

Types of Zionism

The principal common goal of Zionism was to establish a homeland for the Jewish people. Zionism was produced by various philosophers representing different approaches concerning the objective and path that Zionism should follow.

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Theodor Herzl is considered the founder of the Zionist movement. In his 1896 book *Der Judenstaat*, he envisioned the founding of a future independent Jewish state during the 20th century.

Political Zionism

Political Zionism was led by Theodor Herzl and Max Nordau in Russia. This Zionist Organization approach espoused at the First Zionist Congress aimed at establishing for the Jewish people a publicly and legally assured home in Palestine, which among other items, included initial steps to obtain governmental grants from the established powers that controlled the area.^[1]

Practical Zionism

Known in Hebrew as *Tzionut Ma'asit* (Hebrew: ציונות מעשית), Practical Zionism was led by Moshe Leib Lilienblum and Leon Pinsker and molded by the Hovevei Zion organization. This approach opined that firstly there is a need in practical terms to implement Jewish immigration to the Land of Israel, Aliyah, and settlement of the land, as soon as possible, even if a charter over the Land is not obtained.

Synthetic Zionism

Led by Chaim Weizmann, Leo Motzkin and Nahum Sokolow, an approach that advocated a combination of the preceding two approaches.



Leon Pinsker espoused Practical Zionism

Labor Zionism

Another division between these generic types of Zionism derives from ideological differences that do not necessarily have to do with Zionism itself, but rather a comprehensive world view held by the people of these different groups regarding the character of the future Jewish State. Led by Nachman Syrkin, Ber Borochov, Haim Arlosoroff, and Berl Katznelson

As opposed to Practical and Political Zionism, Labor Zionism desired to establish an agriculturist society not on the basis of a private-bourgeoisie society, but rather on the basis of moral equality

Revisionist Zionism

Revisionist Zionism was initially led by Ze'ev Jabotinsky and later by his successor Menachem Begin (later Prime Minister of Israel), and emphasized the romantic elements of Jewish nationality, and the historical heritage of the Jewish people in the Land of Israel as the constituent basis for the Zionist national idea and the establishment of the Jewish State. They supported Liberalism and particularly Economic liberalism, and opposed Labor Zionism and the establishing of a communist society in the Land of Israel. Revisionist Zionism opposed any containment of Arab terror and supported firm military action against the Arab gangs that had attacked the Jewish Community in the Land of Israel. Due to that position, a faction of the Revisionist leadership split from that movement in order to establish the underground Irgun. This stream is also categorized as supporters of Greater Israel.

Cultural Zionism

Led by Ahad Ha'am (Asher Zvi Hirsch Ginsberg). Cultural Zionism opined that the fulfillment of the national revival of the Jewish People should be achieved by creating a cultural center in the Land of Israel and an educative center to the Jewish Diaspora, which together will be a bulwark against the danger of assimilation that threatens the existence of the Jewish People.

Revolutionary Zionism

Led by Avraham Stern, Israel Eldad and Uri Zvi Greenberg. Revolutionary Zionism viewed Zionism as a revolutionary struggle to ingather the Jewish exiles from the Diaspora, revive the Hebrew language as a spoken vernacular and reestablish a Jewish kingdom in the Land of Israel.^[2] As members of Lehi during the 1940s, many adherents of Revolutionary Zionism engaged in guerilla warfare against the British administration in an effort to end the British Mandate of Palestine and pave the way for Jewish political independence. Following the State of Israel's establishment leading figures of this stream argued that the creation of the state of Israel was never the goal of Zionism but rather a tool to be used in realizing the goal of Zionism, which they called *Malkhut Yisrael* (the Kingdom of Israel).^[3] Revolutionary Zionists are often mistakenly included among Revisionist Zionists but differ ideologically in several areas. While Revisionists were for the most part secular nationalists who hoped to achieve a Jewish state that would exist as a commonwealth within the British Empire, Revolutionary Zionists advocated a form of national-messianism that aspired towards a vast Jewish kingdom with a rebuilt Temple in Jerusalem.^[4] Revolutionary Zionism generally espoused anti-imperialist political views and included both Right-wing and Left-wing nationalists among its adherents. This stream is also categorized as supporters of Greater Israel.

Religious Zionism

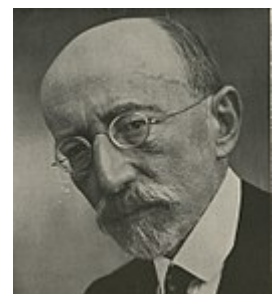
Led by Yitzchak Yaacov Reines, founder of Mizrachi (religious Zionism) and by Abraham Isaac Kook. Religious Zionism maintained that Jewish nationality and the establishment of the State of Israel is a religious duty derived from the Torah. As opposed to some parts of the Jewish non-secular community that claimed that the redemption of the Land of Israel will occur only after the coming of the messiah, who will fulfill this aspiration, they maintained that human acts of redeeming the Land will bring about the



Dov Ber Borochov, one of the leaders of Labor Zionism



Ze'ev Jabotinsky, founder of Revisionist Zionism



Ahad Ha'am (Asher Ginsberg)

messiah, as their slogan states: "The land of Israel for the people of Israel according to the Torah of Israel" (Hebrew: עם ישראל, תורת ישראל וארץ ישראל). Today they are commonly referred as the "Religious Nationalists" or the "settlers", and are also categorized as supporters of Greater Israel.

Reform Zionism

Reform Zionism, also known as Progressive Zionism, is the ideology of the Zionist arm of the Reform or Progressive branch of Judaism. The Association of Reform Zionists of America is the American Reform movement's Zionist organization. Their mission “endeavors to make Israel fundamental to the sacred lives and Jewish identity of Reform Jews. As a Zionist organization, the association champions activities that further enhance Israel as a pluralistic, just and democratic Jewish state.” In Israel, Reform Zionism is associated with the Israel Movement for Progressive Judaism

See also

- Christian Zionism
- Neo-Zionism
- Post-Zionism

References

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 2. Israel Eldad, *The Jewish Revolution*, pp. 47–49
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 4. Israel Eldad, *Israel: The Road to Full Redemption* p. 37 (Hebrew) and Israel Eldad, "Temple Mount in Ruins"(<http://www.saveisrael.com/eldad/saveisraeleldad.htm>)
- Zion and State: Nation, Class and the Shaping of Modern Israel by Mitchell Cohen

External links

- Political Zionism, Jewish Virtual Library
- Practical Zionism, Jewish Virtual Library
- Synthetic Zionism, Jewish Virtual Library

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SOME PARTICULAR HISTORY LESSONS CONCERNING POLITICAL ZIONISM OF THEODOR HERZL

THINGS PAST - EXPERIENCE AND REFLECTIONS

SOME PARTICULAR HISTORY LESSONS CONCERNING POLITICAL ZIONISM OF THEODOR HERZL

PART I: HISTORICAL ESSAYS ON HERZL'S POLITICAL ZIONISM

ESSAY BY PEYRETS GOLDMACHER

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PART I: HISTORICAL ESSAYS ON HERZL'S POLITICAL ZIONISM

1.1. INTRODUCTION

Before moving to an analysis of the historical experience of the "LET MY PEOPLE GO!" and "VAAD" movements, which were created by Soviet Jews in the second half of the 20th Century, I consider it important to inform the reader about specific conclusions that I have come to through my study of the historical experience of the Jewish socio-political movement created by Herzl at the beginning of the 20th Century, which came to be known as "*political Zionism*".

First: I decided to take on this project in order to better understand and elucidate how an individual leader can impact and inspire the success of a movement by his /her belief in the righteousness of his/her ideas, and through his expression of a willingness to "fight till the end"; devoting his/her life to an unrelenting struggle for the realization of said vision. Even at times when the vision seems highly unrealistic and the means to achieve it non-existent.

The idea at the core of political Zionism, a movement which emerged in the 1890s, with a vision for the revival of the historical land of Israel and the recreation in that land of a Jewish state with a developed agriculture and other infrastructures, certainly qualified in its early days of exactly such an impossible dream. Indeed, the idea of Jews returning en masse to their homeland was seen throughout most of the 19th Century as an entirely symbolic vision. Such a return was a millennial dream expressed in the prayers of pious Jews for two thousand years, but was seen by almost all

Jews as beyond the possibility of real life realization. The moment for the fulfillment of these dreams would arrive only at the End of Days when God answered our prayers and finally sent us the long-awaited *Moshiach* (Messiah).

Secondly, I would like to examine in this section whether there are similarities in the historical experience of the movement that led to the creation of political Zionism and the later Jewish-Zionist movements known as "LET MY PEOPLE GO!" and "VAAD". Could it be that the historical experience of political Zionism, namely its astonishing success in achieving the 'realization of the unrealizable' – also served to inspire these latter-day Jewish movements that emerged on the same soil of what was once the Russian Empire and later the Soviet Union—and which also succeeded beyond expectation in bringing together within one movement people with widely varied outlooks and aspirations?

Like early Zionism, the two later movements also faced seemingly impossible tasks; uniting all of Soviet Jewry under one banner even though the leaders of its diverse faction each had their own prescription for accomplishing this difficult task. They also faced the enormous challenge of and achieving this goal in the face of a secret police dominated system in a country, the Soviet Union, which during the first half of the 20th Century was more aggressive and merciless towards its own citizens than any other country with the exception of Nazi Germany. And, finally the leaders of Let My People Go and VAAD, needed to compel the Soviet authorities to acquiesce to something they had hitherto strongly resisted; namely, the creation of a distinct ethno-cultural Jewish community with its own independent communal educational organizations, synagogues, human rights organizations, publishing houses, etc. Finally, they had to accomplish all of this in a country in which state-sponsored anti-Semitic propaganda had reached a level in which the very word 'Jew' had come to suggest something abnormal, unreliable or even criminal.

A number of books written by historians and other writers have been published on the topic of history of Zionist movement at the beginning of the 20th Century. I have decided, however, to give a brief historical overview of this movement in this book by elaborating on lives of several leading personalities who emerged as founders and ideologists of the movement.

I hope that using such a method of narrating the history of political Zionism will make it easier for the reader to understand how the intellectual firepower, decisiveness and conviction of the correctness of their ideas by each of the particular personalities I will be highlighting, impacted upon the emergence, development and ultimate success of this historical movement.

I will analyze how such varied team achieved that success by managing to work together fruitfully on complex political, cultural and industrial and agricultural goals. While each of them had his or her own conception of the future Jewish State, they succeeded in their common goal – triggering the rebirth of agriculture in the historical land of Israel and the building of a functioning economy in the state-in-making. And, ultimately, they succeeded in realizing the seemingly most fantastic of their ideas – bringing to fruition the rebirth of the Jewish State after nearly 2,000 years of Diaspora.

In this volume, I have provided brief biographical information on these outstanding leaders. To the extent of my modest abilities, I have tried to flesh out the personal contributions to the Zionist movement of each of these figures; to analyze the specific ideas each contributed that defined the political direction of their respective movements and their individual participation in the Zionist Organization (ZO)—the name was changed to World Zionist Organization in 1960.

Each of the distinct political movements these leaders founded followed its own path toward the realization of the Zionist idea. Moreover, each of these movements had its own vision of the nature of the future Jewish state; and each had its own ideological prescription for building an effective governmental structure for that state.

Nevertheless, they built that structure together, step by step, brick by brick. Going through extreme hardship and devoting the very fiber of their beings to the cause, the leaders of political Zionism slowly and methodically built the structure of the future Jewish state higher and higher. And the most surprising thing is that **the divine miracle ultimately came true!** After 2000 years, a Jewish state was indeed recreated, on at least part of our historical homeland.

The biographic notes that I share here on the most outstanding leaders of the Zionist movement are compiled from a large number of sources, including the *Brief Jewish Encyclopedia* that was published in Israel, Wikipedia from the Internet and the books *Jews in the 20th Century* and *Jews in the Modern World*. I researched more than one hundred books and publications to prepare my own volume.

Among the most interesting for me were books about Ze'ev Jabotinsky, including *The World of Jabotinsky* by Moshe Bell, Jabotinsky's autobiography *The Story of My Life* and others.

Given that many of these towering figures were strong ideological leaders who forcefully expressed their beliefs, much of the source material I perused contained both high praise and vilification for them from their contemporaries within and beyond the Zionist movement. However, though I have my own opinions of these leaders and their legacies, I have tried to the best of my ability to present the most objective information available about them.

It will be up to my readers to determine if I have been successful in this effort. I repeat that main goal in presenting this gallery of portraits of the outstanding Zionist leaders is to show the personal paths that each took to involvement in the Zionist movement; their development of their political programs; their respective contributions to the movement and the roles of the various organizations they led in the eventual creation of the State of Israel.

Finally, I will give a comparative analysis of these leaders' varied and sometimes opposing political positions.

1.2. EXCERPTS FROM OUR ANCIENT HISTORY

Zionism's goal was to gather the Jews of the Diaspora (*galut*) under its wing and to bring them to Zion. Essential ingredients of this task were not only to revive the neglected lands of Israel, but also to create a "new Jew" who would be without the complexes of the Jew of the *galut*. The leaders of Zionism believed that this was one of the paramount tasks; to create a new Jew who would be capable of recreating a Jewish State built on entirely new foundations.

Indeed, each of the diverse political parties and factions of the larger Zionist movement wanted to recreate the new Jew in its own way. Thus, socialists saw the new Jew as being part of a collective whose members were to be connected to each other through participation in communal life and cooperatives; the centrists saw him as taking his place in the modern liberal state based on private property; while the religious Zionists would want him to become part of future Jewish State based on Jewish religious law.

I hope the readers will be better able to comprehend the complex interweaving of the various ideological strains of the new Zionist movement by absorbing the biographies of these great movement leaders. I would like to begin, however, with some excerpts from our ancient history in order to better understand the development of the *galut* Jews with their myriad complexes that the Zionists were seeking to transform.

Let us start by returning to one of the most tragic eras of Jewish history; when people of the of Judea, long since reduced to a Roman protectorate, rebelled against the mighty Roman Empire and asserted their independence before finally being worn down and vanquished by the gigantic Roman army. The Second Temple, which for centuries had been the symbol of spiritual unity of all Jews, uniting them into **one nation**, was destroyed by the Romans.

As a result of the armed Jewish uprising against the might of Rome in 66 C.E., a long and terrible war began which cost the Jews, according to historical data, more than a million lives. Moreover, large numbers of Jews were expelled from Judea and other parts of the Land of Israel; some taken as captives and the rest turned into slaves. Many of those who stayed in the Land of Israel collaborated with Roman occupiers. As historical sources point out there were a large number of such "collaborators", especially in the aristocratic circles of Judea. Most of those who actively fought against occupiers and survived the war were exiled from the country either as captives or slaves.

The Romans were enraged that they had to use almost half of their army during a war with a small rebellious province. Therefore, they decided to erase from history the name of Jewish people and Jewish State. Not only did they destroy the Second Temple, but renamed the geographic area where Judea had existed as 'Palestine', a name which referred to the Philistines, a nation which had fought against King Saul and King David more than a thousand years earlier.

As was customary in those years, new Jewish slaves ended up on the markets of the great Roman Empire spread across its many provinces from Britain to Syria. Whether Jewish slaves were sold on the market, for how much, and in what kind of situation they ended up, depended on the person's gender, age, appearance and work capability.

For Jews living through those terrible years, it must have seemed the end of Jewish history. The state was destroyed, the Temple – the penultimate symbol of the Jewish people – lay in ruins, Jerusalem was torn apart and the inhabitants of the former Judean Kingdom scattered around a vast world of the Roman Empire from Britain to Mesopotamia. Undoubtedly, the Romans assumed that in a short period this militant **nation** would cease to exist.

Instead, **a divine miracle occurred**. Instead of disappearing, Jews continued living in Judea, and spread in numbers across a vast Diaspora. People adhering to Judaism lived in large numbers not only within the Roman Empire but beyond its borders. The noted Israeli historian Shmuel Etinger points out this fact in his foreword to *Two Concepts of The Rebirth of Israel* by S. Dubnov and B. Dinur, in which Etinger cites the Greeks and the Jews as the two **predominant nations** in the Empire during those times.

G. Lifshits, a Soviet scholar points in his book *Class Struggle in Judea and Uprising against Rome* (1957) to a number of sources stipulating that in the period after the destruction of the Temple, the Jewish Diaspora was practically as numerous as the people of Judea; numbering "millions individuals". In addition, as the years went by, the Jewish concept of monotheism attracted ever more followers from within the Roman aristocracy.

I brush upon this topic because, regrettably, not all modern-day former Soviet Jews are aware of such aspects of Jewish law as "REDEEMING THE CAPTIVES"; **the law that proscribed that free Jews should 'buy' other Jews who had become captives or slaves** and then set them free. In Hebrew this law is called "**THE MITVAH SHEL PIDYUIM SHVUIM**".

So the process began of free Jews redeeming captive and enslaved Jews. It appears that many tens of thousands Jews were thus redeemed; and this process made the Diaspora Jewish communities of that period even stronger than they would otherwise have been. I wonder how many of my own ancestors were thus redeemed and saved, and which one of them I should thank for having been born a Jew, thank God!

By taking the reader on this brief, though all-too painful, diversion to our ancient history, I want to elucidate several points:

First, when we, Jews, are united, we can survive under even most tragic circumstances.

Second, two thousand years of *galut* (Diaspora) could not eliminate our peoples' sense of belonging to *Am Israel*, the people and nation of Israel.

And, **third**, our dream of "Next Year in Jerusalem", i.e., of coming home to Zion, never dies in the soul of Jewish people, whatever shape or form this idea may take at a particular moment in time.

But I see the **fourth** one, in this elemental Jewish unity as our people passed through one of the darkest periods of its existence, we see the foreshadowing of a similar coming together during the

late 19th and early 20th Centuries with the emergence of Zionism. Somehow the founders of this movement, Zionists all, but of very different political persuasions, each advocating a different path to the creation of the Jewish State, and many of them aspiring to and competing for leadership positions in the movement, nevertheless managed to come together and unite under the umbrella of one organization, the World Zionist Organization created by Theodor Herzl.

In achieving this success, one can see *the great wisdom and great accomplishments* of Herzl and his followers. Improbably they managed to hold together all of these various political movements under the united banner of Zionism and cooperate fruitfully in pursuit of a heroic task: the recreation of the State of Israel in our historical homeland.

Similarly, I see a great accomplishment on the part of VAAD, which also succeeded in gathering under one banner various groups of activists – ranging from ultra-Orthodox Jews to liberals and socialists. The aim of the VAAD was, and remains, to work together for a common goal without impeding the ability of each organization within the larger movement to carry out their respective missions in their own ways, and according to their varied ideological perspectives.

There is a great historical lesson in the success of both of these movements that should never be forgotten by the Jewish people. We Jews should not be concerned by the fact that we have many leaders, parties and organizations; each of which claim that their sharply divergent positions constitute the 'sole truth'. As the Israelis say, *Al pi ha-kol* (despite everything), it should be possible to bring all of them into a common movement on behalf of the Jewish people.

To be sure, the reemergence of Israel after two thousand years did not come to pass easily or simply, yet it *did* come to pass. The lesson is that when Jews decide to work together, they have a chance to be successful. This underlying unity among all of the diverse parties and organizations in the Zionist movement is the secret behind the astonishing success of Herzl and his followers in translating the seemingly fantastic ideas and apparently half-baked goals of the early Zionist movement *“from apparent fairy tale into solid reality”*.

This is also one of the secrets of the success of VAAD, which improbably managed to realize within a Soviet totalitarian society infused by KGB propaganda, the previously unimaginable goal **of building a national-cultural Jewish autonomy** which was able to preserve Jews as a community and keep it strong. VAAD's advocacy helped to win recognition of the right of Jews to emigration and *aliyah*. At the same time, VAAD succeeded in bringing back into the Jewish family tens of thousands of half-Jews, quarter-Jews and others who had appeared hopelessly lost to assimilation.

Again, I am expressing here my take on the astonishing Jewish national rebirth of the 20th Century, which validates both of the following seemingly contradictory maxims: *“Great deeds give birth to great leaders”* and *“Great leaders perform great deeds”*.

Presentation of short biographies of the theorists and ideologists of the various Zionist factions who were brought together by Herzl will not only demonstrate the wide variety of socio-political directions in Zionism. The readers will more clearly understand why several distinct socialist movements played such a significant and largely positive role in the creation of the State of Israel and during the first stage of building the state.

Nevertheless, I believe deeply that in today's global economy, socialist principles are less effective in ensuring economic success of nations than basic capitalist doctrines including the right to possess private property; private initiative; copyright, personal freedom, etc. In this sense, the State of Israel is clearly moving in the right direction, away from socialism and in the direction of capitalism; a transformation that has greatly contributed to Israel's economic success over the past quarter century. However, there will still need to be a step-by-step process in the coming years to get rid of socialist relics in the economy, of which there are still many in Israel.

Let us now move from a general discussion of Zionism to learning from the biographies of some of the great leaders of the movement. I will start with a brief essay on the life of the founder and principle ideologist of political Zionism, Theodor Herzl. I will also include one of his most important articles, which ran in 1896 in the *London Jewish Chronicle*. In that article, published just before Herzl emerged on the world scene as the founder and first leader of the Zionist movement, he lays out his credo – including the organizing principles of the new movement. The title of the article is *A Solution to the Jewish Question*.

In this article, I will include an analysis of the Dreyfus Affair, the battle over anti-Semitism in France during the 1890s that so impacted Theodor Herzl, then a young correspondent in Paris for a major Viennese newspaper, that he decided devote the rest of his life to solving the Jewish question.

Indeed, the framing of Alfred Dreyfus, an absolutely innocent Jewish officer of the French Army, on charges of supposed espionage on behalf of Germany and the dramatic events that flowed from his unjust guilty verdict and incarceration on Devil's Island, pushed Herzl to think deeply about the fate of the Jewish people in the Diaspora, as well as to start looking for ways that could change the fate of our people for the better. In the wake of the Dreyfus Affair, Herzl came to the conclusion that it was incumbent on him to jump-start the creation of a political movement that would reverse escalating anti-Semitism and humiliation of the Jews in many countries while finally putting an end to the two-thousand-year old Diaspora of our people.

1.3. BRIEF BIOGRAPHIC NOTES

1.3.1. THEODOR HERZL

THEODOR HERZL (Binyamin Ze'ev, May 1860, Budapest – July 1904, Eddach, Austria)
–journalist, writer, Doctor of Jurisprudence, Jewish social and political activist, founder of the World Zionist Organization; the main ideologist and organizer of the political Zionist movement.

Photo #1.1.



Theodor Herzl grew up in Budapest in an assimilated Jewish family,

which was however, knowledgeable about Jewish traditions. His mother, Jeanette Herzl (maiden name Diamant), exposed Theodor to German language and literature. From his childhood years, Herzl was inclined to literature and wrote poetry. Already in his adolescent years, during which he attended an evangelical Christian gymnasium, Herzl published critical essays on books and theatrical performances in a student newspaper. Herzl left the gymnasium after being offended by a teacher's anti-Semitic remarks. In 1878 the Herzl family moved to Vienna, where Theodor began his studies at the Law Department of Vienna University. Herzl was barely interested in the Jewish question during his student years. However, the publication of anti-Semitic book by **During** entitled *About the Jewish Question* affected him greatly. In 1881 Herzl became a member of the German student society "Albia". However, in 1883 he left it because of the anti-Semitic sentiments of some of its members.

In 1884 Herzl received his Doctorate of Jurisprudence and for some time worked in the courts of Vienna and Salzburg. He later wrote in his autobiography, "Because of being a Jew, I would never have been able to become a judge. That is why I simultaneously left Salzburg and jurisprudence."

From 1885 on, Herzl completely devoted himself to the literature. He wrote a number of plays, satirical articles and philosophical stories. Some of his fashionable plays had such a success in theaters that Herzl became one of the most renowned Austrian playwrights. His plays were performed in the theaters of Vienna, Berlin, Prague and other theater capitals of Europe.

Some literary sources that come down to us from this period describe young Herzl as a dilettante. He behaved as something of a dandy, enjoyed opera, including Wagner, liked to dress fashionably and was part of bohemian scene. He was always careful about his dress and his looks, having his beard fashionably trimmed.

However, the situation in Vienna and Central Europe was quite complicated for Jews, even for successful and cosmopolitan ones like Herzl, who, despite his prominence, was easily hurt by anti-Semitic expression.

In the last decades of the 19th Century, overt anti-Semitism – racial, cultural and political – started to gain popularity even among the educated classes of Central and Western Europe. The more that western Jews sought to get themselves in sync with the ruling and middle classes in the countries in which they lived – copying them in behavior, language, dress, and political and cultural interests – the more there was resistance, hostility or, at the very least, mockery and disparagement from those societies toward their Jewish populations. Jews found themselves constantly reminded of their origins and having their loyalty questioned. Their impressive contribution to the social, intellectual and artistic life of the countries in which they lived was either diminished or actually defamed "as harmful to the local culture".

The mere presence of Jews evoked an open hostility in many countries which increasingly took on a vulgar, even savage, character. Sharp limitations were being placed on the movement of Jews into higher academic or government circles. And all of these negative phenomena were happening in the civilized and liberal countries of Western Europe.

The situation of the masses of East European Jewry, with the exception of a few wealthy and privileged people, was, to be sure, far more grim than that of their Central and Western European compatriots. However, even in the West, living as Jews was becoming ever more difficult to bear, especially for sensitive people.

Herzl was one of those sensitive people. His sensitivity pushed him to look for ways to save and transform Jewry, which led him to launch the great political movement that became known as Zionism. In the beginning, Herzl's conception of Zionism had many similarities to the proto-Zionist movement known as *Hovevei Zion* (Lovers of Zion) that had been launched in the Russian Empire by Leon Pinsker and Moshe Leib Lilienblum some 15 years earlier before Herzl. Later the followers of this movement joined Herzl's movement, albeit somewhat reluctantly.

However, there are significant differences between Hovevei Zion and Zionism, just as there are differences between the character of the period before 1897, the year in which Herzl convened the First Zionist Congress, and announced the formation of the *World Zionist Organization*, and the period after those landmark events. **It was thanks to the persona and unique talents of Herzl**, that Zionism emerged as an important force from 1897 on.

From October 1891 to July 1895 Herzl worked as the Paris correspondent of the influential liberal Viennese newspaper *Neue Freie Press*. In addition to writing articles on a wide variety of subjects concerning French society at that time, he closely covered French parliamentary life and expressed his views on the politics of that time in his book *The Bourbon Palace*.

Herzl quite often heard anti-Semitic expressions in his coverage of the political circles of Paris. During those years, his own political views were noticeably evolving in the direction of Jewish self-determination, as can be seen in his play *The Ghetto* (1894), which was later renamed *The New Ghetto*. As noted, the seminal moment for Herzl came in 1894 when he became aware of the Dreyfus Affair. Hearing with his own ears the savage cries of a mob chanting, "Death to the Jews" on the streets of Paris, widely viewed as the most civilized sophisticated city in Europe, convinced Herzl that the only solution of the Jewish question was for Jews to leave the Continent and create their own independent Jewish state.

In June of 1895 Herzl approached Baron Morris de Hirsh to ask for his support, a move which proved unsuccessful. Around that time, Herzl started to keep a diary and began preparing the notes for his book *The Jewish State*. He wrote, "The ideas in my soul were chasing after each other. **I realized that one human life would not be enough to turn them all into reality.**"

Herzl laid out his program in his best known book, which he entitled ***The Jewish State: An Attempt at a Modern Solution of the Jewish Question (Der Judenstaat)***, which was published in Vienna on February 14, 1896. In the same year, the book was translated into Hebrew, English, French, Russian and Romanian.

In his book, Herzl argues out that the Jewish Question should be resolved not by the emigration of Jews from one country of the Diaspora to another, which he believed would only lead to increased assimilation, but, rather, by the creation of an independent Jewish State. He contends

that the political resolution of the Jewish Question should be worked out in concert with the great powers of the world. Mass migration of Jews to the Jewish State would be carried out according to a charter openly acknowledging their right to settlement and supported by international guarantors. Thus would transpire the organized exodus of European Jewry to a *sovereign Jewish State*.

Herzl believed that the creation of such a state should be carried out according to a carefully conceived plan that had been well-thought through in advance. The Jewish State should be permeated by *the spirit of social progress*. For example, he called for guarantees of freedom of religion, whereby each person would be able to practice his or her faith or to profess atheism; equal rights for all citizens of the state; including non-Jews; even the establishment of a seven-hour working day.

Herzl believed that in order to carry out such an ambitious plan, it was necessary to create two organs – *one political* and the *other economic* – a **Society of Jews** to officially represent Jewish people and a **Jewish Company** to oversee finances and build the country. The main infusion of funds for the state-building project should come from Jewish bankers, and, only if they refused, should there be a fund-raising appeal to the masses.

Together with Max Nordau, Herzl organized the first **World Zionist Congress** that took place in Basel from August 26-29, 1897. The Congress elected Herzl the President of a newly established a "**World Zionist Organization (WZO)**", which was a prototype of his idea of the Jewish society. **The Basel Program** that was adopted at the First Zionist Congress was the basis for the many negotiations that Herzl subsequently held with world leaders, including with German Emperor Wilhelm II and Turkish Sultan Abdul-Hamid II, with the goal of creating "*a national home*" for the Jewish people in Palestine. Although Herzl's efforts were not successful in the short term, they created the basis for the establishment of Israel in 1948.

In 1897, the year of the Zionist Congress, Herzl also found time to publish his play *The New Ghetto*, and to commence the publication in Vienna of *Die Welt*, a monthly organ of the Zionist movement.

In 1899 Herzl created "*the Jewish Colonial Trust*" based on the prototype of the Jewish Company he had proposed in *Der Judenstaat* with the goal of purchasing land for Jewish settlement in Palestine which was then part of the Ottoman Empire. In 1903, British Colonial Secretary Joseph Chamberlain made a tentative offer of 5000 square miles (13,000 square kilometers) of land in East Africa – part of modern Kenya that was then called Uganda (not to be confused with the modern state of Uganda) for the creation of a Jewish homeland. In the wake of the horrific Kishinev pogrom of April, 1903 which showed the risk that Jews in the Russian Empire were living under, Herzl recommended to delegates of the Sixth Zionist Congress that they should accept this proposal. However, other activists of Zionist movement, including some of his close collaborators, were against it. Ultimately, the so-called Uganda Plan failed, as the majority of attendees at the Zionist Congress opposed it; especially the large delegation from the Russian Empire, including Jabotinsky, who led a walk out against it.

The majority of Zionist activists at the Congress made clear their perception that only Palestine could serve as the territory for the future Jewish State. In any case, delegates to the Congress concluded that the territory being offered in East Africa by the British was not fit to sustain large-scale Jewish settlement.

In 1900 Herzl published his book *Philosophical Tales*, and in 1902, his utopian novel *Altneuland* (Old-New Land). In the same year, Nahum Sokolow translated this book into Hebrew. In this book, Herzl depicted an idealistic picture of the future Jewish State, including a blueprint for the political and social regime he envisioned. In the Hebrew translation, *Altneuland* is translated as Tel Aviv, (Hill of Spring). Thus, the name of the first all-Jewish city, begun in 1909, was first evoked in Herzl's novel seven years earlier. In *Altneuland*, Herzl made clear that he did not expect that Arab-Jewish conflict would be caused by Jewish settlement in Palestine; on the contrary he believed that Palestinian Arabs would gladly welcome the new Jewish settlers.

All of his hard work in the Zionist movement and often heated disputes with opponents within the movement worsened the heart condition that Herzl was suffering from. The illness was complicated by pneumonia. Herzl told his friend who came to visit him, "Why should I delude myself? This bell is tolling for me. I am not a coward and can meet the death calmly; moreover, I have the solace that I did not waste my last years. I hope I served my people well". Those were his last words. Soon his condition worsened, and he passed away on July 3, 1904.

Photo #1.2 Herzl's Tomb. Mt. Herzl.
Jerusalem.

In his will, Herzl asked to be buried in Vienna alongside the grave of his father until the time arrived that a Jewish State would be established and the government of the new state would bring his remains to the Land of Israel for reburial. He was absolutely confident that such a state would soon come into being. Indeed, Herzl's remains were finally transported from Austria to Jerusalem on August 14, 1949, soon after the creation of the State of Israel, and reburied on a hilltop in Jerusalem which was renamed Mt. Herzl. Not far from the gravesite is the Herzl Museum, dedicated to the life of the founder of Zionism.

Herzl died on the 20th day of Tammuz, according to the Jewish calendar, which is commemorated in Israel as the Herzl Memorial Day. Jabotinsky wrote in his obituary of Herzl's death, "The last day of his life became the day of his triumph; the thunder roared and his song remained half-sung... But we will sing it to the end!"

In 1889 Herzl married Julie Naschauer (1868 – 1907). However, their married life was not happy, since Herzl's wife did not share his views. The couple had three children: a son and two daughters. The children also did not understand their father's ideas and were hostile to them. The

fate of Herzl's children was very tragic. Tragically, Herzl's eldest daughter Paulina (1890 – 1930) died of a drug overdose and her brother Hans, who had converted to Christianity in 1906, shot himself at the gravesite of his sister in Bordeaux, France on the day of her funeral. The youngest daughter Margaret (Trude) (1893 – 1943) died in the Theresienstadt concentration camp during the Holocaust. The remains of Herzl's wife and children were also reburied in Israel next to Herzl's grave.

It might be asked why Herzl is considered the founder of the Zionist movement given that the concept of political Zionism had sprung up already some 15 years before he wrote *The Jewish State* and convened the First Zionist Congress. **The great originality of Herzl** lies in the fact that he was the first who succeeded in inserting Zionist political activity and reasoning into the mainstream of Jewish life. He did so clearly and openly, without false modesty or equivocation. He believed and advocated the premise that Jews should not consider themselves helpless or the cause of the Jewish State to be hopeless. He perceived Jews as having enough strength and the necessary financial resources to accomplish this aim; arguing that while much of this wealth was in private hands, it could be directed toward the achievement of national goals.

Herzl was also convinced that the Jews would be able to negotiate with other nations on equal terms, competently and with more dignity than had hitherto been the case, which had involved advocacy from privileged philanthropies; begging for favor while appeasing the gentile authorities (*shadlonis*); or even outright bribery. According to Herzl, Jewish relations with the gentile world should no longer be focused on courting the good disposition of those in power, but rather **by reaching agreement based on compromise and mutual interest**.

Herzl believed that the ability of the Jews to reorder their relations with the nations of the world along the above lines would be conditioned on its fulfilling the following three points:

First, the creation of a sovereign government representing the Jewish people.

Second, developing a consensus among the Jewish masses in support of the goals for which the resources of the community would be utilized.

Third, by identifying and effectively mobilizing human and other material resources of the world Jewry for use in achieving this goal.

Obviously, Herzl considered realization of the above conditions as necessary for any goal-oriented strategic action in the political arena, including in the international arena. Indeed Herzl's Zionism sought to achieve a more transformational goal than simply changing how Jews relate to and interact with the non-Jewish world; as profoundly important as such a change would be. To just as great an extent, the movement sought to transform the lifestyle and worldview of the Jewish community itself, radically transforming the norms of communal and organizational life.

Herzl believed that it was crucial to create a forum in which decisions would be made regarding all aspects of Jewish life. A mechanism was needed to mobilize resources and to put decisions into practice. In short, **the Jewish people needed to be armed with concrete political organizations for the first time in two thousand year history of the Diaspora**.

Not surprisingly, in the early days of Herzl's activities, the majority of Jews did not understand or share the goals of the Zionist movement or endorse the methods needed to achieve those goals. The opposition to political Zionism within the Jewish community was much more adamant than the opposition of the non-Jewish world, including the European powers. This was the case because Herzl's Zionism contradicted Jewish thinking and ingrained patterns of behavior that had developed over two thousand years. Herzl's Zionism stood in opposition to widely varied Jewish movements; from Orthodox Jews to liberals to Yiddishists and socialists, which collectively represented the thinking of a majority of Jews, including some who were well positioned in the varied societies in which they lived.

Orthodox Jews feared that Herzl's path would lead to a destruction of Judaism itself, because Zionism wanted to build Jewish identity and Jewish communal life around a cause *separate and distinct from religious life*. It seemed to them that Zionism would devalue and eventually discredit all religious values.

Assimilated Jews responded to Zionism with a kind of panic because they saw it as an internal Jewish movement that affirmed the main accusation of anti-Semites; namely *that Jews are a separate and distinct people* with their own ideas and national identity who therefore should not and could not participate fully in the national lives of the peoples (French, Germans, Austro-Hungarians, Russians, etc.) among whom they lived.

Those who sided with the movement for Jewish autonomy within the Russian Empire such as the Jewish Labor Bund (usually referred to simply as The Bund) were afraid *that Zionism would end in disappointment and despair*. They argued that the goals of Zionism were not achievable; contending that the Turks would never give Palestine to the Jews and the Jews themselves would not move there in meaningful numbers.

Jewish Socialists believed ardently that *"the Zionist movement contradicted the class interests of working Jewish masses"*; indeed that it was a criminal movement that collaborated with reactionary political forces and made use of the capital resources of Jewish magnates. They also believed the movement to run counter to imminent historical developments; believing that after the impending eruption of world revolution, national and religious differences would cease to have any meaning.

Former Soviet citizens remember well how the "Jewish question" was dismissed as being a legitimate issue by the government of the Soviet Union – the country which emerged from the 1917 Revolution and which claimed to have achieved Socialism.

Despite this resistance from within, the Zionist movement slowly but surely acquired strength and began the long road to the achievement of its goals. Nevertheless, in the beginning it was a movement of a small minority and its ultimate success was diminished because it never fully overcame internal opposition. It is also true that the success of **the movement came tragically late, at least, for European Jewry**, which was largely destroyed in the Holocaust before the Jewish State was created.

This internal opposition constituted a great difference between the challenges confronting Herzl and the leaders of other movements of the same period for the national renaissance and achievement of sovereignty by other long submerged and oppressed nations. For the likes of Mazzini in Italy and Masaryk in Czechoslovakia, resistance to their efforts came mainly from other nations that were occupying the countries they wanted to liberate—for example, from the Austrians or Russians. *The main obstacle to the realization of Zionism came from within the Jewish community itself.*

Indeed, the most adamant opposition to Herzl's efforts came from other Jews, who opposed his plan to mobilize world Jewry to realize his political program leading to the creation of a Jewish State. Herzl did not live to see the fulfillment of his program, and indeed, in retrospect, it was unrealistic to expect that such a profound transformation could have been realized during such a short historic timeframe as Herzl's own too short lifespan.

However, despite all of the internal opposition and 'nay saying' that Herzl faced; despite all of the skepticism expressed about the seeming impossibility of the attempt to alter the development of Jewish history over two millennia and to revive the Jewish people as an independent nation, what Herzl managed to accomplish during the short eight years that he led the Zionist movement did indeed qualify as an achievement of historic proportions.

Take, for example, Herzl's creation, the **World Zionist Organization**, which held annual congresses, which quickly came to serve **as an elective parliament** of the Jewish people; discussing issues candidly and comprehensively. Herzl served as president of the Zionist Organization, the Executive of which reported to the Congress and which worked full time on behalf of the Zionism during the months between congresses. Because the Herzl and the Executive were the face of the movement to the various world leaders with whom Herzl held discussions, the Executive received even bigger international recognition than the *World Zionist Organization as an authentic representation of all Jewish people*. Long before the First World War, the Zionist Organization was supported by thousands of members, local organizations, newspapers, financial organizations, schools, and, of course, *the growing Jewish yishuv in Eretz Israel*.

All of this had very significant consequences for the future. Without question, the Zionist movement took solid form and reached a critical mass while Herzl was still alive. The rapid growth of the movement was mainly due to his indefatigable activity, his personal efforts and very often thanks to the use of his own funds to pay for world Zionist Organization's activities. After his death, the Zionist edifice, which within 50 years would become a state, grew naturally and organically on the foundation which Herzl built.

Herzl's largest contribution to the movement, however, lay **in the domain of ideas**. Herzl's belief that there should be a political approach to Jewish affairs was not accepted in the very beginning even by his closest comrades. Many were not convinced that his 'diplomatic efforts', including his high profile meetings with the German Kaiser, the Sultan of Turkey and other statesmen would yield fruitful results.

Indeed, despite his success at arranging these meetings and his compelling presentation there of the Zionist cause, Herzl returned empty-handed. Yet the seed that he planted began to grow and even his critics changed their opinions. Nothing better affirmed the wisdom of Herzl's strategy than the subsequent activities of Chaim Weizmann and Nahum Sokolow. Following Herzl's death, these leaders of the Zionist Organization came to believe more in the effectiveness of colonizing Palestine than in political activity. Still, they greatly stepped up the diplomatic work that Herzl had begun in London and Paris, which resulted in the fact that Great Britain, at least temporarily, took the Zionist movement under its political wing. The consequences of this work completely coincided with what Herzl had hoped for and predicted.

Herzl's ideas on Jewish question could be summarized in **five points**.

First: the development of a liberal democratic society in Europe would not necessarily change the moral and material situation of the Jewish people for the better.

Second: The root of the Jewish question and the cause of all of its dangers and humiliations lay in the very fact of *galut*, i.e., in the absence of national autonomy based on having territory and political base.

Third: The humiliation and dangers that the Jewish people encountered in the world had become intolerable, and the Jewish problem demanded resolution without delay.

Fourth: Only the acquisition of territory under Jewish self-government could bring about the necessary transformation of the Jewish condition. If a Jewish state could be achieved, it would not only ease the hardships of the Jews, but bring about a complete moral and cultural reestablishment of the entire Jewish nation in its own eyes and in the eyes of other nations.

Fifth and crucial: *Only the Jews themselves through their own efforts and by mobilizing their energy and resources would be able to accomplish the resolution of the Jewish question.*

And this is not all. The most important point was Herzl's firm belief that if Jews want to acquire freedom and dignity, **they first had to achieve a political status**. If it proved impossible to create an independent state in the near future, Jews should work toward the establishment of an autonomous region or any other form of self-government that would be internationally recognized. Such an entity should be created on any particular territory offered to the Jews for this purpose; e.g. the Uganda Plan.

To agree to less would mean only to relocate from one country of exile into another. To agree to less would be to give up on all that the Jewish people required - standing on its own legs and responding for its actions. It would mean to refuse dignity, self-respect and the respect of other nations. *Herzl clearly and openly expressed all of this in his approach to Jewish issues, supported by a growing number of comrades who also believed in this vision.*

The Jewish State was proclaimed in May 1948, just a little shy of the date that Herzl predicted after the First Zionist Congress in Basel, when he wrote in his diary; "At Basel, I founded the Jewish State. If I said this out loud today, I would be answered by universal laughter. Perhaps in

five years, certainly in fifty, everyone will know it."

Yet, as I wrote earlier, there is another important achievement of Herzl that has gone almost unmentioned in the many books and articles analyzing his impact on the development of Zionist movement. ***I see this achievement as Herzl's success in uniting very different leaders of diverse political factions with varied goals and ideas around one big goal – the creation of a Jewish state.***

Clearly, one of the principle reasons for Herzl's success in uniting all of these people under one banner was his ability to convince others of the plausibility of his conviction that the ideas of Zionism could in fact be achieved utilizing a broad range of strategies.

It is also important that Herzl managed to build his Zionist movement and conduct his World Zionist Congresses ***according to democratic principles under which all issues were resolved by majority vote.***

The miracle at last came to pass. Jews in countries around the world united around one idea – the resolution of the Jewish question via the building of a Jewish state. I have no problem calling this a divinely-inspired miracle. We all remember the old joke which describes two Jews having three opinions – my opinion, your opinion, and our opinion; or my synagogue, your synagogue and our synagogue. Despite this, all the factions united around the creation of a Jewish State.

In order to convince my esteemed readers of the historic transformation that Herzl caused in the Jewish condition *by uniting a movement that seemingly could not be united*, I will attempt to characterize these amazing pages of our recent history, the building of a Jewish state.

For me, this issue has a very personal meaning. I believe that my research and analysis demonstrates that both national movements of Soviet Jewry – LET MY PEOPLE GO! and VAAD –took a similar road as did the early Zionist movement. You, good reader, will decide whether my conclusions are correct when you read my essays about these movements.

I have thought long and hard about how to convince my readers of the veracity at the heart of Herzl's beliefs and the entire historical movement of Zionism, including the plethora of movements that came under the Zionist umbrella. I came to the conclusion that the story should be presented from "left to right"; to begin with an analysis of the most left-wing, proletarian Zionists and to end with the right-wing Zionists and Orthodox Jews.

First, however, I consider important to print here Herzl's important article "*A Solution of the Jewish Question*", which was published in the London Jewish Chronicle on January 7, 1896. Into this seminal article, Herzl puts all of his ideas about political Zionism and about the future new-old Jewish State. After that I will include his Basel Program of 1897 which was the first charter of the newly created World Zionist Organization. And after this I will provide a short description of two proto-Zionist social movements which emerged before Herzl began his work – "*BILU*" and "*Hovevei Zion*".

1.3.2. HERZL'S ARTICLE "A SOLUTION OF THE JEWISH QUESTION"

(published in *The Jewish Chronicle*, January 17, 1896)

I have been asked to lay out my scheme in a few words before the readers of the Jewish Chronicle. This I will endeavor to do, although in this brief and rapid account, I run the risk of being misunderstood. My first and incomplete exposition will probably be scoffed at by Jews. The bad and foolish way we ridicule one another is a survival of slavish habits contracted by us during centuries of oppression. A free man sees nothing to laugh at in himself, and allows no one to laugh at him.

I therefore address my first words to those Jews who are strong and free of spirit. They shall form my earliest audience, and they will one day, I hope, become my friends. I am introducing no new idea: on the contrary, it is a very old one. It is a universal idea and therein lies its power – old as the people, which never, even in the time of bitterest calamity, ceased to cherish it. ***This is the restoration of the Jewish State.***

It is remarkable that we Jews should have dreamt this kingly dream all through the night of our long history. Now day is dawning. We need only rub the sleep out of our eyes, stretch our limbs, and convert the dream into a reality. Though neither prophet nor visionary, I confess I cherish the hope and belief that the Jewish people will one day be fired by a splendid enthusiasm. For the present, however, I would appeal in calm words to the common sense of men of practical judgment and of modern culture. A subsequent task will be to seek out the less favored, to teach and to inspire them. This latter task I cannot undertake alone. I shall take my part in it, in the ranks of those friends and fellow workers whom I am endeavoring to arouse and unite for a common cause. I do not say "my adherence", for that would be making the movement a personal one, and consequently absurd and contemptible from the outset. No, it is a national movement, and it will be a glorious one, if kept unswayed by the taint of personal desires, though these desires took no other form than political ambition. We, who are the first to inaugurate this movement, will scarcely live to see its glorious close: but the inauguration of it is enough to bring a noble kind of happiness into our lives. *We shall plant for our children in the same way as our fathers preserved the tradition for us.* Our lives represent but a moment in the permanent duration of our people. The moment has its duties.

Two phenomena arrest our attention by reason of the consequences with which they are fraught. One, the higher culture: the other, the profound barbarism of our day. I have intentionally put the statement in the form of a paradox. By high culture, I mean the marvelous development of all mechanical contrivances for making the forces of nature serve men's purposes. By profound barbarism, I mean anti-Semitism...

The Jewish Question still exists. It would be foolish to deny it. It exists wherever Jews live in

perceptible numbers. Where it does not yet exist, it will be brought by Jews in the course of their migrations. We naturally move to those places where we are not persecuted, and there our presence soon produces persecution. This is true in every country, and will remain true even in those most highly civilized. France itself is no exception till the Jewish Question finds a solution on a political basis. I believe that I understand anti-Semitism, which is in reality a highly complex movement. I consider it from a Jewish standpoint, yet without fear or hatred. I believe that I can see what elements there are in it of vulgar sport, of common trade, of jealousy, of inherited prejudice, of religious intolerance, and also of legitimate self-defense.

Only an ignorant man would mistake modern anti-Semitism for an exact repetition of the Jew-baiting of the past. The two may have a few points of resemblance, but the main current of the movement has now changed. In the principal countries where anti-Semitism prevails, it does so *as the result of the emancipation of the Jews*. When civilized nations evoke to the inhumanity of exclusive legislation, and enfranchised us, our enfranchisement came too late. For we had, curiously enough, developed while in the Ghetto into bourgeois people, and we stepped out of it only to enter into fierce competition with the middle classes. Historical circumstances made us take to finance, for which, as every educated man knows, we had, as a nation, no original bent. One of the most important of the circumstances was the relation of the Catholic Church to "anatocism"[1]. In the Ghetto we had become somewhat unaccustomed to bodily labor and we produced in the main but a large number of mediocre intellects. Hence, our emancipation set us suddenly within the circle of the middle classes, where we have to sustain a double pressure, from within and from without. The Christian bourgeoisie would not be unwilling to cast us as a sacrifice to socialism, though that would naturally not improve matters much. But the Jewish Question is no more of a social than a religious one, notwithstanding that it sometimes takes on these and other forms. *It is a national question which can only be solved by making it a political world-question to be discussed and controlled by the nations of the civilized world in council.*

We are one people – One People. We have honestly striven everywhere to merge ourselves in the social life of surrounding communities, and to preserve only the faith of our fathers. It has not been permitted to us. In vain we are loyal patriots, in some places our loyalty running to extremes; in vain do we make the same sacrifices of life and property as our fellow-citizens; in vain do we strive to increase the fame of our native land in science and art, or her wealth by trade and commerce. In countries where we have lived for centuries we are still cried down as strangers; and often by those whose ancestors were not yet domiciled in the land where Jews had already made experience of suffering. Yet, in spite of all, we are loyal subject, loyal as the Huguenots, who were forced to emigrate. If we could only be left in peace...

We are one people – our enemies have made us one in our despite, as repeatedly happens in history. Distress binds us together, and thus united, we suddenly discover our strength. *Yes, we are strong enough to form a state, and a model state.* We possess all human and material resource necessary for the purpose... The whole matter is in essence perfectly simple, as it must necessarily be, if it is to come within the comprehension of all.

Let the sovereignty be granted us over a portion of the globe large enough to satisfy the requirements of the nation, the rest we shall manage for ourselves. Of course, I fully expect that each word of this sentence, and each letter of each word, will be torn to tatters by scoffers and doubters. I advise them to do the thing cautiously, if they are themselves sensitive to ridicule. The creation of a new state has in it nothing ridiculous or impossible. We have, in our day, witnessed the process in connection with nations which were not in the bulk of the middle class, but poor, less educated, and therefore weaker than ourselves. The governments of all countries, scourged by anti-Semitism, will serve their own interests, in assisting us to obtain the sovereignty we want. These governments will be all the more willing to meet us half-way, seeing that the movement I suggest is not likely to bring about any economic crisis. Such crises, as must follow everywhere as a natural consequence of Jew-baiting, will rather be prevented by the carrying out of my plan. For I propose an inner migration of Christians into the parts slowly and systematically evacuated by Jews. If we are not merely suffered to do what I ask, but are actually helped, we shall be able to effect a transfer of property from Jews to Christians in a manner so peaceable and on so extensive a scale as has never been known in the annals of history.

Everything must be carried out with due consideration for acquired rights and with absolute conformity to law, without compulsion, open and by light of day, under supervision of authority and the control of public opinion...

Our clergy, on whom I most especially call, will devote their energies to the service of this idea. They must, however, clearly understand from the outset, that we do not mean to found a theocracy, but a tolerant modern civil state. We shall, however, rebuild the Temple in glorious remembrance of the faith of our fathers. We shall unroll the new banner of Judaism – a banner bearing seven stars on a white field. The white field symbolizes our pure new life, the seven stars, the seven golden hours of a working day. For we shall march into the Promised Land carrying the badge of labor.

Let all of you who will join us fall in behind our flag and fight for our cause with voice and pen and deed. I count on all our ambitious young men, who are now debarred from making progress elsewhere...

Thus we also need a "gestor" (manager) to direct this Jewish political cause. The Jewish people are as yet prevented by the Diaspora from undertaking the management of their business for themselves. At the same time they are in a condition of more or less severe distress in many parts of the world. They need a "gestor". A first essential will therefore be the creation of such.

This "gestor" cannot, of course, be a single individual, for an individual who would undertake this giant work alone would probably be either a madman or an impostor. It is therefore indispensable to the integrity of the idea and the vigor of its execution that the work should be impersonal. The "gestor" of the Jews must be a union of several persons for the purpose, a body corporate. This body corporate or corporation, I suggest, shall be formed in the first instance from among those energetic English Jews to whom I imparted my scheme in London. Let that body be called "the Society of Jews", and be entirely distinct from the Jewish Company previously referred to. The Society of Jews is the point of departure for whole Jewish movement about to begin. It will have work to do in the domains of science and politics, for the founding of the Jewish State, as I

conceive it presupposes application of scientific method. We cannot journey out of Mizraim (Egypt) today, in the primitive fashion of ancient times. We must previously obtain an accurate account of our number of strength.

My pamphlet (*The Jewish State*) will open a general discussion on the Jewish Question. Friends and enemies will take part in it, but it will no longer, I hope, take the form either of violent abuse or of sentimental vindication, but of a debate, practical, large, earnest, and political. The Society of Jews will gather all available information from statesmen, parliaments, Jewish communities and societies, from speeches, letters and meetings, from newspapers and books. It will thus find out for the first time whether Jews really wish to go to the Promised Land, and whether they ought to go there. Every Jewish community in the world will send contributions to the Society towards a comprehensive collection of Jewish statistics. Further tasks, such as an investigation by experts of the new country and its natural resources, planning of joint migration and settlement, preliminary work for legislation and administration, etc., must be judiciously evolved out of the original scheme. In short, the Society of Jews will be the nucleus of our public organizations...

Shall we choose (the) Argentine (Republic) or Palestine? Will we take what is given us and what is selected by Jewish public opinion? Argentina is one of the most fertile countries in the world, extends over a vast area, and has a sparsely population. The Argentine Republic would derive considerable profit from the cession of a portion of its territory to us. The present infiltration of Jews has certainly produced some friction, and it would be necessary to enlighten the Republic on the intrinsic differences of our new movement.

Palestine is our ever-memorable historic home. The very name of Palestine would attract our people with a force of extraordinary potency. Supposing His Majesty the Sultan were to give us Palestine, we could in return pledge ourselves to regulate the whole finances of Turkey. There we should also form a portion of the rampart of Europe against Asia, and outpost of civilization as opposed to barbarism. We should remain a neutral state in intimate connection with the whole of Europe, which would guarantee our continued existence. The sanctuaries of Christendom would be safeguarded by assigning to them an extra-territorial status, such as is well known to the law of nations. We should form a guard of honor about these sanctuaries, answering for the fulfillment of this duty with our existence. This guard of honor would be the great symbol of the solution of the Jewish Question after nearly nineteen centuries of Jewish suffering...

I know full well that in bringing forward a very old idea in a new form, I am laying myself open to derision and to every kind of attack. Gentler spirits will call my idea Utopian. But what is the difference between a Utopian scheme and a possible one? A Utopian scheme may be a piece of cleverly combined mechanism, lacking only the requisite force to set it in motion; a possible scheme on the other hand rests on a known and existent propelling force.

The force we need is created in us by anti-Semitism. Some people will say that what I am doing is to kindle anti-Semitism afresh. This is not true, for anti-Semitism would continue to increase, irrespective of my project, so long as the causes of its growth are not removed. Others would tremble for their goods and chattels, and professional business interests...

What form of constitution shall we have? I am inclined to an aristocratic republic, although I am an ardent monarchist in my own country. Our history has been too long interrupted for us to attempt direct continuity of the ancient constitutional forms without exposing ourselves to the charge of absurdity.

What language shall we speak? Every man can preserve the language in which his thoughts are at home, Switzerland offers us an example of the possibility of a federation of tongues. We shall remain there in the new country what we now are here, and shall never cease to cherish the memory of the native land out of which we have been driven.

People will say that I am furnishing our enemies with weapons. This is also untrue, for my proposal can only be carried out with the free consent of a majority of Jews, individuals, or even powerful bodies of Jews, might be attacked, but governments will take no action against the collective nation. The equal right of Jews before the law cannot be withdrawn where they have once been conceded, for their withdrawal would immediately drive all Jews, rich and poor alike, into the ranks of the revolutionary party. Even under present conditions the first official violation of Jewish liberties invariably brings about an economic crisis. The weapons used against us cut the hands that wield them. Meantime, hatred grows apace.

Again, it will be said that our enterprise is hopeless, because, even if we obtain the land with the supremacy over it, the poorest Jews only will go there. But it is precisely the poorest whom we need at first. Only desperados make good conquerors. The rich and well-to-do will follow later, when they will find the new country as pleasant as the old, or ever pleasanter...

But we can do nothing without the enthusiasm of our own nation. The idea must make its way into the most distant miserable hole where our people dwell. They will awaken from gloomy brooding, for into their lives will come a new significance. Let each of them but think of himself, and what vast proportions the movement must assume! And what glory awaits those who fight unselfishly for the cause! A wondrous generation of Jews will spring into existence. **The Maccabees will rise again.**

And so it will be: It is the poor and the simple who do not know what power man already exercises over the forces of nature, it is just these who will have the firmest faith in the new message. For these have never lost the hope of the Promised Land. This is my message, fellow Jews! Neither fable nor fraud! Every man may test its truth or himself, for *every man will carry with him a portion of the Promised Land* – one in his head, another in his arms, another in his acquired possessions. We shall live at last as free men, on our own soil, and die peacefully in our own home.

The above article not only outlines Herzl's political ideas in literary form, but also shows him to be a brilliant writer who powerfully articulated his credo in a compelling manner that was understandable to broad sections of the Jewish public. Equally importantly, he transmitted an evident and quite infectious conviction that his seemingly far-fetched vision could, in fact, be

brought to fruition. Indeed, more and more Jews each year—and not only Jews—came to believe that Herzl's crazy idea of a Jewish state, which at first hearing sounded akin to mysticism or science fiction, could in fact be turned into concrete reality.

Herzl was a true prophet of the 20th Century, a century during which different nations attempted to realize widely varied forms of utopia. Let us not forget—would that it was possible to forget!—the Communist experiment in the Soviet Union or a promised thousand-year reign of the Third Reich of Nazi Germany.

Unlike these monstrosities, however, which have mercifully vanished from the world, the utopia of Herzl was ultimately realized by the Jewish people. Just over fifty years after his first public articulation of the idea of building a Jewish State, such state was born. In the 64 years of its existence, the State of Israel has not only survived, but thrived, despite manifold enemies among of the Arab countries.

1.3.3. THE BASLE PROGRAM

August 31, 1897

The aim of Zionism is to create for the Jewish people a home in Palestine secured by public law.

The Congress contemplates the following means to the attainment of this end:

1. The promotion, on suitable lines, of the colonization of Palestine by Jewish agricultural and industrial workers.
2. The organization and binding together of the whole Jewry by means of appropriate institutions, local and international in accordance with the laws of each country.
3. The strengthening and fostering of Jewish national sentiment and consciousness.
4. Preparatory steps toward obtaining government consent, where necessary, to the attainment of the aim of Zionism.

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[1] "anatocism" is the principle of charging compound interest