

THE JEWISH STATE

A LOOK AT THE FOUNDING TEXT OF ZIONISM

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DER JUDENSTAAT

Der Judenstaat (“The Jewish State”) is a Zionist pamphlet published in 1896 by the Jewish-German journalist and political theorist Theodor Herzl. Though there were previous “notions” of a Zionist ideology, Herzl’s pamphlet is widely considered to be the foundational text of Zionism.

Initially, the pamphlet was titled *Address to the Rothschilds*, and was delivered by Herzl to the following people¹:

- Lady Battersea, the cousin of Edmond de Rothschild.
- Samuel Montagu, the 1st Baron of Swaythling, founder of Samuel Montagu & Co. Bank, and member of the British House of Commons.
- Moritz von Hirsch, a financier who set up the Jewish Colonization Association (JCA), which sponsored the resettlement of Jews into Argentina, Canada, and later Palestine. The aforementioned Rothschild would be the one to give the JCA his Palestinian properties and a loan of 15 million francs.

Herzl continued to advocate for Zionism in the following years. In 1897, he founded the First Zionist Congress (now the World Zionist Organization) in Switzerland. The Congress’s founding is said to have inspired the infamous *Protocols of the Elders of Zion*², a work purporting to describe a Zionist plan for world colonization. The general consensus is that *Protocols* is a forgery.

In 1898, Herzl visited Jerusalem with support from the German Kaiser³ Wilhelm II. Wilhelm and Herzl met at *Mikveh Israel*⁴, the first Jewish settlement on Palestinian lands (outside of Jerusalem), with the Kaiser offering his endorsement.

In 1902, Herzl testified before the British Royal Commission on Alien Immigration, where he met Colonial Secretary Joseph Chamberlain. The two unsuccessfully made a bid to the Crown that Egypt should be used as a settlement for Jews. Also around this time, Herzl met with Nathaniel Mayer Rothschild to deliver his pamphlet, and a few days later delivered it to the Ottoman Sultan⁵.

In 1903, Herzl and the Zionist Congress requested the support of the Pope, and were turned down. He then visited Russia, where hundreds of thousands of Jews had emigrated from the nation over the past century. In Russia, Herzl met Sergei Witte, the Russian Imperial Finance

¹ Theodor Herzl 1900-1904, *The Jewish Agency for Israel*, r. 2021

² Stephen Eric Bronner (2003). *A Rumor about the Jews: Antisemitism, Conspiracy, and the Protocols of Zion*.

³ Emperor

⁴ Jerry Klinger (July 2010). "Reverend William H. Hechler—The Christian minister who legitimized Theodor Herzl". *Jewish Magazine*

⁵ The Jewish Agency, *Ibid*

Minister (and soon to be Prime Minister). He also met with Vyacheslav Plehve, the Imperial Minister of the Interior, who adamantly supported Herzl's ideas and proposed to the Tsar the purchase of Turkish-controlled Palestine for the resettlement of the Jews⁶.

Later in 1903, Nathaniel Rothschild meets with Herzl and tells him that Edmond de Rothschild supports his Zionist ambitions. The next day, Chamberlain (the previously mentioned Colonial Secretary) would convince the British government to propose a Ugandan settlement for Jews to the Zionist Congress. A vote was taken at the Congress, and the offer was accepted, prompting the Russians to walk out of the meeting in protest. This would lead the Congress to reconsider, and in 1905 the previous vote was overruled. The Congress declined the British offer, insisting on a settlement in Palestine⁷.

Herzl died in 1904, before the overruling occurred. He was buried in Austria at the time.

In 1949, the new Chairman of Herzl's World Zionist Organization and the first Prime Minister of Israel David Ben-Gurion read the Declaration of the Establishment of the State of Israel while standing beneath a portrait of Herzl. The Declaration read:

In the year 5657 (1897), at the summons of the spiritual father of the Jewish State, Theodore Herzl, the First Zionist Congress convened and proclaimed the right of the Jewish people to national rebirth in its own country. This right was recognized in the Balfour Declaration of the 2nd November, 1917, and re-affirmed in the Mandate of the League of Nations which, in particular, gave international sanction to the historic connection between the Jewish people and Eretz-Israel and to the right of the Jewish people to rebuild its National Home.

Herzl's body was retrieved and transferred to the newly renamed Mount Herzl, Israel. Today, Herzl Day is an Israeli national holiday.

That is enough about Herzl and his life. The reader should get the general picture. A study of Herzl's work is indispensable to a study of modern Zionism, of which Herzl is the founder. The following concerns itself not as an investigation of Herzl's life, but as a review of Herzl's most famous work, *Der Judenstaat*, the founding manifesto of Herzl's Zionist ideology.

⁶ Leslie Stein. *The hope fulfilled: the rise of modern Israel*, 2006

⁷ Schneer, *The Balfour Declaration*, 1917

INTRODUCTION

The introduction is by no means superfluous. It contains some elements which are critical to understanding Herzl's ideology. It begins:

...I do not wish to take up the cudgels for the Jews in this pamphlet. It would be useless. Everything rational and everything sentimental that can possibly be said in their defense has been said already.

The Jewish question still exists. It would be foolish to deny it. It is a remnant of the Middle Ages, which civilized nations do not even yet seem able to shake off, try as they will. They certainly showed a generous desire to do so when they emancipated us. The Jewish question exists wherever Jews live in perceptible numbers. **Where it does not exist, it is carried by Jews in the course of their migrations. We naturally move to those places where we are not persecuted, and there our presence produces persecution. This is the case in every country, and will remain so, even in those highly civilized** –for instance, France – until the Jewish question finds a solution on a political basis. The unfortunate Jews are now carrying the seeds of Anti-Semitism into England; they have already introduced it into America.

In Herzl's own words, the Jews are naturally persecuted wherever they go: in the places where there is no persecution, their presence produces it.

We should say here that a “nation” possesses certain traits – a language, a culture, and a land. A “people” cannot remain one people if they do not live on the same land, and speak the same language.

Jews descend from the Kingdoms of Judea and Israel, but lost this land thousands of years ago. They do not possess any one language, although in some places there was Yiddish (a continuously assimilating mix of German, Russian, and so forth) and Hebrew. For the most part, a Russian Jew speaks Russian, a German Jew speaks German, and a French Jew speaks French. In this way, Jews are not a nation, but a diaspora. Herzl later implies that it is possible to be both a nation, and a diaspora.

What remains of the old Judean nation is its culture, particularly the religion and cultural practices of Judaism. The perseverance of this culture, as Herzl himself goes on to say, can be traced to the Jews' extremely early advancements in the art of finance and commerce, which allowed them to become one of the first urban nations, that is, a city-based nation.

But time is always moving. Once a nation has lost its land, or its language, it will lose another element, and then another, until there remains nothing of the old nation: at this point, they will have been “assimilated”, losing their Jewish identity entirely and adopting that of their nation.

Herzl argues that the Jews practice a certain religion, and that this religion – *which he implies the Jews cannot abandon* – is the basis of their persecution.

I believe that I understand Anti-Semitism, which is really 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 jealousy, of inherited prejudice, of religious intolerance, and also of pretended self-defense. **I think the Jewish question is no more a social than a religious one**, notwithstanding that it sometimes takes these and other forms.

In this regard, we agree with Herzl. Any attempt by the Jewish people to cling onto their “national elements” as they disappear, or to “regain” already long-lost elements such as land or language while in the lands of other nations and speaking their languages, will be seen as something alien and dangerous. It will, in Herzl’s words, produce persecution wherever the Jews go.

The crux of our disagreement with Herzl lies in the fact that our solution is thus: the Jews must speedily and readily abandon their Jewish identity and assimilate, for this is their fullest development and destined historical outcome. Herzl, however, implies that the Jews cannot abandon their religion, for they will cease to be Jews: and Judaism is something he is not willing to give up.

This leads Herzl to propose:

It is a national question, which can only be solved by making it a political world-question to be discussed and settled by the civilized nations of the world in council. We are a people--one people.

Herzl declares the Jews to be “one people”, whose issues are a “political world-question” that must be solved for them by “the civilized nations of the world in council”.

Really, is it so surprising that *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion* would find such fertile soil in people’s minds?

In our theory, the Jews *must* assimilate, for they lack the basis of the nation: the land. They must adopt the language, culture, and so forth of the people among who they live, for if they do not, then they are rootless, they are a cosmopolitan without a country, longing for something which does not exist.

In Herzl’s proposal, the solution to the persecution of Jews is for the Jews to *take back* their land and language, whatever this land or language may be – Uganda and Yiddish, or Palestine

and Hebrew – and to do this with the help of the “civilized nations”, i.e. those nations which had by the late 19th century just begun to develop large-scale financial banking⁸.

Take note here, where Herzl explains why they have not yet been able to assimilate:

We have honestly endeavored everywhere to merge ourselves in the social life of surrounding communities and to preserve the faith of our fathers. We are not permitted to do so. In vain are we loyal patriots, our loyalty in some places 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... If we could only be left in peace... But I think we shall not be left in peace.

Herzl openly remarks: the Jews have attempted to assimilate without abandoning Judaism, and it is impossible. And no matter how hard they have tried, they have not been able to retain their Jewish faith while also becoming truly accepted into their nations, even after centuries of work.

Herzl could have just as easily gone on to say that the only solution for the Jews is to abandon the “faith of [their] fathers”, to fully assimilate into their national communities.

Herzl then provides a condemnation to those who think this problem is as simple as eradicating the Jews in one fell swoop:

Oppression and persecution cannot exterminate us. No nation on earth has survived such struggles and sufferings as we have gone through. **Jew-baiting has merely stripped off our weaklings; the strong among us were invariably true to their race when persecution broke out against them.** This attitude was most clearly apparent in the period immediately following the emancipation of the Jews.

The most remarkable part is that which comes immediately afterwards, wherein Herzl *openly admits that our theory is the correct one*:

Those Jews who were advanced intellectually and materially entirely lost the feeling of belonging to their race. **Wherever our political well-being has lasted for any length of time, we have assimilated with our surroundings. I think this is not discreditable...**

Those who really wished to see the Jews disappear through intermixture with other nations, can only hope to see it come about in one way. The Jews must previously acquire economic power sufficiently great to overcome the old social prejudice against them....

But what form would this phenomenon assume in the middle classes, where (the Jews being a bourgeois people⁹) the Jewish question is mainly concentrated?... And if the power

⁸ One must remember that nearly everyone Herzl appealed for support to was a banker; Rothschilds, etc.

⁹ Anti-semitic!

they now possess creates rage and indignation among the Anti-Semites, what outbreaks would such an increase of power create?

In countries which now are Anti-Semitic my view will be approved. In others, where Jews now feel comfortable, it will probably be violently disputed by them. My happier coreligionists will not believe me till Jew-baiting teaches them the truth; for **the longer Anti-Semitism lies in abeyance the more fiercely will it break out.** The infiltration of immigrating Jews, attracted to a land by apparent security, and the ascent in the social scale of native Jews, combine powerfully to bring about a revolution. Nothing is plainer than this rational conclusion.

Herzl – though disputing the *possibility* of our solution – acknowledges that *if this solution were possible, it would work.* That is all we require for now.

Somewhat entertainingly, he states that his view will be accepted by anti-Semites, and “violently disputed” by well-off Jews.

Further, he repeats what we have said many times over: that if the Jews do not assimilate, they are bound to be met with genocide. In Germany, this case was already proven true. It will happen again, in time. We will discuss this later.

Herzl maintains that those who do not join him in his quest to establish a separate Jewish state are *not primarily Jews*, but are primarily members of those nations they currently live in:

Hence, if all or any of the French Jews protest against this scheme on account of their own "assimilation," my answer is simple: The whole thing does not concern them at all. **They are Jewish Frenchmen, well and good! This is a private affair for the Jews alone.**

Interesting is that he still distinguishes them: they are still “Jewish Frenchmen”, not just “Frenchmen”.

Herzl then explains the true value of his plan, that it stops what is inevitable:

The movement towards the organization of the State I am proposing would [lead the Jews to] no longer be disturbed in their "chromatic function," as Darwin puts it, but would be able to assimilate in peace, because the present Anti-Semitism would have been stopped for ever. They would certainly be credited with being assimilated to the very depths of their souls, if they stayed where they were after the new Jewish State, with its superior institutions, had become a reality. **The "assimilated" would profit even more than Christian citizens by the departure of faithful Jews; for they would be rid of the disquieting, incalculable, and unavoidable rivalry of a Jewish proletariat,** driven by poverty and political pressure from place to place, from land to land. This floating proletariat would become stationary. Many Christian citizens – whom we call Anti-Semites – now offer determined resistance to the immigration of foreign Jews.

In other words, Herzl appeals to – and one must remember, this was written initially for the Rothschilds directly – his audience by saying that it would rid the various nations of their working Jews, and preserve the Jewish financier's status in whatever country they reside in.

At last, Herzl lays out his plan for a Jewish State. First, he assures the reader that it will not be an exodus into the desert, for they will be settling on already civilized land:

Dull brains might, for instance, imagine that this exodus would be from civilized regions into the desert. That is not the case. It will be carried out in the midst of civilization. We shall not revert to a lower stage, we shall rise to a higher one. We shall not dwell in mud huts; we shall build new more beautiful and more modern houses, and possess them in safety. We shall not lose our acquired possessions; we shall realize them. We shall surrender our well earned rights; only for better ones. We shall not sacrifice our beloved customs; we shall find them again. **We shall not leave our old home before the new one is prepared for us.**

And further, Herzl explains that they will not all immigrate at once, and will instead do so gradually, along a class basis:

Those only will depart who are sure thereby to improve their position; those who are now desperate will go first after them the poor; next the prosperous, and, last of all the wealthy.

Those who go in advance will raise themselves to a higher grade, equal to those whose representatives will shortly follow. **Thus the exodus will be at the same time an ascent of the class.**

Herzl explains that the movement would be beneficial for the ruling classes of the already existing European states:

The movement will not only be inaugurated with absolute conformity to law, but **it cannot even be carried out without the friendly cooperation of interested Governments, who would derive considerable benefits from it.**

Herzl insists that the project is impossible without the help of European states, i.e. he wishes for the money in the pockets of the various European peoples to be used in building a Jewish settlement abroad, rather than the development of their own nations.

Therefore, it stands to reason that the exodus would serve to neutralize the class struggle in whatever nation the Jews departed from. Herzl states where he would obtain the funding for such a project:

Security for the integrity of the idea and the vigor of its execution will be found in the creation of a body corporate, or corporation. This corporation will be called "The Society of Jews." **In addition to it there will be a Jewish company, an economically productive body.**

Rather odd is Herzl's insistence that the integrity of the corporation's members is determined entirely by "personal character":

The personal character of the members of the corporation will guarantee its integrity, and the adequate capital of the Company will prove its stability.

Herzl at last wraps up:

These prefatory remarks are merely intended as a hasty reply to the mass of objections which the very words "Jewish State" are certain to arouse. Henceforth we shall proceed more slowly to meet further objections and to explain in detail what has been as yet only indicated; and we shall try in the interests of this pamphlet to avoid making it a dull exposition. Short aphoristic chapters will therefore best answer the purpose. If I wish to substitute a new building for an old one, I must demolish before I construct. I shall therefore keep to this natural sequence. In the first and general part I shall explain my ideas, remove all prejudices, determine essential political and economic conditions, and develop the plan. **In the special part, which is divided into three principal sections, I shall describe its execution. These three sections are: The Jewish Company, Local Groups, and the Society of Jews. The Society is to be created first, the Company last; but in this exposition the reverse order is preferable, because it is the financial soundness of the enterprise which will chiefly be called into question, and doubts on this score must be removed first.**

Before moving on, we should take time to note: if one is aware of how fond certain people are of labeling any and all study of Jews and Judaism as "anti-Semitic", then they might find the fact that Herzl himself was in a similar position to be rather amusing:

I think, therefore, that the absorption of Jews by means of their prosperity is unlikely to occur. **In countries which now are Anti-Semitic my view will be approved. In others, where Jews now feel comfortable, it will probably be violently disputed by them.**

Because I have drawn this conclusion with complete indifference to everything but the quest of truth, I shall probably be contradicted and opposed by Jews who are in easy circumstances. **Insofar as private interests alone are held by their anxious or timid possessors to be in danger, they can safely be ignored,** for the concerns of the poor and oppressed are of greater importance than theirs.

In essence, Herzl gives us permission to ignore these accusations of anti-Semitism. Our accusers will have to think of something more clever, like honest criticism.

THE JEWISH QUESTION

Der Judenstaat opens with an explanation of the so-called “Jewish Question”:

I shall now put the [Jewish] Question in the briefest possible form: **Are we to "get out" now and where to? Or, may we yet remain? And, how long?**

Our answer: you are to remain, and forever. Further, you are to abandon your old Jewish identity, and assimilate once and for all into the people with whom you live. You have lost the land, and the language: it is time to drop the culture as well.

But how can we say this to them, and then prevent their assimilation by force? Herzl complains:

I do not intend to arouse sympathetic emotions on our behalf. That would be foolish, futile, and undignified proceeding. I shall content myself with putting the following questions to the Jews:

Is it not true that, in countries where we live in perceptible numbers, the position of Jewish lawyers, doctors, technicians, teachers, and employees of all descriptions becomes daily more intolerable? **Is it not true, that the Jewish middle classes are seriously threatened? Is it not true, that the passions of the mob are incited against our wealthy people? Is it not true, that our poor endure greater sufferings than any other proletariat?** I think that this external pressure makes itself felt everywhere. In our economically upper classes it causes discomfort, in our middle classes continual and grave anxieties, in our lower classes absolute despair. **Everything tends, in fact, to one and the same conclusion, which is clearly enunciated in that classic Berlin phrase: "Juden Raus" (Out with the Jews!).**

Herzl outright states: anti-Semitism *seriously threatens the Jewish middle classes and “wealthy people”*, and further stifles the Jewish workers from lifting out of their condition and becoming one with their nations. Thus, it necessitates a reaction against it, that reaction being a strict adherence to the Jewish identity, ultimately concluding in the exodus of Jews out of the nation.

Did Herzl not also say that it was the richest and wealthiest Jews who would have to immigrate out of the country last?¹⁰ And therefore we should say, does it not follow that Herzl is declaring Zionism a movement to *protect the wealth of the Jewish financial elites*, at the expense of the state of the Jews are staying in?¹¹

Herzl goes on to state that the Jews *are indeed predominantly financiers*, and he correctly points to this as the source of anti-Semitism:

¹⁰ “Those only will depart who are sure thereby to improve their position; those who are now desperate will go first after them the poor; next the prosperous, and, last of all the wealthy.”

¹¹ “We shall not leave our old home *before the new one is prepared for us.*”

We are what the Ghetto made us. We have attained pre-eminence in finance, because mediaeval conditions drove us to it. The same process is now being repeated. **We are again being forced into finance, now it is the stock exchange**, by being kept out of other branches of economic activity. **Being on the stock exchange, we are consequently exposed afresh to contempt.** At the same time we continue to produce an abundance of mediocre intellects who find no outlet, and this endangers our social position as much as does our increasing wealth.

One must ask: does what Herzl say not directly imply that the only way to solve the condition of the Jews is not to set up settlements for them abroad, but to *keep them out of finance specifically*? And what better way to keep Jews from finance than to *assimilate Jewish financiers into their nations*, so that the people in finance are no longer Jewish, rather than those who are Jewish no longer being in finance?

It should go without saying that finance in its present state is untenable for any prolonged amount of time, that every day, the financiers drive the national and global economy closer and closer to collapse – and further, that a good portion of these financiers are, just as in Herzl's time, still Jewish, with the world's richest bankers being:

Name	Net Worth	Predominant National Identity ¹²
Jim Simons	\$23.6 billion	Jewish
Joseph Safra	\$22.4 billion	Jewish
Petr Kellner	\$18.4 billion	Czech
Ray Dalio	\$16.9 billion	Italian
Jorge Paul Lemann	\$15.5 billion	Hispanic
Ken Griffin	\$15 billion	Anglo
Leon Black	\$7.5 billion ¹³	Jewish
John Paulson	\$4.2 billion	Jewish
Andre Esteves	\$3.8 billion	Hispanic
Jamie Dimon	\$1.4 billion	Greek
Ihor Kolomoyskyi	\$1.1 billion	Jewish
Larry Fink	\$1 billion	Jewish

The end result, in a world where Jews make up .08% of the global population, is a clique of 12 top bankers wherein 6 are Jews, or 50%. Quite a few conclusions can be drawn from this, some of them rational, and some of them irrational.

What we will say is this: we cannot simply get rid of those with the necessary expertise and training in financial institutions, or our economies would cease to function properly. What we *can* do is subordinate these financiers to the state, which would require also radically altering the ideological character of those occupying prominent financial positions, to convince them to give up their old “promised land” and to assimilate into their nations; those who refuse and cling

¹² Americans have the “American” suffix excluded. “National” in this case includes Jews, who see themselves as a nation.

¹³ Black also infamously paid famous sex trafficker Jeffrey Epstein \$158 million.

tightly to their Jewish identity may be allowed to, but not while retaining their positions. Generally, the scale of force we associate with genocides would be unnecessary in this method.

Herzl's entire book is an attempt to convince us *not* to take this route. And why *would* 'Address to the Rothschilds' attempt to convince us of such a thing?

Herzl goes on:

In the principal countries **where Anti-Semitism prevails, it does so as a result of the emancipation of the Jews**. When civilized nations awoke to the inhumanity of discriminatory legislation and enfranchised us, our enfranchisement came too late. It was no longer possible to remove our disabilities in our old homes.

Our thesis is that, should Jews be truly emancipated, they will abandon their old religions and assimilate. Yet, Herzl asserts that anti-Semitism prevails where the Jews are *most emancipated*. What reason does Herzl give for this?

For we had, curiously enough, developed while in the Ghetto into a bourgeois people, and we stepped out of it only to enter into fierce competition with the middle classes. Hence, our emancipation set us suddenly within this middle-class circle, where we have a double pressure to sustain, from within and from without. **The Christian bourgeoisie would not be unwilling to cast us as a sacrifice to Socialism**, though that would not greatly improve matters.

Feebly, Herzl – perhaps after realizing the implication of what he had just said – adds, “Though that would not greatly improve matters...”

The truth is, this is the solution to the Jewish Question, and Herzl realizes it: the *identity* of Judaism must be cast aside as a sacrifice to what Herzl calls “socialism”, and which may be said to be whatever system comes as a development out of capitalism.

However, Herzl dishonestly claims that casting aside *Judaism* is the same as casting aside *Jews themselves*. Herzl, in his mind unable or unwilling to separate the Jewish people from the Jewish faith, assumes that casting aside the Jewish religion means also casting aside the Jews, i.e. by force.

He says:

At the same time, the equal rights of Jews before the law cannot be withdrawn where they have once been conceded. Not only because their withdrawal would be opposed to the spirit of our age, but also **because it would immediately drive all Jews, rich and poor alike, into the ranks of subversive parties.**

...The very impossibility of getting at the Jews nourishes and embitters hatred of them. **Anti-Semitism increases day by day and hour by hour among the nations;** indeed, **it is bound to**

increase, because the causes of its growth continue to exist and cannot be removed... When we sink, we become a revolutionary proletariat [industrial workers], the subordinate officers of all revolutionary parties; and at the same time, when we rise, there rises also our terrible power of the purse.

Herzl – in his words – has just implied the Jews are a driving force behind both capitalism, *and communism*. Throughout the work, he suggests that this is leading the Jews inevitably towards genocide.

Shortly afterwards (about four decades), Jews would be sent to death camps by the millions, their killers giving the reason Herzl has just described.

He also has accidentally implied that the only way to prevent this inevitable outcome is to remove the “power of the purse”, and to ‘tame’ the revolutionary industrial workers: *these are only accomplishable by the subordination of the financiers to the nation’s state.*

But how could Herzl appeal to Lord Rothschild, head of N M Rothschild & Sons Bank, that the solution to the Jewish Question was the eradication of financiers?

Further, Herzl reiterates that one cannot simply repress the Jews, as this is only a temporary fix and does not solve the problem as a whole:

Oppression naturally creates hostility against oppressors, and our hostility aggravates the pressure. It is impossible to escape from this eternal circle.

At last, Herzl addresses our argument, the assimilation of the Jews: and his argument is *profoundly underwhelming*.

"No!" Some soft-hearted visionaries will say: "No, it is possible! Possible by means of the ultimate perfection of humanity."

This is not quite what we argued. His counterpoint:

Is it necessary to point to the sentimental folly of this view? He who would found his hope for improved conditions on the ultimate perfection of humanity would indeed be relying upon a Utopia! I referred previously to our "assimilation". I do not for a moment wish to imply that I desire such an end. Our national character is too historically famous, and, in spite of every degradation, too fine to make its annihilation desirable.

His argument against assimilation amounted to, “But we are famous! We are fine!”

By his own logic: should we not too revive the famous and fine Roman Empire and Germanic tribes, and praise them when they – as they did thousands of years ago – put the Jews to the sword? As history would have it, such a “revival” has in fact occurred once already. It

would be interesting to hear what Herzl would say upon hearing those calls for the revival of long-past, “famous” nations, as the Judean nation was.

Herzl says:

We might perhaps be able to merge ourselves entirely into surrounding races, if these were to leave us in peace for a period of two generations. But they will not leave us in peace.

Herzl previously argued that they wouldn’t be left in peace entirely because of the “fierce competition” they evoke in the market, that Jews always become a revolutionary proletariat or a set of “powerful purses”.

What, then, would be the proper solution to achieving this peace? As we said, the elimination of the financiers. Herzl does not believe it possible, because he is appealing to the Rothschilds. Would it not have been best to appeal to the Jews in the factories, those “revolutionary” Jews in the parties he referred to, and tell them that their only way to be accepted would be the removal of people like Rothschild? Rothschild, who had all the power in the world – a family that had practically invented international banking – yet insisted to his people that they must suffer as Jews, and not become Germans, because it too was his “famous history”, his “fine” religion which he refused to surrender.

Herzl then *completely demolishes his own ideology*:

The world is provoked somehow by our prosperity, because it has for many centuries been accustomed to consider us as the most contemptible among the poverty-stricken. In its ignorance and narrowness of heart, it fails to observe that **prosperity weakens our Judaism and extinguishes our peculiarities**. It is only pressure that forces us back to the parent stem; **it is only hatred encompassing us that makes us strangers** once more. Thus, whether we like it or not, we are now, and shall henceforth remain, a historic group with unmistakable characteristics common to us all.

Every single word uttered by Herzl here is correct, and should be considered with the utmost seriousness – except for the last sentence, which is groveling thrown in for Rothschild, and means nothing at all.

Herzl outright admits: prosperity weakens Judaism, economic crises strengthen it. And we will ask an honest question, which will be answered differently depending on the reader: who is responsible for economic crises?

Further: is he not speaking *directly* in this work to a Jewish financier, and one of the richest men in Europe?

THE PLAN

The whole plan is in its 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 rightful requirements of a nation;** the rest we shall manage for ourselves.

Herzl has established: the Jews retain only their histories, their culture. They lack a land and language. Since a nation needs land first and foremost, Herzl's plan is straightforward: the Jews wish for a land big enough to satisfy all of them. Nothing more, nothing less.

This is where the problem comes in: exactly *what* is a Jew? Herzl never bothers describing. But thanks to the era we inhabit, we may simply look at the actual legal code for Israel to see what constitutes a "Jew":

For the purposes of this Law [the Law of Return to Israeli lands], "**Jew**" means a person who was born of a Jewish mother or **has become converted to Judaism and who is not a member of another religion.**¹⁴

In other words: the population of Jews is completely arbitrary, as one can become a member of this globe-spanning Jewish nation by simply "converting" into a Jew. So this meager request of Herzl: 'only' the amount of land needed to satisfy the Jews, and they will take care of the rest – is actually, in essence, a request for a *constantly expanding state funded by global finance*.

As if anticipating knee-jerk laughter from Rothschild, Herzl assures:

The creation of a new State is neither ridiculous nor impossible. We have in our day witnessed the process in connection with nations which were not largely members of the middle class, but poorer, less educated, and consequently weaker than ourselves. **The Governments of all countries scourged by Anti-Semitism will be keenly interested in assisting us to obtain the sovereignty we want.**

It's always been said that Jews are a resourceful people, owing to the historical repressions placed on them. And what better resourcefulness than to convert the vitriolic hatred of the whole world's people into an opportunity to form a constantly expanding nation funded by the rest of the world?

This is *not* a remark made out of anti-Semitism. If anything, it is a commendation.

Herzl lays out the structure for his plan:

The plan, simple in design, but complicated in execution, will be carried out by two agencies: The Society of Jews and the Jewish Company. **The Society of Jews will do the preparatory**

¹⁴ "The Law of Return 5710 (1950)". The Knesset of Israel. The State of Israel

work in the domains of science and politics, which the Jewish Company will afterwards apply practically. The Jewish Company will be the liquidating agent of the business interests of departing Jews, and will organize commerce and trade in the new country.

We must not imagine the departure of the Jews to be a sudden one. **It will be gradual, continuous, and will cover many decades. The poorest will go first** to cultivate the soil. In accordance with a preconceived plan, they will construct roads, bridges, railways and telegraph installations; regulate rivers; and build their own dwellings; **their labor will create trade, trade will create markets and markets will attract new settlers**, for every man will go voluntarily, at his own expense and his own risk. The labor expended on the land will enhance its value, and the Jews will soon perceive that a new and permanent sphere of operation is opening here for that spirit of enterprise which has heretofore met only with hatred and obloquy.

Still to this point, Herzl has not yet explained how they intend to find land which is big enough for the 8 or 9 million Jews living in Europe at the time and is not already occupied by another group of people. He gives us an idea with a metaphor about hunting:

If we wish to found a State today, we shall not do it in the way which would have been the only possible one a thousand years ago. It is foolish to revert to old stages of civilization, as many Zionists would like to do. **Supposing, for example, we were obliged to clear a country of wild beasts**, we should not set about the task in the fashion of Europeans of the fifth century. **We should not take spear and lance and go out singly in pursuit of bears; we would organize a large and active hunting party, drive the animals together, and throw a gelignite bomb into their midst.**

Considering one cannot really eat meat after it has been exploded by a gelignite bomb, and that “bears” are not typically an animal hunted for meat, it is moderately fair to assert Herzl might not have really been talking about wild animals here. But we’ll give him the benefit of the doubt.

Herzl then announces that, even prior to securing land, he wishes for the Society of Jews to be recognized as its own legitimate state:

Those Jews who agree with our idea of a State will attach themselves to the Society, which will thereby be authorized to confer and treat with Governments in the name of our people. The Society will thus be acknowledged in its relations with Governments as a State-creating power. **This acknowledgment will practically create the State.**

And was this wish granted? In Herzl’s own words after the founding of the World Zionist Organization in 1897:

Were I to sum up the Basel Congress in a word - which I shall guard against pronouncing publicly - it would be this: **At Basel I founded the Jewish State. If I said this out loud today I**

would be greeted by universal laughter. In five years perhaps, and certainly in fifty years, everyone will perceive it.¹⁵

And at last, Herzl announces the two lands he has in mind:

Should the Powers declare themselves willing to admit our sovereignty over a neutral piece of land, then the Society will enter into negotiations for the possession of this land. **Here two territories come under consideration: Palestine and Argentine.** In both countries important experiments in **colonization** have been made, though on the mistaken principle of a gradual infiltration of Jews. **An infiltration is bound to end badly. It continues till the inevitable moment when the native population feels itself threatened,** and forces the Government to stop a further influx of Jews. **Immigration is consequently futile unless we have the sovereign right to continue such immigration.**

In other words, Herzl says: the Jews will not simply immigrate, they must immigrate *and have a state recognized as legitimate by foreign states*. And Herzl goes as far to outright say:

The Society of Jews will treat with the present masters of the land, putting itself under the protectorate of the European Powers.

Herzl asks: Palestine or Argentine? Surely, this is a question of extreme importance, for the whole character and fate of a nation is tied to the land on which it exists. How does Herzl handle the question?

Shall we choose Palestine or Argentine? We shall take what is given us.

That's solved, then.

It would seem that on Herzl's mind is *not* the homeland best suited to the *history* of the Jews, but the *future*. Thus, he gives the following reason for Argentina:

Argentine is one of the most fertile countries in the world, extends over a vast area, has a sparse population and a mild climate. The Argentine Republic would derive considerable profit from the cession of a portion of its territory to us.

And this reason for Palestine:

Palestine is our ever-memorable historic home. The very name of Palestine would attract our people with a force of marvelous potency. If His Majesty the Sultan were to give us Palestine, we could in return undertake to regulate the whole finances of Turkey. We should there form a portion of a rampart of Europe against Asia, an outpost of civilization as opposed to barbarism. We should as a neutral State remain in contact with all Europe, which would have to guarantee our existence. The sanctuaries of Christendom would be safeguarded by assigning to them an

¹⁵ 1897: *The First Zionist Congress takes place in Basel, Switzerland, Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, r. 2021*

extraterritorial 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 eighteen centuries of Jewish suffering.

Herzl would not live to see the question finally settled on: the State of Israel was officially proclaimed on the former lands of Palestine in 1948. Whereas Argentina was “one of the most fertile countries in the world”, Palestine was rich in another way: only a year prior, oil had been discovered in Palestine¹⁶. Famously, US General George Marshall protested President Harry Truman’s declaration of support for Israel on account that it would anger the Arabs, on whom the Americans were dependent for oil¹⁷.

Today, Palestine produces no oil. It depends on Israel for electricity¹⁸.

¹⁶ *Exploration History, Zion Oil & Gas, r. 2021*

¹⁷ McCullough, David (1992). *Truman*.

¹⁸ Henderson, Simon. "Natural Gas in the Palestinian Authority: The Potential of the Gaza Marine Offshore Field." *Journal of Health and Social Behavior*, 2014

THE JEWISH COMPANY

The Jewish Company will be founded as a joint stock company subject to English jurisdiction, framed according to English laws, and under the protection of England. Its principal center will be London. I cannot tell yet how large the Company's capital should be; **I shall leave that calculation to our numerous financiers.** But to avoid ambiguity, **I shall put it at a thousand million marks (about £50,000,000 or \$200,000,000); it may be either more or less than that sum.**

The non-transferable goods which come under consideration are buildings, land, and local business connections. **The Jewish Company will at first take upon itself no more than the necessary negotiations for effecting the sale of these goods.** These Jewish sales will take place freely and without any serious fall in prices. **The Company's branch establishments in various towns will become the central offices for the sale of Jewish estates,** and will charge only so much commission on transactions as will ensure their financial stability. **The development of this movement may cause a considerable fall in the prices of landed property, and may eventually make it impossible to find a market for it.** At this juncture the Company will enter upon another branch of its functions. **It will take over the management of abandoned estates till such time as it can dispose of them to the greatest advantage. It will collect house rents, let out land on lease, and install business managers -- these, on account of the required supervision, being, if possible, tenants also. The Company will endeavor everywhere to facilitate the acquisition of land by its tenants, who are Christians.**

What was just stated is no conspiracy theory: it flows directly from the pen of the founder of Zionism, and of the World Zionist Organization that still exists and operates today.

Herzl then goes on to explain some formalities, some functions of the Company, and so on. He elaborates in particular on housing, and on construction. These are generally unimportant for our analysis.

Herzl then lays out his schedule for the daily life of members, which ultimately amounts to an appeal for a half-labor force, half-army that spends less hours working than the modern child spends at school:

The seven-hour day is the regular working day. I am convinced that it is quite possible to introduce the seven-hour day with success. The attempts to do so in Belgium and England are well known. **Some advanced political economists who have studied the subject declare that a five-hour day would suffice.**

Herzl then describes:

The refined requirements of life introduced by our officials in good positions will create a correspondingly improved market, which will continue to better itself. The married man will send for wife and children, and the single for parents and relatives, as soon as a new home is

established "over there." **The Jews who emigrate to the United States always proceed in this fashion. As soon as one of them has daily bread and a roof over his head, he sends for his people; for family ties are strong among us.** The Society of Jews and the Jewish Company will unite in caring for and strengthening the family still more, not only morally, but materially also. **The officials will receive additional pay on marriage and on the birth of children,** for we need all who are there, and all who will follow.

Herzl then goes on to "say the quiet part loud":

Seeing that the Company does not wish to earn anything on the building works but only on the land, it will desire as many architects as possible to build by private contract. **This system will increase the value of landed property, and it will introduce luxury,** which serves many purposes. Luxury encourages arts and industries, paving the way to a future subdivision of large properties.

Rich Jews who are now obliged carefully to secrete their valuables, and to hold their dreary banquets behind lowered curtains, will be able to enjoy their possessions in peace "over there." If in the new settlement rich Jews begin to rebuild their mansions which are stared at in Europe with such envious eyes, **it will soon become fashionable to live over there in beautiful modern houses.**

One can only imagine the response this received when it was read to Lord Rothschild. Also to be imagined is Rothschild's response when he heard the "business pitch" Herzl would give to the anti-Semites: to convince them that it was in the best interests of their anti-Semitism to support Zionism.

I have already mentioned that honest Anti-Semites, whilst preserving their independence, will combine with our officials in controlling the transfer of our estates... This we offer indirectly by leaving in the country businesses which we have built up by means of Jewish acumen and Jewish industry, by letting our Christian fellow-citizens move into our evacuated positions, and by this facilitating the rise of numbers of people to greater prosperity so peaceably and in so unparalleled a manner. The French Revolution had a somewhat similar result, on a small scale, but it was brought about by bloodshed on the guillotine in every province of France, and on the battlefields of Europe.

Herzl states that the best way to convince the anti-Semites to support the effort is by convincing them it will free up new properties for them to inherit.

Herzl then points out:

The duties of the Jewish Company and the Society of Jews cannot be kept strictly apart in this outline. These two great bodies will have to work constantly in unison, the Company depending on the moral authority and support of the Society, just as the Society cannot dispense with the material assistance of the Company.

After this are some economic details of the Company:

The capital required for establishing the Company was previously put at what seemed an absurdly high figure. The amount actually necessary will be fixed by financiers, and will in any case be a very considerable sum. There are three ways of raising this sum, all of which the Society will take under consideration. This Society, the great "*Gestor*" of the Jews, will be formed by our best and most upright men... Although the Society cannot at the outset possess any but moral authority, this authority will suffice to establish the credit of the Jewish Company in the nation's eyes. **The Jewish Company** will be unable to succeed in its enterprise unless it has received the Society's sanction; it **will thus not be formed of any mere indiscriminate group of financiers...**

He then elaborates on the three methods of attaining capital for the organization:

The first method of raising capital is through big banks. The required sum could then be raised in the shortest possible time among the large financial groups, after they had discussed the advisability of the course. The great advantage of this method would be that it would avoid the necessity of paying in the thousand millions (to keep to the original figure), immediately in its entirety. A further advantage would be that **the credit of these powerful financiers would also be of service to the enterprise. Many latent political forces lie in our financial power, that power which our enemies assert to be so effective.**

Not much needs to be said here. The conclusions should draw themselves.

Herzl then explains that, for folks like Rothschild, the financing of Israel is in no way a philanthropic measure, but rather, a business measure done for profit:

The great financiers, moreover, will certainly not be asked to raise an amount so enormous out of pure philanthropic motives; that would be expecting too much. **The promoters and stock holders of the Jewish Company are, on the contrary, expected to do a good piece of business,** and they will be able to calculate beforehand what their chances of success are likely to be...

And then Herzl, speaking to the moneyed magnate Rothschild, says the moneyed magnates have secret agents who affect politics.

Even so, the enterprise may not receive the valuable assistance of our moneyed magnates. **These might, perhaps, even try to oppose the Jewish movement by means of their secret agents.**

He says it almost as if it is inherently known that Rothschild possesses "secret agents" who work in politics. We will not comment.

Such opposition we shall meet with relentless determination. **Supposing that these magnates are content simply to turn this scheme down** with a smile: is it, therefore, done for? No. For

then **the money will be raised in another way -- by an appeal to moderately rich Jews.** The smaller Jewish banks would have to be united in the name of the National Idea against the big banks till they were gathered into a second and formidable financial force. But, unfortunately, **this would require a great deal of financing at first -- for the £50,000,000 would have to be subscribed in full before starting work;** and, as this sum could only be raised very slowly, all sorts of banking business would have to be done and loans made during the first few years.

That is about \$9,332,787,300 (\$9.3 billion) in today's money.

The notion of raising money in this way is not by any means impracticable. The experiment of collecting Christian money to form an opposing force to the big banks has already been tried; that one could also oppose them with Jewish money has not been thought of until now. **But these financial conflicts would bring about all sorts of crises; the countries in which they occurred would suffer, and Anti-Semitism would become rampant. This method is therefore not to be recommended.** I have merely suggested it, because it comes up in the course of the logical development of the idea...

All this would, of course, need the express and definite assistance of interested Governments.

As is likely already known by the reader, Herzl's warning was not listened to. The State of Israel was not founded until 1948, after the Second World War and Holocaust.

He closes by stating: without the help of foreign governments, the Zionist project would fail.

LOCAL GROUPS

Previous chapters explained only how the emigration scheme might be carried out without creating any economic disturbance. But **so great a movement cannot take place without inevitably rousing many deep and powerful feelings.** There are old customs, old memories that attach us to our homes. **We have cradles, we have graves,** and we alone know how Jewish hearts cling to the graves. Our cradles we shall carry with us -- they bold our future, rosy and smiling. **Our beloved graves we must abandon** -- and I think this abandonment will cost us more than any other sacrifice. But it must be so.

Herzl prepares us for his political arguments, which differ from his economic arguments. He refers to the Jews' actual nations, the ones they presently occupy, as their "graves", and refers to wherever they may end up as their "cradles".

What is curious is that Herzl appears to conceive the process of life backwards, with the baby beginning in the grave, and travelling to the cradle. He apparently cannot conceive that one's death *should* occur in their grave, and that for a grown man to die in another baby's cradle in something altogether humiliating.

Economic distress, political pressure, and social obloquy have already driven us from our homes and from our graves. **We Jews are even now constantly shifting from place to place, a strong current actually carrying us westward over the sea to the United States, where our presence is also not desired.**

And where will our presence be desired, so long as we are a homeless nation¹⁹? **But we shall give a home to our people. And we shall give it, not by dragging them ruthlessly out of their sustaining soil, but rather by transplanting them carefully to a better ground.**

Herzl admits: they will not be *developing* themselves out of anything. They will be retaining their current level of development by *transplanting* it to a "better", i.e. a less developed, ground.

He then elaborates on some other key aspects of the Zionist political structure:

Our people should emigrate in groups of families and friends...

Every group will have its Rabbi, travelling with his congregation. **Our Rabbis, on whom we especially call, will devote their energies to the service of our idea,** and will inspire their congregations by preaching it from the pulpit. **They will not need to address special meetings for the purpose; an appeal such as this may be uttered in the synagogue.**

Herzl openly suggests using the already existing synagogues to promote his Zionist idea. What's important to remember: the World Zionist Organization *still exists today*, leaving us with no reason to reasonably believe they do not still utilize synagogues for this purpose today.

¹⁹ Herzl has just called the Jews a "homeless nation", the essence of rootless cosmopolitanism.

Herzl also admits the Jews' lack of a national language, one of the prerequisites for a nation:

We feel our historic affinity only through the faith of our fathers as **we have long ago absorbed the languages of different nations to an ineradicable degree**. The Rabbis will receive communications regularly from both Society and Company, and will announce and explain these to their congregations.

He also explains the Society's role in education:

The Society, supported by the local groups, will give greatest attention to popular education with regard to this particular. It will create a fruitful soil for many powers which now wither uselessly away. Whoever shows a genuine desire to work will be suitably employed... **But we will leave even to those who stand on the lowest grade of intelligence the consoling illusion of their utility in the world.**

Herzl seems to think that those who stand on the "lowest grade of intelligence", and thus live entirely by their muscle, are actually useless to the world. For a man proposing a state of financiers who must only work 7 hours, this is somewhat ironic.

Herzl then raises an important question, one which has not been addressed so far:

We seem undoubtedly to have touched on the crucial difficulty of my plan. Even if we succeeded in opening a world discussion on the Jewish Question in a serious manner; even if this debate led us to a positive conclusion that the Jewish State were necessary to the world; even if the Powers assisted us in acquiring the sovereignty over a strip of territory; **how are we to transport masses of Jews without undue compulsion from their present homes to this new country?**

And this is where Herzl provides a bit of information which is particularly useful to us:

Great exertions will hardly be necessary to spur on the movement. **Anti-Semites provide the requisite impetus. They need only do what they did before, and then they will create a desire to emigrate where it did not previously exist**, and strengthen it where it existed before... I maintain, and every man may ask himself whether I am not right, that **the pressure weighing on us arouses a desire to emigrate even among prosperous strata of society.**

We have already stated the importance of Herzl's repeated claim that it is anti-Semitism which provides their biggest source of manpower. Herzl portrays it as clearly as ever here: it is *specifically anti-Semites* which provide the Zionists with the organization they need.

Herzl elaborates on how they will convert this manpower into something particularly useful, by creating a force of artisans who may displace small-scale businesses:

The Society of Jews will, moreover, busy itself from the outset with their training as artisans. Their love of gain will be encouraged in a healthy manner. Jews are of a thrifty

and adaptable disposition, and are qualified for any means of earning a living, and it will therefore suffice to make small trading unremunerative, to cause even present peddlers to give it up altogether. This could be brought about, for example, by **encouraging large department stores which provide all necessities of life. These general stores are already crushing small trading in large cities.** In a land of new civilization they will absolutely prevent its existence. The establishment of these stores is further advantageous, because it makes the country immediately habitable for people who require more refined necessities of life.

The reader may make of this what they wish.

SOCIETY OF JEWS AND THE JEWISH STATE

At the beginning of this chapter, Herzl accidentally debunks his entire concept of a Jewish nation. It goes as follows:

We know and see for ourselves that States still continue to be created. Colonies secede from the mother country. Vassals fall away from their suzerain; newly opened territories are immediately formed into free States. **It is true that the Jewish State is conceived as a peculiarly modern structure on unspecified territory. But a State is formed, not by pieces of land, but rather by a number of men united under sovereign rule.**

The question which thus presents itself here is: if a state does not require land, *then why is Herzl requesting land?*

Why not just set up his World Zionist Organization, and be done with it? Why the exodus to Israel? His people will be united under a sovereign rule, that of the Society. It does not require land.

Herzl, not stopping to acknowledge this contradiction, further says:

The people is the subjective, land the objective foundation of a State, and the subjective basis is the more important of the two.

Herzl has admitted that to him, the *subjective*, i.e. the individual's subjective position, takes precedence over the *objective*, i.e. what is true for all individuals, the objective reality of our world. He has admitted that what concerns him is not what is in the interests of the world's people, nor his countrymen, but of the Jews specifically.

One sovereignty, for example, which has no objective basis at all, is perhaps the most respected one in the world. I refer to the sovereignty of the Pope.

Perhaps Herzl was not aware that the Pope resides in the Vatican City, that the Pontificate has a definite piece of land located on the Italian peninsula, and outside of this, the Pope and his Cardinals have absolutely no legal authority whatsoever, and has not since medieval times? If he was not aware of this, then he is probably not a suited person to be petitioning for the creation of new states.

Herzl then attempts to establish his own theory of the state. We cannot prepare the reader for the rather "unorthodox" arguments Herzl uses to prepare the ground for his theory.

He begins by first evoking the "theory of rationality", without explaining what the theory of rationality actually is, and then claims he's apparently violated it. Afterwards, he spends some time talking about theocracy and the Romans:

I am well within the limits of the theory of rationality. But when I touch upon the legal basis of the State, I have exceeded them. The theories of a divine institution, or of superior power, or of a contract, and the patriarchal and patrimonial theories do not accord with modern views. **The legal basis of a State is sought either too much within men** (patriarchal theory, and theories of superior force and contract), **or too far above them** (divine institution), **or too far below them** (objective patrimonial theory). The theory of rationality leaves this question conveniently and carefully unanswered. But a question which has seriously occupied doctors of jurisprudence in every age cannot be an absolutely idle one. **As a matter of fact, a mixture of human and superhuman goes to the making of a State.**

Some legal basis is indispensable to explain the somewhat oppressive relationship in which subjects occasionally stand to rulers. I believe it is to be found in; **the *negotiorum gestio*, wherein the body of citizens represents the *dominus negotiorum*, and the government represents the *gestor*.**

The Romans, with their marvelous sense of justice, produced that noble masterpiece, the *negotiorum gestio*.

We should like to point out that the “Romans, with their marvelous sense of justice” are the same ones who eradicated Herzl’s treasured Judean nation two thousand years ago, and sold its people into slavery.

Herzl goes into detail about the Roman system of *negotiorum gestio* in order to explain to the reader what a state is and does:

When the property of an oppressed person is in danger, any man may step forward to save it. This man is the *gestor*, the director of affairs not strictly his own. He has received no warrant -- that is, no human warrant; higher obligations authorize him to act. The higher obligations may be formulated in different ways for the State, and so as to respond to individual degrees of culture attained by a growing general power of comprehension. **The *gestio* is intended to work for the good of the *dominus* -- the people, to whom the *gestor* himself belongs.**

We cannot all be of one mind; the *gestor* will therefore simply take the leadership into his hands and march in the van. **The action of the *gestor*, of the State, is sufficiently warranted if the common cause is in danger, and the *dominus* is prevented, either by want of will or by some other reason, from helping itself...**

In other words, the State should serve as the “savior”, the *gestor* of the Jews, *even if the Jews themselves do not want it.*

The Jewish people... need, above all things a *gestor*. This *gestor* cannot, of course, be a single individual. Such a one would either make himself ridiculous, or -- seeing that he would appear to be working for his own interests -- contemptible. **The *gestor* of the Jews must therefore be a body corporate. And that is the Society of Jews.**

This organ of the national movement, the nature and functions of which we are at last dealing with, will, in fact, be created before everything else. Its formation is perfectly simple. **It will take shape among those energetic Jews to whom I imparted my scheme in London.**

Herzl at last elaborates the functions of his Jewish state, his Society of Jews:

The Society will have scientific and political tasks, for the founding of a Jewish State, as I conceive it, presupposes the application of scientific methods... **The Society of Jews will gather all available declarations of statesmen, parliaments, Jewish communities, societies, whether expressed in speeches or writings, in meetings, newspapers or books...** Every Jewish community in the world will send contributions to the Society towards a comprehensive collection of Jewish statistics. Further tasks, such as investigation by experts of the new country and its natural resources, the uniform planning of migration and settlement, preliminary work for legislation and administration, etc., must be rationally evolved out of the original scheme. **Externally, the Society will attempt, as I explained before in the general part, to be acknowledged as a State-forming power.** The free assent of many Jews will confer on it the requisite authority in its relations with Governments. Internally, that is to say, in its relation with the Jewish people, **the Society will create all the first indispensable institutions;** it will be the nucleus out of which the public institutions of the Jewish State will later on be developed. **Our first object is, as I said before, supremacy, assured to us by international law, over a portion of the globe sufficiently large to satisfy our just requirements. What is the next step? The occupation of the land.**

That part in particular should be of note to the reader: Herzl demands the Jews be given *supremacy* over a plot of land, not mere *presence*. But what must be kept in mind is the clause in this demand: “assured to us by international law”, i.e. Herzl demands that the supremacy of their people in the land they settle upon to be recognized and prorogated by international law, adhered to by already existing states.

Through this, he hopes to undertake the “occupation of the land”.

Herzl then lays out his plan for this occupation of the land. His plan amounts to copying those methods used in California to displace and eradicate the indigenous peoples and other Americans, and to settle their land, although he is careful – in fact, admirably careful – not to explicitly suggest violence:

Not more than forty years ago gold-digging was carried on in an extraordinarily primitive fashion. What adventurous days were those in California! **A report brought desperados together from every quarter of the earth; they stole pieces of land, robbed each other of gold,** and finally gambled it away, as robbers do. But today! **What is gold-digging like in the Transvaal today?** Adventurous vagabonds are not there; sedate geologists and engineers alone are on the spot to regulate its gold industry, and to employ ingenious machinery in separating the ore from surrounding rock. Little is left to chance now. **Thus we must investigate and take possession of the new Jewish country by means of every modern expedient.**

The “means of every modern expedient” should make themselves clear to the reader.

There is also a distinct parallel between:

A report brought desperados together from every quarter of the earth; they stole pieces of land...

And:

The news of the formation of our Jewish Company will be carried in a single day to the remotest ends of the earth by the lightning speed of our telegraph wires.

Herzl follows by explaining that this will be less violent than the settlement of the Americas, not in that it will be without a genocide, but in that it will not entail a sudden and violent landgrab; Herzl’s method involves a concentrated campaign to “buy out” whole swathes of land:

In America the occupation of newly opened territory is set about in naive fashion. The settlers assemble on the frontier, and at the appointed time make a simultaneous and violent rush for their portions. We shall not proceed thus to the new land of the Jews. The lots in provinces and towns will be sold by auction, and paid for, not in money, but in work. The general plan will have settled on streets, bridges, waterworks, etc., necessary for traffic. These will be united into provinces. Within these provinces sites for towns will be similarly sold by auction. The local groups will pledge themselves to carry the business property through, and will cover the cost by means of self-imposed assessments. The Society will be in a position to judge whether the local groups are not venturing on sacrifices too great for their means. The large communities will receive large sites for their activity. Great sacrifices will thus be rewarded by the establishment of universities, technical schools, academies, research institutes, etc., and these Government institutes, which do not have to be concentrated in the capital, will be distributed over the country.

It should be asked: what if the state above the land being purchased refuses to allow this process after a certain point? With people like Rothschild, Lord Lieutenant of Buckinghamshire, 1st Baron de Rothschild, Member of Aylesbury Parliament, Adviser to the Sovereign of the United Kingdom involved in the mix, what kind of retaliation would these nations receive from denying the Society the purchase of land?

Herzl wraps up his theory on colonization by implying it requires the occupation of already existing countries:

By these means a country can be occupied and a State founded in a manner as yet unknown to history, and with possibilities of success such as never occurred before.

And then moves to explaining the particular structure of the Jewish state. Though Herzl did not, we will separate this into another chapter.

THE POLITICS OF THE JEWISH STATE

One of the great commissions which the Society will have to appoint will be the council of State jurists. These must formulate the best, that is, *the best* modern constitution possible.

Okay. But just what is “the best”, in Herzl’s eyes?

I think a democratic monarchy and an aristocratic republic are the finest forms of a State, because in them the form of State and the principle of government are opposed to each other, and thus preserve a true balance of power²⁰. **I am a staunch supporter of monarchial institutions, because these allow of a continuous policy, and represent the interests of a historically famous family** born and educated to rule, whose desires are bound up with the preservation of the State.

So, the founder of Zionism was a monarchist who advocated an “aristocratic republic”, because they (1) prevent the state from becoming a cohesive body (which implicitly means the lack of suppression of financiers) and (2) represent the interests of noble families. After expressing this to the noble Lord Rothschild, Herzl throws in the necessary formality:

But our history has been too long interrupted for us to attempt direct continuity of ancient constitutional forms, without exposing ourselves to the charge of absurdity.

Which begs the question: then why did Herzl mention “democratic monarchy” and an “aristocratic republic”? To remind us that the state should really represent the interests of noble families, even if it *appears* democratic?

Nations are also really not fit for unlimited democracy at present, and will become less and less fitted for it in the future. For a pure democracy presupposes a predominance of simple customs, and our customs become daily more complex with the growth of commerce and increase of culture.

So, Herzl himself states that his idea is undemocratic, and that he sees a democratic Zionist state as eventually progressing towards an aristocratic republic. We then say: is our suggestion to the Jewish Question, which entails the state’s eradication of the financier class, any less democratic than Herzl’s?

I also hold a settling of questions by the referendum to be an unsatisfactory procedure, because there are no simple political questions which can be answered merely by Yes and No. **The masses are also more prone even than Parliaments to be led away by heterodox opinions, and to be swayed by vigorous ranting.** It is impossible to formulate a wise internal or external policy in a popular assembly

²⁰ What this really preserves is a lack of cohesion among state bodies.

Here, Herzl outright confesses to his lack of faith in the political instincts of his own people, who he claim are vulnerable to “vigorous ranting” and “heterodox opinions”.

And then, he explains his theory for how the state should be structured:

Politics must take shape in the upper strata and work downwards. But no member of the Jewish State will be oppressed, every man will be able and will wish to rise in it.

He does not explain how “every man will be able and will wish to rise in it”. He merely asserts it, and moves on.

Hence I incline to an aristocratic republic. This would satisfy the ambitious spirit in **our people, which has now degenerated into petty vanity**.

Herzl said this, not us. Herzl also pledges:

We are a modern nation, and wish to be the most modern in the world. **Should any opposition manifest itself, the Society will suppress it.**

What is interesting in the following parts are that Herzl begins to lay out something which is *very different* than the modern Jewish state. Nearly every description offered by Herzl contradicts the present condition.

First, he moves to language.

We consider language to be the second most important question of a nation following the land. Two people who do not speak the same language *cannot* be the same nation, for they cannot in any serious way coordinate economic and productive tasks with one another. They may share a *state*, but they are not from the same *nation*.

So, what is the Jewish language? Many today would be inclined to say Hebrew. Herzl disagrees:

It might be suggested that our want of a common current language would present difficulties. **We cannot converse with one another in Hebrew.** Who amongst us has a sufficient acquaintance with Hebrew to ask for a railway ticket in that language! **Such a thing cannot be done.**

He then proposes a solution to the problem: in 1896, Herzl seemingly creates the *Leninist theory of languages*, about two decades before Lenin himself (even using Lenin’s favored example of Switzerland):

The difficulty is very easily circumvented. Every man can preserve the language in which his thoughts are at home. Switzerland affords a conclusive proof of the possibility of a federation of tongues. We shall give up using those miserable stunted jargons, those Ghetto

languages which we still employ... **The language which proves itself to be of greatest utility for general intercourse will be adopted without compulsion as our national tongue.** Our community of race is peculiar and unique, for **we are bound together only by the faith of our fathers.**

We must ask: if this method of assimilation would work for the various Jewish peoples coming to Israel, why would it not work for the assimilation of Jews into their various nations?

He then moves on to theocracy, which doesn't yield much interest, and to law, which reiterates some things he's already said. He then continues to the army:

The Jewish State is conceived as a neutral one. It **will therefore require only a professional army**, equipped, of course, with every requisite of modern warfare, **to preserve order internally and externally.**

Whether or not it is "conceived" as a neutral one, he has just said that the state intends to have "every requisite of modern warfare" in order to preserve order internally *and externally*. This is of course necessary for a state which is made of a population which is always growing, and which anyone can become a part of.

And it should also be asked: where does this nation intend to get weapons of modern warfare? If the reader is not aware of the Iron Dome, they should research it. After all, they likely help pay for it.

He moves on to the flag:

We have no flag, and we need one. If we desire to lead many men, we must raise a symbol above their heads. I would suggest a white flag, with seven golden stars. The white field symbolizes our pure new life; the stars are the seven golden hours of our working-day. For we shall march into the Promised Land carrying the badge of honor.

A nation without a flag, language, or land, but which is attempting to find a language, occupying a land, and which lacks even a symbol. Some nation.

However, like the aversion towards Hebrew, the flag suggestion apparently did not catch on.

Herzl elaborates on extradition, which is fairly unimportant, but still interesting: he essentially suggests that the Jewish State will *not* handle prosecuting its own criminals, that this process will instead be forced upon the nations from which the criminals descend:

It will be inferred, as a matter of course, from previous remarks, that we shall deliver up Jewish criminals more readily than any other State would do, till the time comes when we can enforce our penal code on the same principle as every other civilized nation does. **There will therefore be a period of transition, during which we shall receive our criminals only after they have**

suffered due penalties. But, having made amends, they will be received without any restrictions whatever, for our criminals also must enter upon a new life.

He then touches on a major aspect of sustaining the Jewish State:

The [European] States would have an advantage in the enormous increase of their export trade; for, since the **emigrant Jews "over there" would depend for a long time to come on European productions**, they would necessarily have to import them...

And at last, Herzl touches upon the critical aspect of immigration in neutralizing the class struggle:

Another, and perhaps one of the greatest advantages, would be the ensuing social relief. Social dissatisfaction would be appeased during the twenty or more years which the emigration of the Jews would occupy, and would in any case be set at rest during the whole transition period.

Herzl gave it “twenty or more years”. Right now, we are around sixty years in. If the events of the past decade or so are anything to judge by, it seems like we are seeing what Herzl predicted would come at the end of these “twenty or more years”.

Herzl concludes the chapter by establishing conclusively what his “aristocratic republic” ultimately is: a financier state.

The Jewish spirit of enterprise will not even fail where people welcome it. For Jewish capitalists will be glad to invest their funds where they are familiar with surrounding conditions. And whereas Jewish money is now sent out of countries on account of existing persecution and is sunk in most distant foreign undertakings, it will flow back again in consequence of this peaceable solution, and will contribute to the further progress of the countries which the Jews have left.

If we take all the parts together, Herzl’s ideal Jewish State is merely an international bank with an army and houses.

CONCLUSION

Herzl then concludes the pamphlet, not so much with a forcible summary of what he has concretely established, but with this:

How much has been left unexplained, how many defects, how many harmful superficialities, and how many useless repetitions in this pamphlet, which I have thought over so long and so often revised! But a fair-minded reader, who has sufficient understanding to grasp the spirit of my words, will not be repelled by these defects. He will rather be roused thereby to cooperate with his intelligence and energy in a work which is not one man's task alone, and to improve it.

After complimenting us, Herzl then pleads our compliance, as if anticipating criticism:

Have I not explained obvious things and overlooked important objections? I have tried to meet certain objections; but I know that many more will be made, based on high grounds and low.

And so, he sets off to dispel these objections:

To the first class of objections belongs the remark that the Jews are not the only people in the world who are in a condition of distress. Here I would reply that we may as well begin by removing a little of this misery, even if it should at first be no more than our own.

We should say: that is a considerably weak counterpoint to a considerably strong objection. Especially when one considers the modern context: Israel has been founded atop Palestine. The Palestinian people now suffer. So, should we not help them “remove a little of this misery”? And then we would just be inclined to do the same thing all over again with the Jews.

Perhaps it is a parable from a later time than the Judaic texts, but we assert that all in this life will suffer, in some way or another. The point is not to “remove a little” of this suffering, but to study it, genuinely overcome it, and draw strength from it. In this case, it would mean truly fighting to assimilate, which implies the destruction of the financier class. What Herzl promotes amounts to shirking the task forced on them by history – the task to overcome their condition genuinely, to truly fight to become one with their nations – for the sake of an “aristocratic republic”, located in “[whatever] is given to us”.

At last, Herzl confronts our position directly:

It might further be said that we ought not to create new distinctions between people; we ought not to raise fresh barriers, we should rather make the old disappear. But men who think in this way are amiable visionaries; and the idea of a native land will still flourish when the dust of their bones will have vanished tracelessly in the winds. Universal brotherhood is not even a beautiful dream. Antagonism is essential to man's greatest efforts.

Herzl labels our viewpoint that of “amiable visionaries”, but offers little more than pretty words to justify his claim. He then *immediately* argues against *himself*, presumably on accident:

But the Jews, once settled in their own State, would probably have no more enemies. As **for those who remain behind, since prosperity enfeebles and causes them to diminish, they would soon disappear altogether.**

This lays bare a rather glaring truth: would not, by Herzl's logic, the prosperity of whole nations be a much better solution to the Jewish Question than the mass exodus out of nations, which would almost certainly hurt their prosperity (no matter how much Herzl insists it would only create more openings for the purchase of land)?

Herzl does not go any further in dispelling this “noble objection”. He instead moves on to attack objections based “on low grounds”, which aren't worth much study for us.

He then expresses something we empathize with all too well:

Again, people will say that I am furnishing the Anti-Semites with weapons. Why so? Because I admit the truth?

He then states something which is, contrary to the rest of his pamphlet, not a particularly accurate historical prediction:

Action may be taken against individuals or even against groups of the most powerful Jews, but Governments will never take action against all Jews.

He quickly transitions to say something which is strikingly similar to the modern theory of “inter-generational trauma”, peddled mainly by liberals:

Persecutions are no longer so malignant as they were in the Middle Ages? True, but **our sensitiveness has increased, so that we feel no diminution in our sufferings; prolonged persecution has overstrained our nerves.**

Herzl then accidentally admits that the movement sustains itself on individualism, i.e. *not* on nationalism and a care for one's people, but on a care for one's self:

They will awaken from gloomy brooding, for into their lives will come a new significance. **Every man need think only of himself²¹, and the movement will assume vast proportions.**

He then offers the end of his appeal to Rothschild:

Let me repeat once more my opening words: **The Jews who wish for a State will have it.** We shall live at last as free men on our own soil, and die peacefully in our own homes. And whatever we attempt there to accomplish for our own welfare, will react powerfully and beneficially for the good of humanity.

²¹ This would conform to Herzl's description of the “spirit of [his] people” as “petty vanity”.

We offer our final appeal: we do not oppose the Jews as a whole. But we resolutely oppose the notion of a Jewish state, a Jewish nation. It is a constantly dissipating group kept together only by its religion.

The Jews who wish for a State will have it: this assertion we agree with. For this reason, it will always be necessary to fight those Jews, who represent the “aristocratic republic” Herzl devised so long ago.

These Jews have a choice: they may become one with their real, living nations, or they may continue down the current path and let nature take its course. As it stands, there are about 14 million Jews globally. We don’t even need to compare this to the global population, of which they represent .5%. We could simply take the Arab nation, where the Israeli state has been built (Palestine is not its own nation, but merely a part of the greater Arabic one – who, unlike the Jews, *do* speak one language, and inhabit one land). The reader should need no explanation: the Arabic world will never be content with the existence of Israel. The existence of a Jewish State in Palestine and an Arabic people are mutually incompatible.

There’s about 422 million Arabs in the world, most of whom reside in the Middle East around Israel. The population of Jews is only 2% that of Arabs.

If the Jews wish for history to take its course, then let it. We suggest assimilation, and fighting for the ability to assimilate. But if they wish to keep going down the current path, then that is fine – we gave them a fair warning. As Herzl said, the movement of nations is impossible to prevent. If the Jewish people would rather die as a nation than live as a Diaspora, that is their right to do so. But what is certain: they must stop using our states for this process, and help us rid those who are attempting to do so. If they do not, then we sincerely caution that they might meet the same inevitable outcome they have already met once in the past, and that their state is bound to meet in the future.

J. VOLKER