

THE THIRD BASLE CONGRESS.

ZIONIST CONGRESS.

[FROM OUR SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT.]

BASLE, 14TH AUGUST.

Eve of the Congress.

It seems but the other day since the Second Zionist Congress came to a triumphant close, so rapid has been the march of time since then. And now once more pilgrims from all parts of Europe and from the United States have wended their way to Basle, their temporary Zion, again to deliberate on the prospects of their ideal. Something at least has been achieved—the Jewish Colonial Bank or Trust has become a reality, and I shall be greatly mistaken if the Bank is not very much to the fore during the sittings of the Congress. For not only is a portion of Wednesday's meeting set aside for a report of the Bank Committee, but meetings of the shareholders will be held on Thursday night. It has been whispered to me by one who professes to know, that the greater portion of the subscriptions to the Bank has come from Russia (£200,000 is said to be the amount), and there is consequently a strong feeling among the Russian delegates that they should have greater control over the funds than is possible under existing circumstances seeing that the seat of the Bank is in London. It is but fair to add that this feeling is not confined to the Russians.

To-day is the eve of the Congress, and in every sense it is a replica of its predecessor last year. The scene is the same—the Town Casino—and the principal *dramatis personæ* are the same. There is a constant bustle and hurry and scurry all though the immediate fate of nations were at stake and the settlement could brook no delay. At the risk of again repeating myself, I must pay my tribute of admiration to the hundreds of men and women who, regardless of the terrific heat that prevails here—and which, if it does not abate, will undoubtedly make its effects felt during the long sittings—rush backwards and forwards and hold meeting after meeting, in order that everything may be in ship-shape for to-morrow and the succeeding days. While making every allowance for the extraordinary amount of work that has to be got through, it must be admitted that a state of unpreparedness exists as far as the reports to be submitted to the Congress go, and this unpreparedness is less excusable since the reports are official documents emanating from the managing body and could easily have been drafted some time ago and printed for distribution among the delegates. Such a course would save not only much time, but, what is also of equal consequence, much confusion.

The actual preliminaries commenced yesterday with meetings of the Actions Committee, and of the journalists already in Basle. These appointed a Committee to look after their interests, which consists of Dr. Werner, Mr. J. de Haas, Herren Berliner, of Vienna (who kindly consented to act as Hon. Secretary and performs his task with great geniality), M. Schwarzfeld of Bucharest, Brainin, Sukenikoff and I. Grunberg. A special room, with lockers for each, has again been placed at our disposal, and adjoining this apartment is the temporary post and telegraph office, which is accessible to all who take part in the Congress. The number of journalists is greater than last year, and there is every appearance also of an increase in the number of delegates. On this point official information will doubtless be given to the Congress.

Nearly the whole day has been spent in meetings of groups of various nationalities represented at the Congress, which give the impression that even among Zionists who are supposed to have but one object in view there are conflicting interests and parties. There have been meetings of the Colonisation Committee, of English-speaking delegates, of Germans, Austrians, Galicians, Russians, Roumanians, and members of the Bnei Berith Order of the United States. Now and again some excitable individuals have been holding forth on their own account in the crowded lobby, and have with difficulty been calmed. Dr. K. Lippe, of Jassy, delivered an address in one of the rooms on the two-fold mission of the Congress.

Jewish Colonisation in Cyprus.

A more important meeting was the one convened by Mr. David Trietsch (one of the American delegates) to consider his proposal for the colonisation of Cyprus, some particulars of which were given in the last issue of the JEWISH CHRONICLE, in connection with a conference called by him in Berlin.

Mr. TRIETSCH, in opening the meeting, said that at present no better Zionist work could be done than that of colonising Cyprus on a large scale. Difficulties on the part of the English Government were not to be anticipated, whereas on the other hand the steps which had been taken to obtain concessions from the Turkish Government with respect to Palestine were not likely to be immediately successful. The misery among the Jews was too great to allow those who sympathised with the sufferers to wait until a beginning could be made in Palestine. His project would live and come to realisation even if the Congress did not support it. Mr. Trietsch then gave a description of the

fertility of Cyprus, which, he reminded his hearers, had been in the hands of the Jews in the time of Herod, and was capable of receiving a large Jewish population.

In the discussion which followed, one of the speakers energetically opposed Mr. Trietsch's plan. He declared that it would be Zionism without Zion, that it would weaken the spirit and aspirations of Zionists and lead to a regrettable split. The plan was antagonistic to the programme which desired a legally-assured home in Palestine. He felt sure that the Congress would reject by a large majority a scheme for colonising Cyprus. This opinion was evidently shared by the bulk of those present, who vociferously applauded the concluding remarks of the speaker. Mr. Trietsch retorted that Cyprus was the only country in the world which could be acquired at present. The utmost that would be lost by the adoption of his idea was the defection of perhaps a hundred zealots.—(This observation was extremely unpalatable, for many of the audience hissed, and the Russian delegates left the room, crying "Zionists, let us go!")—But, continued Mr. Trietsch, we must go through a side door—and this is Cyprus—so long as the great door is closed to us by the Sultan. In this sense, he would submit his proposal to the Congress. Another delegate pointed out that the delegates had received no mandate on this question, and, therefore, had no right to discuss it at the Congress.

Although the colonisation question does not figure in the Agenda of the Congress, there is nothing to prevent Mr. Trietsch bringing his plan forward in the general discussion on "other subjects," but he is not likely to convert the Congress to his view.

Preliminary Meetings.

The meeting of English and American delegates this afternoon was presided over by Dr. Richard Gottheil, and was thoroughly harmonious. At the suggestion of Mr. L. J. Greenberg, it was resolved to request that the Congress should be opened with prayer. When this suggestion was communicated to Dr. Herzl (who, I may state, has been busily occupied all day long), he declared that personally, he was willing to act upon it. The Conference also decided to propose, with reference to the Colonial Trust, that an English manager should be appointed, and that there should be more than one English Director. We shall see during the week how these suggestions are received.

One fact in connection with the English meeting has transpired, which is of the utmost importance to the JEWISH CHRONICLE rather than to its readers. Dr. Herzl was present at the close of the meeting, and the occasion was seized to put an end to the differences which had existed between Dr. Gaster and himself, not in his personal capacity, but as the head of the Actions Committee. I doubt whether the Committee of the English Zionist Federation will again have the temerity to publish a *démenti* of what is an indisputable fact.

To-night the Young Zionists of Basle entertained the delegates to a Commers in the Summer Casino. The change

from the hot Congress building to the cool evening air in extensive grounds was delightful. What a pity the meetings cannot be held amid similar surroundings! Dr. Herzl, on his arrival, was received with many "Hochs," and the enthusiasm of his admirers gave us a fore-taste of what his reception will be to-morrow morning. Dr. Gaster also was greeted with many cheers as he entered the grounds. Herr Metzger, the President of Young Zion here, made a very able little speech, in which he bade the delegates welcome and expressed the hope that the Third Congress would realise the anticipations that were formed of it. To the satisfaction of most people, the young gentleman subsequently announced that, in obedience to a request from influential quarters, there would be no other speeches. Last year, the pleasure of this social gathering was greatly marred by a number of well-meaning, but hot-blooded Zionists, who imagined that the guests had come to the garden to shout themselves hoarse, instead of listening to music played by a capital band.

The Colonial Bank.

As the meetings of shareholders will take place on Thursday night, when it will be too late for any report to appear in the current issue, I may mention that there will be in reality three meetings. The first will be an extraordinary meeting of shareholders, at which the only item to be considered will be a proposal for alterations on some of the statutes. Should these alterations be agreed to, another extraordinary general meeting will be held immediately afterwards for their confirmation. The extraordinary meeting will be followed at 10 p.m. by the second ordinary general meeting of shareholders, for which the principal items of the agenda are the presentation of the Directors' report and their resignation, the election of Directors for the ensuing year, and the presentation of accounts.

The following is a summary of the alterations proposed:—

ARTICLE III. (par. 1) of the Memorandum of Association of the Trust as printed on the prospectus states that amongst others the objects for which the Company was established are "to promote, develop, work and carry on industries, undertakings and colonisation schemes in Palestine, in Syria, and in any other part of the world in any manner which may, in the opinion of the Council for,



The CASINO.

Where the Congress Met.

the time being of the Company, as defined by its original Article of Association, be to the interest of the Jewish race in any country or place."

It is proposed to alter the paragraph to read thus: "To promote, develop, work and carry on colonisation schemes in the Orient, preferentially in Palestine and Syria," etc.

ARTICLE III. (par. 31. c.) states in its original form: "Any consent or approval on the part of the Council required by under this proviso may be sufficiently evidenced by any writing under the hands of Trust Governors of Trust Company for the time being, as defined by the Company's original Articles of Association, or of a majority of them."

It is now proposed to add, that in future the necessary authorizations may be signed by the Chairman, or a Vice-chairman and one of the Secretaries, instead as hitherto by the Governors or a majority of them.

In paragraph 52 of the Articles of Association, the suggested modification consists in the words that the shares must be deposited six days before the general meeting, in order that the holder may be entitled to be present and vote.

In paragraph 33 of the Articles of Association, the Council will, in future, be empowered to elect one Chairman, one or several Vice-Chairmen, as well as one or several Secretaries, and to fix the period of the functions, instead of, as hitherto, one Chairman and one Vice-Chairman.

Paragraph 94, in its revision, will state, that the Council may transfer each of its privileges, without any exception, to Commissions, which shall consist of members of the Council or their authorised representatives at the Board, in order to carry out their duties in the United Kingdom or in any other part of the world. However, they have to submit to the conditions laid down by the Council.

The last proposed alteration refers to paragraph 101, dealing with "business of a speculative character." Similar to paragraph 31 of the Memorandum of Association, paragraph 101 is to contain, that the powers of signing (on behalf of the Company), are relegated to the Chairman or one of the Vice-Chairmen and one of the Secretaries [two signatures in lieu of Chairman] instead, as hitherto, to the Directors or the majority of them.

FIRST DAY.

Morning Sitting.

BASLE, 15TH AUGUST.

The third Zionist Congress has been ushered in by glorious weather. The cloudless blue sky without had an inspiring influence on the men and women (these a mere handful) who foregathered in the splendid, commodious and well-ventilated Concert Hall of the Casino fully an hour before the time stipulated for the opening of the first sitting. A look round showed that most of those who attended the previous Congress were again selected to represent the various Zionist Societies in their respective countries. There were a goodly number of empty seats: in fact the Hall did not appear to be as full as last year, but this may be accounted for by the absence of several delegates. According to an official return, only 220 were present. A picturesque group on the platform was formed by some Rabbis from Russia, attired in long coats and wearing skull caps. These were Rabbis Rabinowitch (Alexod), Rheiness (Lida), Lobel (Pietra), and Rosofsky (Sivensiany). They were joined by two Rabbis of Russian nationality, and similarly attired, but resident in England, viz. Rabbis Joffey and Dagutzki, both of Manchester. Another interesting personality is Dr. Chasonovitch, of Bialystock, who has founded an excellent Library in Jerusalem, and who is here as much in the interests of that Library as of Zionism generally. One notable personage was conspicuous by his absence, who last year was one of the heroes of the Congress. I refer to M. Bernard Lazare. He as, as already related in the JEWISH CHRONICLE, broken off with the Vienna Zionist Movement; but at the present moment he is engaged in what even the most ardent Zionist must admit is as great a cause as theirs—that of Justice. Bernard Lazare, who was the first to set on foot the agitation in favour of Dreyfus, is now at Rennes watching the dénouement of that extraordinary Affaire which all friends of Truth and Right hope will end in the vindication of the martyr of the Devil's Isle.

It will be some days before the official list of delegates is available; for not until the mandates have been verified will the list be really complete. The experience of the past Congresses convinces me that the classification is slow work, and necessarily slow. For Englishmen interest mainly centres in the English representatives, of which the following is the complete list:—

Bnei Zion Association (London): Dr. M. Gaster, J. de Haas and E. M. Cohen.
North London Zionist Society: Murray Rosenberg.
West London Zionist Society: M. Barnett.
Vine Court Synagogue Society: B. Ritter, J. Zimmler, and the Rev. M. Orleansky.
Divisional Society (London): A. Englander.
Leeds Zionist Society: L. J. Greenberg and S. Perlman.
Edinburgh Zionist Society: S. Stungo.
Sheffield Zionist Society: S. B. Harris.
Glasgow Zionist Association: A. Schoenfeld and Harry Baker.
Manchester Dorshei Zion Association: J. Massel, Rabbi Joffey, and Rabbi Dagutzki.
Birmingham B'nei Association: David Wolfe and S. Isaacs.
Grimsby Hebrew "Well-Wishers of Zion" Association: Joseph Cowen.
Liverpool Zionist Association: M. L. Dight.
Blackburn Zionist Association: Herbert Bentwich, LL.B.
Glasgow Zionist Cycling Society: Joseph Cowen.
Belfast Dorshei Zion Association: Dr. M. Gaster.

Limerick "Chovevi Zion" Association: Dr. M. Gaster.
Mile End Zionist Society: Mrs. Schoenfeld.

One or two are absent, but a comparison with the previously published list will show that the name of Mr. E. Guilaroff does not appear as a delegate of the London B'nei Zion Association. Mr. Guilaroff, who in a letter reproduced in the JEWISH CHRONICLE, expressed himself in very uncomplimentary terms with respect to English Zionists, resigned his mandate, but that he intended to exercise it is evidenced by the fact that there are letters lying for him at the Post Office here.

The American delegates present are Dr. and Mrs. Richard Gottlieb, Dr. Solis Cohen, Miss Eva Leon, Messrs. David Trietsch, Gabriel Mayer and Zolotkoif. The Rev. Dr. M. Jastrow is unfortunately ill at Berna, but it is hoped he will have sufficiently recovered before the end of the Congress to put in an appearance. The Rev. Stephen S. Wise, who was a delegate last year and is again this year, has not crossed the Atlantic on the present occasion, and is engaged during this week in addressing meetings of the B'nei Berith and other bodies at San Francisco in the hope of winning them over to Zionism.

A few minutes after ten the tinkling of a bell heralded the approach of Dr. Herzl and the Actions Committee. As soon as the leader became visible, tremendous cheering broke forth from the body of the hall and the visitors' gallery, which was packed, and in which I noticed Dr. and Mrs. Snowman of London. There was the true ring of sincerity about the applause, but it was not as long sustained as before. The heat was not favourable to great exertion.

Dr. HERZL immediately took the chair, and without any preliminary formalities he rose and delivered in German the following address:—

Text of Dr. Herzl's Address.

Honoured members of the Congress.—At the festive hour when the delegates of the Jewish people, coming from the remotest distances, are assembled here, our first word must be one of thanks to this beautiful and free city which once again hospitably receives us. This gratitude is felt not only by those who are gathered here, but also by all who have delegated them in the farthest parts of the world. Basle, the Basle Congress, the Basle Programme—these words already resound familiarly in the ears of our people, and signify to them a solace and a hope.

For the third time we are here to discuss the grievances and the aspirations of our nation, which desires to be revived. At the outset, it might have seemed, perhaps it still seems so to some, that very little can be achieved by our coming here and making speeches—speeches full of sighs. But those who are in doubt overlook the fact that in all representative bodies nothing is done except to make speeches. And who will deny that speeches from such places exercise the strongest influence on the Present and the Future of the People? Possessed of this knowledge, we have exerted ourselves to establish for ourselves a place from which our words will be heard—this Jewish Tribune. As our people have no desire to return to the life of the past, but rather to awaken to the life of the present, it must before all possess a modern organ in order to be able to give expression to the wish for existence. This tribune is, therefore, a precious possession, which we have acquired. Let us guard it effectually! Through the earnestness and the tranquillity of our deliberations we can raise the authority of this tribune ever higher. Through indiscretions and disputes we should speedily destroy it. The tribune must be as elevated as the speeches that are delivered in it. No external force lends weight to our words: if they are to have any significance, this can only come from the inner power of the ideas and from the purity of the sentiments, which are here expressed. This, everyone of us must steadfastly keep before his eyes, if he wishes to speak here for the Jewish people and to the Jewish people.

Dr. THEODOR HERZL.

Another point is this. We have met here to concern ourselves with the internal affairs of the countries of which we are citizens. Any such attempt would be a great mistake, and would only tend to create false impressions regarding our Congress. We are here solely to deliberate upon the condition of our people and to prepare a legal and humanitarian solution under the control of public opinion. That we have nothing else in view is confirmed by all that we have done in the past. We, ourselves, stipulate the indisputable confines of our work. We wish to interest ourselves in the welfare of the Jewish people. This is our right. It is also our duty.

That this method—of meeting general difficulties by an international and frank exchange of views—responds to the moral convictions of present-day human culture, may be gathered from the satisfaction with which the world greeted the Peace Proposals of the Tsar of Russia. You will remember that we were assembled here when the Rescript was made known, and that the Congress of Zionists was the first body that was able to give expression to its enthusiasm. Since then a year has passed by. The idea of Peace has begun to make its way towards actuality, and that is already a great deal, even though it has not yet reached its goal. To us the example may serve as a lesson in patience. When the greatest men on earth content themselves with the slow progress of their highest ideals, how satisfied must we poor beings be when we are able to affirm that we have gone a little forward.

We must continue our work assiduously, even if in the past year no marked progress was outwardly visible. Even if nothing had happened which denoted a strengthening of our movement, an increase in its importance and its means, even then we should have to go on working indefatigably. But the past year

was not a bad one for our movement. It was a good one. We have accomplished something we have gone one step forward.

An important event which as usual was partly passed over in silence and partly made public in a distorted form was the reception of the Zionist deputation by the German Emperor in Jerusalem. The fact alone that the German Emperor had given his attention to our National Idea would have sufficed to give us confidence. Insignificant movements are not noticed in such high quarters. But something more ensued than mere taking cognisance of a movement. It was not a Jewish deputation, not the members of a "practical" Colonisation Society, but a delegation of the Zionist Actions Committee that was received. The basis and aims of our movement had been well known beforehand, and his Majesty the German Emperor, therefore, assured us of his benevolent interest on a day which will be memorable for the whole of Judaism. For this, all true Jews owe him gratitude. Honoured members of the Congress! You will understand that propriety demands that no use for purposes of agitation shall be made of the happy and significant fact of the Jerusalem reception given under such auspices. We must refrain from having any discussion thereon. Only one thing more must we emphasise in our joyous gratitude. The absolute legality and loyalty of our movement which has been so highly honoured is, after this event, placed for ever beyond question.

Naturally we lay the deepest stress on giving proof of this loyalty above all to the Turkish Government. No step will be taken by us, which even in a remote degree could arouse the justifiable mistrust of the sovereign owner of Palestine. We will and can confer the greatest advantages on the Ottoman Empire; we can act altogether openly. Any one who acts surreptitiously has usually no intention of conferring any benefit. This was the easily understood reason why the present restrictions against immigration into Palestine were introduced. We did not evoke them; they are, it is well known, older than the movement which is here represented. But if people dare not accuse us of having given cause for the prohibition against immigration, we must make our position towards it clear.

Some people wish to plant a population in the country without having beforehand made their entire plan public. If anyone enters in the night and in the mist he must not wonder if he is met with the challenge: "Halt, who goes there?" All the worse is it for him if he cannot give a satisfactory and precise answer. Moreover, it is not a situation in which the answer will have no auspicious ring about it. We act differently. We declare our views in the open daylight, because, thank God, we have nothing to be afraid of, and we desire to obtain sanction before we undertake anything, which is the most difficult of all experiments. For it is not a question only of getting people in, but also of their remaining, and remaining in security.

Unhappily, there are many of our brethren who cannot fare worse than they do, and who, therefore, will accept anything. But in order to turn the sick into from one side to another does not require a great expenditure of sagacity, trouble and money. Let us rather endeavour to heal them. This is so great an object, it is so sound and so evident that no one need any longer seek to work through secret motive powers. Why then shall we not express this? At one stroke it will be understood what we have in view. Mistrust no longer exists. We are on the threshold of negotiations, which sooner or later will lead to accomplished facts, if only we act unitedly and keep our forces together. Therefore we have before all engendered the electric current of our unity, and will ever seek to strengthen it. No one shall cut off or divert any portion of this current. This would be an outrage against the whole body.

It is well-known that all Zionists are not yet represented at this Congress. Our movement is far greater than it was at the beginning. A considerable group of worthy Zionists of the old tendency still cling to the method which they pursue. We do not abandon the hope of converting them in a fraternal way to our views, in the Idea there is nothing that separates us. We must seek in common the best mode of carrying it into effect.

Other Zionists, and especially those who are most powerful in material means, would have been completely in harmony with us had we not chosen to proceed by open discussion. But as soon as we have accomplished something they will join us. Before that time we shall not want them, then we shall have them. There is no longer any doubt on this point.

What is to be the nature of our achievement? We will say it in one word: A Charter! Our exertions are directed towards obtaining a Charter from the Turkish Government; a Charter under the sovereignty of his Majesty the Sultan. Not until we are in possession of this Charter, which must embody the necessary public legal guarantees, can we commence a great practical colonisation. In return for the grant of this Charter we shall afford the Turkish Government great advantages. These transactions can, however, not emanate from congresses which do not possess the necessary legal qualifications for such a purpose. For the purpose of these arrangements a special partnership must be created. This is the Jewish Colonial Bank. If anyone should still put the question whether the Zionist movement is to be regarded as a serious factor, the hundred thousand subscribers to the Jewish Colonial Bank have supplied the answer. The reply has come from Siberia, from the borders of China, and from the Southern-most part of Argentina, from Canada and the Transvaal. To-day the Colonial Bank exists.

We all, who serve our cause with ever fresh enthusiasm, are not accustomed to praise the sacrifices we have made for it. But in submitting to the Congress this completed portion of the work, we for once relieve our minds by saying that it has been the heaviest sacrifice which we have as yet made. People who had never had anything to do with business, agitated for the establishment of a Bank, and the most grievous suspicions were expressed. It had to be we have done it. To-day we hand over this work to the Congress, to which we have guaranteed the complete supervision over the just and Zionist objects which the administration of the Bank will serve. Through its annually-elected representatives the Congress will have control over the institution. It need hardly be said that the share capital will not be used for the purchase of land. The Bank is only a medium. On the basis of the desired Charter the actual Land Company will first be established, and, naturally, with a considerably larger capital. The creation of these greater requirements can however already be regarded as assured, and at an opportune time we will give you information thereon which at present cannot be supplied.

Apparently all this has the character of preparatory measures of future importance. It is, however, actually as practical, and belongs to the present like seed which is entrusted to the soil. At first it was a seed of Thought, it is now a seed of Actuality. To-day it is not yet bread, it is the bread of to-morrow.

The easily satisfied, whose powers of imagination have been weakened by their favourable material circumstances, are not yet willing to understand us. The poor and the wretched understand us better. They have the imagination created by distress. They know from the experience of to-day and yesterday, what the pangs of hunger will be to-morrow. And in this condition there are many hundreds of thousands of our people. These, however, are the most destitute of our comrades who are not even in a position to pay the small annual contribution for our propaganda. They are the best Zionists, because with them the old traditions of the people are not yet forgotten, because they have strong religious feelings, and because they suffer dire distress. The reports from many parts are terrible. Judaism is an immense hostelry of misery with branches throughout the world. From this torture you will hear the sad truth. This situation cries aloud for a remedy. In solid labour on a soil that is loved, do we believe that the remedy is to be found. Work will procure for our people

the bread of to-morrow, as well as the honour of to-morrow, the freedom of to-morrow.

Our appeal for support goes forth to the upright of all creeds and nations. We require no other external help than moral aid. There are Jews enough, who inwardly are of the same mind as ourselves. There are many, however, who hesitate to show this, for they fear that their action will be misconstrued. Whosoever is willing to give us moral help, because he finds that we are engaged on honest work, can prevent misunderstandings about our movement arising in his immediate circle, and the hurling of fresh false accusation as has so often been the case. Otherwise this beneficial movement would be intimidated and fall to pieces. What just man would like this?

A people is contending here for its existence, its honour and its freedom. It desires to emerge from darkness into sunshine. The present situation of the Jews tends towards three directions. The first is the apathetic submission to insult and misery. The other is a revolt against a stepmotherly society. Ours is the third way: To soar upwards, to a higher degree of civilisation, to promote the general welfare, to prepare new paths for intercourse among the nations, and to seek an awakening for social justice. And just as our beloved poet gave forth songs out of his woes, so do we prepare out of our sufferings progress for mankind whom we serve.

Dr. Herzl's address was frequently interrupted by cheers, and at one point a dramatic incident occurred. When he spoke of the gratitude which all true Jews owe to the German Emperor, the entire assembly rose as one man, and "Hochs" resounded from all parts of the Hall.

Election of Congress Bureau and Committees.

Almost as soon as he had uttered his concluding sentence Dr. Herzl called on Herr York-Steiner (Vienna), Chairman of the Permanent Committee, to submit the Nomination Lists.

By acclamation, Dr. Theodor Herzl was elected President of the Congress, and Dr. Max Nordau, the Rev. Dr. Gaster, and Professor Dr. Mandelstamm, of Kiel, were elected Vice-Presidents.

As Assessors were elected Dr. Koban-Bernstein, Dr. Richard Gottheil, Herr David Wolffsohn, Herr Samuel Pineles, Dr. Korn Löw, Dr. Bodenheimer and Herr Jasonovsky.

As Interpreters and Secretaries were elected: for Hebrew and Rumanian, Dr. Niemow; for English, Mr. J. de Haas; for French, Mrs. Richard Gottheil; for German, Dr. L. W. Marmorek; for Jargon, Herr Ben Ami and for Russian, Herr Temkin.

As some objection was taken to the proposed constitution of various Committees, the lists were referred back to the Permanent Committee to be brought up again in the afternoon with other names suggested by delegates.

Standing Orders.

Printed standing Orders were distributed to the members of the Congress, but on a motion for their adoption being put from the chair Dr. FRIEDMANN (Berlin), proposed that their consideration should be deferred until the afternoon as the delegates had not had sufficient time to study them.

This course was agreed to, and I may at once state here that when the subject again came up at the afternoon sitting, the standing orders were adopted.

Address by Dr. Max Nordau.

Dr. Max Nordau has acquired proprietary right in what is officially styled a "Report on the General Conditions of the Jews." For a considerable time, Dr. Nordau held his audience enthralled by an impassioned and eloquent address. He played on the same strings as at the two previous Congresses, and the melody was practically the same, but with some variations. He but lightly touched on the actual sad chapters of persecution during the past year, mentioning, for instance, the excesses against the Jews in Galicia, at Jassy, and at Nicolaieff, but he pointed out that if all the Jews are not bodily ill-treated, hatred and calamity surrounded them almost everywhere. Dr. Nordau dwelt on the necessity of knowing who were the friends and who the enemies of Zionism, and he once again applied caustic remarks towards the anti-Zionists, and especially the "Protest Rabbis" (with whom he hoped the Jews would soon have done) which were emphatically enjoyed and applauded by his hearers. He admitted that Jews had faults which they shared with all human beings, and should, therefore, not be punished for them. He enlarged the desire of so many thousands upon thousands of Jews to regain their lost nationality. There were two ways of accomplishing this—money and the will of the people. Money was a power with which practical people would have to reckon, but the people's will was all important, and would ensure the success of the movement if they were in earnest and assumed a representative character. There was no greater, no more pressing work for Jews than to continue the work on which the Zionists had been engaged for the past two years. External enemies Zionism had not; its only enemies were Jews. In his closing observations he again referred to Jewish renegades and Jewish anti-Semites, and terminated with adapting Nelson's exhortation to his men at the Battle of Trafalgar to the present movement: Israel expects that every man will do his duty.

No sooner had Dr. Nordau left the Tribune than he was literally hustled, but in a friendly way by enthusiasts who wished to thank him and shake him by the hand. Their gratitude would have been increased if that were possible, had they known what sacrifices Dr. Nordau had made to be present at the Congress. He is engaged in a journalistic capacity in attending the Court martial at Rennes. He left there Monday afternoon, and as he had a day free to-day (when the Court did not sit, owing to the Festival of the Assumption) he travelled to Basle, which he is to leave again to-night in order to resume his duties.

When silence had been restored, Dr. Herzl formally announced the close of the morning sitting.

[A translation of the full text of Dr. Nordau's Address is published in another column.]

AFTERNOON SITTING.

The first act of the Congress on its resumption in the afternoon was to pay a tribute of respect to the memory of workers who had passed away during the year. Everyone rose as Dr. Herzl mentioned their names and services. The only name that need be given here is that of Dr. Doureich, an able young man, who was Secretary of the First Congress.

Dr. HERZL next read out a long list of places and individuals from whom telegrams of congratulation had been received. The applause was particularly cordial when Dr. Herzl mentioned the name of Sir Francis Montefiore, who wired from Homburg, the South Africa Zionists at Johannesburg, the B'nei Zion in London, and the Abavas Zion Society at Tarnow, of which Society

seventeen members of the Committee had telegraphed congratulations. It will be remembered that this Society has been reported to be in antagonism with the Vienna Movement. A message was also conveyed, but not by telegraph, from the Jewish miners in the Caucasus, who were represented at the Congress by a delegate.

Dr. Herzl then vacated the Chair, which was taken by Dr. GASTER, who received an enthusiastic welcome. At a later stage Dr. NORDAU presided.

Report of the Actions Committee.

Herr OSCAR MARMOREK read the Report of the Actions Committee, of which the following is an abstract:—

With the object of promoting the Zionist movement the Actions Committee had made it its principal duty to carry on a propaganda by means of the Press, pamphlets, fly-sheets, meetings, festive gatherings and travelling lectures. Last year's Congress Protocol had been printed and circulated in thousands of copies in German and other principal languages, and the speeches of Dr. Herzl, Dr. Nordau, Dr. Mandelstamm and Dr. Gaster, had been made accessible to the Jewish people for a very small sum. Several Zionist journals had been subventioned, and two new journals, one in Spanish-Jewish (for the Jews in Turkey) and the other in French, had been called into existence. The object of the Spanish paper was to remove an impression among the Turkish Jews that Zionism was antagonistic to the Ottoman Empire. The *Echo Sioniste*, the French paper, was to appear that very day in Paris. Mention was made of Dr. Nordau's and Dr. Herzl's addresses in their principal European tour, and of the propaganda tour carried on in England by the English Zionist Federation (which was described as an example of a democratic union), under the direction of Dr. Gaster, Sir Francis Montefiore, and Mr. J. de Haas, and of the activity of the American Zionist Federation, under the direction of Dr. and Mrs. Gottheil, and the Rev. Stephen S. Wise. The number of Zionist Societies in Russia has increased 30 per cent., and in other countries 25 per cent. In Roumania the Chovevi Zion had joined the Congress of Zionists, so that in that country there was only one category of Zionists. In Bulgaria Zionism has made great progress: in Germany and Switzerland it is spreading; and it has obtained a footing in Belgium, Holland, Italy, and Greece. Even in such remote countries as Bokhara, Turkestan, and New Zealand, the propaganda is being carried on. In nearly all the Argentine Colonies of the Baron de Hirsch Fund there are Shkel-paying groups of Zionists, a striking proof of sympathy which the movement for colonising Palestine has met with among colonists on the other side of the Atlantic. In many Jewish communities candidates had stood on a Zionist basis. The report referred to the creation of the Bank, of its success notwithstanding the open and secret opposition to the proposed increase of the Council from 20 to 100, and to the opinion of English lawyers that it would be imprudent to specify Palestine only as the country in which colonising work was to be carried on. The report concluded with a protest against the attacks made upon the honour of the Actions Committee.

Dr. O. KOKESCH (Vienna), read the balance sheet, but, as he was almost inaudible, two motions were submitted to the Congress. One was that the statement should again be read by a member of the Actions Committee, with a more powerful voice; the other, that the balance sheet should be printed and circulated at to-morrow's meeting. The second motion was adopted, and the debate on finances adjourned. It was elicited that there had been upwards of 100,000 subscribers to the Shkel Collection. The receipts amounted to 158,212*fl.* (about £6,300), and the expenses to 142,754 (about £5,700). The minimum subscription of £250 (100) which was required for the founding of the Colonial Bank had been over-subscribed.

The debate on the general report was opened by

Mr. L. J. GREENBERG, who, while thanking the Actions Committee on behalf of the English Zionist Federation for referring to its work, expressed regret at the omission of the name of Mr. Herbert Bentwich from the enumeration of those who had done good work for the Federation. Mr. Greenberg said that no one was better qualified than he to speak of the labours of Mr. Bentwich but for whom no such organisation would have existed in England. At the commencement of last year there were eight or ten Zionist societies in England; now there were 22. The shkel collection which last year amounted to £80, this year reached £150, and it had been sent to Vienna without a single halfpenny having been held back for expenses. All the expenses had been paid out of the private pockets of a few individuals. Mr. Greenberg called attention to the fact that a few weeks ago the Committee of the English Zionist Federation had sent a resolution to the Actions Committee requesting that all reports should be printed beforehand in the languages of the nationalities represented at the Congress, and circulated among the delegates, and thus taken as read. He regretted to say that no acknowledgment had been sent to the Federation, and that the resolution had not been acted upon. Had this been done no time would have been wasted, as had been the case that afternoon with the reading of the balance sheet. When he heard Dr. Herzl speak of the electric current of their unity he could not help thinking that a little more of that current might have been turned on from Vienna to the English Zionist Federation. Where there should have been strong light there had been mist. Through the half-hearted way in which the Federation was treated in Vienna its work was impeded, and it was looked upon with suspicion because some Zionists happened to have been born in England. He hoped the Actions Committee would regard the Federation as its Branch, and recognise it as its representative in England. He offered these remarks not so much by way of complaint as to assist the Actions Committee and the movement generally. In conclusion, Mr. Greenberg expressed the hope that if next year they were not already in Jerusalem, the reports would be printed, as suggested by his Committee.

Dr. HERZL, in reply, explained that all reports had not yet reached the Actions Committee in time to permit the adoption of the recommendation emanating from the English Zionist Federation.

Among the subsequent speakers were Dr. RICHARD GOTTHEIL and Mrs. GOTTHEIL (who was very heartily cheered), who gave accounts, supplementary to the Report of the Actions Committee, on Zionist work in America, with which the readers of the JEWISH CHRONICLE have already been made familiar. Herr Werner, of Vienna, urged that what the Zionists required was not so much a Turkish charter as a publicly recognised and legal position guaranteed by the Great Powers.

The further consideration of the Report was adjourned until to-morrow morning.

Election of Committees.

Before breaking up the Congress adopted the revised nomination lists submitted by the Permanent Committee. I need not trouble your readers with a long string of names, which will be meaningless to them, but will content myself with giving names of English-speaking members of the several Committees.

Finance Committee: Mr. Kessler, Johannesburg.

Organising Committee: Dr. Gottheil, Messrs. J. Cowen, Engländer, and L. J. Greenberg.

Temporary Bank Committee: Messrs. S. Lennox Loewe (Johannesburg), Ritter and D. Trietsch.

Colonisation Committee: Miss Eva Leon, Messrs. Kessler, D. Wolfe, and S. Perlman.

Culture Committee: Rev. Dr. Gaster and Mr. J. Massel.

Propaganda Committee: Mrs. R. Gottheil, Messrs. H. Baker, H. Bentwich, E. M. Cohen, J. de Haas, and S. Lennox Loewe.

Both the morning and afternoon sittings passed off absolutely without any incidents whatever. The disturbing elements which were so conspicuous at the two previous Congresses, were now absent; hence harmony was at no time disturbed. The meetings lasted a much shorter period than hitherto, the morning sitting occupying barely two hours and the afternoon sitting less than three hours. Happily there was no evening meeting, but though the delegates were free, the various Committees had plenty of work to get through.

In closing this letter, I am echoing the sentiments of all the press representatives, numbering nearly 100, when I state that our work hitherto has been greatly facilitated by the kind attention we have received from Dr. Werner.

WEDNESDAY'S SITTINGS.

[BY TELEGRAPH.]

BASLE, WEDNESDAY.

The sitting of the Congress was resumed this morning under the Presidency of Dr. HERZL. After the transaction of preliminary business the chair was taken by Vice-President Dr. Mandelstamm. The debate on the Report of the Actions Committee occupied the entire sitting. One of the prominent speakers (Motakin) warned the Congress that years must elapse before Palestine could belong to the Jews. Those who believed that the return to the Holy Land was imminent were not Zionists. He grieved, therefore, at the promises that Dr. Herzl had made to the mass meeting at the Great Assembly Hall in London. They wanted honesty not bluff.

Amid a scene of great excitement Dr. HERZL replied, that far from making hazardous promises he had not told enough. It was necessary, it should be remembered, when speaking on a popular movement before a large enthusiastic assemblage of adherents, to stimulate their faith. Replying to other speakers who addressed the morning sitting, Dr. Herzl declared that if culture meant religion the subject must be excluded. The Congress respected all views, but would not concern itself with questions of religion. In common with all Zionists he respected Jews of all shades of opinion, and therefore he protested against the action of those Jews who vehemently attacked and misrepresented the leaders of the Zionist movement.

Dr. Herzl's speech was received with much applause.

BASLE, WEDNESDAY EVENING.

The sitting of the Congress was resumed this afternoon. A long discussion ensued on the consideration of the Report of the Actions Committee. The debate, however, had little public interest. The Rev. HAHAM GASTER, who presided, made a firm Chairman. The general debate having been closed, Dr. SOLIS CORNUS, of Philadelphia, read the Report of the Finance Committee, declaring the balance sheet to be correct. The Shkel Collection amounted to 114,000 francs. Mr. HERBERT BENTWICH asked for information regarding details of expenditure. Sixty-eight thousand francs had been expended on propaganda and travelling expenses. Mr. BENTWICH moved, and Mr. A. SCHOENFELD, of Glasgow, seconded, that the Report be referred back to the Actions Committee. Dr. HERZL, who spoke amid a scene of great excitement, replied to the effect that it was impolitic to furnish details.

Dr. Herzl's speech was received much applause. The utmost confusion prevailed for some minutes. Representatives of different nationalities repudiated the action of Mr. Herbert Bentwich. Dr. Gaster vehemently joined in these expressions. The motion of Mr. Bentwich to refer back the report was withdrawn. A vote of confidence in Dr. Herzl and the Central Actions Committee of Vienna was carried by acclamation. The enthusiasm was renewed when Dr. Herzl took the Chair. Herr Wolfsohn read the Report of the Bank Committee. The discussion of the Report was adjourned until ten o'clock this evening.

BASLE, THURSDAY MORNING.

At last night's sitting, at which the consideration of the Report of the Bank Committee was resumed, the Russian delegates proposed many alterations in the Statutes of the Colonial Bank. Dr. Herzl disagreed with the propositions. He appealed to them not to upset in one hour the work which had been achieved in six months.

Thursday's Sitting.

The sitting of the Congress was resumed this morning. Dr. Herzl referred to the request of Mr. Bentwich for further details. He had reconsidered his refusal and now gave details. Dr. Herzl mentioned that *Die Welt* had received nothing whatever. Dr. Herzl's speech was received with much applause. The debate was then resumed on the Report of the Bank Committee. Dr. Herzl explained that the allotment of the Founders' Shares was an act of gratitude. During the debate the Russian delegates denounced Dr. Herzl's interposition. Considerable uproar prevailed for some minutes. Jasonovsky, a famous Russian lawyer, eloquently appealed to the delegates to give the fullest confidence to their leaders. Mr. Bentwich explained the powers which the Congress had over the direction of the Bank. These powers were fully safeguarded. The Russian delegates thereupon proposed that the issue of Founders' Shares should be deferred. There was much excitement, and the voting was postponed until the afternoon. The debate on the Bank occupied the entire sitting.

Among the Christians present was Count Manteuffel.

[A translation of the full text of Dr. Max Nordau's Address is given on pages 17 and 18.]



GRAMOPHONE

The Best Sound Re-producer.

Indestructible Record Discs. Vocal & Instrumental.
LARGE SELECTION ALWAYS IN STOCK.
ENTERTAINMENT FOR THE HOME, BAZAARS, &c., &c.

HEBREW MELODIES

Loud and Distinct Records just published. Carriage paid.
Orchestral Instruments, Strings, Fittings, &c.
—CATALOGUES POST FREE.

DOUGLAS & Co., 7, South St., London, E.C.



LONDON : FRIDAY, AUGUST 18, 1899—5659.

The Zionist Congress.

The third Zionist Congress has met this week. As usual, many Jews have flocked to Basle from various distant parts, but we cannot but think that the gathering has attracted less attention than formerly. It may be that the movement is now approaching the practical stage, and has shed the novelty and even romance that clung to it. Or it may be—and we think this is the more likely explanation—that a soberer mood has come over the advocates and followers of the movement and that they see the difficulties which loom large on their horizon. Undoubtedly Herzlism has not marched far ahead since the last Congress. Speaking at the Assembly Hall, on October 7th, 1898, its redoubtable exponent used these weighty and significant words : “I shall not draw you a picture of the return, for it will soon begin. I can assure you of this ; that we are now not very distant from the date. I know well what I say, I never spoke so distinctly. To-day I tell you that I do not hold the moment as far distant when the Jews will get into motion.” These, we say, are weighty words. What has been accomplished since they were uttered ? Speaking at Basle on Tuesday, Dr. Herzl could only reiterate afresh the oft-told tale of the efforts to obtain a Charter from the Sultan, and of the famous interview with the Kaiser. As far as the practical realisation of his dreams, hinted at at the Assembly Hall, goes, little or nothing has been done. The Colonial Bank has been launched with a capital much smaller than was originally asked for, desertions have taken place in many a direction, colonisation has receded into the dim distance, the Sultan determinedly holds the Jews at arm’s length from Palestine, and not a Jew of all the Israelitish host has “got into motion” for the great objective. We have no desire to make undue capital out of this failure. What we wish to suggest is that the difficulties that lurk in Herzlism, being now apparent to friend and foe, some effort at co-operation between the lovers of Zion on sound and practical lines, should be initiated. Let the political Zionists put from them the unrealisable and mischievous theory of a Jewish State, and let them bend their energies and abilities to forwarding the great aim of colonisation wherever a chance of success offers. We say this in the interests of peace, harmony and utility. Let there be a closing up of our forces. With the situation that exists abroad, this is not the time for embittered divisions ; while, with unbroken strength and united purpose, a great deal may be done—far more than has ever before been accomplished—to diminish the troubles which prey upon our hapless people.

THE PRESENT SITUATION OF THE JEWS.

BY DR. MAX NORDAU.

ADDRESS AT THE THIRD ZIONIST CONGRESS, BASEL.

The representatives of the Jewish Nation are meeting to-day for the third time in the hospitable City of Basel. The manner in which we are greeting each other will have to change exactly as our duties have changed. Two years ago, and even last year, we indulged in day dreams. It seemed as if we were witnessing a miracle, happening to ourselves and occurring around us. We nearly doubted its reality, though we were able to recognise it with all our senses. We felt like being part of a fairy tale: as if we were seeing our brethren, after having been buried for a thousand years, again become flesh and blood. We gazed at each other in wonderment. Our first impulse was to rejoice at meeting one another again, and in the sanctity of that re-union to repeat the story of what we had suffered in the hundreds of years during which we had been treated as though we had long since passed into the tomb, but where even the calmness of the tomb was missing. Then we endeavoured to realise what really was our situation amongst the nations, what were our hopes and fears, who were our friends and who were our enemies, what were our weakness and ailments and wherein was to be found a remedy. The general stocktaking of the Jewish nation has now been accomplished. We have simply to keep it up-to-date, to register any modification which may enter into our condition. During the last year no such modification has taken place, and in the near future no such modification seems probable, unless we ourselves, by our own efforts, bring it about.—(Cheers.) We have placed in the right light the position of the Jewish nation amongst the other nations of the world, we have shown that in spite of the efforts of many of our sons to entirely forget their nationality, or at least to deny it, and unmistakably to assimilate with their surroundings, they are everywhere considered strangers, even as intruders. We have proved that it is simply calumny which finds in the alleged bad qualities of the Jewish nation, the reason of the hatred which is cruelly prosecuting us in most of the countries, and of the frigidity which is surrounding us everywhere.

Our faults and mistakes are the faults and mistakes of all human beings.—(Cheers)—who are living under the same social and historical conditions. But, besides these faults, which we do not deny, we might boast of some good qualities which do not pertain to any other nation to the same extent. (Applause.) From all this we have drawn the conclusion that we are hated and persecuted because we form a minority easily to be recognised; because we are burdened by fanatical traditions coming from dark times of the Middle Ages; because our lot is that of any recognisable minority without power or prestige; that there are only three ways to alter this condition of things. First, a fundamental change of the human nature as it is witnessed every day in the attitude of a great majority towards a helpless minority. You are able to judge whether such a modification is probable in the near future. Secondly the disguising of the minority means in our case depriving ourselves of all our characteristics, our faith, our customs, our traditions, even the formation of our features.—(Laughter.) You may judge whether this is possible, and if so, whether it is desirable.—(Hear, hear.) Thirdly uniting the Jew on the historical soil of their original country.—(Long and long-continued cheering)—in sufficient numbers in order to be there no longer a minority, merely tolerated, but a human majority with full exercise of its civil rights.—(Renewed applause.)

You have already judged that this last-named third way is the only worthy one, the only one which promises any success, and we have voiced our Zionism in a last effort to apply a remedy for the sufferings of the Jewish nation.—(Applause.) The picture of the situation of the Jewish nation has been sketched already. The minor incidents of every-day life are insufficient to effect any material change, and, therefore, are of no importance. They are too insignificant even to make us weep or whine. One day some workmen devastate Jewish shops in a Bohemian manufacturing town; the next day our brethren are plundered and stoned at Jassy; then our brethren are cruelly ill-treated at Nicolaieff, and, again, some poor Jewish hawkers are maltreated at Chicago. What do all these excesses prove? Merely that we are hated everywhere, and only shielded by a thin wall of police protection from the passions of the mob, which are ever on the point of breaking loose against us. We know it well enough without citing incidents to prove it, and even if they were missing for a whole year it would be without any influence upon our judgment with regard to the general conditions of the Jewish people. That is practically what distinguishes us Zionists from the childish pedants of our race, who are living from hand to mouth, not thinking of the next day, and incapable of any far-seeing, far-reaching, economic policy.—(Applause.) If some months pass without Jews having been robbed and ill-treated, these semile children in their self-satisfaction rub their hands and gratefully turning their eyes, they jubilate, and in a poor, tremulous voice thank God that now the Jews are doing alright; now there is an end to all their sufferings. If, however, here and there, in a great centre of civilisation, or in a far distant village, windows are clattering under stones, Jewish bones are being broken, then there is a wringing of hands, then these peculiar people, with eyes of moles and brains of sparrows—(laughter)—are quite astonished, as if something entirely unexpected had happened which it was not possible to foresee. They wring their hands and cry to Heaven: "Can such barbarism be imagined in our country?" We Zionists think otherwise. We do not delude ourselves with the blissful hope that because one year has passed without active persecution therefore our sorrows have reached an end. Nor, on the other hand, do we express surprise if our brethren in various parts of the world are subjected to cruelty. The suffering of our race affects us all, even though we do not cry out with pain.—(Applause.) When persecution and intolerance are rife we recognise that they are the necessary sequence of our situation and that it is a point upon which the survey of the general situation of the Jewish nation must always touch. It seems to me therefore reasonable to throw full light, in order that in

coming years I, or one of my successors, may be spared the trouble of reporting again upon the present situation.

You know that geology has attempted to explain the formation of the surface of the earth by two opposite theories, which are briefly styled the volcanic and the glacial. According to the volcanic theory seas and continents, mountains and mineral formation owe their origin to terrible convulsions; earthquakes, volcanic eruptions or the sudden disappearance or appearance of parts of the earth, of catastrophes which are happening at vast distances of times, measured by hundred of millions of years, changing at one blow the whole aspect of the globe. The glacial theory, on the contrary, admits that continents and oceans and all their parts are the work of everlasting natural powers which, noiselessly but permanently working, bring about gradual modifications, which, in the course of decades, either build up or demolish continents and mountains, emptying or filling oceans. The volcanic theory is more melodramatic. It makes of the history of the earth an immense transformation scene, and is always certain of the applause of the gallery. (Laughter.) The glacial theory is less theatrical, but more convincing to wise minds that are engaged in observing the ordinary processes of nature.

Amongst those who sit in judgment on Jewish history, past, present, and future, you will find disciples of the volcanic, as well as the glacial theory. The volcanists attach importance only to the periodical cruelties practised on the Jews. For them the history of the Jewish people is exhausted with the history of Jewish catastrophes. For them the history of the Jews extends from the destruction of the Temple to the massacre of the Crusades; from the expulsions from England and France, to the expulsions from Spain; from the slaughtering of Chmielewsky to the sanguinary Russian persecutions of the early eighties. The glacial theorists—and in that category I am reckoning myself—attribute to the catastrophes, however terrible they were, not the same importance, and do not recognise them as the principal power in the formation of modern Jewish history. For us the ordinary conditions which surround us, even and permanently, are the influences through which the fate of the Jewish people is being formed. All nations, even the most glorious and powerful, have in their past, sad accidents, revolutions, civil wars, crushing defeats, some times so fearful that recovery appeared impossible; but with time the damage was repaired and the ascendant march of their glorious destiny was continued. Why? Because intervening there were centuries, or at least decades, of quiet progress, during which all wounds could be healed; because between the directly conflicting generations, other generations lived which were enjoying a happy existence free from sorrow. That is the decisive point. The Jewish nation, which has an indestructible vitality, would have overcome most catastrophes if it had always enjoyed the same conditions of life as other nations. But these conditions were not always at hand, are not even here to-day. We are living like Troglodytes, in perpetual darkness. To us the sun of justice is not shining. We are living like animals in the depths of the ocean. Upon us press the weight of a thousand atmospheres of mistrust and disdain. We have lived for centuries in a glacial period surrounded by the bitter cold of malice and hatred. Those are the permanent powers which have permanently influenced us, without noise, without incident, to give rise to sensational reports, yet under which we have retrograded steadily, gradually, and unmistakably.

I may state openly that I do not believe in the repetition in the future of the blood-curdling tragedies of the past, although even yesterday seemed to indicate the possibility of a wholesale slaughter even in our time. It is not probable that tens of thousands of the Jewish people could be killed, nowadays, in a single riot, notwithstanding the continual outbursts of wholesale homicidal mania. It is not probable that all the Jews would be expelled from a country, even though hundreds of thousands might be compelled, owing to unbearable ill-treatment, to voluntarily migrate. There exists to-day a European conscience, a conscience of humanity which, although elastic, prescribes at least a certain external honesty and does not readily permit of crime on a large scale. But if I do not believe in a general blood-bath among the Jews, I am, on the other hand, convinced that our glacial period will last for a long time, certainly much longer than we could stand, in spite of that inexhaustible vitality which I have already alluded.

People die by the murderous steel or at the stake, but who perishes with cold is also dead, and who is by-and-by decaying in outlawry and disdain is not much better for it. To deliver the Jewish Nation from this lasting, evenly crushing pressure is the duty which Zionism has taken upon itself. How shall we carry out this duty? In order to establish a race on its own soil, with full rights of self-administration, be it even without any State autonomy, is an eminently political work, and to carry it out powerful means are indispensable.

Now, what are our means? We have on our side the historical greatness and the moral beauty of the Zionist Idea.—(Applause.) We, whose life-duty it is to cultivate that Idea and express it by word and pen, surely will be the last to underestimate its importance. But we would be impractical dreamers and visionaries if we did not recognise that in order to influence responsible Statesmen, and to lead them to act, the Idea required transformation and transmission.

Another powerful means—the most indispensable—is money. You have already been told how that is, and the Actions Committee will give you more definite details in its various reports. I therefore leave that point unexplained for the present. However, we have undoubtedly another upon which to rely, and that is the will of the people. (Cheers.) Nobody should be so foolish as to sneer at that. The will of ten millions of people, although dispersed over the face of the globe, is a positive power which the most realistic must take into consideration as a serious factor. But the primary condition is that the will of the people is really existing—that it should show itself in an unequivocal manner. In order to be taken seriously by the entire world the Jewish people must first take itself seriously. In order to attain sooner or later to what it is aiming, it must first state its desidia. The kindness of the most influential personages and the noblest minds of the Christian world is one of our most precious possessions. We have in that a great credit upon which we may reckon at the right moment. But, in order to draw upon this credit we need an authentic signature, the validity of which no cashier will doubt. To secure this authentic signature, to give it an incontestable importance has been for the last two years the object of our unabated efforts. For the present the Jewish nation has no more urgent or important duty than to continue this work with all its strength. How can we expect that the world will accord us the rights and the territory of a nation, until we ourselves are fully convinced that we are a nation and intend to remain a nation? We Zionists are convinced, but the world is not bound to believe us, as long as our assertions are repudiated by numerous wild-shrieking voices in the ranks of Jews themselves.—(Cries of "Shame.")

It is therefore our immediate duty to settle first with our internal enemies—for enemies other than Jewish, Zionism does not possess.—(Enthusiastic applause)—in order to leave no doubt to the world as to who is justified to speak in the name of the Jewish nation. Often up to the present the voice of our adversary only has been heard, and as the man who shouts makes more noise than a

thousand who are silent—(laughter)—even *bona fide* observers could hardly avoid the mistake of over-estimating the importance of our adversaries in the midst of the Jewish people. We must, therefore, work without interruption, and point out to the world that it is not the enemies of Zionism, but the Zionists who represent the Jewish Nation. (Enthusiastic applause.)

In Jewish tradition we encounter very often in various forms, the idea that the small minority is the vivid, essential, only weighty portion of the Jewish people. Not twenty thousand, not ten thousand, but three hundred warriors of Gideon were ordered to fight the Amalekites. Our Rabbis are still more exclusive by contending that the destiny of the whole Jewish nation is being placed with the thirty-six just men.—(Enthusiastic applause.)

It would be quite gratifying to the *amour propre* of Zionists to be those 36 just men through whom the whole nation lived. But we have to reckon with the fact that the proud aristocratic mind of our ancestors, which only recognised the minority, is too refined and too distinguished for many of us, and that to the coarse mind, only the brutality of the majority is imposing. Let us, therefore, show that we have not only on our side the few chosen, but also the many can be counted on. Let us satisfy the aristocratic as well as the democratic opinion. We are able to if we only wish it.

I have said our great means nowadays is the will of the people. Let us have a May Day as they did in olden times, for our people. Let us show, in general review, our rank, our armaments, our spirit, so that the world and we ourselves may know exactly our strength. It may appear strange at the first glance, that the millions of the Jewish people have not universally declared themselves in favour of Zionism. Our adversaries explain their abstention as a refusal. With a better right we could claim it as a consent. Yet it is profoundly afflicting that we should have to have recourse to explanations. Why do the millions not raise their voice? Why do they not loudly say: We are Zionists!—as they are in their hearts without doubt.

Why? I know the reason, and I will give it, though it costs me a pang of regret. For the reason is very humiliating. It appears incredible, and yet it is true that there are millions of Jews who have not the slightest knowledge of the Zionist movement. They are longing for Zionism, and have not yet learned that their longing has assumed the form of a positive political programme. They pray every day for the return to Jerusalem, and yet they are not aware that it is we, who, at the price of our own personality, are working every day to prepare the return, and the tragedy of it is that they are not to be blamed for their ignorance. Our work does not reach them. They do not read papers; they do not attend meetings—the fearful struggle for life robs them of all leisure, so that there remains no time and no inclination except with regard to the immediate necessities of the present. But all those millions go to synagogue, most of them daily, all of them on Sabbaths and Holidays. They look upon their rabbis as their appointed teachers. The rabbis have their ear. To the rabbis was given the opportunity—the duty of announcing the joyful message of the new Zionism. Why have they not fulfilled that duty?

It is well understood I do not speak of the so-called "Protest Rabbis" of the West. With those we have already settled, and I hope that soon the Jewish people will have settled with them. (Applause.) I bear in my mind the Orthodox Rabbis of the East, whose Jewish sentiments nobody doubts. We ask those Rabbis "Why are you holding aloof? Why do you keep silent? Why do you not lead your community which is following you with the unfurled banner of David into the Zionist camp?" We are told that they mistrust us. That they are afraid of I do not know what attempt upon their faith. How is that possible. We have repeatedly declared that we do not touch the faith. That within the Zionist camp, everybody has the full freedom of his religious convictions, and if that declaration is not sufficient, you simply consider this, and have your own fate in your own hands. We are unable to impose our will upon you lest it should be different from yours. You all come to us—the pious and mistrusting. Up to the present we are a hundred thousand. Soon we will be millions, and the will of millions, not ours, will be realised. You can, in one day, transfer at one blow nine-tenths of the Jewish people from Zionists in mind as they are nowadays, into Zionists in word and deed.—(Applause.) We are able only to do this slowly and warily with our limited means of lay propaganda, namely, the Press, the lecturer and the meetings of our societies. In the end we will attain what, with the support of the multitude, would be ours immediately. As soon as we have finished our work the mass of the Jewish people, at last convinced, will ask accounts from its Rabbis, who are silent to-day. The civilised Jewry of the West maintains its hostile, or at least indifferent, attitude towards us, and persistently denies that Jews are a nation. They are the only ones that deny it. In a negative form, all nations recognise it by saying to Jews: "You do not belong to our people, even though you possess full rights of citizenship amongst us. How weak in mathematics and logic must those people be if they do not grasp the fact that the collectivity of their denials forms the strongest affirmation of the Jewish Nationalists.—(Cheers.) At the beginning we felt very bitter against our adversaries. Now we have become calmer and, perhaps, more just. We understand them, and understanding begets forgiveness. They had very much trouble indeed to conquer a fatherland and to obtain rights of citizenship, and naturally they are reluctant to lose them. What they possess they know, but what Zionism can get for them they do not see because they lack the ability of looking into the future and to see because a plan which is on the eve of realisation. They see in Zionism but a disturbing element and an obstacle, but the peculiarities of their spirits and character appear to me to be the best guarantees that they will abandon their resistance as soon as we can show an effective beginning. In the fight we must not reckon upon those of our coreligionists. Maybe, they will attack us in the rear, but in the victory which assuredly will be ours, many of them will join our ranks. Well, even then they will be welcome.—(Cheers.)—for they cannot help the narrowness of their mental vision and their pusillanimity. I may, perhaps, astonish you if I tell you that I have even learned to judge more kindly the renegades, the Jewish anti-Semites, the *hinterfelles* of fashionable society. I have heard them execrated in Christian assemblies as well as in aristocratic, anti-Semitic societies. I have read in books by such excellent observers as Anatole France and others what torpidity they underwent in order to dance at a dual ball, or to be allowed even to lend money to an indigent Count. Then only did I understand their despicable nature. Then only was awakened in me the consciousness that these were the sons of noble ancestors who died on the torturous rack or at the stake. They decay their Judaism with as much courage as their forefathers did in remaining faithful. Do not let us be cross with these poor evidences of assimilation. Let us be satisfied simply to abandon them to their fate as they abandoned us. Do not let us reckon even upon those practical ones who leave us to bear the brunt of battle, and who reserve the right to share the results of victory.

However, we must not leave anything unattempted in order to reach the masses of the Jewish nation who has not yet heard of Zionism. If our natural fellow-workers, the Rabbis, leave us in the lurch, well, we must do without them. Our aim must be to attain the adhesion of the immense majority of the Jewish Nation to Zionist sentiments; to bring them to proclaim before the whole world, their desire to again become a nation. To that end, Zionists should always and everywhere remember their mission. Passive, contemplative Zionists, must not exist. We have continually to preach, to instruct, and to enlist. The signal which we should hoist over our devoted band of workers is similar to that which Nelson gave at Trafalgar: "Israel expects every man to do his duty."