

# Zionism & Socialism

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BY

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## THE JEWISH TRAGEDY.

The suffering of the Jew has become quite proverbial. There was a time when a Pogrom in Kishineff agitated the whole civilised world, and not only brought on Russia a storm-cloud of protests and remonstrances, but evoked the most heartfelt sympathy and even substantial support for the sufferers. Those days are gone. The novelty of horror and righteous indignation that pogroms occasioned has worn off by their rapid and habitual repetition. Although there are noble and sensitive souls here and there, who cannot become accustomed to injustice despite the frequency and ubiquity of its occurrence, most people take it as a matter of course.

Extensive economic and political oppression with its immediate physical effects on Jewish communities is not the only form of oppression to which the Jewish people has been subjected. Anti-semitism has a history of development of its armaments just like the warship. The progress of the economic development of a country and the advance of the political and cultural status of its individuals do not serve to eliminate Jew-baiting and Jew-suppression, but render them more refined and more in harmony with the aesthetic tendencies of the times. Anti-semitism is none the less deadly and harmful, although it does not resort to the cudgel and the crowbar. But the Jews are not the only people who have suffered. The difference between the oppression of the Jewish people and that of the despised and rejected of mankind in all epochs of human history, is only a matter of degree. A more specific tragedy of the Jew lies in the denial of political expression and representation to the Jewish nation, which is one of the most flagrant injustices, committed not only by autocracies and bureaucracies, but by democracies and even by the Socialist International. It is true that many Jews have by their abilities raised themselves to cabinet rank and to influential positions

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in the International, but their influence was an English, French and a German influence, not a Jewish one. The Jew as JEW has never had any say in the councils of the world. We therefore have many examples of wrongs towards the Jewish people righted and injustices denounced by Gentile Socialists and Democrats, whilst Jewish politicians, afraid of being accused of excessive love for their people, pretended to be unaffected by them.

But the real tragedy of the Jew is neither his suffering nor his political helplessness; the former has become second nature to him, and the latter cannot last for ever. The Jew has made his way into every country, penetrated all classes of society, participated in all the social and political activities of the times, and in spite of all this permeation, he remains to-day as thoroughly misunderstood and as great an enigma as his ancestor Abraham was when he broke his father's idols. This lack of a true conception of the real aspirations of the Jewish people and this ignorance of the real nature of the Jewish masses, mask the real tragedy of the Jewish nation.

### JEWES AND CAPITALISM.

The modern Jewish genius creates in Hebrew and Yiddish, and the Jewish masses speak the Yiddish and Spaniolish languages, which the most erudite and intelligent Gentiles only know by name. This, along with the insufficient capacity of the Jews for economic and social resistance, has transformed the Jewries of the world into a hunting-ground for power and benevolent despotism for all plutocrats who happened to be of Jewish birth. Every ordinary Jew who by his wealth has gained a prominent place in the society of his adopted country, and by a knowledge of the native language is at all able to wield a pen, becomes the spokesman of Jewry and the interpreter of the ideals and aspirations of the Jewish people. These plutocrats live for the most part the life of their adopted country and are completely out of touch with the life of the Jewish masses, of which they offer themselves as spokesmen. It is therefore quite natural that there should be many false notions and even deliberate falsehoods, still parading as real and adequate conceptions of the strivings of the Jewish people.

One of these deliberate falsehoods has done yeoman service in the hands of even progressive anti-semites. It represents Jews as a caste of capitalists, financiers, merchants and well-to-do business men who have permeated the whole civilised world and mercilessly exploited the workers of the world. For anyone who has a knowledge of the economic conditions of the Jewish masses in Galicia, Russia and America, it is difficult to conceive how such a falsehood

could have obtained so wide a currency. It is, however, quite a popular idea in the Western countries, especially in England and America; and it is not only made use of, in a most dexterous manner, by socialist journals like "Justice," but it is widely employed by middle-class politicians to exonerate them from any blame that political activities may have brought on them. A mere statement of the actual economic conditions of the Jewish people will prove the absurdity of the whole contention.

Dr. Ruppin in his book on "The Jews of To-day," divides the Jewries of the world into four sections. The first section is composed of workmen, artisans, and shop-keepers who are without means and eke out an uncertain livelihood from what their hands and wits can devise. Most of them live a hand-to-mouth existence and are completely at the mercies of the ups and downs of the economic barometer. They speak Yiddish or Spaniolish, do not marry outside Jewry, and are too much occupied in the precarious pursuit of their daily bread to listen to Christian missionaries. They form the bulk of the masses of Jews of the Near East, Russia and Galicia, and maintain the constant stream of emigration from East to West. They number six millions, roughly one-half of the total Jewish population of the world.

The second section is composed of artisans and merchants with modest but settled incomes. They are the organised workers and settlers of England and America, and number roughly three millions. The third group numbers about two millions and constitutes the well-to-do mass of Jews. The last group numbers one million, and is mainly the wealthy Bourgeoisie, semi-assimilated and gradually merging with the wealthy Bourgeoisie of their adopted country.

The above facts, culled at random from the book of one of the most competent Jewish statisticians, prove beyond the shadow of a doubt that three-fourths of the Jewish population of the world are a propertyless, wretchedly poor, politically helpless, and territorially homeless people, who obtain a precarious existence from their own individual labour.

### **JEWES AND SOCIALISM.**

One misconception gave birth to another. The false and crude notion that the Jews are a race of financiers led to the equally ridiculous misrepresentation that the Jews are an obstacle to the realisation of socialism and international brotherhood. If the former travesty of facts has been exploded, there still rankles in the minds of some Western socialists the idea that the Jews are a reactionary force in Europe, and that the Jewries of the world are allied to the reactionaries and imperialists of all countries.

The oppressed and discontented of men always join the progressive and revolutionary movement of mankind, however diverse and opposite their temperaments and sentiments may be. Long before the occurrence of the economic upheaval which revolutionised the system of production, the Jews placed their hope of redemption and the alleviation of their manifold sufferings in the hands of the more democratic and progressive movements of the time. It must not be forgotten that Roman imperialism destroyed the political independence of the Jewish people, and religious and economic oppression scattered them all over the world. Ever since the shattering of Jewish life they have been successfully used by autocrats and plutocrats as a butt to divert the attention of the masses from revolutionary activities to Jew-baiting. War and Jew-oppression—religious in the Middle Ages, and political in more recent times—have become the traditional instruments by which the rebellious demands of the masses were temporarily gratified. The Jewish people were therefore quite unwilling to place their fate in the hands of a benevolent despot or a sympathetic bureaucracy, for their charity and sympathy might at any moment disappear and they might be handed over to the free disposal of an angry mob. So they were forced to place their faith and hope in the democratic and progressive strivings of the times. Thus they swelled the ranks of all the movements that strove for a better and more democratic world. It was therefore quite natural that the Jewish masses should welcome socialism as a haven of refuge for all their perplexing economic and political disabilities.

Owing to their wide dispersion, the Jewish masses quickly perceived the international character of socialism. They recognised that socialism was the only solution to the harassing and oppressive inequalities that exist between the Jewish workers and the Jewish capitalists, and the socialist International was the only organisation from which they could demand a just and sympathetic attitude to their national aspirations. They never hoped for the slightest alleviation of their condition from the mighty and powerful, the autocrats and imperialists, the war fermenters and market hunters of the world. The Jews dreaded war, for they know that, being concentrated on all the frontiers of the world, they would have to bear the brunt of the suffering, misery and ruin that invariably follow in the wake of war. This war has amply justified their apprehension. They dreaded imperialistic designs and reactionary plotting among the powerful states, for they also knew that they would be blamed if the plots failed, and being in the minority in each state, they would not share the benefits that might accrue from a successful deal. The cause and partial failure of the South African war were attributed to the Jews, and the alliance of Russia and England did not serve to alleviate the sufferings of the Russian Jews.

An account of the labour and socialistic activities of the Jewish masses would fill books. I need only mention the Russian Bund, the Polish, Galician and Roumanian socialist organisations of various denominations, the organised Jewish labour parties of England and America, and the ever-increasing Jewish Socialist Labour Party—Poale-Zion—with its vast organisation in every country, to render ludicrous the current notion, that the Jews exert an anti-socialistic and anti-democratic influence on the political life of the world.

It was therefore with the most profound regret and disappointment that the Jewish proletariat, along with all the democratic elements in Jewry, witnessed the collapse of the International at the outbreak of hostilities in August, 1914. Jewish socialist organisations were sorely hurt at the spectacle of the clean sweep that the uncontrollable war-fever made of all the ideals of international brotherhood and working-class solidarity. It was with the greatest confidence in the spirit of socialism that the Jewish Socialist Labour Party—Poale-Zion—wrote the following prophecy in those dark and troubled times:—

“Nevertheless, the united Socialist International continues to live in our consciousness. We have no doubt that it will emerge from this massacre of the nations endowed with new life and invigorated with fresh youthful energy.”\*

### **JEWS AND ASSIMILATION.**

Assimilation became an active force in Jewish life after the civil emancipation of the Jews. It simply means the absorption of the Jews by the dominant nationality. It has operated very extensively in the lands where Jews were sparsely settled and resulted in a Jewish alliance with the bourgeoisie of the ruling nationality. In regions with a dense Jewish population it only affected the upper strata of the well-to-do middle classes. The Jewish masses resented this dissolution as far as they could, and there arose a serious breach in the Jewish national life.

There is no occasion for horror or moral indignation at a free assimilation. The son of an uncompromising atheist has every right to become the abbot of a Catholic monastery. In the same way, the son of an orthodox rabbi has the right to merge himself with the nation of his adopted country, if by education or social and political activity he has become estranged from the manners,

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\* “The Jews and the War.” Memorandum of the Jewish Socialist Labour Confederation—Poale-Zion—to the International Socialist Bureau.

customs and culture of his own people. There can be no quarrel with such Jewish assimilators. They are not, however, content with their own national suicide. They wish to impose their fate on the whole Jewish people. Helped by the policy of denationalisation pursued by nearly all governments, they are able to carry into effect a political and economic programme of compulsory assimilation over the heads of the Jewish masses. The Jewish masses are constantly thwarted in every attempt at national expression, and politically outwitted at every bid for self-government and self-administration. The net result of all this political activity is the formation of a well-nigh international organisation which, under different names, works in all the capitals of the world. They create a system of philanthropy that breeds bands of wretched paupers instead of well-regulated unions for self-help. They pursue a policy of dispersion and charity instead of social regulation and productive national concentration. They act as guardians of Jewry through self-appointed cliques that escape popular control. Finally, they oppose all recognition of the Jewish nationality, and conspire with the imperialists of the ruling nationality to suppress every form of Jewish self-government on a national basis.

Even if the Jews endorsed the policy of these organisations, it would still be an open question whether such violent dissolution ought to be encouraged. But the Jewish masses do not acquiesce in it. They strongly resent it. It must be recognised by all who wish to approach the Jewish question in a spirit of sympathy and understanding, that the Jewish masses have never severed their connection with the treasures of their national culture, which have accumulated right through the ages. They are united by a common economic interest, have developed similar customs, speak a common language, and have created a distinct national culture. They have not only shared each other's sorrows and joys, but have undergone the most agonising tortures to keep intact their spiritual and cultural identity. They have therefore no desire to gratify the appetites of the annexationists of the politically more powerful nationalities among which it has been their lot to live.

### **NATIONAL AUTONOMY.**

Civil emancipation of the Jews is in some quarters still regarded as sufficient to remove all the obstacles that are in the way of a free development of the Jewish people. It is this notion that is directly responsible for confining the Jewish question to those countries that have been foolish enough to ignore this elementary human right.

The Jews in Austria enjoy these elementary civil privileges, but far from solving their problems, it has only served to intensify them. The mother-tongue of the million Austrian Jews is Yiddish, but, owing to the violent policy of denationalisation pursued by Vienna, Yiddish is not even mentioned in the census returns of Austria. Before 1867 the majority of Jews were registered as speaking German, but after the establishment of the Hungarian State, 800,000 Jews suddenly acquired great proficiency in the Magyar tongue. Such spontaneous linguistic capability on the part of masses of people is unrivalled in human history. It is only a pity that the magnitude of the lie forces us to revert to the old notion of the partiality of masses for their own language. This falsification is not only a flagrant breach of the truth, but it has immediate political effects. In the Bukowina it serves to strengthen the German element, and in Galicia, where the Poles and Ukrainians are equally balanced, it gives a false majority to the Poles. The Jews are therefore not only reduced to insignificant minorities with no political power, but become instruments by which false majorities are procured. They are not only politically incapable of safeguarding their own vital interests, but their forces can be marshalled to oppress the other weaker nationalities.

The same evils are rampant in the educational sphere. Whilst Jewish taxes go to the founding and financing of schools of alien nationalities, the education of their own youth is dependent on the generosity and the spontaneous charity of their wealthier brethren. These schools are not only not enough to go round, but are hampered by the control of the wealthy donors, who wish to foist upon the children a language and culture foreign to them.

Volumes could be written on the retrogressive effects that civil emancipation, without self-government, has had on the small nationalities of the polynational states, such as Russia, Roumania and Austria. The examples here given are, however, quite sufficient to show that in those lands where Jews are concentrated in large numbers, the blessings of civil emancipation can be quite illusory if not accompanied by national autonomy.

This demand for national autonomy has not only always been one of the guiding principles of the Jewish Socialist Labour Party—Poale-Zion—but has inspired all the labour and progressive movements in Jewry. It has been acclaimed by the socialist parties of the neutral states, welcomed by the Hollando-Scandinavian Socialist Committee at Stockholm, approved by the French Socialist Labour Party and actively supported by all internationalists. This international sympathy is quite natural, for it is the practical application of the principle of the right of every nation to determine its own destiny.

## ZIONISM.

The Jewish people have never severed their spiritual connection with their ancient home, Palestine. They have always attributed all their sorrows to the loss of their historic homeland, and dated all their misery and wretchedness from the forcible expulsion from their native soil by Roman imperialism.

What could not be achieved politically and economically became a dream for poets to sing of and the subject of a religious inspiration that would be hard to equal in the history of human devotion. "Erez Yisroel" (the land of Israel) became the Juliet of a nation of Romeos. But in all their dreaming, the Jews never lost sight of their homelessness as the root of all their evils, and only out of necessity transformed the passionate yearning for a return to Palestine from the political arena to the prayer book. In the ghetto communities they had ample opportunity to continue spinning their lifelong romance of a Messiah who would, by divine right and authority, restore to them their long lost independence. But with the dissolution of the ghetto, the weakening of religious belief by modern rationalism, the wide dispersion with its concomitant universal anti-semitism, their national existence was threatened. It was therefore quite natural that the yearning of the Jewish soul should find political expression in Zionism. Zionism is consequently not the invention of a few Jewish intellectuals, but is the political expression of the hereditary yearning of the Jewish people. That is one of the fundamental principles that must be borne in mind by all who wish to understand the Jew.

### ZIONISM IN MODERN POLITICAL DICTION.

Zionism is what is scientifically known as the territorial solution of the Jewish question. In simple English it means this:—

The economic basis on which the national existence of the Jewish people rests is abnormal. All normal healthy communities have been built on an agrarian foundation. With the expulsion of the Jews from Palestine, that agrarian foundation was taken away from under their feet, and they have been hanging in the air ever since. This sudden change in their normal national existence did not serve to destroy their national identity—their faith and vitality were too strong for such a dramatic ending—but it has produced a series of festering sores that are collectively known as the Jewish question.

This landless and homeless condition of the Jewish masses forces them to become a nationally distinct, competitive factor in the lands where they are concentrated in large masses. This

evokes violent anti-semitism from all classes of society, which poisons equally the life of Jew and Gentile. This goes on to the culminating point, when an enormous emigration to the politically freer and economically more developed countries of the West begins. The whole process is again repeated, in a more progressive form and on a higher economic plane, in the new lands of concentration. Anti-semitism strikes upon fresh fields of activity, and the Jewish question becomes more complicated and aggravated from day to day.

This raises the Jewish question to international importance and makes its solution of world-wide interest. Zionism calls upon the world to remove all the hindrances and grant all the facilities needed to divert to Palestine the stream of emigration at present flowing from Eastern Europe to Western Europe and America, to settle a large proportion of the "land-hungry" Jewish masses on the land, and gradually to build up a community of labour and culture that would lay the normal agrarian foundation for the national development of a free people.

That is Zionism as understood by the Jewish masses, formulated by the Jewish Socialist Labour Party—Poale-Zion—and endorsed by all democratic Zionists.

Zionism is no new idea that is begging for sympathy and support. The settlement of migrating Jewish masses has been quite successfully performed in spite of almost insurmountable difficulties. The Jews already constitute 20% of the total population of Palestine, and the Jewish masses have shown a spirit of devotion and idealism in the cause of Palestine that can scarcely be rivalled by any popular movement. Zionism not only gave a new lease of life to the Jewish people, but it served to re-awaken in them the slumbering ideal of contributing their share as a free, independent people in the new international brotherhood of man, which their prophets and poets had perhaps the greatest share in inspiring.

### **IS ZIONISM A REACTIONARY MOVEMENT?**

All sections of Jewry have been inspired by the national renaissance initiated by Zionism, and all classes in Jewry have participated in the colonisation of Palestine. But Zionism is not the less progressive because all classes of the Jewish people have been aroused to rebellion and inspired to react against a common enemy. The struggle to free Italy from the foreign Austrian yoke, led by Mazzini and Garibaldi, was not a whit the less progressive because all strata of Italian life participated in it.

Zionism has in reality not an element of reaction in it. The colonisation of Palestine by the Jewish people is in complete accord

with the colonising activities of the human race. Palestine is a very thinly populated country. Her land lies for the most part fallow and uncultivated. The application of modern methods of agriculture and production would not only secure for Palestine her adequate number of settlers, but would increase her receptivity and consequently make room for millions of new settlers. This would not only increase her own production, but by putting fresh land under colonisation would increase the productive output of the world. The emigration of large masses of Jews into Palestine would not only secure useful employment for the wandering Jewish masses, but by introducing progressive methods of labour it would increase the wages and raise the standard of life of the native population. Besides relieving the congested areas of Galicia, Russia and Roumania, and diminishing the influx of Jews into the United States, it would help the Arab-speaking population to improve their primitive civilisation and backward economic state. All this is merely the creating of all the necessary organisation for the development of a people upon its own territory, and that no sane being would term reactionary.

### **ZIONISM AND ANNEXATION.**

The gradual unfolding of the earth's surface by the opening up of tracts of uncultivated land for peaceful settlement and organised human labour cannot surely be confused with the annexation of foreign lands and the exploitation of their resources for some motherland. This latter policy has certainly led to the vast schemes of colonial conquest, imperial expansion and capitalistic exploitation that have been the causes of war since the dawn of empire building. It is, however, ludicrous to attribute such imperialistic intentions to the Jewish people. The Jewish people in going to Palestine have the interest of no other motherland at heart. Palestine is their motherland. They cannot therefore be on the search for foreign markets or for monopolies of raw materials for a motherland that is non-existent. The Jewish masses merely wish to establish, in co-operation with the Arabic-speaking population, a self-contained settlement in and around Palestine where they would be free to till the land, work the mines, fight their battles of economic freedom, sing their songs and dream their dreams, unhampered by anti-semitism and compulsory assimilation.

These aspirations would be seriously hampered by the imperialist designs of any state, which would curb their energy for a free development and exploit their productivity for some imperialist end. Democratic Zionism is not only against the annexationist designs of any state, but it has always opposed the colonising

activities in Palestine of its own plutocratic organisations in Germany, France and Britain.

The policy of the rich Jewish organisations is dispersion and assimilation, and in this respect Palestine is just as good as any other country. Their motives are not the creation of an independent, self-supporting homestead in Palestine, but the settlement of English, French or German Jews, with the introduction of the English, French and German customs, manners and languages, that would ultimately pave the way for their respective armies. That is annexation par excellence, and against this policy of exploiting the woes and sorrows of a nation for the imperialist aims of the powerful European states, Zionism has never tired of protesting. Zionism would therefore be destroying itself by courting the annexationist desires of the imperial states.

It is therefore quite clear that the Jewish masses base their right to the unhampered immigration into and colonisation of Palestine on the democratic principle of the free movement of peoples, who are in search of employment and national self-government. The Jewish nation merely demands that the universally accepted principle of the inalienable right of every nation to determine its own destiny shall also be applied to itself: It therefore appeals to the justice, reason and commonsense of the world and not to the military power of any state.

Of course, an extensive system of imperialist annexation and plunder can be launched under the cloak of the freedom of an oppressed nationality. The existence of such a desire on the part of any state does not however invalidate the thoroughness and righteousness of the Zionist cause. The Jewish people cannot be blamed for the imperialist aims of any government. The claims of the smaller nationalities are not a whit the less just because they can be used as pawns in the scramble for the world's territories. The Jewish masses are a politically and economically organised people, and not masses of blacks who can be drilled into any sort of work under any conditions. They are not exactly clay in the hands of the potter. They have in Palestine already made a name for themselves by their considerable political and economic resistance and manifested a democratic spirit that has shocked the Jewish plutocrats who visited the country.

## CONCLUSION.

In conclusion, it must be understood that this revolutionary transformation of the national existence of the Jewish people can only be performed by the Jews themselves. The national autonomy

that would be granted them in those countries where they are concentrated in large masses would provide a controlled body to initiate, direct and carry out this vast scheme of emigration and colonisation.

The Jewish proletariat, who are the most interested party in this scheme, justly demand from the international proletariat and from the future International, that all the artificial hindrances and obstacles to the solution of all their perplexing problems should be removed, and that all the dangers that would be likely to cripple their free national development should be neutralised.

The Jewish masses are confident that the future International will justify their expectations. It will lay the foundation for the free development of all nations, however small, and the unhampered contributions of all peoples, however insignificant, to the impending social and economic changes that are bound to sweep over Europe in the future.



## APPENDIX.

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Declaration to the Hollando-Scandinavian Socialist Committee submitted by the Jewish Socialist Labour Confederation—Poale-Zion.

### The Jewish Demands.

1.—Full civil equality for the Jews of all countries. Equal treatment of the Jewish population in the restoration of the districts affected by the war.

2.—Free immigration and settlement of Jews in all countries.

3.—National self-administration on the basis of personal autonomy and national equality within the state, province and community, in countries where the Jews are settled in masses.

4.—Security to unrestrained activity in Jewish colonisation, aiming at the creation of a Jewish homeland in Palestine.

For this is necessary:—

(a) Removal of all measures restraining the free immigration and colonisation of Jews, extensive facilities for naturalisation and free activity of the institutions created to promote Jewish colonisation in Palestine.

(b) The establishment of a modern legal system and of socio-political measures for the purpose of developing the productive forces of the land. Further, the guaranteeing of economic facilities and the promotion of colonisation by, first of all, the employment of unowned and state lands and of the large estates for the settlement of immigrants and for the landless and almost landless agricultural population of the country.

(c) The transformation of Palestine into a single autonomous administrative district.

(d) The national autonomy of the Jewish people in Palestine.

The fulfilment of these demands is to be internationally guaranteed.

STOCKHOLM, 6th August, 1917.

## CONTINENTAL SOCIALISTS ON THE JEWISH QUESTION.

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**CAMILLE HUYSMANS** (Secretary of the International Socialist Bureau and the Dutch-Scandinavian Committee) :

“ I fully share the standpoint that the neutral delegations at the Stockholm Conference adopted towards the Jewish question, and approve of the expression they gave it in their peace manifesto.

Assimilation, which after all only absorbs an insignificant fraction of the Jewish people, does not impress me so much as their phenomenal power of resistance. It is surprising that they have not been affected by it to a greater extent. Peaceful collaboration and spiritual co-operation within a state of two or more peoples, who enjoy an equal legal status, may greatly further their cultural development, but the process which is usually known as assimilation only serves to hamper the progress of civilisation. . . . The assimilated Flemish in Brussels are neither Flemish nor French.

I am certainly in favour of recognising the Jews as a nation in the countries where they are concentrated in masses, and approve of the international settlement of the Jewish question. . . . The international character of the Jewish question is obvious, and beyond the need of proof. . . . The fates of the smaller nations must not be left to the decision of the state affected.

Enmity towards a people is so incompatible with the fundamental principles of Socialism that every socialist party which countenances anti-semitism, places itself outside the International.

The Jewish people ought to be given the right to determine their own destiny. That is perfectly in harmony with the general principles of the right of self-assertion for all nationalities. . . . The neutral states should demand international protection for the Jewish colonisation of Palestine.

The war has emphasised the importance of a sound system of land cultivation for the existence and development of nations. I have never been a partisan of extreme industrialism, and after the

war socialism will have to support the policy of increased productivity, *i.e.*, a better organisation of the productive energies of mankind. This circumstance is another reason why the International should support the opening of a free road to the colonisation of Palestine . . . . The Turks who are in a minority in their own state and who are unable to populate and develop the vast territories under their domination, should not close the doors of Palestine to the diligent work of the Jewish immigrant. . . . If Turkey remains mistress of Palestine, she will have to alter completely her attitude towards the Jewish colonisation which she has been continually hampering. . . . The Zionist movement will hardly experience any lack of emigration material.

The declaration about Palestine of the British Ministry for Foreign Affairs, makes the Zionist movement a factor in the politics of the world. This declaration is a recognition of the strength and influence of the Zionist movement, and by its own weight will increase the power and influence of Zionism. The International cannot remain indifferent to Zionism any longer."

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**P. J. TROELSTRA** (Leader of the Social Democratic Party of the Netherlands) :

"The Jewish question must be settled internationally, for of all national questions it has most features of internationalism in it. In those territories where the Poles are a majority, international measures must be taken to avert the possibility of the liberty of the Poles spelling oppression for the national minorities. On the question of how the position of the Jews in Poland should be regulated, we have received an interesting draft of a scheme from the Socialist Labour Confederation—Poale-Zion. This draft will be of considerable value to the international Committee of the Powers that will elaborate statutes for a League of Nations.

We were in the habit of believing that democracy meant the right that half plus one of a population had of dominating the half minus one. Our present ideas of democracy are, however, quite different. Nowadays we believe that everything that is culturally original and manifests a desire for self-expression must be given a chance for free activity.

As far as Palestine is concerned, the demands of the Poale-Zion Confederation, as laid down at the Stockholm Conference, seem to me to be quite justified. All obstacles to the Jewish immigration into and colonisation of Palestine must be removed, and inter-

national regulation must give to the Jewish people the possibility of a free development in Palestine. This colonisation is not only based on a strong national instinct, but aims at creating a labour market for the economically uprooted Jewish masses. The Jewish people are quite justified in demanding the international guarantee for their colonising activities in Palestine, and that is why our Peace Manifesto claims international protection for the Jewish colonisation of Palestine."

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**J. GOLDENBERG** (Representative of the Council of Workmen's Delegates on the Organising Committee of the Stockholm Conference) :

" I consider the international settlement of the Jewish question all the more necessary since both belligerent groups are involved in it. The Jews, like all other nationalities, must be given national autonomy in the lands of their mass-settlements. The demand for the international protection of Jewish colonisation is a logical sequel to the right of nations to determine their own destinies."

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**PAUL AXELROD** (the ex-Leader of Russian Socialism and representatives of the Mensheviks at the Stockholm Conference) :

" I have not the slightest doubt that if the Russian Revolution is victorious, it will grant the Jews of Russia all their demands, civil as well as national.

An active international control should bring about a change in the attitude of official Roumania towards the Jews. It is the task of international socialism to organise such a control. The international proletariat ought to devote serious attention to the Jewish question in Poland and Galicia. The first demand from the Poles is that they should let the Jews live, and the second that the principle of national self-assertion should also be applied to them : that means national autonomy on the personal basis.

When I am carried away by the dream of a happy united mankind, it seems to me to be a pity to spend the energy of the Jews in the colonisation of Palestine. The appreciation, however, of such crude facts as pogroms and persecutions of all sorts, awakens within me sentiments for Palestine. I desire the realisation of Zionism, which would lay the foundation for the salvation of an

unfortunate people. I often envy the lot of the most miserable people who live on their own land, and can consider a definite territory their undeniable property. The concrete demands of the Jews concerning the colonisation of Palestine are justified. Everyone who professes the principle of a democratic emigration policy, must demand freedom for the colonising activities of the Jews in Palestine."

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**GUSTAV MOLLER** (Secretary of the Social Democratic Party in Sweden and Member of the Swedish Rikstag) :

"We support the principle of national self-assertion for the Jews in the countries where they live in compact masses. I cannot see in the Jewish colonisation of Palestine anything which contradicts the principles of Socialism. By the colonisation of Palestine the Jews have undertaken a great work, which should not be rendered more difficult by placing artificial obstacles in their way."

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**P. P. HANSSON** (Editor of "Stockholm Socialdemokraten") :

"The Jews should not be refused the right of national self-assertion. I therefore think that the national aspirations of the Jews in the Diaspora, as well as in Palestine, are quite justified.

I have not the slightest doubt that if we Swedes were in the position the Jews are in to-day, we would not rest until we had regained our lost home."

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**S. ZORIAN** (Delegate of the Armenian Revolutionary Federation, at the Stockholm Conference) :

"A Jewish colonisation in Palestine organised on a large scale is possible and desirable. . . . I can confirm from my experience in Bessarabia, that the Jews are quite adaptable to agriculture.

After the war, Palestine should have a political existence of its own under an international Protectorate. . . . The Jewish colonisation must have no features of philanthropy about it. It will be successful if the normal conditions are created to attract the Jewish working masses in the Diaspora.

My party supported with equal energy the principle of Jewish national autonomy in various countries."

## THE RESOLUTION OF THE BRITISH LABOUR PARTY.

### The Jews and Palestine.

“ The Conference demands for the Jews of all countries the same elementary rights of tolerance, freedom of residence and trade, and equal citizenship that ought to be extended to all the inhabitants of every nation. But the Conference further expresses the hope that it may be practicable by agreement among all the nations to set free Palestine from the harsh and oppressive government of the Turk, in order that this country may form a Free State under international guarantee, to which such of the Jewish people as desire to do so may return, and may work out their own salvation free from interference by those of alien race or religion.”

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### MR. RODEN BUXTON ON ZIONISM.\*

“ It may be that in some imaginary world a nationality might dispense with all the outward accompaniments of nationhood. But things being what they are, and human nature what it is, it is hard for any people to retain its individuality and develop itself to the full without a local and visible home somewhere in the world. This is the argument for a Jewish national home in Palestine.

Among the landmarks of Zionist successes are the appointment by President Wilson of a commission to study the practical working out of Zionism, the adoption of the Zionist programme by most of the important sections of international labour, notably the British Labour Party, and finally the letter of the British Foreign Secretary, on 2nd November, 1917, stating that the British Government will use its best endeavours to facilitate the establishment of a national home for the Jewish people in Palestine.

British annexation of Palestine would be one of those things which spoil the spirit of a treaty and poison its atmosphere. Whoever else might be benefited by a peace settlement of the ‘crushing’ type, the Jews, who live in large numbers under both flags, could never be. For them the policy of international conciliation is not merely the best ideal but the only hope.

I reject, therefore, the annexationist solution, both in the interests of this country and in the interests of Jewry itself. There is no reason why, if the principle of conciliation could be introduced into the settlement, an international commission should not be set up as the controlling authority.”

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\*“The Jews in Palestine,” by Roden Buxton in *The Herald*, 19th January, 1918.

## BRITISH LABOUR LEADERS' VIEWS. \*

From the **Right Hon. ARTHUR HENDERSON, M.P.**

“Labour recognises the claims generally of Jews in all countries to the elementary rights of tolerance, freedom of residence and trade, and equal citizenship, that ought to be extended to all the inhabitants of every nation's territory. Further, it trusts that an understanding may be reached at the close of the War whereby Palestine may be set free and form a state under an international agreement, to which Jewish people may return and work out their own salvation without interference by those of alien race or religion.”

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From **Mr. J. RAMSAY MACDONALD, M.P.** (July, 1917). †

“I read with great interest the literature issued by the Zionist Movement. I am still in the position of one who listens and learns, rather than of one whose mind is made up. I think we must first of all get a broad impression of the mind of Judaism itself, and when that has happened it will become the duty of everyone who, like myself, believes in national freedom and in the right of peoples to decide their own destinies, to give the Jews every opportunity that is possible to start again not merely with a habitation, but with a home which is theirs by historical right and from which their hearts have never been banished.”

(December, 1917.)\*

“I congratulate you on the success of your appeals that Palestine should be established as a national home for the Jewish people, and I hope that no untoward event will prevent the fulfilment of your desires.”

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From **Mr. GEORGE LANSBURY**, Editor of “The Herald.”

I do not feel competent to give an opinion except that if it is possible to re-establish the Jewish people in their own country and they desire to be established there, I then am wholeheartedly in favour of such a scheme. All the same, the fact that Jews are cosmopolitan is to me a great thing in their favour. I want to get rid of individualism in social life and narrow nationalism in international affairs. If Palestine goes to the Jews I hope it will become under them one of the Federated States in the United States of the World.”

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\* *The Zionist Review*, December, 1917.

† *The Zionist Review*, July, 1917.

From **Mr. JAMES PARKER, M.P.**, Lord of the Treasury.

"I am certainly in favour of a national home for the Jewish people being established in Palestine on the lines laid down in Mr. Balfour's letter."

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From **Mr. HERBERT BURROWS** (28th December, 1917).

"During the last fifty years I have taken part in many movements. Some have succeeded, some have failed. Among those which have succeeded, I know of none which has come to fruition as the Zionist movement, thanks to the zeal and ability of its supporters. I hope ere long all their hopes and aspirations may be amply realised. I am not a young man, but I hope to live to see the day when the harps of Zion, which have been silent so long, shall be taken down from the willow trees and tuned to the joyful song of true righteousness, freedom and peace."

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**Mr. PHILIP SNOWDEN, M.P.** (Blackburn), Chairman of I.L.P.

"Though sympathetic with the idea of a Jewish settlement in Palestine, I must reserve a definite opinion on the Government plan barely announced by Mr. Balfour until much fuller details are provided."

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**Mr. C. B. STANTON, M.P.** (Merthyr Tydvil).

"The Zionist Federation and the Jewish people have my very best wishes for the fulfilment of the Balfour Declaration."

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**Mr. TOM MANN.\***

"I am very pleased to see that an opportunity has at last presented itself for the realisation of the national aspirations of the Jewish people."

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**Mr. ROBERT WILLIAMS** (Secretary of Transport Workers' Union). \*

"Just as we demand that England should be restored to the English, so I would like to see the Jews obtain their undeniable right to the land of their racial birth."

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\* Letter of Congratulation to the Jewish Mass Meeting at the Pavilion Theatre.



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