interdependent. Unlike many others, particularly in the early years of the Jewish national movement, he viewed it not only in terms of a rejuvenation of the national entity of Israel - the reawakening of a healthy group life - but also as a perpetuation of its great spiritual heritage - its institutions, its culture, its religious truths and ideals. This dual conception of the problem of Jewry protrudes and manifests itself in all his work and colors all his thinking.

Not that Achad Haam was orthodox - he never insisted on a strict and rigid perpetuation of every relic of Jewish religious thought and ceremonial.⁷ Far from being a strict observer⁸ he had a common interest with reform in bringing Jewry and Judaism into consonance with modern life. But in their goals and their methods they were unalterably opposed. Where Reform broke sharply with tradition and rejected the Jewish nationality; Achad Haam, from a strong "sense of Jewish solidarity and too great a respect for the cherished traditions and customs of his people"⁹, insisted on the validity of Israel as a national group and believed that only a collective Israel not the individual could abrogate old laws and initiate new ones. Change for Achad Haam must be an evolutionary gradual change - not a sudden cataclysmic one - and must be directed in the spirit of traditional Judaism. The integrity of the Jewish national spirit must not be endangered.

⁷ Achad Haam - see "A new Savior" where indirectly he alludes to his own position.

⁸ L. Simon - Achad Haam and Traditional Judaism in *Avukah* Annual 1932. P. 128

⁹ Ibid - P. 128

The mistake of reform as viewed by Achad Haam lay in this - that they failed "to see that it is just the ancient cask with its ancient form that is holy, and sanctifies all that is in it though it may be emptied and filled with new wine from time to time; whereas if once the cask is broken or remoulded, the wine will lose its taste though it be never so old."¹⁰ (S.E. 44)

It was to keep that cask whole and unbroken, to revive the national will to live, and quicken its spirit that Achad Haam entered the lists of Jewish nationalists with his formulation of Spiritual Zionism.

Section 3. The Wrong Perspective

When Achad Haam published his first essay. "This is not the Way" in the Ha-meliz, in 1889, it was as a criticism of the work of the Chovevé Zion which, had already been in existence for about five years. During this period, this organization, which was led by Pinsker, author of the pamphlet Auto-Emancipation and a forerunner of Political Zionism, had fallen upon lean days. Catapulted into existence by the pogroms in Russia during the 1880's, it sought to settle Jews on the land in Palestine. For a variety of reasons - trouble with the Turkish government, limited finances, emigration to America and etc. - the original enthusiasm soon petered out and the few colonies that had been organized would have utterly disappeared were it not for the Philanthropy of Baron Rothschild of Paris. It was at this low ebb in the Jewish national movement that Achad Haam a mature man of 33 made his first appearance in the pages of the Ha-Meliz.

¹⁰ A. H. Op. cit. Vol. I. P. 139

It is characteristic of the man that in this, his first article, there was elaborated side by side with his criticism of the Chovevé Zion, a theory of nationalism that was to remain substantially unchanged to the very end of his life and was to reappear again with the rise of the second Zionist organization which was initiated by Herzl. It would serve our ends more advantageously than to examine this background, his criticism of these movements before we go on to an examination of his own doctrine.

The reason, according to Achad Haam, for the low state of national moral at this time (1889) lay not so much in the evil of the Halukah¹¹ or the philanthropy of the Baron¹² but in the "victory which the idea (national rebirth) has achieved prematurely thru the fault of its champions. In their eagerness to obtain great results before the time was ripe they have deserted the long road of natural development and by artificial means have forced into the arena of practical life an idea which was still young and tender... and thanks to this excessive haste their strength has failed them and their labor has been in vain."¹³

Balked by the backwardness of national sentiment, the leaders of Chovevé Zion sought to promote their program by appealing to the individualistic motive - the economic needs

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11. The charity which, gathered from corner of Europe, found its way into Palestine and supported the pauperized colonists.
 12. Baron de Rothschild who supported the colonies in Palestine in the last quarter of the 19th century.
 13. Achad Haam - this is not the way - all Parashat Derakin Vol. I - Pg. 1.

of the people. Most of them however paid no heed. But even those who were finally seduced to go to Palestine on the basis of the glowing reports manufactured by the Chovevé Zion, found empty promises and their hopes smashed, when they arrived and saw the desolation and the primitiveness of the settlements. Only further discouragement and disillusion resulted from the premature venture.

Achad Haam's solution aimed at fundamentals. The mistake of Chovevé Zion lay in this, that they appealed to the individual not the whole people; that they appealed to selfish private needs rather than to the interests of all Israel; that they sought a short cut to the accomplishment of their aims instead of permitting the ideal to permeate into the hearts of the people even though it required patient gruelling efforts.

The first task facing the budding nationalist movement was to work for a revival of Jewish national sentiment amongst the whole people, and to win more and still more of them to the ideal of national rejuvenation which it had to an unusual degree in the past. To that task must be brought the realization that only by the torturous but ultimately only road of a slow evolutionary educational program could there be brought to life again the old national will to live and the national spirit. Only the reawakening of "the heart of the people - that is the foundation on which the land will be regenerated."¹⁴ E. 2 (14)

14. Ibid - Vol. I - P. 7

And as for the efforts already made, the ruins that mark the work already started - "seeing that these ruins are already there, we are not at liberty to neglect the task of mending and improving so far as we can... Instead of adding yet more ruins, let us endeavor to give the idea itself strong roots and to strengthen and deepen its hold on the Jewish people, not by force but by the Spirit. Then we shall in time have the possibility of doing actual work."¹⁴

Nevertheless the work of this first nationalist organization was, for Achad Haam, not without merit. It sought to rejuvenate the Jew by practical activities in Palestine and made sincere efforts at a regeneration of Judaism which was in danger of breaking down as a result of the crumbling of the ghetto walls, with its attendant division and diffusion of Jewish groups in the different European sectors.

According to Achad Haam the work of Chovevê Zion originally was primarily political and economic in character. It believed that all of surplus Jewry in Europe could be reconstituted in Palestine. Brought into being as a result of the material evils in eastern Europe this organization began to express itself in concrete activities - in planning and setting up colonies in the land. But because the people were not prepared the whole scheme fell through.

Nevertheless it continued with its concrete activities even after failure was patent, for not only was the organization interested in the regeneration of Israel but it was really

14. Ibid - Vol. 1 - P. 7

concerned with the future of Judaism. "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 Chovevê 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 troubles."¹⁵

And so we find the Chovevê Zion giving a strong impulse to a spiritual revival - fostering the development Hebrew language and literature, establishing schools and etc.¹⁶ True it never became the primary motive - it remained of secondary importance thru most of its existence - but at any rate, a beginning in that direction had been made. What assured such a beginning was due to the fact that its leadership came from the east where there were strong cultural centers and to a greater extent because of the efforts of the Bene Moshe, a faction within the Chovevê Zion led and directed by Achad Haam himself and a small group of devoted followers.

In spite of all their efforts however the prospect of a national resurgence grew increasingly fainter when suddenly in 1895 there appeared the Judenstaat, a pamphlet written by a Viennese Journalist and playwright, Theodore Herzl, which once again galvanized Jewish nationalism into action, just as the pamphlet and agitation of Pinsker had done previously.

15. Ibid Vol. 2 P. 28

16. Ibid Vol. 4 P. 61

In the two years that followed, public discussion of the pamphlet manifested itself so intensively throughout Europe that finally, with the adherence of the Vienna Kadunah, supported in the east by the Chovevé Zion and by a large group of intellectuals such as Israel Zangwell and Max Nordaw in the west the first zionist congress was convened in 1897. With the emergence of herzlean Zionism, however, the lessons and experiences of the Chovevé Zion were forgotten and once again Achad Haam found himself propelled into the thick of the fight battling the mistakes of the new movement as previously he had fought those of the old.

As elaborated in the Judenstaat and formulated at the early Congresses the new organization was to emphasize the political and economic aspects of the movement to a greater extent even than did the Chovevé Zion. As Herzl put it, "It is a national question which can only be solved by making it a political world question to be discussed and settled by the civilized nations of the world."¹⁷ Hence the kind of petty colonization that had been characteristic of Jewish efforts in the past was to be done away with. Instead there were negotiations to be entered into with the foreign offices of Turkey, England, etc. A detailed program was presented wherein the political and economic future of the entire Jewish group - with the exception of those sections of Jewry who insisted on Assimilation - was set forth in complete faith and optimism in their inevitable solution.

17. The State op. cit. - Th. Herzl - P. 15

It proposed acquiring a tract of land recognized and guaranteed by the great powers of the world as the national home and state of the Jewish people. Though originally, - in the Judenstaat - any suitable land was to be welcomed, and even though the supporters of Chovevé Zion, who dominated the congress, determined the insertion of the phrase "the object of Zionism is to establish for the Jews a publicly and assured home in Palestine" into the Basle Program; nevertheless it was not until after the death of Herzl in 1904 and the secession of Zangwell and his supporters from the congress that the movement was definitely orientated to the land of Palestine.

So completely did the political and economic character of the new organization determine its direction that very little if any colonization work resulted. With little practical activity to show the world; with the fiasco of the Turkish negotiation and the splitting of the movement over the Uganda issue, the tremendous enthusiasm of the masses that had been roused to fever heat was once again dissipated and once again the masses who had turned towards Zionism as a refuge from persecution and oppression deserted the movement. Not until the world war with the attendant results of the Balfour declaration and the heightening of Jewish suffering in Europe did the masses turn again to Zionism to usher in a new period in the history of Jewish nationalism.

If at the end of two decades of activity there was little practical results to show as a result of the intensive political agitation there was even less evidence of any

cultural work done. So unimportant did the cultural aspect appear to the leaders of the movement that Herzl for example in regard to a national language could write: "Every man can preserve the language in which his thoughts are at home. Switzerland affords a conclusive proof of the possibility of a federation of tongues... Our national teachers will give due attention to this matter; and the language which proves itself to be of the greatest utility for general intercourse will be adapted without compulsion as our national tongue."¹⁸

Because Herzlian Zionism became a more widely supported movement than its predecessor, and therefore potentially more fatal and dangerous to the future of Jewish Nationalism because of the false principles it had adapted, Achad Haam criticized the program of political Zionism more sharply than he had that of the Chovevé Zion whose early program political Zionism had pushed to its logical extreme. From the time of the first Congress, Achad Haam fought it with every weapon at his command - with the lessons and morals derived from Israel's past history; the experiences of other movements, personal investigation in Palestine itself - logic, until finally he succeeded in turning the movement in the direction he had wanted it to go.

The view of Herzl, Nordau and their followers that a Jewish nation could be reconstituted, and a Jewish state reestablished by diplomatic negotiations, national banks and national funds and innumerable councils and committees, all

18. Ibid - P. 70 ff.

in a relatively short time - Herzl in the Judenstaat speaks of decades, all this seemed dangerously naive to Achad Haam. And his answer to Herzl's doctrine that the Jewish question could be solved only if "the Jewish question finds a solution on a political basis"¹⁹ was that "the salvation of Israel will be achieved by Prophets not by diplomats."²⁰

To Achad Haam it was extremely doubtful whether consent to the establishment of a Jewish state could be obtained from Turkey and the great powers. Moreover, even if consent were possible, so unprepared were the masses for nationhood, so long drawn out would be the process of establishing the necessary mechanisms of the state, so intangible and grandiose were the schemes of the leaders that the enthusiasm and fervour of the masses would in a short time be dissipated and Basle would come to symbolize a greater fiasco even than did Jaffa.²¹ "The delegates return and tell us that redeemers have arisen for Israel and we have nothing to do but wait till diplomacy finishes its work. And now as then"²² the eyes of the people will soon be opened and they will see that they have been misled. The fire suddenly kindled by hope will die down again, perhaps to the very last spark."²³

19. Ibid

20. Achad Haam - Op. cit. Vol. 3. P. 106

21. Where the Executive Committee of the Chovevê Zion in 1890 promulgated their plan for Colonization.

22. In 1890.

23. Achad Haam - Op. cit. Vol. 3 P. 55

But the faith of the political Zionists in the efficacy of the Jewish state was not limited to its powers of national regeneration - a regeneration to be brought about not so much by a cultural and spiritual rebirth but primarily by the establishment of a state patterned after that of other nations, with all the paraphernalia of constituted authority - army, ministers, and etc. In addition to this kind of national regeneration, it was the belief of the political Zionists, certainly as expressed by Herzl in the *Judenstaat*²⁴ that with the creation of a Jewish state, most of the Jews scattered throughout the world, would pour into the country, thereby removing the basis of anti-semitism since it is dependent on the economic competition brought about by the presence of the Jew in the galut; and at the same time solve the material ills of all Israel once it was concentrated within the new patria.²⁵ The departure of the Jews will involve no economic disturbance, no crises, no persecutions; in fact, the countries they abandon will revive to a new period of prosperity. There will be an inner migration of Christian citizens into the positions evacuated by Jews. The outgoing current will be gradual without any disturbance and its initial movement will put an end to ante-semitism"²⁶

24. Herzl Op. cit. P. 20

25. Ibid - P. 25 ff.

26. Ibid - P. 20.

For Achad Haam the expectations that the economic set-up as arranged and planned for, in Palestine, by the Herzlian Zionists, and that it would solve the material ills of the people, was sheer fantasy. He tried to point out the stark realities that opposed them and which would smash all their well-laid plans. He warned them for example as previously he had warned the Chovevé Zion as far back as in 1891 of the future opposition of the Arabs in Palestine. "We abroad have a way of thinking that the Arabs are all savages, on a level with the animals, and blind to what goes on around them. But that is quite mistaken. The Arabs, especially the Townsmen, see through our active ties in their country and our aims, but they keep silence and make no sign because for the present they anticipate no danger to their own future from what we are about. But if the time should ever come when our people have so far developed their life in Palestine that the indigenous population should feel more or less cramped then they will not readily make way for us..."²⁷

And beyond this, there were in addition, as insurmountable difficulties the natural laws of economic processes which would beset them at every turn in their efforts to solve the material ills of all the people within the country. He warned them that the barrenness of the land would require generations not decades to fertilize and cultivate again.

27. Am Scheidewege, Judischer Verlag, Berlin 1923, Vol. I, Pp. 86 ff.

He took for illustration the difficulties the earlier colonizing movement had had with but one agricultural product - vine culture - of the labor, the money, and the long years that were needed before this one branch of production could be opened. And even then they had to struggle with a small limited market. And the same difficulties experienced here, would be duplicated all along the line for: "there are natural laws which fetter man's freedom of action much more than artificial laws. Modern economic life is so complex and the development of any single one of its departments depends on so many conditions, that no nation, not even the strongest and richest could in a short time create in any country new sources of livelihood sufficient for many millions of human beings. The single country is no longer an economic unit: the whole world is one great market in which every state has to struggle hard for its place. Hence only a fantasy bordering on madness can believe that so soon as the Jewish state is established millions of Jews will flock to it and the land will afford them adequate sustenance."²⁸

Moreover apart from this intensive competition on the world market, with millions of Jews in the land, home competition in every branch of production would become so bitter, since the supply of labor will increase far more quickly than the opportunities for their absorption, that a hurried exodus of unemployed would be inevitable.

28. Achad Haam - Op. cit - Vol. 2 - P. 24

But it is the belief that all Israel would come pouring into the land that is the most fantastic element in this wild utopian scheme. Even if a Jewish state should be set up, Jewish settlement could proceed only on the basis of "the resources of the people themselves and the degree of economic development reached by the country. Meanwhile the natural increase of population will continue, both among those who settle in the country and among those who remain outside of it, with the inevitable result that on the one hand Palestine will have less and less room for new immigrants and on the other hand the number of those remaining outside Palestine will not diminish very much in spite of the continual emigration."²⁹

For Achad Haam then, the ingathering of "our scattered ones from the four corners of the earth" is utterly impossible - only a small part of our people will and can settle in Palestine. The great masses of them will remain in the lands of the diaspora with their material and social ills still unsolved. It is this aspect which is "the Achilles heel of political Zionism." And for proof he turned toward the tremendous mass emigration of at least a million Jews from eastern Europe who left for America and Africa - an emigration without any "perceptible effect on the economic conditions from which it (took) place, and the relation between the native population and the Jews in those countries."³⁰

29. Ibid - Vol. 2 P. 25

30. Ibid - Vol. 2 P. 100

And the fundamental reason for this is to be found in the fact that the natural increase of those who remained more than counterbalanced the number who left.

To do away with the persecution and oppression of the whole of the Jewish people in the galut is impossible and until the coming of the Messiah, Israel will always be dependent on the enlightenment and liberality of those states in which they live. "The material problem then will not be ended by the foundation of a Jewish state nor generally speaking, does it lie in our power to end it.... and whether we found a state or not, this particular problem will always turn at bottom on the economic conditions of each country and the degree of civilization attained by each people."³¹

And even if by some miracle a Jewish state should arise, it was for Achad Haam, more than doubtful whether it could ever have the power to affect favorably, in any appreciable degree the burdens and sorrows of Israel in the exile. More than that - it was conceivable to him "that in the days of the Jewish state, when economic conditions in this or that country are such as to induce a government to protect its peoples against Jewish competition by restrictive legislation, that governments will find it easier then, than is now to find an excuse for such action for it will be able to plead that if the Jews are not happy where they are they can go to their own state."³¹

31. Ibid - Vol. 2 P. 25

If all this be true, then the creation of a Jewish state does not mean the solution of the material ills of the people; it does not mean the end of anti-semitism; it does not mean that Israel will finally find peace. But if political Zionism is not the solution and the exile will continue to be the scene of activity for the mass of Jews what answer can there be? For Achad Haam "the salvation of Israel will be achieved by prophets." Spiritual Zionism is the answer provided by Achad Haam.

Section 4 - Theory of Zionism

If Israel could not hope to be released from the galut nor expect any amelioration of its material ills as a result of the creation of a Jewish national state, nevertheless Palestine could continue to play an important role for the Jews of the exile - a role far more necessary and feasible and creative than that assigned to it by the political Zionists. The survival of the Jew and Judaism is not dependent on making Palestine the home of the Jew as England is the home of Englishmen and France the home of Frenchmen. In itself, the Jewish state can serve neither Jewry nor Judaism to any appreciable degree.

The danger remains then that Israel, scattered throughout the galut, and everywhere coming into contact with modern culture, will find itself split into innumerable fragments because of the loss of inner unity and through its natural propensity for imitation and assimilation; will find itself

no longer a people but a number of separate tribes as at the beginning of its history. "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."³²

What is needed therefore is some powerful counter-acting force to heighten and increase the power of resistance of the Jewish people to the destructive tendencies of a hostile galut; what is needed is a center where our spiritual resources may find constant renewal in strength and courage to bear the blows and persecution of an indeterminable exile and which would serve to bind the scattered Jewish fragments together. For Achad Haam, with his evolutionary conception of Judaism this center must be Palestine where the Jewish national spirit was born. Because of its place in Jewish history, it is Palestine which is the "national spiritual center of Judaism, to which all Jews will turn with affection and which will bind all Jews together; a center of study and learning - of language and literature of bodily work and spiritual purification; a true miniature of the people of

Israel as it ought to be."³³ Only in such a center, where every kind of work whether material or spiritual will be a source of added strength to the corporate national spirit, can this Jewish national spirit find a home.

Achad Haam then, was interested not so much in the political consequences of Palestine as a Jewish state but in its spiritual effect on Judaism and Jewry. He was interested in Zionism chiefly as a colonizing movement; of establishing a center in Palestine primarily because of its quality, a microcosm of Israel as it ought to be and a bond of union to Jewry in the diaspora strengthening its will to live and enriching it culturally.³⁴

The chief characteristic then, of this colonizing movement is a moral one - the only true basis of Zionism. For this purpose what is needed is not an independent state, but a fair-sized settlement of Jews engaged in every branch of human activity, from agriculture and handicraft to science and literature. This settlement in the course of time is bound to become the center 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."³⁵ It is the quality therefore, not quantity of its national

33. Ibid. Vol. 4 - P. 174

34. cf. H. Kohn - Op. cit. P. 126

35. Achad Haam - Op. cit. - Vol. 2 - 29

life which is Achad Haam's concern - the construction of a pattern of a full and enriching Jewish life which could serve as a model for the scattered Jewish communities to realize Judaism in their lives.

Should this be realized then Israel will have saved itself - for even though anti-semitism remains to plague it, and in spite of the danger of assimilation, the spiritual cohesiveness of the distant parts would be tightened and every Jew be given an assuring and inspiring *raison d'etre* for his existence. No longer will Israel be lost and divided. The spiritual center of the nationality will unite all the parts "into a single complete circumference. When all the scattered limbs of the national body feel the beating of the national heart, restored to life in the home of its vitality, they too will once again draw near one to another and welcome the inrush of living blood that will flow from the heart."³⁶

From this point of view one can understand why Achad Haam turned a negative attitude to Zangwell and his territorialists and Dubnow and his autonomists. Achad Haam could find no real vital force, no positive capacity for culture and survival in a dispersed Jewry without Palestine. Even if autonomy for example could be obtained, the danger of disintegration and disappearance was not yet eliminated.

36. Ibid - Vol. 4 Pg. 2

"In Western Europe and in America where the desired freedom has already been granted and its effect on our national life is obvious, the conviction is already spreading that external freedom... is not in itself sufficient to free our innermost spirit from its moral bondage to the strange environment that surrounds us on all sides in our exile."³⁷

For a healthy galut life (and its criterion is its power to fight effectively against the forces which threaten it with disintegration.) the hearts of the masses must be won - must be influenced spiritually - and that can be done only through Palestine. National survival can be achieved only if it follows an evolutionary, historical development. And since Palestine was the birthplace of the national spirit and the core of Israel's historic memories it must go back, and there fulfill its destiny.

For the same reasons Achad Haam could not believe that socialism would solve the problem. He doubted whether there really was any considerable number of Jews who could properly be held to belong to the proletariat in the socialist sense of the word - the bearers of socialism. As a group the Jew holds practically no place in the large industrial undertakings. Generally speaking they belong to the class of master workmen. What he wanted was a spiritual proletariat whose essential task would be to work for the freedom of the Jewish spirit and the products of its labor from alien Dominion.³⁸

37. Ibid - Vol. 4 P. 68

38. Ibid - Vol. 4 P. 67

God's essence, but since they do not imply any action on the part of God they must be considered apart from all others which are merely attributes of action. But what do these three signify? They simply deny their opposites, and not asserting anything affirmative they do not violate the concept of Unity. They are negations and as Ibn Daud says:

אפשר נאמר נאמר כי

Existence denies the non-existence of God, but we thereby learn nothing of the essence of God. Kaufman says that these essential qualities should be viewed as predicates rather than attributes. The difference, I take it, is that a predicate is only a logically discreet entity ^{in this sense} but ~~without~~ real separate being. The attributes merely deny that there is plurality or change in God. A basic understanding of them would at any rate see that they are really one concept since any one immediately involves the other two. It is only the weakness of our powers of expression which prevent us from stating the three aspects in one word. This is a typical argument of which we have seen Saadya made much, and even Maimonides includes it. The second justification for the use of these essential attributes is likewise implied by Saadya, ⁽⁶⁰⁾ and carried over explicitly by Halevi and Maimonides. That is their negative meaning. The fact that He is incomparable makes it incumbent upon us that we attempt to know only what He is not.

(60) In our discussion on Saadya's three attributes of God, we indicated that attempts to combine Pure Unity with various attributes which seemed necessary to God's perfection often led to extremely questionable mental gymnastics. See Kaufman illuminating and rather complete treatment of this in Theol. des Bachya 74,75. Especially true Kaufman's suggestion that Saadya's Life, Power and Knowledge are far from actually being one concept. They are quite distinct logically. For Saadya these essential attributes, supposedly one in nature, were partly active attributes. The difference between active and essential attributes is thus quite clearly ~~lost~~ in Saadya. Existence, One and Eternity may more readily seem to be one concept and quite devoid of any action associations. Even these three attributes, it seems to me, are logically discreet, yet if we start with the concept of Bachya's abstract one we may obviously see why the other two are metaphysically identical with it.

of Hebrew and Yiddish he wrote:

"There is not a single nation, alive or dead, of which we can say that it existed before its national language - that whole periods of its recorded history passed away before its national language was known to it...a nation has no national language except that which was its own when it stood on the threshold of its history, before its national self-consciousness was fully developed - that language which has accompanied it through every period of its career and is inextricably bound up with all its memories... the Jargon, like all the other languages which the Jews have employed at different times, never has been and never will be regarded by the nation as anything but an external and temporary medium of intercourse: nor can its literature live any longer than the language itself. So soon as the jargon ceases to be spoken it will be forgotten and its literature with it; and then nobody will claim for it, on the ground of national sentiment what our best men have always claimed for Hebrew - that it should be an obligatory subject of study."³⁹

Achad Ha'am was one in spirit with the old German nationalist, Herder who wrote: "Has a people anything dearer than the speech of its fathers. In its speech resides its whole thought - domain, its tradition, history, religion, and

39. Ibid Vol. 2 127 ff.

basis of life, all its heart and soul... the best culture of a people cannot be expressed through a foreign language; it thrives on the soil of a nation most beautifully and I may say it thrives only by means of the nation's inherited and inheritable dialect."⁴⁰

For Achad Haam as for Herder the national spirit is to be found in the past and especially in the national language and literature in which "each generation stored up its spiritual treasures, and left to its heirs in the next the best fruits of its thoughts, its secret longings, its half-uttered sighs."⁴¹

Ultimately however political Zionism embraced Achad Haamism. Gradually his views began to dominate the movement until finally his doctrine became ^{one} of its most important pillars. But if Political Zionism adopted Achad Haam, Achad Haam, particularly after Herzl's death and after the (1911) Zionist congress in which a definite orientation was taken in the direction of practical measures of colonization, came into closer contact with the political Zionists. Actually he had never taken a definitely hostile attitude to Jewish political independence to Palestine; he did insist that it could not be brought about by political endeavors alone.

40. Herder - quoted in C. Hayes - Op. cit. P. 53

41. A. Haam. Op. cit. Vol. 4. P. 51

At the very first congress in 1897 for example, he hailed with joy the fact that for the first time, the Jewish problem had been brought to the attention of the whole world and before all Jewry. Again in 1912 he returned to Palestine and felt himself inspired at the progress that had begun to be made in the colonies. And finally he who had fought so sharply the Herzlian diplomacy found himself a member of the committee which negotiated for the Balfour declaration. But all this did not mean a surrender of his main views.

This new phase is perhaps best explained in a message he wrote in 1902 and delivered before a meeting of the Russian Zionists in Minsk. Speaking of the need for the formation of an organization devoted chiefly in advancing Jewish national cultural work he pointed out:

"It is of course obvious that the two organizations, aiming as they do after all at the same end - that of the revival of Israel - and differing only in that they approach the goal from different sides, must be closely interconnected, and be in constant need of each other. But if only they both understand the ultimate object which they have in common, their relation will not be one of jealousy and competition, but one of peace and harmony and constant mutual assistance. There will perhaps be greater unity than there is at present within the Zionist organization between the different elements which are mixed up together, and are pulling Zionism this way and that." ⁴²

It was thru this mutual feeling of trust and co-operation that both movements - political Zionism and Spiritual Zionism - finally coalesced and adopted as its guide one of the last utterances of Achad Haam written in an introduction to his collected work:

"Do not press on too quickly to the goal, so long as the actual conditions without which it cannot be reached have not been created; and do not disparage the work which is possible at any given time, having regard to actual condition even if it will not bring the Messiah today or tomorrow."⁴³ In this what was almost his last warning, on which most of his writings are but a commentary there is revealed, as was revealed in his first essay a man in whom "the best traditions of Rablenism were united with the teachings of modern positivist philosophy to form a new modern secular synthesis of Jewish culture."⁴⁴

43. Vol. I. P. XXI

44. S. Baron - Op. Cit. Vol. II P. 341

CHAPTER III. S. DUBNOWSection 1. Evolution of the nation.

On 1913 N. Lenin, leader of the Russian social democratic party speaking of the program of national cultural autonomy pointed out that "The basic error of principle in this program is that it endeavors to embody the most refined and most absolute nationalism to its logical conclusions. The essence of this program is that every citizen should register as a member of this or that nationality and every nation should constitute a legal whole...Marxism puts forward internationalism to replace all forms of nationalism, the fusion of all nations into a highest unity... It was not the Austrian or Russian Social-Democrats that introduced cultural-national autonomy into their program. But the bourgeois parties of Jewry in the most backward country of all, alongside a number of petty-bourgeois allegedly-socialist groups adopted it in order to carry the ideas of bourgeois nationalism in the most refined form into the ranks of the workers."¹

It is truly paradoxical that the group which had denied the nationality of the Jews before the war² provided it subsequently with all the characteristics and requirements which it believed were the necessary factors of a nation.³ What is still more amazing is that the Bolsheviks who originally favored only territorial autonomy⁴ and who fought so fiercely

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1. N. Lenin - On the Jewish question - International Publishers, N.Y. 1934 - P. 16 pp; cf. J. Stalin op. cit. P. 26 ff.
 2. J. Stalin - ibid P. 10 ff.
 3. Act of March 28. 1928
 4. J. Stalin - Op. cit. P. 65

the doctrines of national cultural autonomy as advocated by the liberal bourgeois Dubnow, should be one of the first to put this program into practice, though certain fundamental ideological changes were made in accordance with the doctrines of a Proletarian state. That this program may have been adopted the sooner to convert the Jewish masses to communism and as a defense against Zionist propaganda, does not of course reflect on the merits of this doctrine.

But, although national cultural autonomy was realized in Russia, it was in pre-war Austria, likewise a multi-national state that this doctrine originated. Formulated by the Austrian Social-Democrats Renner and Bauer, it arose as a result of the problems growing out of a multi-national state. Basing their principle of nationality upon the subjective factors of unity of culture and destiny, they rejected as unnecessary such characteristics as state, territory, etc.

Drawing from Renner and Bauer⁵ as well as Renan, who was one of the first to point to the importance of the subjective characteristics of a nation, Dubnow found what was for him the ideal solution of the problem of the Jew in the galut. What made his task easier was the fact that, working in the field of Jewish history he discovered that just such forms of communal life had prolonged its existence. Before proceeding however with an analysis of his program of national cultural autonomy, it is imperative that we review his conception of

5. S. Dubnow - Letters on Judaism - Dvir Co.-1937-P. 14

the evolution of the Jewish nationality, for the two are inextricably interlinked and interdependent.

"How the tremendous bulk of the diaspora Jewry should be organized for a Jewish life on the spot, how it should be enabled to liberate itself from the political and cultural pressure of the environment - that question remained unanswered by both wings of Zionism. (Achad Haamism and Political Zionism) An answer to this question could not be found by considering merely the last stages of Jewish history, but by viewing the latter in all its phases, beginning with the ancient Greco-Roman and Eastern Diaspora."⁶

Dubnow begins his study of the Jewish nation by positing the thesis that nations pass through three evolutionary stages during which they are distinguished by those characteristics which predominate during each given epoch: (1) the racial type (2) the territorial-political, or socio-autonomous and (3) the culture-historical or spiritual."⁷

Most nations evolve through the first two stages. In the first the physical or racial stratum - "community of descent, soil and climate stamp their seal upon the organism and temperament of the members of a given group of families."⁸ The next stage is the political and social phase, during which the foundations of national self awareness is laid.

In the third and highest stage in the evolution of the national type, are forged those forces which will enable

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- 6. S. Dubnow - Jews in Russia and Poland - Jewish Pub. Society - Phila. 1916 Vol. III P. 52.
 - 7. S. Dubnow - Foundations of Nationalism - Reflex - October 1927 - P. 42
 - 8. Ibid

those nations which are sufficiently culturally or spiritually superior, to "preserve their characteristic traits even in a state of political subjugation through social autonomy, that is to say by organizing their local self government in conformity with their historical traditions and innate requirements."⁹ Examples other than the Jewish group who were able to preserve ~~their~~ distinctiveness were the Greeks under Roman rule and in our time, Ireland and Poland.

It is in this stage that so many nations which did not develop sufficiently spiritual values have disappeared from history. "The decisive factor in the destiny of a nation is not its external power but its spiritual strength, the quality of its culture and the internal cohesion of its constituents."¹⁰ It is in this fact that Israel found the secret of its eternal existence - because in the case of the Jewish people there was to be found an overwhelming preponderance of the spiritual over the physical and political elements. They were bound to each other through common interests, common ideals, and common struggles. They were fortified by the intensity of their national self-awareness, their seasoned national character which was forged in the struggles through which they passed, the strength of their cultural-historical treasures, and their capacity for the continued perfection of their creative resources. Fortified and bound together thus, and directed by a powerful instinct of national self-preservation, Israel was enabled to maintain its wanderings in the galut in spite

9. Ibid - P. 43

10. Ibid

of losing successively its political sovereignty, its territory and finally the unity of its language.

"History affords many instances of the utter disappearance of nations after the loss of their territory and dispersion among other peoples: But history also knows of one instance where a landless and dispersed people has preserved itself. This unicum of history is the Jewish people."¹¹

These are the factors which preserved Israel in the past and which may be verified by a glance at the course of Jewish history. "The racial element in the development of the Jewish national type predominated during the epoch preceding that of the Kings."¹² After passing through the period of the Patriarchs and Judges, which constituted the first stage, the political integration of the nation was accomplished during the era of the first Kings (Saul, David, Solomon) and resurrected during that of the Maccabees. By that time the nation had already been lifted to the third stage by the force of a distinctive spiritual culture where the religious element assumed first rank, and around which was created a system of lofty social and ethical ideals.¹³

In the crisis that threatened Israel at the time of Assyrian supremacy the prophets shifted the "axis of national permanence.... from the political to the socio-spiritual."¹⁴ This struggle was later taken up by the Pharisees

11. Ibid - P. 44

12. Ibid - P. 45

13. Dubnow - Letters on Judaism P. 10

14. Ibid

whose efforts were successful. The conquest of Judea by the Romans therefore could not destroy Israel who "recreated its autonomous socio-spiritual center (the period of the Patriarchate)"¹⁵ Having lost the political, territorial, and lingual bases of their nationality the Jews were held together by purely spiritual ties, and "continued to have its being because of an irresistable deliberate will to live."¹⁶

These spiritual ties then, this consolidating force which kept Israel alive and preserved its individuality and originality, in spite of being deprived of some of the material prerequisites of a nation - state, land - is to be sought in the unity of origin, common historical evolution, common traditions and recollections of the past, and common hopes for the future. In a word, it was the common individual traits and feelings which characterize the indivisible entity called Jewry.

"There must be something common to us all, so comprehensive that in the face of multifarious views and degrees of culture, it acts as a consolidating force. This 'something' I am convinced, is the community of historical fortunes of all the scattered parts of the Jewish nation. We are welded together by our glorious past. We are encircled by a mighty chain of similar historical impressions suffered by our ancestors, century after century pressing in upon the Jewish soul, and leaving behind a substantial deposit. In short, the Jewish national idea is based chiefly upon the historical consciousness." ¹⁷

15. Ibid

16. Ibid P. 12

17. Dubnow - Jewish History J.P.S.-Phila-1903-P. 31

This is Dubnow's answer to those critics who, like Hayes and others, deny the nationality of Israel and say that: "The Jews however, have long since almost ceased to be a nationality; the vast majority have emigrated from Palestine, have found homes in diverse distant lands, have neglected or forgotten the Hebrew language and accepted the nationality of the peoples with whom they have settled."¹⁸

For Dubnow, the lack of the substantial political, territorial or lingual elements in Jewish nationalism is not a sign of its weakness but on the contrary, its extraordinary power. Following the path outlined for him by Fichte, Renan and Renner he points to the subjective elements of nationhood as the primary factor.

"In recent times there has developed and become more and more widely accepted the view that the nation is a cultural historical entity which sees itself a nation even though it may be lacking completely or in part in its external, objective elements: The state, land or language, if it but be imbued with an intense urge to continue its essential development in the future. The objective external elements continue to give way in the fields of scientific concepts to those subjective elements."¹⁹

Throughout its long history then, the elements of state, territory army, the external attributes of national power were superfluous luxuries for Israel; it continued to exist without these attributes. Rather was its existence secured through strength of spirit, which welded its widely scattered

18. C. Hayes - Essays on nationalism P. 214

19. Dubnow - Letters on Judaism P. 14 ff.

particles into one firm organism and which took the place of these external attributes.

Having defined the characteristic features of the Jewish nationality in subjective terms and having discovered the forces which molded and determined its existence in the past; Dubnow proceeded to outline his theory of national cultural autonomy for the purpose of assuring Israel's continued existence in the future.

Section 2. Program of National cultural autonomy

On the basis of his researches into the history of the Jewish people not only of its recent stages but also of its entire past he could describe his concept of the Jewish spirit by saying that "If the core of all historical life is the inner development and the evolution of the socio-spiritual life of a people and chance wars and its political existence are but the outer shell of history, then the history of Israel in the exile is but the core without its shell."²⁰

Viewed in this light, his program of national cultural autonomy is the attempt to find that shell which would best fit it for its continued existence in the exile. And in the name by which Dubnow designates his theory, is presented to us the leading thoughts of his doctrine.

1. 'National' defines the Jew as a nationality, distinct and independent in its own existence as any other

20. cf. B. Dinaborg - Op. cit. - P. 19.

nationality; claiming historical and moral rights of national self-government in Europe by virtue of having settled and helped develop and civilize Europe long before modern nations came into existence.

"History testifies that Jews became ancient colonists of Europe and founded settlements in it long before civilization and Christianity reached it... Rome, setting the seal of sovereignty over Palestine, and giving citizenship to the Jews, gave them settlement privileges in its metropolis and its territories, in other words on most of the land of western Europe...already at the time of the second temple Jews had settlements in the Roman capital and in the Italian sea ports and from thence they invaded France, Germany and Spain."²¹

Moreover implied in the use of the term national, is the protest not only against assimilation which sought to destroy Jew and Judaism, but also against reform, which denied the nationhood of Israel, and claimed that Jews constituted religious communities which were similar in nationality as those in whose midst they dwelt. The mistake of the religious reform leaders in Dubnow's opinion consisted in the fact that they based their efforts on the result of Israel's historical development rather than on its evolutionary process. He recognizes that "for many centuries the entire culture of Judaism assumed a religious coloring and its communal autonomy was centered in the synagogue - which circumstance gave the modern champions of assimilation reason for thinking that the Jews were only a

21. Dubnow - Letters on Judaism - P. 29 ff.

religious group scattered among various nations. It was a fatal error on the part of the Parisian Synhedrion convoked by Napoleon when, in its declaration of 1807, it proclaimed that Jewry today does not constitute a nation"... the latest developments of the national movement have shown that Jewry though scattered among various political states, is a nation full of vitality and that the Jewish religion is only one of its functions."²²

Implied too, in the term 'national' is Dubnow's answer to those who would question the moral value of nationality in general, who would see an incompatibility between nationalism in general with the ideal of a universal brotherhood of man. As did Krochmal and Ached Haam, Dubnow drawing from Herder and others, the idea of natural divisions of the human race in terms of nationalities, argues that not only is the concept of "Jewish nation not opposed to the collective and moral ideas of mankind, but on the contrary is dependent upon these ideals and finds its source in them."²³ Opposition to nationalism on the ground that it has assumed at times aggressive forms is due to a confused identity of 'national individualism,' which tries to preserve and defend its national integrity with "national Egotism" which seeks to destroy the integrity of other nationalities.

"Only after having given sufficient thought to this obvious, simple truth, we realize how false a view of nationalism has been held - and partly is still held - by the majority of

22. Dubnow - Jews in Russia and Poland - Vol. III P. 53
 23. Dubnow - Letters on Judaism - P. 27 ff.

advanced Jews in Eastern Europe and in Russia. How mistaken were we when in the name of liberal principles we condemned so true a liberal principle as the right of every historical nation to preserve its individuality. We have confounded two contradictory ideas with each other: national individualism and national egotism, forgetting that in the same measure in which the infringement of the individual freedom of another is immoral, the defense of one's own individuality is lofty and noble."²⁴

2. The term "cultural" in Dubnow's program defines the form which the Jewish nationality assumed throughout its long history in the exile. Lack or weakness of external preserving agencies can be compensated only by a corresponding strengthening of the internal buttresses. Lacking the natural unifying forces of state and territory it created for itself the shell of a cultural or spiritual home.

Only because of the intensity of the spiritual factors which kept on replenishing the loss of its political elements was Israel saved. These spiritual factors - lofty ethical views, a highly developed religious outlook, etc. - compensated Israel for the loss of its state, and instead of territory it could turn to its great cultural centers which at one time or another held hegemony over the rest of the Jewish communities - Babylonia, Spain, Holland, etc.

The concrete form which these spiritual factors ultimately assumed was primarily a religious one." Let no one ask, to what purpose the innumerable religious and ritual

24. Ibid

regulations, sometimes reaching the extreme of pettiness, to what purpose the comprehensive code in which every step in the life of the faithful is foreseen. The Talmudic religious provisions, all taken together, aim to put the regimen of the nation on a strictly uniform basis, so that everywhere the Jew may be able to distinguish a brother in faith by his peculiar mode of life. It is a uniform with insignia, by which soldiers of the same regiment recognize one another. Despite the vast extent of the Jewish diaspora, the Jews formed a well-articulated spiritual army, an invisible "state of God" *civitas dei*.

Hence these "Knights of the Spirit," the citizens of this invisible state had to wear a distinct uniform and be governed by a suitable code of army regulations."²⁵

Hence the mistake made by orthodoxy consisted in this: That they failed to perceive that religion had only temporarily absorbed the national institutions of Israel and that it reflected "a national organism in which the absence of political or territorial unity was made up by the stronger cohesion of its spiritual and cultural ties and the greater intensity of its social and autonomous life."²⁶ The shattered kernel of the nation was embodied for the time being in the strong shell of the law.

Because religion ruled supreme in all walks of life, orthodoxy grew accustomed to the idea that Jewry was not a

25. Dubnow - Jewish History - P. 93-ff.

26. Dubnow - Jews in Russia and Poland Vol. III - P. 53

nation in the accepted sense of the word but was a religious community living in accordance with sacred traditions - laws and commandments. They did not see that the old national elements embodied in the Jewish nationality - historical holidays, customs, manners, laws, social institutions - were preserved only by wrapping them so thoroughly within a religious garb, that they were completely lost to view.

It was only natural therefore for orthodox to come to the conclusion that, since Jewry is a religious people, a society bound together by virtue of religious laws and practical commandments, all those who break these laws, remove themselves from the congregation of their people. Though in a sense it is not opposed to the concept of a cultural or spiritual people, nevertheless it excludes a considerable group of people who are constantly making sincere efforts (or regard with sympathy those efforts) in strengthening and elevating their people, thereby undermining the strength of the Jewish nationality.

In opposition to the orthodox many non-observers believe that Judaism as a religious faith is not at all an inevitably necessary element of nationality; that this nationality can continue to exist without it by virtue of Israel's psychic heritage and cultural historical principles.²⁷ Actually however this view if pushed to its logical conclusion, could lead one to believe that even if one were to accept another faith and religion, such a person could still remain a part of the Jewish nationality.

27. Dubnow - Letters on Judaism - P. 17

But this view, according to Dubnow is erroneous. In his efforts at secularizing the national idea, he had aimed only at equalizing what had heretofore been the dominant and ruling element - the religious. He had not intended however to erect a barrier between the non-observers and the spiritual treasures of the nation. Though regarding the survival of Judaism as a cultural historical type, Dubnow insisted that one must understand that the "Torah" of Judaism is one of the most important foundations of our national cultural organism. Hence he who comes to destroy the religious foundation undermines the existence of the entire structure. Such an individual who would change his faith Dubnow would read out of the Jewish nationality.²⁸

But as for those secularists who reject religion in general but who are devoted to their people in one way or another, Dubnow would include them as genuine members of the Jewish nationality. For as, he points out: Judaism is not only a religion, as for example Christianity or Mohammadanism is. Judaism for him is a well-rounded out civilization in which is contained religious, moral, social, messianic, political and philosophic elements. Hence Judaism is wide enough to contain the Jew who would rule his life in accordance with the principles of the Prophet or the Talmud, Maimonides or the Shulchan Aruch, Mendelssohn or the Besht, Geiger or Samson Raphael Hirsch, or as he remarks in a footnote²⁹ even if it be Spinoza.

28. Ibid - P. 18

29. Ibid - P. 19

In thus secularizing the conception of the term "cultural" Dubnow believed that he had escaped those errors which would have read out so many important and vital members from the Jewish nationality.

3. The survival of the Jewish nationality was for Dubnow no historical miracle. The chief factor for its preservation, as he read its role in history, was the fact that as a culturally or spiritually superior nation, it was able to maintain itself even in a state of subjugation through social autonomy - by organizing its local self government in conformity with its historical traditions and its innate requirements wherever it happened to be.³⁰

~~It is in~~ its social autonomous life in the past that we find the secret for Israel's endurance. "As a living nation in the Diaspora, they struggled always for Autonomy in the sphere of their social organization and their cultural life. Even at the time of the Judean state there was a far flung Diaspora with its autonomous communities: and during the later Diaspora which extended to a great number of countries, these communities had central organs of self-government, with legislative assemblies and courts of their own (Sanhedrin, Academies and Patriarchs in Roman-Byzantine Palestine; Exilarchs, Gaons and Legislative academies in Babylonia; Abyamas and Congresses of Communal Delegates in Spain; Kahals and Vaads in Diets of Kahal representatives in Poland, Lithuania, and other countries.)"³¹

30. Ibid - P. 7

31. A sociological conception of Jewish History - Menorah Journal - March 1928 - P. 258

Since the secret then of Jewish national survival in the past is to be found in their autonomous communities and those institutions which were created by them it is but logical and natural that in order to continue to preserve its existence for the future, the program should express itself in terms of the old historical processes together with those principles necessitated by the new order of things.

In the past, until the nineteenth century, when Polish Jewry held cultural hegemony in the Jewish world the Kahal was the basis upon which Jewish autonomy rested. Since all activities, in all walks of life were tinged with a religious hue (due to the dominating role of the Talmud which was "a literary monument of the national hegemony established and maintained by the autonomous communities of Roman Palestine and Persian Babylonia,"³² this autonomy also took on a religious character. Moreover the nature of the functions and activities of the Kahal - courts of law, state tax collector, guardian of educational institutions - tended to keep the Jewish community segregated from the non-Jewish world. Before long these Kahals had assumed the form of a state within a state. During this period, which is described by Dubnow as the "thesis" of modern Jewish history, Jews, though segregated and lacking civil and political rights, nevertheless enjoyed broad national privileges.

In the next stage, the Emancipation era, - which is labeled "antithesis" - Western Jewry was accorded full civil and political rights but lost all national rights. This was a grievous error on the part of Emancipation. The mere

32. Ibid - P. 261

acquisition of civil and political rights was not enough and could not compensate for the lack of national rights. Only the winning of these national rights could be a certain guarantee against national subjugation or national disintegration. The Emancipation of Western Jewry therefore "was a half-emancipation - the emancipation of the Jews without Jewry."

Only in the next period, "our own day"³³ - the period of the synthesis of the previous two stages - Jews, particularly those in the east, would acquire, not only complete civil and political rights but national emancipation as well. No longer was Israel to be a state within a state as in the first stage, or citizens of a different national entity as in the second but a nationality equal to other nationalities, prepared and fitted for broad national life within the framework of the state as any other group.

Formulating briefly the goal of autonomy in the modern world Dubnow envisioned "Jews of every land participating actively in civil and political life, and enjoying all rights given to its citizenry not only as individuals but as members of their own nationality."³⁴

Autonomists therefore were to demand full civil - political and national emancipation whereby the organic development of the Jewish people, determined by the conditions

33. Like all the letters, this was written before 1910. For his view on this historical process of thesis, antithesis and synthesis - cf. Dubnow - Letters on Judaism P. 53.

34. Ibid - P. 57

obtaining in their respective countries, would be assured. Where possible, as in multi-national states - administrative autonomy for Jewish communities was to be secured. "The simultaneous struggle for civil and national rights, the creation of a full-fledged national community, instead of the Kultusgemeinde of Western Europe, an autonomous national school, and the rights of both languages the Hebrew and the Yiddish" -- all this was to be sought for.

But whether it be in multi-national states or not genuine autonomous life as far as it is in agreement with the political life of the country must be sought. The widest field for such autonomy according to Dubnow is in such countries as the United States.

"Fullest and widest autonomy is most possible in those lands wherein there rules the principle of the non-interference of the state into the every day life of its citizens.. In such lands, particularly in the United States, Jews could enjoy even today wide self-rule if they but desired to step outside the prescribed bonds of their "religious community."35

These then are some of the leading thoughts and principles implied in Dubnow's use of the term "national cultural autonomy to designate his program. Although in

35. Ibid - P. 59

formulating his doctrines Dubnow addressed his solution to the whole of Diaspora Jewry, it was actually, the multi-national centers such as Pre-war Russia and Austria that he had chiefly in mind. And in the debates and controversies and discussions that followed it was with the Russian intellectuals whether in the camp of the Liberal Democrats, the socialists or the Zionists, that he joined.

In the face of the diverse movements and cross currents which were thrown up and set in motion by the character of the social and political life of Czarist Russia, it was inevitable that Dubnow's theories should be met with such stubborn opposition - particularly from the three most important groups: the liberals, the socialists and the Zionists. The problems which they brought forward and Dubnow's answers will be treated in the next section.

Section 3. Attitude to Liberals, Socialists, and Zionists.

1. From the ranks of the liberals, Dubnow, emphasizing so strongly the necessity of a separate and independent development of the Jewish nation, was charged particularly by those who rejected the concept of a Jewish nation with the desire of recreating the medieval ghetto and of fomenting disloyalty to the state.

Dubnow, however, denies that any particularistic tendencies are involved in his program of Autonomism. Under no circumstances, for example, is a voluntary return to the ghetto possible for him. "I am not advocating by any manner of means any mechanical segregation from the wider community, any artificial isolation. But an instinctive isolation in the sense of stressing one's essential personality, that is necessary with everyone. The Jew who approaches another national, need not subordinate himself, before him, but both together, should coordinate themselves in obedience to that highest principle - equality of nationalities. And if the non-Jew should disdain friendship on equal terms, then the Jew with any self respect will have to acknowledge that under such circumstances friendship is both impossible and undesirable. Call this segregation if you will but if so it is a segregation forced upon us, for we aim to maintain our individual freedom and our national honor." 36

Allaying the apprehensions of the liberals that advocacy of national rights might be in conflict with loyal

citizenship and that the idea of a separate Jewish nationality was subversive of the best interests of the state, Dubnow pointed out that the error at the root of these fears was the mistaken identity of state and nationality.

"The state is a formal union; nationality an inner one. The members of the former are united by common interests; the members of the latter by common feelings and inclinations." ³⁷ Most states are, according to Dubnow, composed of more than one nationality. Where the state identifies itself with one nationality and the principle of "*cuius regio, eius natio*," is maintained and it tries to suppress its national minorities either one of two things is bound to happen: 1. "constant confusion and rebellions on the part of the oppressed and endless civil war that would lead to an uprooting of all law and order or 2. the shattering of the state into separate individual states." ³⁸

However, wherever the state guards its citizens and protects their rights, and the nationalities are given freedom of development as it is morally and duty bound to do, it will inevitably win the loyalty and support of all its nationalities. In a word their loyalty will correspond to the treatment accorded them. If only for the greater security of the government and to guarantee the loyalty of the nationalities, the multinational state must grant autonomy: ³⁹

2. In the program and aims of the Jewish proletarian and socialist groups Dubnow saw one of the most important factors which had weakened the Jewish national movement. At a time when

37. pp. 28-30, 59-61

38. *ibid*

39. *ibid*

the interests of the nation in the face of tremendous odds, demanded the bending and unity of the differing and opposing groups together, there obtruded the chief slogan of the socialist forces - the doctrine of class struggle-which in the eyes of Dubnow split and divided the nationality to an even greater degree, and let loose those forces which would ultimately destroy it. In the conflict between the socialist doctrine of "Workers of the world unite," and national slogan of "Jews of all classes unite" the Jewish group was in danger of destruction. ⁴⁰

What makes this split more tragic to Dubnow is the fact that the consequences of a bitter class struggle within a strong and powerful nationality as the Polish for example, which has territory and language to strengthen it, holds no danger to the wholeness of the group. In the case of the Jews however, whose sole bond of association is its cultural interests, such a class struggle can only give it a death blow.

Moreover the mistake made by such organizations as the Bund, lay in this: that the section of the population they were devoted to, amounted to only about 10% of the Jewish nationality. The greatest majority of the population consisted of the petty bourgeoisie, who were almost as poverty stricken and oppressed as the proletariat.

Dubnow saw the strength of Jewry squandered by these left-wing groups in causes not their own. For them the general class war was more important than the struggle for national rights. And the basis for their error was that they interpreted

40. *ibid* - P. 119.

the term nation in its objective manifestations - territory, language etc. - not in its subjective aspects. Hence many broke away from Judaism and saw in the program "nothing more than manifestations of the counter-revolution."

Nevertheless, though he opposed these doctrines, he did make sincere efforts at coming to some kind of understanding. With the Bund important differences were settled, when in 1905, it came out in full support of Dubnow's program - an act which was a complete reversal of their original position.

Dubnow never denied that the left wing groups were justified in a measure in their class warfare. He recognized that "so long as workers' rights in their fullest measure were not acquired, this conflict would continue."⁴¹ But he urged that these class interests be made subsidiary to the main and principle goal - national cultural autonomy. Such a program was likely to succeed for to a great extent the Jewish middle classes are as oppressed as the proletariat. "Our left groups must fight in the ranks of the revolutionary army not under the masks of the Russians or the Poles but as Jews, for the needs of their people are no less precious to them as the needs of the state within which they live."⁴²

What he asked for was an agreement between the different groups, upon which they could all unite. He believed that with such a minimum program, the struggle for political democracy, national rights etc. - there could be fashioned a united front against their enemies. He readily conceded the right for the

41. *ibid* 118

42. *ibid*

different groups to join other organizations where they could struggle for their maximum programs.

3. Of all the national movements within Jewry which struggled for mass support, Dubnow felt most akin to the Spiritual Zionism of Achad Haam. In the Political Zionism of Herzl he could see only a messianic movement which would be ludicrous if it had not succeeded in raising false hopes and lead the national movement off on a tangent. He agreed that the ideal solution would be to transfer the entire diaspora to the Jewish State - he would gladly and willingly do it - were it possible. But for him as for Achad Haam, such a belief is utterly fantastic. The main function of Palestine for Dubnow, agreeing with Achad Haam, is to become a spiritual center. There was need "to create in the land of our fathers, a true source of spiritual power which will feed Diaspora Jewry struggling for its existence with all its might."⁴²

So far Dubnow was in agreement with him. Where they parted however was on the power and extent this spiritual zion would have on the galut.

"I do not believe that the center in Palestine will have the magic power to influence our entire national cultur in the exile. No. If we here in the exile do not strengthen by ourselves our national autonomy on the basis of civil freedom then a handful of Palestine Jewry will not save us from the flood of assimilation."⁴³

Palestine for Dubnow is but one (though a very precious one) of the many centers which will influence the galut and infuse it with the strength to carry on. "The fate of universal

42. Ibid - P. 122

43. Ibid - P. 143

Jewry ought not to be bound up with one single center. We should take into account the historic fact of a multiplicity of centers of which those who have the largest numbers and can boast of the most genuine development of a national Jewish life are entitled to the hegemony of the Jewish people --- Zionism when reduced to its concrete possibilities can form only one plank in the universal platform of the Jewish nation. The Palestinian center may strengthen the national development of the Diaspora but it doesn't constitute a *conditio sine qua non* for its autonomous existence."⁴⁴

But it was with Achad Haam's opinion that Israel in the galut will always be oppressed; that autonomy would never be granted, and if granted would lead to assimilation that Dubnow takes issue.

He admits that even if Jews should acquire full civil, political, and national rights, its troubles would not be ended. He realized that unless there was a constant lookout these rights might remain on paper only. He foresaw too, that even after carried out there would still be economic, social, and emigration problems to be solved.

But if Israel cannot hope to attain as full and complete a national life as is feasible for those nationalities which have territory, language etc, there is still room to attempt to attain as positive a national existence for Israel as is humanly possible. Only then will there be a basis upon which Achad Haam's spiritual Zionism could work.

Today, fifty years after the first publication of his

44. Dubnow - Jews in Russia and Poland - P. 54 ff.

theories, the world presents so many different features that Dubnow's program is a weak voice drowned out by a whirlwind - the whirlwind of Communism in Russia which dealt a heavy blow to the old Jewish center as he knew it and hoped it would be; of Fascism in Germany and government supported anti-semitism in Poland and other European centers.

Nevertheless Dubnow would contend that the need for continuing the struggle to realize his program is greater than ever. At least in the early years of the movement (1898-1910) there were still unsettled lands where a harried Israel could escape the threats of disintegration - America, Argentina, South Africa, and last but not least, Palestine. Today everyone of these centers (excepting Palestine to some degree) have closed their doors and the demand for a solution for Diaspora Jewry is greater than ever.

And in a sense, the problems he struggled with then are the same which we face - only instead of Germany and Russia wielding hegemony over Jewry it is Palestine and America. "The devastating war and the Russian revolution (1914-1920) dealt a heavy blow to the great Jewish center in Russia, and now the Sphinx of the future destinies of Jewry stands at the crossroads with one eye on the West and the other still turned dreamily to the East. After the oriental and European periods in Jewish history there may be a partial return to oriental hegemony in regenerated Palestine. All facts point to the possibility of a dual hegemony of East and West, of Palestine and of the European American centers."⁴⁵

45. Dubnow - Sociological conception of Jewish History - P. 266.