

## II. GENERAL PART

### THE PLAN

The entire plan is in its essence perfectly simple, as it must be if it is to become comprehensible to all.

Let sovereignty be granted us over a portion of the earth's surface that is sufficient for our rightful national requirements; we shall take care of everything else ourselves.

The creation of a new sovereign state is neither ludicrous nor impossible. After all, we have seen it happen in our own day — among nations which are not largely middle-class, as we are, but poorer, uneducated, and therefore weaker than ourselves. The governments of the countries scourged by anti-Semitism will be keenly interested in securing a sovereign status for us.

Two great agencies will be created for this task which is simple in design but complicated in execution: The Society of Jews and the Jewish Company.

What the Society of Jews has prepared scientifically and politically, the Jewish Company will put into effect.

The Jewish Company will handle the liquidation of all business interests of departing Jews and will organize trade and commerce in the new country.

As has already been stated, the departure of the Jews must not be imagined as a sudden one. It will be gradual, taking decades. The poorest will go first and make the land arable. In accordance with a predetermined plan, they will build roads, bridges, and railways, set up telegraph installations; regulate rivers and provide themselves with homesteads. Their labor will bring trade, trade will create markets and markets will attract new settlers — for everyone will come voluntarily, at his own expense and his own risk. The labor that we put into the soil will enhance value of the land. The Jews will soon realize that a new and permanent field has opened up for their spirit of enterprise which has heretofore been met with hatred and contempt.

Whoever wants to found a state today must not go about it in the manner that a thousand years ago would have been the only possible one. It is foolish to revert to old levels of civilization, which is what Zionists would like to do. If, for example, we were required to clear a country of wild beasts, we would not tackle it in the fashion of fifth-century Europeans. We would not set out individually with spears

and lances to hunt bears; but would organize a large, jolly hunting party, drive the beasts together, and throw a melinite bomb into their midst.

If we wish to erect buildings, we shall not put up un- gainly piles at the shore of some lake; we shall build the way it is done now. We shall build more boldly and more magnificently than has ever been done before; for we now have means that are unprecedented in history.

The emigrants standing lowest in the economic scale will be gradually be followed by those of the next grade. Those who are now in desperate straits will go first. They will be led by the average intellects whom we overproduce and who are persecuted everywhere.

This pamphlet is intended to open a general discus- sion on the question of Jewish migration. This does not mean, however, that it is to be put to a vote, for that would ruin the cause from the outset. Let anyone who does not want to go along stay behind. The opposition of individuals is immaterial.

Let all those who wish to join us line up behind our banner and fight for it with word, pen, and deed.

Those Jews who espouse our idea of a state will rally round the Society of Jews. Thereby they will give it the au- thority to speak in the name of the Jews and negotiate with governments in their behalf. To put it in the terminology of international law, the Society will be recognized as a state- creating power, and this in itself will mean the formation of the State.

If the Powers show themselves willing to grant the Jewish people sovereignty over a neutral territory, the So- ciety will negotiate for the land to be taken. Two regions are possibilities: Palestine and Argentina. Noteworthy experi- ments in colonization have been made in both places, although they have been based on the mistaken principle of a gradual infiltration of Jews. Infiltration is always bound to end badly. For there invariably comes a moment when the government, under pressure of the native population — which feels itself threatened — bars any further influx of Jews. Consequently, emigration will be pointless unless it is based upon our guaranteed sovereignty.

The Society of Jews will negotiate with the present authorities of the country — under the protectorate of the European Powers, if the matter makes sense to them. We shall be able to offer the present authorities enormous ad- vantages — assume part of their national debt, build new

thoroughfares (which we should require ourselves), and do many other things. But the very creation of the Jewish State will be beneficial to the neighboring countries, because the cultivation of an area enhances the value of its surroundings, on a large as on a small scale.

### PALESTINE OR ARGENTINA?

Is Palestine or Argentina preferable? The Society will take whatever is given, whatever is favored by the public opinion of the Jewish people. The Society will determine both points.

Argentine is a country with some of the greatest natural resources in the world; it extends over a vast area, is sparsely populated, and has a temperate climate. It would be very much to the interest of the Republic of Argentina to cede a portion of its territory to us. The present infiltration of Jews, to be sure, has produced some ill feeling there; it would be necessary to enlighten Argentina on the intrinsic difference of the new Jewish immigration.

Palestine is our unforgettable historic homeland. The very name would be a powerfully moving rallying cry for our people. If His Majesty the Sultan were to give us Palestine, we could in return pledge ourselves to regulate the entire finances of Turkey. For Europe we could constitute part of the wall of defense against Asia; we would serve as an outpost of civilization against barbarism. As a neutral state we would remain in contact with all Europe, which would have to guarantee our existence. Some form of extraterritoriality under international law could be found for the Holy Places of Christendom. We would form a guard of honor around the Holy Places, answering for the fulfilment of this duty with our existence. This guard of honor would be the symbol of the solution of the Jewish Question after what were for us eighteen centuries of affliction.

## III. THE JEWISH COMPANY

### BASIC FEATURES

The Jewish Company is conceived partly along the lines of the great land-acquisition companies. It might be called a Jewish "Chartered Company". However, it is not endowed

with sovereign powers and has other than merely colonial tasks.

The Jewish Company will be founded as a joint-stock company incorporated in England, under British English laws and protection. Its headquarters will be in London. I cannot tell at this time how large the share capital should be; our numerous financial experts will work that out. But to avoid vague terminology I shall estimate it at a billion marks; it may have to be either more or less than that. The form of subscription, which will be discussed later, will determine what fraction of that amount must actually be paid in at the start of the Company's operations.

The Jewish Company will be a transitional organization. It is strictly a business operation which must always be carefully distinguished from the Society of Jews.

The first task of the Jewish Company will be to liquidate the immovable property of the emigrating Jews. This will be done in such a way as to prevent crises, safeguard every man's interests, and permit that internal migration of Christian fellow citizens which has already been indicated.

#### PURCHASE OF LAND

The land that is guaranteed to the Society of Jews under international law must, of course, be purchased under civil law as well.

The arrangements made by individuals for their own settlement do not come within the scope of this discussion. But the Company will require large tracts of land for its own needs and ours, and it must secure the necessary land by centralized purchase. It will mainly be a matter of acquiring state domains now belonging to the present government of the country. The aim will be to acquire land "over there" without driving prices sky-high, just as "over here" sales will be made without causing prices to drop. There is no need to worry about any wild rigging of the market, for the value of the land will be created by the Company, which will direct the settlement of the land in cooperation with the supervising Society of Jews. The latter will see to it that the enterprise becomes a Suez rather than a Panama.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> The reference is to the Suez Canal, whose construction was successfully completed in 1869, as contrasted with the Panama Canal,

The Company will sell its official building sites at favorable rates to the Company, for it is entitled to an unlimited premium for having borne the risk, like any free entrepreneur. When an undertaking involves risk, the entrepreneur should be encouraged to make a generous profit.

## V. SOCIETY OF JEWS AND JEWISH STATE

### THE GESTOR OF THE JEWS

This organ of the National Movement, whose nature and functions we are only now discussing, will actually come into being before anything else. Its formation is extremely simple. This "moral person" will arise out of the circle of valiant English Jews whom I informed about my plan in London.<sup>3</sup>

The Society of Jews will be the center of the incipient Jewish movement.

The Society will have scientific and political tasks. The founding of the Jewish State, as I envisage it, presupposes modern, scientific methods. If we journey out of Egypt today, this cannot be done in the simple fashion of ancient times. We shall first obtain an idea of our numbers and our strength in a different way. The Society of Jews is the new Moses of the Jews. The undertaking of that great, old *gestor* of the Jews in primitive times is to ours as some beautiful old *Singspiel* is to modern. We shall play the same melody with many, many more violins, flutes, harps, violincellos, and strong basses; with electric lights, scenery, choruses, magnificent costumes, and star signers.

This pamphlet is intended to initiate a general discussion of the Jewish Question. Friend and foe will take part in

whose name became a byword for administrative corruption. As a result of the corrupt practices of many officials of the French Panama Canal Company, Ferdinand de Lesseps resigned and was tried in 1888, and the Company was dissolved in 1889. [Editor's note].

<sup>3</sup> Herzl here refers to his visit to London which took place in the second half of November 1895, during which he was received with sympathy and was promised support by several leading British Jews [members of the Maccabean Club of London, before whom Herzl presented his ideas on 24 November 1895.] Cf. *The Complete Diaries of Theodor Herzl*. New York: 1960, vol. I, 276-84. [Editor's note].

it; but no longer, I hope, in the form of sentimental defense and vulgar invective. Let the debate be objective, grand, serious, and political.

The Society of Jews will collect all pronouncements of statesmen, parliaments, Jewish communities, and organizations which are made orally or in writing, at meetings or in newspapers and books.

Thus the Society learn and determine for the first time whether the time has come when the Jews want to, or have to, migrate to the Promised Land. From Jewish communities all over the world the Society will receive the materials for a comprehensive collection of Jewish statistics.

Subsequent tasks, such as expert investigation of the new country and its natural resources, the uniform plan for the migration and the settlement, preliminary work on legislation and administration, etc., will be developed logically in line with the objective.

Externally, the Society, as I have already explained in the general section, must attempt to be recognized as a state-forming power. From the free assent of many Jews it can derive the authority required to deal with the governments concerned.

Internally — that is to say, in its relations with the Jewish people — the Society will create the institutions that are indispensable in the early period — the germ cell, to use a scientific term, from which the public institutions of the Jewish State are to develop later.

Our first object is, as has already been stated, sovereignty assured by international law over an area that is adequate for our rightful needs.

What must be done next?

### THE OCCUPATION OF THE LAND

When peoples migrated in ancient times, they let themselves be carried along, tossed about by historical chance. Like swarms of locusts they alighted wherever their random course took them. For in ancient times the globe was not known to man.

The new migration of the Jews must proceed in accordance with scientific principles. ... .

And so the new Jewish land must be explored and taken possession of with all modern aids.

As soon as we have secured the land, a ship will sail to take possession of it.

This ship will carry representatives of the Society, the Company, and the Local Groups.

These pioneers will have three tasks: first, the exact scientific investigation of all natural properties of the land; second, the establishment of a tightly centralized administration; third, the distribution of the land. These tasks complement one another and are to be carried out in accordance with the objective which is by now sufficiently familiar.

Only one thing remains to be clarified — namely, how the occupation of the land by Local Groups should proceed.

In America the occupation of a newly opened territory still takes place in a naive manner. The settlers gather at the border, and at the appointed hour make a simultaneous and violent dash for it.

It cannot be done that way in the new land of the Jews. Plots in the provinces and towns will be auctioned off — not for money, but for achievements. It will have been established according to the general plan which roads, bridges, dams, etc., are necessary for traffic. These will be grouped according to provinces. Within each province the sites for towns will be auctioned off in a similar manner. The Local Groups will assume the responsibility of carrying this out in an orderly fashion, and they will defray the costs from local assessments. After all, the Society will be in a position to know in advance whether or not the Local Groups are undertaking too great a sacrifice. The big communities will get a lot of elbow-room for their activities. Greater sacrifices will be rewarded by certain concessions: Universities, technical schools, academies, research institutes, etc., and those government institutions which do not have to be located in the capital will be dispersed throughout the country.

The proper execution of what is undertaken will be guaranteed by the personal interest of the buyers, and, if need be, by local assessments. For just as we cannot, and do not wish to, abolish differences among individuals, differences among the Local Groups will continue. Everything will fall into place in a natural way. All acquired rights will be protected, every new development will get sufficient scope.

Our people will be fully informed of all these matters. Just as we will not take others by surprise or cheat them, we shall not deceive ourselves either.

Everything will be systematically worked out in ad-

vance. In the elaboration of this plan, which I am capable only of suggesting, our keenest minds will participate. Every achievement in the fields of social science and technology of our own age and of the even more advanced age which will dawn over the protracted execution of the plan must be utilized for the cause. Every happy invention which is already available or will become available must be used. Thus the land can be occupied and the state founded in a manner as yet unknown to history, and with unprecedented chances of success. ... .