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Balfour

" Speeches on
Zionism "

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SPEECHES ON ZIONISM

SPEECHES ON ZIONISM

BY THE RIGHT HON.
THE EARL OF BALFOUR
K.G., O.M., F.R.S.

Edited by
ISRAEL COHEN

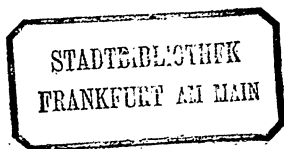
With a Foreword by
THE RT. HON. SIR HERBERT SAMUEL
G.C.B., G.B.E.,

Formerly High Commissioner for Palestine



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PREFACE

OF all the changes brought about by the Great War, probably none has so impressed the imagination of the world as the redemption of Palestine from the Turkish yoke, and its restoration to the civilising forces of Jewish national endeavour; and of all the names of the statesmen most closely associated with this pregnant historic act, none stands out more conspicuously than that of the Earl of Balfour. For the decision of the British Government to facilitate the establishment of the Jewish National Home in Palestine was first communicated in a letter from Lord Balfour, in his capacity as Foreign Secretary, to Lord Rothschild, and this momentous document, proclaiming the return under such august auspices of the long-exiled children of Israel to the land of their forefathers, has hence been known as

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the Balfour Declaration. Whatever place its author may ultimately occupy in future histories of England, one thing is certain, that in the history of the Jewish people the name of Balfour will enjoy unchallenged immortality, evoking comparison with that of Cyrus, for the issue of the Balfour Declaration marked the opening of a new epoch in the annals of Jewry which will be recognised as such even in the remotest centuries to come. That would be reason enough for the publication of a collection of speeches on Zionism by the veteran statesman. But there is another and more compelling reason—the speeches themselves.

In this little book have been gathered together all the utterances of Lord Balfour on the interpretation and implications of his Declaration, on its political aspects and its practical realisation, made during the last ten years. In volume they may not appear either numerous or substantial, but in content they form a valuable contribution

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to the history of the Jewish national movement, for some of them were delivered on occasions of outstanding importance, whilst all of them reflect the difficulties that had to be overcome, the problems that had to be solved, and likewise the stage of progress that was reached from time to time. The great demonstration in London at which the conferment of the Palestine Mandate upon Great Britain was celebrated, the memorable sitting of the House of Lords, at which the very principle of the Mandate had to be elaborately argued and defended, the notable meeting of the Council of the League of Nations at which the Mandate was ratified, and the wonderfully picturesque inauguration of the Hebrew University on Mount Scopus—these are the principal events that inspired and were graced by Lord Balfour's orations. They are all marked by an eloquence and a persuasiveness that flow not so much from the matured art of the facile and thoughtful speaker, as from the conviction and passion

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of the protagonist, if not the zealot. There are few statesmen of the present day who have grasped so accurately and expounded so cogently the real essence of Zionism, realising that this is no mere philanthropic movement or colonising enterprise, but the endeavour of an ancient people to reconstruct its national life and revive its national culture on its ancestral soil, and appreciating at the same time the intellectual and spiritual effects which must thereby be produced upon Jewish life in the rest of the world.

If there be any idea, or rather any phrase in these speeches, to which a Zionist may perhaps be disposed to take exception, it is that in which Lord Balfour refers to the Jewish rebuilding of Palestine as an experiment or an adventure. Such a conception generally implies a test or trial, upon the success or failure of which may depend the main undertaking. For the Jewish people the rebuilding of Palestine as their homeland is not an experiment but the end in itself.

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the realisation of an ideal that has animated them in all their centuries of dispersion throughout all the lands of the globe. In the case of any ordinary social experiment failure might lead to the abandonment of the enterprise to which it is a mere prelude. But those engaged in the creation of the Jewish National Home can envisage only one possible issue to their efforts: they may encounter set-backs or even crises from time to time, but their minds are firmly intent upon their goal, towards which they are striving with unswerving perseverance, and from which no passing disappointment, however serious, can turn them aside. For them there can be but one outcome—success. The only question is—when? The reading of Lord Balfour's speeches, which are aglow throughout with hope and enthusiasm, shows the qualities and the forces that have hitherto been devoted to laying the foundations of the National Home; it must also make clear that, with a continued application

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of those same qualities and forces, the raising of the superstructure, with all its numerous and vital ramifications, is placed beyond all doubt.

ISRAEL COHEN.

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FOREWORD

IN these speeches Lord Balfour has given the reasons for his own faith in the Zionist idea. But more than that; he has given eloquent expression to the idea itself. A non-Jew, he has been able to expound the motive that inspires this living movement among our ancient people. His mind, sensitive and imaginative, perceives the purpose that is underlying; he is convinced intellectually that that purpose is a right one.

He knows that the world is enriched by its diversities. A mere uniformity of type and of culture is not the ideal at which mankind should aim. That different races should preserve their special qualities, and bring their separate contributions to the common fund is not a pretension to be resented, but a service to be welcomed. The past has shown, to all men's sight, that Jewry has had its specific contribution to offer, and one of high value. The present shows that it has the will to renew it. Let

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the future give to Jewry the opportunity at least for showing whether or not it has the capacity.

He knows that the danger of this age is the rule of materialism. Economics are important, but they should not be supreme. The language of the market-place is not the whole speech of man. And when, from among a people that has long been regarded as typically commercial, caring more for wealth than for ideals, there springs a movement which is essentially idealist, which is willing to assume burdens and to face hardships and dangers for the sake of a principle, through faith in a spiritual purpose—he sees that here is a sign, here is something very opportune now, to be welcomed by far-seeing men of all races and religions, to be fostered by Governments and encouraged by the expression of sympathy and approval.

The practical difficulties Lord Balfour realises as fully as anyone, but he sees also

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that they need not be insurmountable. The presence in Palestine of half a million Moslem Arabs should not be regarded as an absolute bar to Jewish settlement in a country which is capable of maintaining a population four times or six times as great. But it is to be regarded as a reason for special care. It calls for a policy of goodwill and of scrupulous justice, in dealing with the interests and the sentiments of a population whose families have lived for centuries in the land.

Lord Balfour sees clearly that this difficulty, as well as the physical and financial difficulties of colonisation, must not be allowed to block the way; they must be overcome for the sake of a purpose which stands on a higher plane. The Jews also have a right to self-determination; it is to the general good that it should be exercised. The right cannot be exercised to the full so long as the Jewish people are without a centre. Scattered among the nations, as

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the great majority must always remain, they render there a useful service. But they need also a nucleus, a home. And this centre must comprise and rest upon a population of producers, self-contained and independent. It can only be in Palestine. An ambition to revive ancient glories of the spirit and of intellect, a hope to renew the specific contribution of the Jewish people to the common good, a determination to show that Jews can be producers on the soil and in the workshop as well as in the arts and the sciences—these are not “airy nothing,” but for their fulfilment they need to be given “a local habitation and a name.”

It is perhaps in his speech at the inauguration of the Hebrew University at Jerusalem that Lord Balfour's faith finds the fullest and most powerful expression. On that occasion and in that place there coincided three of the interests which have long commanded his service—Great Britain's mission in disseminating the blessings of

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orderly government and the opportunities for progress; the advancement of philosophy and of knowledge in general; and the redemption of the Jewish people. There, on Mount Scopus, the Jewish people were engaging, under the ægis of Great Britain, in the foundation of a university. Could there have been a more fitting inaugurator than the man who was at once a former Prime Minister of Britain, a philosopher of repute and lifelong friend of scientific research, and the author of the Balfour Declaration?

In that speech Lord Balfour, referring to the demands that are made to-day upon the revived Hebrew language, which is the medium of instruction in the various departments of the University, said that "there is a great difference between Isaiah and micro-biology." Linguistically there is a great difference. But Lord Balfour would be the first to recognise that the two are not antagonistic. They are complementary to one another. Mankind needs both. Let

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not those who are filled with the spirit of Isaiah think for a moment that science is of no account; and let not the scientist fall into the delusion that Isaiah has no message for to-day. The discoveries of science are one long psalm to the Divine Greatness. The University at Jerusalem is sister to the Temple.

I recall Lord Balfour at that memorable ceremony, a tall, silver-haired figure, in the scarlet robe of his degree, outstanding in the midst of a vast assembly. We were gathered, under the setting sun, in a great amphitheatre, below us on the one hand the City, on the other the valley of the Jordan, in the distance the mountains of Moab. He stood there in the evening of his own days, and spoke of the new day that he saw dawning in the life of a deathless people. And as the sun was descending in the west its rays lit up the peaks of Mount Pisgah.

HERBERT SAMUEL.

THE BALFOUR DECLARATION

FOREIGN OFFICE,

November 2nd, 1917.

DEAR LORD ROTHSCHILD,

I have much pleasure in conveying to you, on behalf of His Majesty's Government, the following declaration of sympathy with Jewish Zionist aspirations which has been submitted to, and approved by, the Cabinet :

“ His Majesty's Government view with favour the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people, and will use their best endeavours to facilitate the achievement of this object, it being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine, or the rights and

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political status enjoyed by Jews in any other country.”

I should be grateful if you would bring this declaration to the knowledge of the Zionist Federation.

Yours sincerely,

ARTHUR JAMES BALFOUR.

GREAT BRITAIN AND PALESTINE

[Speech delivered at a public demonstration held by the English Zionist Federation under the Chairmanship of Lord Rothschild, on July 12th, 1920, at the Royal Albert Hall, London, for the purpose of celebrating the conferment of the Mandate for Palestine upon Great Britain and the incorporation of the Balfour Declaration in the Treaty of Peace with Turkey.]

FOR long I have been a convinced Zionist, and it is in that character that I come before you to-day, though in my most sanguine moments I never foresaw, I never even conceived, the possibility that the great work of Palestinian reconstruction would happen so soon, or that indeed it was likely to happen in my own lifetime. This is one

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of the great and unexpected results of the world struggle which has just come to an end—even if, indeed, we dare to say that it has yet completely come to an end. Of infinite evils that struggle has been the parent, but if among its results we can count the re-establishment in their ancient home of the Jewish people, at all events we can put to its credit one great result which under other circumstances, so far as we can see, could never have occurred at so early a date. Who would have thought five or six years ago that a speaker in the Albert Hall would be able to recount as an accomplished fact that the Great Powers of the world had elected to accept the Declaration to which Lord Rothschild has referred, had consented to give a Mandate to the country which at all events is in the forefront among those who desire to see this policy brought to a successful issue, and that they would already have seen appointed as the High Commissioner of

Palestine a man who so admirably joins the double qualifications which Lord Rothschild has already so felicitously expressed? These are happy results, these are results on which we may all congratulate ourselves.

Let us not forget in our feelings of legitimate triumph all the difficulties which still lie before us. Those difficulties I have no hesitation in dwelling upon, because I know that you will overcome them; yet it is worth while to enumerate some of them, not to discourage you, but to raise your courage and your resolution even to a higher pitch than it has already reached. Among these difficulties I am not sure that I do not rate the highest, or at all events first, the inevitable difficulty of dealing with the Arab question as it presents itself within the limits of Palestine. It will require tact, it will require judgment, it will require above all sympathetic goodwill on the part both of Jew and Arab. So far as the Arabs are concerned—a great, an interesting, and an

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attractive race—I hope they will remember that while this assembly and all Jews that it represents through the world desire under the ægis of Great Britain to establish this home for the Jewish people, the Great Powers, and among all the Great Powers most especially Great Britain, has freed them, the Arab race, from the tyranny of their brutal conqueror, who had kept them under his heel for these many centuries. I hope they will remember it is we who have established the independent Arab sovereignty of the Hejaz. I hope they will remember that it is we who desire in Mesopotamia to prepare the way for the future of a self-governing, autonomous Arab State, and I hope that, remembering all that, they will not grudge that small notch—for it is no more geographically, whatever it may be historically—that small notch in what are now Arab territories being given to the people who for all these hundreds of years have been separated from it—but

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surely have a title to develop on their own lines in the land of their forefathers, which ought to appeal to the sympathy of the Arab people as it, I am convinced, appeals to the great mass of my own Christian fellow - countrymen. That is the first difficulty. That can be got over and will be got over by mutual goodwill.

The second difficulty, on which I shall only say a word, arises from the fact that the critics of this movement shelter themselves behind the phrase—but it is more than a phrase—behind the principle of self-determination, and say that, if you apply that principle logically and honestly, it is to the majority of the existing population of Palestine that the future destinies of Palestine should be committed. My lords, ladies and gentlemen, there is a technical ingenuity in that plea, and on technical grounds I neither can nor desire to provide the answer; but, looking back upon the history of the world, upon the history more

particularly of all the most civilised portions of the world, I say that the case of Jewry in all countries is absolutely exceptional, falls outside all the ordinary rules and maxims, cannot be contained in a formula or explained in a sentence. The deep, underlying principle of self-determination really points to a Zionist policy; however little in its strict technical interpretation it may seem to favour it. I am convinced that none but pedants or people who are prejudiced by religious or racial bigotry, none but those who are blinded by one of these causes would deny for one instant that the case of the Jews is absolutely exceptional, and must be treated by exceptional methods.

The third difficulty is of a wholly different order of magnitude and character — it is the physical difficulty. Palestine, great as is the place which it occupies in the history of the world, is but a small and petty country looked at as a geographical unit ;

and men ask themselves how in these narrow limits — to be traversed easily in an automobile in an easy day's journey were there good roads from Dan to Beersheba— they ask themselves how that can be made physically adequate to be the home for the self-development of the Jewish people. The problem presents difficulties, at present no impossibilities. It presents difficulties which I myself should regard as overwhelming were we dealing with another people and with different conditions. But what are the requisites of such development in Palestine as may accommodate an important section of the great race that I am addressing? What are the two necessities? One is skill, knowledge, perseverance, enterprise; the other is capital; and I am perfectly convinced that when you are talking of the Jews you will find no want of any one of these requisites. Of skill, of knowledge, of all that the most modern methods can teach in the way of engineering or of agriculture,

the Jewish race, who have themselves contributed to the results, can easily make themselves the master. And when I consider capital I am not thinking of the great millionaires, of the men of vast wealth belonging to the Jewish race. I doubt not that they will do their duty; but it is not of them I am thinking—I am thinking of the innumerable Jews in the poorest circumstances, of whom I have heard authentic tales of the manner in which, out of their poverty, they are prepared to contribute to the success of this enterprise.

The fourth and the last difficulty on which I want to speak is perhaps in some respects the greatest of all. This movement cannot be carried out except by idealists. No man who is incapable of idealism is capable either of understanding the Zionist Movement or effectually contributing to its consummation; but idealism, though a necessary element in every great and fruitful policy, has its inevitable dangers itself. Your cynic, your

man of narrow and selfish views does nothing ; your idealist does much. But he does not always do the right thing, and the very qualities which make a man sacrifice all that he has for an idea very often blind him to that cool and calm judgment without which great ideas cannot be brought to a true and successful fruition. I speak as a man who is not a Jew, and who necessarily, therefore, looks at the Jewish question from outside ; but I should say that perhaps the danger which besets the Jewish race is not that they lack high idealism, not that they are reluctant to sacrifice everything, even life itself, to see that ideal carried into effect, but that they are carried away by the vehemence of their passions, the depth and strength of their convictions, and they are unwilling to do that without which, believe me, this and any other great movement must necessarily fail—they are unwilling to give that whole-hearted trust and confidence in their chosen leaders which, believe me,

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is necessary. You are drawn from every nation under heaven ; you come to London or any other great centre with ideas absorbed from the populations wherein you have sojourned. You come, therefore, with many different mentalities — to use the familiar phrase. You come perhaps with many different theories as to the method by which your common objects may be carried out. There is no harm in that ; it only becomes dangerous when these different sections insist not merely that the object should be carried out, but that it should be carried out precisely in the fashion which commends itself to them. Beware of that danger ; I am not sure it is not the greatest danger which may beset you in the future.

And now, ladies and gentlemen, I have done with the gloomy task of enumerating difficulties, and I have only one more word to say. We are embarked on a great adventure, and I say “we” advisedly, and by “we” I mean on the one side the

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Jewish people, and I mean, on the other side, the Mandatory Power of Palestine. We are partners in this great enterprise. If we fail you, you cannot succeed. If you fail us, you cannot succeed. But I feel assured that we shall not fail you and that you will not fail us ; and if I am right, as I am sure I am, in this prophecy of hope and confidence, then surely we may look forward with a happy gaze to a future in which Palestine will indeed, and in the fullest measure and degree of success, be made a home for the Jewish people.

ZIONISM IN AMERICA

[Speech delivered at the Reception of a Delegation of American Zionists, on January 11th, 1922, at the British Embassy, Washington.]

GENTLEMEN,—I cannot but be deeply moved by what has been said by the Rabbi, and by the speech which has just been delivered. I could not, unfortunately, understand the address given in that language through which so much wisdom has come to mankind, for I am not one of those who have had the opportunity or capacity to become Hebrew scholars, but I gather the general purport of what the Rabbi said, and I can assure him I feel most deeply the address which he delivered, that it went straight to my heart. I want to thank him and all who agreed with him for what he said about the work in which I have humbly co-operated.

As for the speech which has just been

delivered by Mr. Rothenberg, what can I say about it? It explained in admirable terms the ideal which all of us in this room have at heart, yet did not minimize the difficulties which attend it. It was delivered and spoken in no mood of foolish and unthinking optimism. But while it recognised all the difficulties which this great task must throw upon those who are going to bring it to fruition, the speaker showed from beginning to the end of his speech not the slightest hesitation nor the faintest doubt in the ultimate success of the great enterprise on which we are engaged.

Gentlemen, this is a great and important gathering, because it consists not merely of men of character and ability, but men who are eminently representative of the Jews in various great centres throughout the United States. As such it is an honour and privilege to meet them. I confess it is a great disappointment to me that I was not able to go to New York as I had hoped and

to address, or at all events make the acquaintance, not merely of the heads of the various Jewish organisations, but of the large numbers of their members. It would have been a very great pleasure to me to have seen, face to face, those who, in a land of freedom and equal laws, where they prosper among their fellow-citizens, have not forgotten that there is a great work to be done far from the shores of the United States, under conditions very different and much more difficult, conditions which it is not easy for anybody living on the western side of the Atlantic Ocean fully to realise or understand, but which I suspect are better understood among the Jewish population in America than by any other section of human society so far removed from the historic scenes with which Jewish memories are connected. I see that no separation from the Eastern homes of your forefathers, no length of time, no sufferings in the past, no prosperity in the present,

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has cooled the ardour or patriotism which desires to see Palestine restored as a home of the Jewish people.

Ladies and gentlemen, you have many advantages. The task before us may be great; it may be difficult; but you have leaders like my friend Mr. Sokolow, whom I have known ever since I have had anything to do with the movement. I knew him well before the Declaration to which so many references have been made to-night—a man who has my entire confidence and esteem, and who works with other distinguished Jews with a disinterested and statesmanlike wisdom for the great ideal that we are striving for. Other leaders there are not present to-night, and again others whom I have not the privilege of knowing. Fortunate is the great movement which has such leaders, for the task requires not merely great enthusiasm, not merely violence of emotion, however sincere—it requires steady conviction that success is

worth striving for, and that success can only be obtained by patiently overcoming one difficulty after another. It is not to be obtained by waving a wand, or giving further declarations, or formulating a policy, or making speeches—it can only be obtained by an effort, partly by those of the Jewish race, who are able, who are willing, who are anxious to give thought and money and effort in order that the brethren far removed from them may ensure in the ancient home of their race its continuity and its well-being.

These are objects to which you are being led, and being led successfully, by people like Mr. Sokolow; and his efforts—what would they be, what could they end in, but failure, if he and the other leaders had not the steady conviction of whole-hearted endeavour and co-operation on your part? You must do your work here. The British Government is doing its work in Palestine. The two must co-operate—they must show

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diplomacy, consideration ; they must show no undue haste and there must be no moments of slackening in the endeavour they are making to complete the work, which, after all, we must frankly agree, is only just begun.

Some words fell from the last speaker, Mr. Rothenberg, in which he indicated that as soon as conditions in Palestine were such as to give confidence in the reign of law and order and security to property there could be no doubt or question that we shall see the enterprise necessary in order that Palestine might be made a home, capable of sustaining a large section of the Jewish population of the world ; that as soon as these conditions were fulfilled, the American Jews would, without doubt, come forward and aid in this enterprise. I think his words were wise words. I think it is necessary that the local conditions should be made favourable to the great enterprise on which we are engaged. There have been

difficulties—I need not dwell upon them—all of you in this room who have followed this movement know what they are, whence they arose, and I hope you share my expectations that there will be no great delay in the removal of these regrettable obstacles. When that time comes I have not the least doubt that your prophecy will be fulfilled, and that the American Jews will co-operate with those from the European side of the Atlantic, and perhaps do even more than they—for they are able to do more than their brethren in the East—to bring forward an ideal in which their own personal fortunes will not be involved, but in which the great aspirations of their race will find a not inadequate fulfilment.

I do not know, ladies and gentlemen, that I have anything further to say. It would be unfitting, it would perhaps be impossible that I should in any detail discuss the Palestinian question, for reasons with which you will all sympathise. I have not

for some time past been able to keep myself abreast of details as they have developed, but I can assure you that my interest in the cause, my belief in its final success, my intense desire to see the ideal of the Jewish Home transformed into a great reality has not diminished or suffered any cooling during the years that have elapsed since the original Declaration was made.

Where I stood then, I stand now.

The hope I then entertained, I entertain still; the ideals for which I strove then, are my ideals at this moment; and it is a great happiness for me to think that in the work in which I feel so great an interest there are those who, like yourselves, are able and willing to make some sacrifices, always with the highest hopes, and with belief, in the success of our work, which will make the first quarter of the twentieth century memorable in the history of the world.

A DEFENCE OF THE MANDATE

[Speech delivered by the Earl of Balfour, as the Lord President of the Council, on June 21st, 1922, in the House of Lords on a Motion introduced by Lord Islington, proposing that Great Britain should not accept the Mandate for Palestine.]

MY LORDS,—I am sorry that I was not present at the opening remarks of my noble friend who has just sat down. I was unavoidably detained by circumstances which your Lordships will easily conjecture, and I could not be in my place when my noble friend rose. I understand that he began his speech with some very kindly remarks about myself. I wish I had heard them, and I have no doubt that they would have given me at least as much pleasure as

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any other part of the powerful speech which he has just delivered ; but he will take my thanks, although I was not actually an auditor of what he said. I do not think that I have lost any essential points of my noble friend's case. As I understood him, he thinks, in the first place, that the Mandate for Palestine is inconsistent with the policy of the Powers who invented the mandatory system, who have contrived the mandatory system, and who are now carrying it into effect. That is his first charge. His second charge is that we are inflicting considerable material and political injustice upon the Arab population of Palestine. His third charge is that we have done a great injustice to the Arab race as a whole.

I should like to traverse all those statements. Let me take them in the order in which I have named them. I think it must have occurred to my noble friend, when he was giving us an account of the transactions during the war and up to the

end of the negotiation of the Treaty of Versailles, that it was rather paradoxical to maintain that the people who invented the mandatory system did not know what it meant. The mandatory system always contemplated the Mandate for Palestine on the general lines of the Declaration of November, 1917. It was not sprung upon the League of Nations, and, before the League of Nations came into existence, it was not sprung upon the Powers that met together in Paris to deal with the peace negotiations. It was a settled policy among the Allied and Associated Powers before ever the Armistice came into existence. It was accepted in America, it was accepted in this country, it was published all over the world, and, if ever there was a Declaration which had behind it a general consensus of opinion, I believe it was the Declaration of November, 1917.

Your Lordships may, perhaps, have in mind that President Wilson, whose

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declarations were so intimately connected with the whole policy of the Mandates, was most strongly in favour of the policy embodied in the existing Mandate, that it was pressed upon him by the population of the United States, that it was fully accepted by him, and that he came to Paris to carry out, so far as the Government were concerned, the very principles embodied in these Mandates. As for this country, I happened to be the mouthpiece of my colleagues in making the Declaration of November, 1917. I do not know why we have waited—I do not know why your Lordships' House has waited—until 1922 to attack a policy which was initiated in 1917 or before, which was plainly before the world and was dealt with in detail in 1919 in Paris, and is now being carried out by the Allied and Associated Powers and by the League of Nations.

The League of Nations, I may incidentally say, has asked His Majesty's Government

to continue to carry out the policy of the Mandates. As your Lordships are aware, the Mandates are not yet part, so to speak, of the law of nations. The fact that we have not yet concluded, most unhappily as I think, peace in Eastern Europe and in Western Asia, has prevented these Mandates passing through all the stages which will ultimately be required of them, but we are carrying out the policy of the Mandates. It is known to the Council of the League of Nations that we are carrying out that policy, and it is with their assent and approval that we are continuing to do so. Only recently, I believe, the whole question came up before the Senate of the United States. They had before them, if I am rightly informed, witnesses competent to give evidence upon every aspect of the case, and they came to the unanimous conclusion that the policy of a Jewish Home was a policy for the benefit of the world, and they certainly, by the very terms of the

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Resolution at which they arrived, were not oblivious of the interests of the native Arab population.

Therefore, when my noble friend tries to maintain the paradox that the Powers who adopted the mandatory system, the Powers who laid down the lines on which that system was to be carried out and have embodied it in the League of Nations, and have set going Governments in different parts of the world, who are at this moment carrying out the mandatory system, are so ignorant that they do not know their own child, and are violating all their principles when they establish the policy of a Jewish Home in Palestine, I think my noble friend is not only somewhat belated in his criticism, but is asking us to accept a proposition which, as men of common sense, we should certainly repudiate. I will therefore leave what I may call the legal or juridical aspect of the criticism of my noble friend, which I think he will admit

is essentially paradoxical, and will come to his more particular charges.

Those particular charges were, in the first place, as I understood him, that it was impossible to establish a Jewish Home in Palestine without giving to the Jewish organisations political powers over the Arab races with which they should not be entrusted, and which, even if they exercised them well, were not powers that should be given under a British Mandate to one race over another. But I think my noble friend gave no evidence of the truth of these charges. He told us that it was quite obvious that some kind of Jewish domination over the Arabs was an essential consequence of the attempt to establish a Jewish Home. It is no necessary consequence, and it is surely a very poor compliment to the British Government, to a Governor of Palestine appointed by the British Government, to the Mandates Commission under the League of Nations, whose business it will be to see

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that the spirit of the Mandate as well as the letter is carried out, and beyond them to the Council of the League of Nations, to suppose that all these bodies will so violate every pledge that they have ever given, and every principle to which they have ever subscribed, as to use the power given to them by the Peace Treaty to enable one section of the community in Palestine to oppress and dominate any other.

I cannot imagine any political interests, exercised under greater safeguards than the political interests of the Arab population of Palestine. Every act of the Government will be jealously watched. The Zionist organisation has no attribution of political powers. If it uses or usurps political powers it is an act of usurpation. Is that conceivable or possible under the lynx eyes of critics like my noble friend, or of the Mandates Commission, whose business it will be to see that the Mandate is carried out, or of a British Governor-General nourished and

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brought up under the traditions of British equality and British good government, and, finally, behind all those safeguards, with the safeguard of free Parliamentary criticism in this House and in the other House? These are fantastic fears. They are fears that need perturb no sober and impartial critic of contemporary events, and whatever else may happen in Palestine, of this I am very confident, that under British Government no form of tyranny, racial or religious, will ever be permitted.

Now, I go from that broad charge of putting the Arab population under the domination of the Zionist organisation, and I come to the more detailed attacks made by my noble friend. He criticised the whole system of immigration. I do not know why he did that. No human being supposes that Palestine is an over-populated country. It is, I believe, an under-populated country at the moment at which I speak, before all the economic developments to which I look

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forward have had time to take place; and if the hopes that I entertain are not widely disappointed, the power of Palestine to maintain a population far greater than she had or could ever have under Turkish rule will be easily attained in consequence of the material well-being which under Turkish rule were wholly impossible. The whole policy of immigration is subject to the most careful study, and the character and qualifications of the immigrants are subject to the most rigid scrutiny under the control of the Government, and, so far as my information goes, no single immigrant has been a charge upon any public fund since he entered the boundaries controlled by the British Administration.

The hopes that I have just expressed with regard to the growth of population in Palestine, with regard to the numbers it could support, of course are based, and necessarily based, upon the amount of capital expenditure you can give to that

country, upon the character of the population who are going to make use of the machinery provided by that capital expenditure, and upon the character of the Government under which all these operations will be carried out. Now, I ask my noble friend, who takes up the cause of the Arabs, and who seems to think that their material well-being is going to be diminished under the new system, how he thinks that the existing population of Palestine, of whom he has—very rightly from his point of view—constituted himself the advocate in this House, is going to be effective unless and until you get capitalists to invest their money in developing the resources of this small country—small in area, though great in memories—which, according to all the information we possess, might carry a population far bigger—I will not venture to give figures, but far bigger—than that which it now supports. But it can only do so, I believe, if you can draw upon the

enthusiasm of the Jewish communities throughout the world. As soon as all this Mandate question is finally settled, as soon as all the existing legal difficulties have been got over, they will, I believe, come forward and freely help in the development of a Jewish Home.

That is not going to be a great speculative investment; that is not going to bring millions into the pockets of international finance; that is not going to prove wildly exciting upon the Stock Exchange of London or New York; that is going to be carried out as much, indeed far more, in order to carry out these great ideal designs—idealist, if you prefer that name—than to earn dividends or to make fortunes. My noble friend almost gave your Lordships to understand that investors were clamouring for opportunities which had been improperly—I do not think he suggested corruptly, but improperly—given to Jews. He is under a great delusion. I am not going in

detail into the Rutenberg controversy. I am given to understand that it would be debated in another place at length at a very early date.

But I can tell my noble friend that this whole scheme was examined in the most critical spirit by the experts of the Colonial Office, and that they were quite unanimous that the terms, which anybody can get for himself, and the character of the undertaking were such that you could with no prospect of success hope for any better contract being made than that which was offered by Mr. Rutenberg. I have not myself personally, I need hardly say, investigated these financial problems, but I know they have been examined by persons who are not only wholly disinterested, and wholly impartial, but who are also extremely competent; and I think your Lordships may take it quite safely from me, not only that in the Rutenberg scheme was there nothing in the nature of undue

favouritism, but that if the scheme can be carried, as I hope it will be carried, into effect, it will give economic advantages to Palestine which could be obtained in no other manner.

I was rather surprised at the whole tenor of my noble friend's criticism of the Rutenberg scheme, but nothing surprised me more than one particular charge he made against it. He said: "This is going to put the native population under the control of that part of the Jewish community who are interested in the Rutenberg scheme." What does that charge of my noble friend mean? It means, and it can only mean, one of two things, so far as I can see: either that the general wealth of Palestine is going to be used illegitimately to support a project which in itself is of no economic value, or of inadequate economic value—and if that is the charge it wholly disposes of the view that Mr. Rutenberg is favoured among all mortals

in having been given the possibility of finding money for this most unprofitable project—or it may mean that when these great water and electric power works are constructed they will be used to help the Jews, and they will be refused when they are demanded by the Arabs.

The first charge is that there is favouritism in giving the contract; the second that when the contract is accomplished and the works are finished there will be favouritism in their employment as between different sections of the population. I can hardly believe that my noble friend seriously thinks that that possibility can occur. Palestine is no vast area in which there are remote places where abuses may exist which even the most vigilant Government is incapable of examining. It is small in extent, it is under the eyes of the Government officials from end to end, from east to west, from north to south, from Dan to Beersheba; and the notion that this great scheme,

sanctioned by the Government, is going to be used as a method of oppression by those who have found the money against those for whom the money is to be used, seems to me one of the most fantastic accusations ever made here or elsewhere.

I would like to ask my noble friend, therefore, whether even from the most material point of view it is not in the interests of the Arab population itself to encourage this great project of the Jewish Home. My noble friend committed himself to the statement that Jews and Arabs up to the present time had enjoyed the same privileges. So they have—the privilege of being under Turkish rule. That privilege was impartially extended to every section of the population, and with the result which has not uncommonly followed the exercise of the same privileges, or the enjoyment of the same privileges, in other parts of the world. That state of things has happily come to an end. But if the

populations who were trampled under the heel of the Turk until the end of the war are really to gain all the benefits that they might, it can only be by the introduction of the most modern methods, fed by streams of capital from all parts of the world, and that can only be provided, so far as I can see, by carrying out this great scheme which the vast majority of the Jews—not all, I quite agree, and very often, perhaps commonly, not the wealthiest—the great mass of the Jews in east and west and north and south believe to be a great step forward in the alleviation of the lot which their race has had too long to bear. I do not think I need dwell upon this imaginary wrong which the Jewish Home is going to inflict upon the local Arabs.

But that is not the only charge which my noble friend made. He told us also that we were doing a great injustice to the Arab race as a whole, and that our policy was in contradiction of pledges given by

General MacMahon and the Anglo-French Declarations conveyed to the native populations by General Allenby. Of all the charges made against this country I must say that the charge that we have been unjust to the Arab race seems to me the strangest. It is through the expenditure largely of British blood, by the exercise of British skill and valour, by the conduct of British generals, by troops brought from all parts of the British Empire—it is by them in the main that the freeing of the Arab race from Turkish rule has been effected. And that we, after all the events of the war, should be held up as those who have done an injustice, that we, who have just established a king in Mesopotamia, who had before that established an Arab king in the Hejaz, and who have done more than has been done for centuries past to put the Arab race in the position to which they have attained—that we should be charged with being their enemies, with

having taken a mean advantage of the course of international negotiations, seems to me not only most unjust to the policy of this country, but almost fantastic in its extravagance.

I think I have traversed the main lines of my noble friend's attack. Those who listened to it must have been surprised, I think, at one omission from it. I am prepared to maintain that the policy of His Majesty's Government in Palestine, and the policy not merely of His Majesty's Government but of the Allied and Associated Powers in Palestine is and will be most helpful to the Arab population. I see no reason why those who lived, according to my noble friend himself, in amity under Turkish rule should insist on quarrelling under British rule. I hold that from a purely material point of view the policy that we have initiated is likely to prove a successful policy. But we have never pretended, certainly I have never pretended, that it was

purely from these materialistic considerations that the Declaration of November, 1917, originally sprung. I regard this not as a solution, but as a partial solution of the great and abiding Jewish problem.

My noble friend told us in his speech, and I believe him absolutely, that he has no prejudice against the Jews. I think I may say that I have no prejudice in their favour. But their position and their history, their connection with world religion and with world politics, is absolutely unique. There is no parallel to it, there is nothing approaching to a parallel to it, in any other branch of human history. Here you have a small race originally inhabiting a small country, I think of about the size of Wales or Belgium, at any rate of comparable size to those two, at no time in its history wielding anything that can be described as material power, sometimes crushed in between great Oriental monarchies, its inhabitants deported, then

scattered, then driven out of the country altogether into every part of the world, and yet maintaining a continuity of religious and racial tradition of which we have no parallel elsewhere.

That, itself, is sufficiently remarkable, but consider — it is not a present consideration, but it is one that we cannot forget—how they have been treated during long centuries, during centuries which in some parts of the world extend to the minute and the hour in which I am speaking ; consider how they have been subjected to tyranny and persecution ; consider whether the whole culture of Europe, the whole religious organisation of Europe, has not from time to time proved itself guilty of great crimes against this race. I quite understand that some members of the race may have given, doubtless did give, occasion for much ill-will, and I do not know how it could be otherwise, treated as they were ; but, if you are going to lay stress on

that, do not forget what part they have played in the intellectual, the artistic, the philosophic and scientific development of the world. I say nothing of the economic side of their energies, for on that Christian attention has always been concentrated.

I ask your Lordships to consider the other side of their activities. Nobody who knows what he is talking about will deny that they have at least—and I am putting it more moderately than I could do—rowed all their weight in the boat of scientific, intellectual and artistic progress, and they are doing so to this day. You will find them in every University, in every centre of learning; and at the very moment when they were being persecuted, when some of them, at all events, were being persecuted by the Church, their philosophers were developing thoughts which the great doctors of the Church embodied in their religious system. As it was in the Middle Ages, as it was in

earlier times, so it is now. And yet, is there anyone here who feels content with the position of the Jews? They have been able, by this extraordinary tenacity of their race, to maintain this continuity, and they have maintained it without having any Jewish Home.

What has been the result? The result has been that they have been described as parasites on every civilisation in whose affairs they have mixed themselves—very useful parasites at times I venture to say. But however that may be, do not your Lordships think that if Christendom, not oblivious of all the wrong it has done, can give a chance, without injury to others, to this race of showing whether it can organise a culture in a Home where it will be secured from oppression that it is not well to say, if we can do it, that we will do it. And, if we can do it, should we not be doing something material to wash out an ancient stain upon our own civilisation if we absorb

the Jewish race in friendly and effective fashion in those countries in which they are the citizens? We should then have given them what every other nation has, some place, some local habitation, where they can develop the culture and the traditions which are peculiarly their own.

I therefore frankly admit that I have been, in so far as I have had anything to do with this policy, moved by considerations not one of which was touched upon by my noble friend in the course of his speech. I could defend—I have endeavoured, and I hope not unsuccessfully, to defend—this scheme of the Palestine Mandate from the most material economic view, and from that point of view it is capable of defence. I have endeavoured to defend it from the point of view of the existing population, and I have shown—I hope with some effect—that their prosperity also is intimately bound up with the success of Zionism. But having endeavoured to the

best of my ability to maintain those two propositions, I should, indeed, give an inadequate view to your Lordships of my opinions if I sat down without insisting to the utmost of my ability that, beyond and above all this, there is this great ideal at which those who think with me are aiming, and which, I believe, it is within their power to reach. It may fail.

I do not deny that this is an adventure. Are we never to have adventures? Are we never to try new experiments? I hope your Lordships will never sink to that unimaginative depth, and that experiment and adventure will be justified if there is any case or cause for their justification. Surely, it is in order that we may send a message to every land where the Jewish race has been scattered, a message which will tell them that Christendom is not oblivious of their faith, is not unmindful of the service they have rendered to the great religions of the world, and, most of

all, to the religion that the majority of your Lordships' House profess, and that we desire to the best of our ability to give them that opportunity of developing, in peace and quietness under British rule, those great gifts which hitherto they have been compelled from the very nature of the case only to bring to fruition in countries which know not their language and belong not to their race? That is the ideal which I desire to see accomplished, that is the aim which lay at the root of the policy I am trying to defend; and, though it be defensible indeed on every ground, that is the ground which chiefly moves me.

THE RATIFICATION OF THE MANDATE

[Speech delivered at the Ratification of the Palestine Mandate by the Council of the League of Nations, on Monday, July 24th, 1922, at St. James's Palace, London.]

THE Mandate for Palestine, I am happy to think, may now be regarded as settled, so far as the League of Nations is concerned. M. Viviani has told you that in our opinion it is right that the Syrian Mandate and the Palestine Mandate should go hand in hand, that one should not be settled until both are settled, that to treat this part of the Middle East in a different manner would be to increase the difficulties which necessarily exist in that part of the world under the new regime, and that the plea

put forward by France at our last meeting in Geneva that the Syrian Mandate should be taken *pari passu* with the Palestine Mandate is one which commended itself to the British Government at the time, and commends itself to the British Government now. It is on that principle that we have proceeded.

There is—I won't say a difference between the Italian and the French Governments, for I do not believe there is any difference between the French and Italian Governments on this point, nor do I think there is the least chance, so far as I am in a position to judge, of those two Allied Governments finding the smallest difficulty in coming to an agreement with regard to Syria on the same lines as the agreement so happily arrived at between the Italian Government and the British Government as regards Palestine. But do not suppose that the trifling delay which the Italian crisis has produced has any effect upon the Mandate

policy or upon the position which the Mandates now have in connection with the League of Nations.

So far as the Palestine Mandate is concerned, no small part of our difficulties had arisen from the fact, known to you all, that the Palestine Mandate may be said to have two sides—one which concerns the country as a whole, the other which concerns the Holy Places and the views taken of the Holy Places by all Christian communities and many Mohammedan and non-Christian communities. On that point we do not pretend that there will not be further discussion, because when those questions arouse long historical controversies, when they deal with matters so near the hearts and traditions of mankind as do the sentiments which more or less crystallise around these historical sites, it is quite impossible that the matter shall be easy of treatment or go through smoothly by agreement and without the most careful

and jealous consideration by all those who feel their most sacred sentiments affected.

Article 14, which you will find in the Mandate as we have agreed to it, gives the utmost security that the policy always favoured by the British Government will receive the fullest accomplishment. The British Government never have had, have not now, and never can have any desire with regard to the Holy Places but that of administering historic justice between all the great communities concerned. The last thing we wish is to deprive any man, any community, any nation of the rights to which they have a claim, and our solitary wish is that all these ancient rights shall be carried on with decency and order in the future and in a manner which will prevent any religious interest feeling that it has been unjustly treated by those who possess authority.

That is the principle which we desire to see accomplished, that is a principle

underlying Article 14, and we think that no better means of attaining this object can be contrived than that of throwing the great responsibility upon the Council of the League of Nations, which, as you will see if you read Article 14, is thrown upon them by that provision.

I turn to the broader question—broader in one sense of the word—of Palestine itself. There have been controversies which have perhaps been increased by the long delay which has occurred between the time when this mandatory question was first started and the happy day when it has finally been concluded. I do not know that any nation or any party in any nation can be described as truly responsible for that delay, but it has been an unfortunate one, and it is unavoidable when you are dealing with conditions so disturbing as those which prevail all over the world at the present moment.

I know there have been representatives

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of the Arab population who think that their interests have not been sufficiently safeguarded. I can most sincerely assure them that they are mistaken, that the most anxious attention has been paid to their position, and that the last thing the British Government have ever desired is that they should be sufferers from injustice because we try to carry out the policy of providing a Jewish Home in Palestine for the Jewish people.

Believe me, the two policies are in no sense either antagonistic or inharmonious with each other. I most firmly believe that for the Arab population, as for every other section of the population in Palestine, a new era of prosperity is going to open with the beginning of the new regime. I believe that every liberty will be preserved to the Arab population, I believe they will increase in material wealth, I believe they will gain liberties which under the Turkish rule they never dreamed of. Therefore, I would beg

them to do all that they can in their power to see that a system in which they have not been forgotten works to the best advantage not only to others but also to themselves.

I cannot conclude this part of what I have to say without earnestly appealing to those friends and countrymen of mine who have taken an interest in this question, although they have been in opposition to the points of view I have advocated. While discussion and opposition may have been legitimate, as in a free country perhaps they were, while the scheme was in the making, no man but will feel if he looks at the matter soberly that he has committed a great crime if now that a settlement is arrived at he endeavours to feed the animosities only too willing to spring up at this moment, not only in Palestine, but in every part of the world, between men of different race, religion, language, and different historic pasts.

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That is the cause under which all the world is suffering at this moment, and any man without the least prospect of reaching material success who does use his influence to increase these evils and to feed these controversies is really committing a great crime against a civilisation which is struggling, and struggling with great difficulty, against devices, conflicts, mutual apprehensions, and mutual dangers which, if the world does not succeed in suppressing, will endanger the civilisation of the future.

But it is, perhaps, not within my province or duty to lecture other people. I will only say that so far as the Government are concerned, we mean as the Mandatory Power to pursue in a spirit of complete impartiality, but ardent desire for success, the policy which we have for nearly four years publicly advocated, and I ask everyone in this room, to whatever nation, religion, or race he may belong, to help us in that great task.

THE HEBREW UNIVERSITY

[Speech delivered at the Inauguration of the Hebrew University, on April 1st, 1925, on Mount Scopus, Jerusalem.]

ALLOW me to thank you in the first place for the kind reception that you have just given me. I would that I could speak to you in Hebrew, but you will have to be content with the language most familiar to me, and, I hope, not wholly unfamiliar to many of those whom I have the great honour of addressing.

What is it that has brought together this vast concourse, drawn from every quarter of the world, often speaking as their mother tongue languages far separated in human speech, and all gathered here as one, a great and unique historic occasion

in a land in which historic associations crowd on the memory at every step you take from north to south or east to west?

It is not the magnificence of the view which is stretched before you. It is the consciousness that this occasion marks a great epoch in the history of a people who have made this little land of Palestine a seed-ground of great religion, and whose intellectual and moral destiny is again, from a national point of view, reviving, and who will look back to this day which we are celebrating as one of the great milestones in its future career.

I was a few minutes ago reminded by one friend that from where you are sitting you can see the very spot where the children of Israel first entered the Promised Land. I mentioned this to another friend, and he pointed out to me in his turn that it was from this hill, this Mount Scopus, that the Roman destroyer of Jerusalem conducted the siege which brought to an end that

great chapter of the Jewish people. Could there be a more historic spot? From this hill you can see the beginning, from this you can see the end, or what appeared to be the end, of the Jewish community, and of the connection of the Jewish community with the land which they had made illustrious.

Well, a new epoch has begun. A great cultural effort within Palestine which came to an end many hundreds of years ago is going to be resumed in the ancient home of the people. It is not that I would suggest for a moment that Jewish culture in the interval between the destruction of Jerusalem and the expulsion of the Turk, that during that long period Jewish culture had ceased. Far from it. It has been uninterrupted, but it has been scattered, it has not been the culture of the Jewish people living within the traditional limits of the country which they have rendered so famous. It was the separate effort of separate

communities, separate individuals, separate men of science, separate theologians, separate philosophers, scattered over the habitable globe. They have borne their share in the progress of civilisation.

I think it is a profound mistake to suppose that men of Jewish birth have not borne their share, their full share, their very full share, in the progress of knowledge, in the growth of human civilisation the world over. They have done so, as it were, however united in consciousness, still scattered in fact and unable to concentrate—as I hope they now will concentrate—their peculiar national genius (and every nation has its national genius) in the common task in which they have indeed aided in the past and in which, I confidently hope, they will in the future be able to give aid even more important. From these peculiar circumstances we are now engaged in adapting Western methods and a Western form of university to an Asiatic site and

to an education which is to be carried on in an Eastern language. That is a new experiment. It has never been tried before under any circumstances parallel at all to those in which I speak to you. Ladies and gentlemen, unless I have misunderstood the signs of the times, unless I have profoundly mistaken the genius of the Jewish people, the experiment is predestined to an inevitable success. Not only men of Jewish birth, but others who share the common civilisation of the world, will have reason to congratulate themselves.

Because I speak in these tones of sanguine confidence do not for a moment suppose that I underrate the difficulties which will unquestionably meet both Dr. Weizmann, Sir Herbert Samuel, and His Excellency's successor, in the task that is before them. Do not suppose I underrate the difficulties which must necessarily beset every great enterprise, and will certainly beset the great enterprise in which you are all feeling

a common interest. I am not going into details of the practical difficulties with which the founders and the guides of this University will have to deal. One which would actually strike every person facing this problem is the problem of language. It is true that Hebrew has never been a dead language, but it has not been a language until recently adapted to the many phases of a modern development. It is a great language—I say so with boldness, though I do not know any Hebrew, and I say so for this reason, that all the English-speaking people have been brought up on a translation into English of the Hebrew Scripture, and that translation is one of the great literary treasures of all who speak the English tongue. It matters not what their creed may be or what the historic value of the Hebrew Bible may be, if they know anything of the great language of which they are heirs, they will all tell you without exception that the translation of the Hebrew Scriptures

into English has had a profound literary effect upon the whole development of what I am not prepared to say is inferior to any language in any age in its literary output.

If the translation from the Hebrew has had that profound literary effect upon the English language, surely I am justified in saying that the language from which the translation was made must, like all languages from which a translation is made, be superior to that translation to which it has given birth. Clearly, therefore, Jewish people have been, and are, heirs of a great instrument of literary inspiration, an instrument capable of dealing with all the highest aspects of literary and imaginative literature. But does it follow from that that Hebrew is fitted for modern uses? There is a great difference between Isaiah and micro-biology. Is the poetry and imagery of the language of Isaiah fitted to deal with all the laboratory work that is going to render that spot illustrious?

I should have anticipated that a very doubtful answer could be given to that question were it not that competent authorities assure me that by the genius, largely, I am told, of one man, Hebrew has been developed and has been placed upon lines of development which makes it as flexible, as rich, and as capable of adaptation to every new use, to every growth in the realm of knowledge, as every other language in which human thought can be expressed, and therefore that difficulty at least has been happily and adequately surmounted. Another difficulty which I have been somewhat afraid of—no, I do not think I even was afraid, but some people were afraid of it: it was the difficulty that there would not be adequate teachers to deal with the whole circuit, the growing and spreading circuit of human knowledge. Well, I think that if those who entertain that particular form of scepticism will only look for what men of Hebrew birth have

done and are doing in the very realm of work to do which your University is to be specially devoted, all their fears will melt away, and they will experience the confidence which most of you, and I, certainly share in the future. In recent years (what I am going to say is merely an illustration of the competence of men of Hebrew birth in their special scientific lines), in the last few years there have been three theories all relating to different branches of science, three theories which have attracted the attention even of the unscientific. I have no doubt that they have promoted a great deal of unintelligible small talk : nevertheless they have produced an enormous impression in all parts of the world among all celebrated societies. One of these is the philosophic theory known generally as the theory of creative evolution, and the author of that is my friend Mr. Bergson, a great philosopher and a Jew. Another theory much talked of, or rather another group of theories, constitute

what is called the new psychology. The author of that is my friend, also a Jew. The third theory, the most comprehensive, the most original, and the most important of all, is the theory of relativity. That, as we know, is largely the work of Mr. Einstein, a mathematical scientific genius of the first order, who is also a Jew.

I do not mean to suggest even to this audience that all the great scientific work of the world has been and is being done, or is going to be done, by men of Jewish birth. It certainly is not, but it is worth notice by those who look with doubt and scepticism on the ideal of a Jewish University in Palestine devoted to scientific research, it is worth pointing out what an important place at the present moment with regard to the immediate problems which are interesting intelligent mankind the Jewish race has made and is making in our day. Therefore, again I say that difficulty is one which need not cause any perplexity

even to the most doubting or, in any event, the most nervous.

There has been a good deal of criticism upon recent developments in this country from the Arab point of view, and it has been said that in a Hebrew University the Arabs can play little part, that from a Hebrew University the Arab race can derive but little advantage. There is no doubt that the University must be a Hebrew University. There is no doubt that the language of the University must be Hebrew, but it is a profound mistake to suppose that on that account the Arab population in this country cannot draw the measure of advantage which a University is capable of giving to those whom it serves. I hope Arabs will remember that in the darkest days of the dark ages, when Western civilisation appeared almost extinct, smothered under barbaric influences, that it was the Jews and Arabs in combination, working together, who greatly aided the

first sparks of light which illuminated that gloomy period. If in the tenth century, for example, Jews and Arabs could work together for the illumination of Europe, cannot Jews and Arabs work together now in co-operation with Europe, and make this not merely a great Palestinian University but a Palestinian University from which all sections of the population of Palestine may draw intellectual and spiritual advantage. Ladies and gentlemen, you have won this land which is, as I have already reminded you, the seed-ground of great religions. Its immortal claim to the gratitude of mankind largely rests upon and must rest upon that ; but it has had, we all know, the effect of making this little country the scene of endless disputes, endless differences, endless controversies and troubles. To look at the spires and domes, the endless ecclesiastical monuments in Jerusalem is an almost startling reminder of how far religious differences can divide

mankind. Therefore, again I say that the difficulty is one which needs consideration. Yet if people would only look sufficiently deeply they would find that there are fundamental principles, fundamental inspirations in which they all agree. Those differences I know well are inevitable. We ought to minimise them, but we cannot deny that they exist, and we cannot hope that they will not be lasting. But the great happiness of the endeavour on which we are all engaged at this moment is that it does not divide : the endeavour to found a new University on worthy lines, that endeavour at all events ought not to be interfered with by these ancient sources of differences which have so unhappily divided mankind. Science at least is outside these sectarian differences. It changes, it moves in these days of ours, it moves with extreme rapidity, but at any one moment at any period in the development of knowledge you will find that, broadly

speaking, all competent men are agreed as to not what is the ultimate truth but what is at the moment the best truth which you can arrive at, and it is from that that progress starts and forms a new base for a new advancement.

The learning of the modern University is not a cause of separation and difference between men. It is a bond of union. Learning is a bond which unites all men by means of adequate instruction in all parts of the world. It affords a common base of thought which provides common hopes for the future. It supplies a common interest, and every student in every University knows that he has among his colleagues not only those working around him, but men from distant lands on the other side of the globe coping with the same problems, dealing with the same difficulties, solving the same enigmas. That is an immense advantage which only work on the physical construction of the world

can adequately give you, but do not let us underrate its immense advantage. Your guides in this matter (those who are settling the policy of the University, those who are working out its future course) have, if I may offer an opinion on the subject, done most wisely in determining, firstly, that the growth must be from a relatively small beginning; and, secondly, that whatever the University is, whatever it undertakes to do, shall be done on the highest level and shall mark out the University of Jerusalem as being on the very loftiest plane of human intellectual endeavour. Most wise have they been in that effort, and there is another piece of wisdom that I think they have shown in the plans they have marked out for their guiding. They realise, of course—every true student, of course, realises—that knowledge which is not pursued for the sake of knowledge, which is pursued for some more petty or sordid end, such knowledge will never be

as the highest fruits, but they also realise that knowledge which is pursued for the sake of knowledge, when attained, confers its blessings not merely upon the learned, but also upon the unlearned.

The discoverer in the most abstract branches of science is serving not merely the spiritual but the material interests of the human race in ways of which he himself never dreams. Each development will be pursued later by other men, used by other workers in the same fields, and in the end will benefit men who know nothing of science, will benefit those to whom science seems an almost contemptible and unpractical pursuit. The world nevertheless would never share in the progress of civilisation were it not for the practical application of the theoretical knowledge to the needs of human kind. If we keep these two ideas in view — the idea of knowledge for its own sake and the idea of knowledge as the minister of human material

well-being—could you pursue a better course than that which Dr. Weizmann and his colleagues have pursued, namely, to select as the first branch of work on which they are going to throw their scientific efforts, these rapidly advancing spheres of knowledge which touch the health of man, the prosperity of the agricultural industries by which man ultimately lives. I believe that under their auspices you will find that this University carries out effectually the double task it is entrusted with, the task in the first place of augmenting human knowledge irrespective of the use to which the knowledge is to be applied; and, secondly, the practical side which turns to account day by day the discoveries which the men of genius, the men of ideal genius, are developing elsewhere.

I am confident that that happy result is one to which we may confidently look forward, for we live in an age of unequalled rapidity in scientific discovery. When I was born the very names of the sciences

which you will find mentioned in that pamphlet and those to which the University is going to devote its infant energies were unknown and unused.

It is not too much to say in the course of one man's life our whole outlook upon nature has been fundamentally altered. That is the very moment at which I should desire a University based on research to come into being ; that is the happy moment when it may take its share in this great harvest of increasing knowledge which is being garnered in every part of the world. It is because I am confident that in that great task the University of Jerusalem is going to play no small or ignoble part, but is going to be, indeed is, animated by ideals as high as those of any University, that it will be staffed and composed of men not inferior to men in any part of the world in their scientific capacity, it is for those reasons that in supreme confidence in its future I declare the Hebrew University to be opened.

ASPECTS OF THE JEWISH NATIONAL HOME

*[Speeches delivered by the Earl of Balfour in
the course of a tour through Palestine in
April, 1925.]*

I.—AT BENJAMINA,* APRIL 5TH.

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—I need not tell you that the reception which you have given me to-day has been the source of the profoundest satisfaction. I have this morning already seen what I understand is the oldest of Baron de Rothschild's colonies, and the success which has manifestly crowned the efforts of that first great

* A small agricultural settlement, not far from Cæsarea, founded by natives of Palestine, the sons of colonists from older settlements. It is named after Baron Edmond de Rothschild (Benjamin being the Hebrew for Edmond), who gave the land and advanced money for building.

experiment is evidently going to be repeated in this which, if I am rightly informed, is one of the youngest of the Baron's enterprises. It must be a source of infinite gratification, not only to him, but also to all those to whom I am speaking, who represent not merely this new but already flourishing community but also large numbers of the communities in the neighbourhood. All of them seem to bring the same tale of hard work, crowned with the proper reward of hard work, which is prosperity. All of them may look back upon a useful past. All of them may look forward, as far as I am able to judge, to a prosperous future, and while I thank you not merely on my own behalf, but also on behalf of Dr. Weizmann and Mr. Sokolow and other distinguished visitors who form members of our party, while I thank you for them and for myself, allow me to give you every good wish, every hope for your prosperity, every feeling of confident expectation that

the warmest hopes of the cause which you represent, even these warmest hopes will be surpassed in a not distant future. Ladies and gentlemen, I thank you.

AT THE LUNCHEON.

Ladies and Gentlemen,—The toast is one of an all-embracing character, and I am sure that I have no right to reply for a large number of those included within its ambit. The speaker was good enough to include me, my friends here, and Baron Edmond, and so far as I have any right to speak for anybody but myself, I think I may speak for Baron Edmond. I am confident that all those around this table, whose health has been drunk this afternoon, will have a warm feeling of gratitude for those who appreciate the efforts which have been made chiefly by Baron Edmond in connection with this and other institutions; and by Jewish patriots like my two friends

here, whose efforts, though unremitting, at one time appeared hopeless, and which now have proved so successful.

With reference to what the speaker said about the Arabs, and also from what little I have heard, I am confident that the view he so admirably expressed does represent the actual facts. In connection with what he told you I must say that of all forms of misused political ability that of sowing dissension among people who should be friends is, to my mind, the most contemptible and the most injurious. Nothing moves my indignation more deeply than that people, for some quite unknown purpose, and even often without benefiting themselves, should sow dissension among those who ought to be friends and raise spectres which ought to have been allowed by all sensible people to remain slumbering in their graves.

The future of Palestine depends upon a homogeneous or, if I cannot say

homogeneous, at any rate upon a harmonious co-operation of the people of the country. I am confident that the tact of the Jews, their patriotism, together with the advanced character of the Jewish civilisation which is being introduced into the country, must inevitably overcome all elements of dispute.

I hope and I believe that the experience which has been given to us in this district will be found to be true, if time only be given, will be found to be true of the whole area of Palestine, and the preposterous suggestion that the Jew and the Arab cannot live together in harmony will be finally exploded and not admitted into rational political controversy. It has all arisen from petty motives. It constructs nothing, it helps nothing, and it ought to be banned from all civilised society.

II.—AT THE HAIFA TECHNICAL INSTITUTE,*
APRIL 5TH.

Ladies and Gentlemen,—Allow me in a very few words to make some attempt, however imperfect, to express the feelings with which I have heard the two eloquent speeches which have just been delivered. For myself, and for my friends accompanying me, I beg most warmly to thank the speakers, and not less warmly to thank the audience which certainly yields to no audience I have ever addressed in its sympathetic enthusiasm.

Ladies and Gentlemen, this is the second great assembly of Jews which I have had the honour to address from a platform connected with a great educational institution. A few days ago I had the honour to make the

* This Institute, which is entirely maintained by the Zionist Organisation, has day training classes in building, constructional work and road-making, and evening classes in carpentry, electrical work, mechanical engineering, etc., for workmen.

formal opening of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. Now I have the honour to speak from the balcony of another great educational institution which is actually working, and is going from day to day to work more and more in harmony with its sister in Judæa. Together they may be said to offer something like a complete circle of the higher education. The University of Jerusalem, devoted to all that is highest and best in learning and to the acquisition of knowledge, and this great technical institution, whose duty it will be and whose performance it will be to apply the knowledge which men of science are day by day accumulating, to carry out a great mission to mankind in all parts of the world, and in no part of the world is there a mission where more hopeful results may be expected and where more hopeful results will most certainly accrue. The two institutions, so closely knit together as they are, have their differences of methods

and their differences of object, and as I look round the magnificent scene before me I cannot help thinking of what mighty physical differences there are within the compass of this great historic land. No scene could be more impressive than that which we witnessed on Mount Scopus a few days ago, a scene which embraced some of the greatest events, some of the most glorious exploits, some of the deepest tragedies of the Jewish race. It was magnificent.

I come now to a scene which no man would describe as severe, and of which no eye could be so insensible as not to perceive the exquisite and attractive beauty. Both have their place. Both will minister, as physical nature does minister, to the aspirations of the future and to the memories of the past ; in both cases we look upon memories full of mixed feelings, but we look to a future with no mixed feelings, but with a feeling of clear, decided and undiluted hope.

The President of the Jewish Community was good enough to express the hope that my life would be sufficiently prolonged for me to witness the progress of this community. The progress which is being made before our very eyes is indeed so rapid that even in my life I may hope to see a harbour filled with prosperous commerce dealing with all the great communities of the West on which Palestine has had so profound and so permanent a spiritual effect. Ladies and Gentlemen, may that hope be fulfilled.

I have seen your sacred capital. I am now looking upon the scene of what is going to be one of your most important commercial emporia, and between those two it has been my good fortune to observe how great is the progress of that great agricultural work which has made a desert in many places already blossom as a rose, and which I doubt not is going to spread over the plain which I see before me.

Ladies and Gentlemen, I most heartily

thank the two speakers for their admirable and most kindly addresses, and from my heart I wish this vast community, this vast assembly which I am addressing, I wish them and their children to the remotest generation that they may see the steady and rapid progress of that process of amelioration which has already in these few years made such outstanding progress before our very eyes. Ladies and Gentlemen, I thank you.

III.—AT NAHALAL,* APRIL 5TH.

Ladies and Gentlemen,—I am afraid many of you will not be able to understand what I reply to the two most interesting speeches which have just been translated for me by our friend Dr. Weizmann. I must say that both those speeches are of

* A co-operative colony, not far from Nazareth, founded in 1921, and containing about eighty Jewish families.

a most encouraging kind. Our friend Mr. Sokolow, who has already on many occasions undertaken the translation to Jewish audiences of the speeches which it has been my pleasure to make in different parts of the country, will perhaps be kind enough to translate for you later.

We have listened to two speeches, one on the general aspects of the Movement as illustrated by this particular settlement, the other upon the purposes of the settlement itself, and as I was just saying, these two speeches are of a kind to give the utmost encouragement to all those who are watching with intense and hopeful interest the great movement which is taking place in this country.

The account which has just been given to us of what this settlement was before it was taken in hand by the present cultivators and what it is now is of the most encouraging description. They have told us that this prosperous community,

only three years ago, was settled on land so fever-stricken that neither Arab nor German nor any other population had dared to settle on it, and that those who had made the endeavour had had to give it up under disastrous conditions. It is wonderful to reflect that this centre of disease has now become a centre of health and prosperity and is going to be an example to all other settlements in the district, and to all other settlements within the area of Palestine.

I do not wish to dwell upon topics which are more familiar to my audience than to myself, but I must say with regard to one reference, which was made to the Mandates Commission Report, that I have not myself read the Report, but I have heard it very severely criticised. I am not sure, however, that that report does not pay the highest compliment to the Jewish settlements. For one of the things it tells is that those who are cultivating this land are drawn from

a population unfamiliar with agricultural pursuits. I believe that that is true. Can you pay a higher compliment to any population, to any set of men, than to say that, having been brought up under entirely different conditions, they nevertheless, show such power of adaptation, such energy in work, such grasp of the new conditions under which they have to labour, that within three years they could turn this pestiferous wilderness into the smiling agricultural district which we now see around us. If I were a Jewish settler, I should point to that Report as to the very highest compliment which could be paid to myself and to my race.

There is no use in critically affirming that the Jewish people are by long tradition a town-living people and, therefore, should never attempt agricultural pursuits, when you have only to open your eyes and see conclusive proof that the Jewish people, however brought up, are at this moment

carrying with great success to a triumphant issue the very problem of agricultural reclamation. This settlement seems to be one of the most conclusive proofs of that proposition.

I congratulate the organisers and the whole of this company upon the manifest and obvious success of this settlement. I join with the two first speakers in saying that the success achieved within three years on this settlement is of the happiest augury for the success of the whole movement, which, I trust, will make this land in every sense of the word a Home for the Jewish people.

IV.—AT BALFOURIA,* APRIL 6TH.

Ladies and Gentlemen, — From every point of view this is a specially interesting

* This settlement, founded in 1922 in honour of Lord Balfour, is supported by the American Zion Commonwealth, and comprises about 500 Jews, many of them being from America.

occasion. In the first place I understand that you have made this ceremony the formal dedication of this young but prosperous settlement. That alone would make this day memorable. That is one reason and it is a very good one. But other points also are inevitably suggested by this meeting. I understand that your efforts have been rendered possible largely by the generous assistance of Jews living in America, and that this flourishing community owes an inestimable debt to Jews living 3,000, 4,000 or 5,000 miles away from the land which their forefathers left so many centuries ago. We owe them, you owe them, we all owe them a debt of gratitude, and I am certain that the liberality which they have shown, when they see the fruits which it has produced, when they see how far their generosity has contributed to the consummation of the ideals which they cherish, they will rejoice—as my friends and I rejoice—at the marvellous feat which

your industry and their generosity, taken in combination, have produced in what a few years ago was an uninhabitable wilderness.

Ladies and Gentlemen, I have been given on this occasion two marks of your kindness. One of them is a model of what Balfouria is going to be, long before those who are now young have become middle-aged and before those who are now middle-aged have become old. I admire, not only the enterprise which has produced the Balfouria which now exists but also the forethought, the deliberation and the resolution which this far-sighted scheme promises for the future. With this model before you, you know what you are working for. With this model before you, you feel that your day's toil does something more than contribute to your day's sustenance; you feel, and have a right to feel, that you are occupied in slowly and steadily building up a community which will be a pride

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to all those whether on the far-distant shores of America who have sent you assistance, or those who, on the spot, by the toil of their hands, by their steady determination, are building up Balfouria as it is represented in this model. That is an exhilarating thought, and it is one which must appeal to everyone I am addressing.

But an even wider scope, an even wider stretch of thought, was opened by the addresses which I have had the privilege of reading just now, though not as yet of studying a translation in English. It is a most kind, a most flattering—and from my point of view—a most memorable address of which I am in part the subject. It is not that, however, which makes me feel that the address of the National Council is of value, but the fact that their gaze covers the whole field of Zionist operations. Each of you individually, I have no doubt, devotes much thought to the great ideal

of Zionism; but your actual work, your individual and personal work, ought to be in the main the carrying out of the scheme materially embodied in this model. I rejoice to think that the National Council, in looking over the events, memorable to many of us, most memorable certainly to me, the events of the last fortnight, view with satisfaction the general harmony, the unflagging enthusiasm by which each successive step has been signalled. It would be absurd of one who has been so short a time in the country to offer the results of his personal experience as having any profound significance for independent enquirers, but I am justified in saying that having visited many parts of the country, having seen many settlements, many theatres of energetic operation on the part of the Jewish community, having been in Jerusalem during the most striking initiation of the Jewish University, having had clear testimony that the Jews in this country

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are not merely animated by, as it were, a blind reaching out to an unformulated ideal, but on the contrary they have the clearest view of how the progress of the Jews in this country is to be attained. Having neither concentrated their gaze solely on the material aspect—important as the material aspect of every community of human beings must be—neither have they simply concentrated on more abstract considerations, upon the development of learning, the immediate effects of which cannot be regarded as of day to day importance. They have seen that both ideals must be combined, and in the opening of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, and in the Technical College which I saw yesterday, these two institutions, for example, on the one hand must be balanced, and indeed are balanced, by great industrial and agricultural efforts such as that in which you, Ladies and Gentlemen, are engaged.

The whole thing gives me the impression of a scheme carefully thought out by men who are neither driven astray by the vehemence of their own idealistic dreams, and have, indeed, not lost sight of the general practical aspects in the day to day anxieties of day to day toil. It is that combination which makes for that practical idealism in which the success of this movement is involved, and it is because I see in such undertakings as Balfouria, and in the relation which Balfouria has to the surrounding settlements, the co-operation between one settlement and another, the consciousness of each settlement that it is co-operating with others in one great work, all under the direction of men who never lose sight of the high spiritual and educational interest: it is in that combination that I see the sure presage of ultimate and complete success, and the certainty that as time goes on men far removed from Palestine by geographical distances and by national

traditions will yet see that in the dream of those who intend to found, and are founding, the Jewish Home in Palestine, a really great triumph has been added to the triumphs of civilisation. Ladies and Gentlemen, I thank you.

V.—AT TIBERIAS, APRIL 7TH.

Mr. Mayor, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I thank you most heartily for the way in which you have received my friends and myself on this visit to your new, I might say city or new suburb,* at all events it is new; it is, I understand, two years old. Nature has given you one of the most wonderful sites on which to build. Nature has given you a panorama which might be envied by the inhabitants of any part of the world. It seems to me, as far as I

* The suburb of Kiryat Shmuel ("City of Samuel," named after Sir Herbert Samuel), built in 1923.

can judge from the cursory survey possible from a drive around your suburb, that in these two years you have performed miracles.

A suggestion has been made that I should revisit this place in a few years. It is impossible to say whether I shall be able to, but I am sure that if I were to revisit this place some years from now, I am quite sure I would not recognise it, if the rapidity of its growth bear in the future the least proportion to the successes attained in the past. It is a wonderful achievement. It is an achievement which bears the promise of admirable fruit in the future, and I hope you will allow me to congratulate you upon the successes you have achieved, to prophesy for you still greater successes as time goes on, and to thank you warmly for your kindness and hospitality.

VI.—AT ROSH PINNAH,* APRIL 7TH.

Ladies and Gentlemen,—I need not tell you that I have received, with much gratitude, the kind observations that have just been made by one of the pioneers of this great settlement. There was one observation of his which especially struck me. He stated that the policy, the international policy embodied in the Balfour Declaration was one in the direction of peace and goodwill. I am quite certain that he was right. There are some quite well-meaning people who take an opposite view. They think that this policy will certainly have for its effect, if not for its object, the accentuation of differences which exist and the creation of differences which hardly existed before. They think that the policy is one which is destined to

* One of the earliest Jewish settlements in Palestine, founded in 1882 by immigrants from Rumania, and supported by Baron Edmond de Rothschild. It comprises about 11,000 acres, and has 600 inhabitants.

produce discord in Palestine. They shut their eyes to all the world effects of this policy, world effects referred to in the speech to which we have just listened ; and while they shut their eyes to all the world effects of this policy they turn a microscopic gaze to anything which happens in Palestine which, in their opinion, seems to indicate that the policy will make a clash between the different sections of the population. They have been blind in the first place, and they are ignorant in the second place, and a visit to this community, such a visit as I have had the honour and pleasure of paying to-day, would convince them how far they are from the truth when they say that the Arab and the Jew cannot cooperate together in a land in which they live together. They are certainly wrong, and my conviction is that not only Jew but also Arab, not only Arab but also Jew, will look back upon the era since the Declaration and say that from that date

began the growth and the prosperity of this little country so famous in the history of the world, having borne such a part in the development of mankind, and that the Declaration will introduce into this country a spirit of harmony which this land has not known for so long a time. This is my opinion, and I am glad to have heard it so well expressed by the speaker.

I thank him for what he has said. I thank you for the way in which you have received what he has said. May I conclude by saying that the new beginning of things which we may really date to the past two or three years is not merely going to give us the new settlements which we see springing up before our eyes in Palestine, but is also going to add a new era of prosperity to the older settlements which have been struggling under very difficult circumstances, and which have been trying to carry out the spirit of the Declaration.

TEN YEARS AFTER

[Speech delivered at a Dinner given by the Anglo-Palestine Club in honour of the Earl of Balfour, in celebration of the Tenth Anniversary of the Balfour Declaration, on November 10th, 1927, at the Hotel Cecil, London.]*

WHO would not be deeply moved if they were in my place at the present time? I have listened to the admirable speeches to-night—speeches in themselves eloquent and uttered in connection with the cause which, the more it is considered, the more it will be seen to be at once the most ideal and the most practical endeavour in which the nations have co-operated with each other to effect what you, Dr. Weizmann, and you, Sir Herbert Samuel, as well as the other speakers, have been good enough

* Reproduced by courtesy of *The Jewish Chronicle*.

especially to associate my name with—this great experiment. I feel that you have done me more honour than I can justly claim. It is quite true that I am one of the oldest of British Zionists. Long before the Declaration about which so much has been said this evening Dr. Weizmann and I discussed in private conversation our hopes and doubtless also our fears connected with this great enterprise. But never in those early days did either of us foresee—at any rate I speak for myself—or think it even probable that the great opportunity would occur in our lifetime, and that what seemed to me at least to be a great dream would become a great reality. The opportunity came, and I think at all events Dr. Weizmann and I did our best. I hope you will not for a moment think that I exaggerate or have any desire to exaggerate any part I may have taken in this great enterprise. That is far from my thought, and it would be a gross injustice to those

on whom has fallen the burden of the heat of the day if I were to claim anything more than an insignificant share in the results of this great ten years' experiment.

I have been associated—indeed, as Sir Herbert Samuel has in such eloquent terms described to you I have been directly associated — with one great ceremony, unforgettable I venture to say by anyone who took part in it, the ceremony that took place on Mount Scopus two years ago. That was a great occasion for more than one reason. It was a great occasion because it forced upon the attention of all mankind who took interest in such matters, not merely upon the Jewish people throughout the world, that this movement for a Jewish Home in the ancient land which the Jewish race have rendered for ever illustrious, was not merely a question of economics, though unfortunately economics in this world lie at the root of so much that is greater than economics.

It was, in addition to the question of economics, a great question of human, intellectual and emotional development. I could never have thrown myself with the enthusiasm which I have always felt for this cause into it if it had been merely a question of taking out of most unhappy conditions a certain number of the Jewish race and re-planting them in the land of their forefathers. If it had been merely that, I should have been, I hope, an enthusiast for the cause. But I think it is going to be much more than that. I hope and I believe that the highly-endowed people who have done so much for Western civilisation in some of the highest walks of human effort will do even more, if you give them the chance, in the original land of their inspiration, to carry out the work side by side with all the great civilised nations of the world—the chance to work side by side with them for the common advancement of knowledge.

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I cannot help thinking that this experiment—I have used this word more than once in my speech, but I use it without remorse—is a great experiment, because nothing like it has ever been tried in the world, and because it is entirely novel. It is not an experiment in the sense that it is as likely to fail as to succeed. That is not my view. I am an optimist about this. I admit its experimental character. I fully accept the view laid down a few moments ago by Dr. Weizmann that if we are to succeed it must be by the co-operation not merely of the Jewish settlers in Palestine, not merely of the Mandatory Power, but of the moral, intellectual and economic support of the Jewish race throughout the world. One of the great duties of the Mandatory Power is to give those great forces their fair chance. But it would not be giving a fair chance to the Jewish settlers if anybody could charge the Mandatory Power with anything like unfair treatment to the inhabitants of

the land. That would be an injury to them—an injury that we should be ashamed to inflict. Believe me, it would not be an injury to them in the main. They would not be the main victims of that wrong. The main victims of that wrong would be the Jewish settlers themselves—those of the same race who support the settlers from other countries, and those who look with the greatest hope upon the experiment now being tried. We should be the victims, and we should be the first victims. The difficulties, as anybody knows, who has had any practical experience of government and of the clash of race—the difficulties have been enormous. But largely owing to the tact and judgment of such statesmen as we have among us to-night, such statesmen on the Government side as Sir Herbert Samuel, such statesmen as my friend on the Jewish side, Dr. Weizmann, we have been enabled so far, with ever-increasing success, to carry out, so far as Palestine

itself is concerned, this great effort. Nothing struck me so much two years ago as the easy way, if they were only left to themselves, in which the Jew and the Arab get on. It required no show of force of any kind. Nothing more than the police required in every country was necessary in order to keep those two races who, we were assured, were in hopeless and irremediable antagonism, on harmonious terms. I am certain that under such leadership as we have at this moment in Palestine these differences will diminish as time goes on rather than increase. And if so, what a retrospect your children will have upon the generation which first saw the Declaration in 1917!

I am sure that, although there was a moment, as Dr. Weizmann has explained to us, of intense and hopeful enthusiasm, doubts began to find their way into those in whom the faith was strongest, and they began to say: "Shall we really be able to carry through in this country so long

under an alien and a most unsuccessful government—shall we be able really to start a healthy community embodying all the most modern forms of scientific industry and those ideals of learning, of spiritual value, which surely cannot ever be separated from the soil of Palestine? ” There were doubts. Those doubts are wholly dissipated. The Jewish race is putting its shoulder to the wheel, and I am convinced the Mandatory Power will do all that it can justly and properly do to see that the efforts made by Jews in Palestine, in Europe, and over the whole earth, are efforts which will not end in barrenness. Dr. Weizmann rather suggested in the course of his speech that some great difficulties were connected with land taxation and analogous questions.

I have consulted the authorities on the subject, and they authorise me to say that the Palestine Government has in mind all the difficulties which have to be dealt with by the Zionist Organisation, and having

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that in mind, it is intended to introduce as soon as possible certain general reforms in matters of land taxation. A special staff has recently been appointed to undertake the work of land survey, which is an essential preliminary in the reform of land taxation. The result of their work will be to enable the Government to readjust the present incidence of taxation on land.

This is not the place to discuss administrative details or even the broad principles of administration, but I thought you would like me to read to you this authoritative statement which those responsible for the policy of the Palestine Government have authorised me to make. You may be sure that all that they can do properly and justly will be done to make the many tasks of the Zionist Organisation a success. We are all desirous of that success. All our Allies, as well as the people of this country are committed to it. The Jewish Organisations throughout the world

passionately desire it, and I do not believe that there is any force now in existence which is endeavouring unduly to hamper our success. Difficulties are inherent in the situation. I do not wish to minimise them. I do not tell you that they can always be got over. They cannot always be got over as quickly as we Zionists so ardently desire. But everything will be done which justice and statesmanship render possible. That, I am sure, I can tell you with unflagging confidence.

I have travelled into the rather dry area of administrative reform from the more interesting topics which have been dealt with with such admirable eloquence by previous speakers. I will not follow them ; I could not equal them, and I have myself so often spoken upon what I may call the broader and the more spiritual aspects of Zionism that at this hour of the night I should be merely wasting time if I went over the ground which I have so often

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traversed. Let me say, in conclusion, that while I cannot honestly admit to myself that I deserve all the thanks which have been so eloquently lavished upon me to-night, I will most gratefully thank you for the way you have received me. I gratefully recognise the sympathy you have shown for anything I may have done, and for the many things I have not done, but which I hope others will do, with regard to the development of this great undertaking. That it will have a reverberation throughout the coming centuries I do not for one instant doubt. If the success which would certainly crown our efforts if we continue in the path which we have already so successfully begun—if those efforts meet with all the degree of success which the Zionists hope for, 1917 will indeed be a date, a blessed date, not merely in the history of Palestine, not merely in the history of Jewry, but, as I think and believe most firmly, in the history of the world itself.

RETROSPECT

TEN years have now elapsed since the Declaration on Zionism made by me on behalf of the British Government in 1917. Nothing has occurred during that period to suggest the least doubt as to the wisdom of this new departure. The experiment was admittedly a bold one, dealing with a unique situation in a manner wholly without precedent in history.

I am, however, convinced that, if it be supported by Jewish communities throughout the world, its success is assured, and that a Home will be secured for the Jewish race in the land which is immemorially associated with their name.

BALFOUR.