

I.

The Jewish Problem and the Jewish Socialist State

CHAPTER I.

EMANCIPATION AND ANTI-SEMITISM

CONTEMPORARY events, which bear only an incidental relation to Jewish history, have in our era propelled Jewish life towards new channels.

When the bourgeoisie gained supremacy over the nobility and aristocracy, it identified its own interests with those of the entire race, and proclaimed them as the inalienable rights of humanity. The bourgeoisie strove to achieve freedom and political power, that is, gain overt recognition of the rights and privileges of their class. The basic principle of this bourgeois class interest was freedom—freedom in religion, politics, thought, and property.

The proclamation of human rights emancipated the Jews from their medieval servitude and granted them civil and political equality with scarcely any exertion on the part of the Jews themselves. Without a power in back of them, and without their organizing to achieve their emancipation, the Jews were accidentally liberated by the triumph of the principle of equality. The Ghetto walls were broken, releasing the Jew into the world as a factor in civil life. The thousand-year-old condition of Jewish inequality was thus ameliorated; the wound inflicted on the Jewish nation with the fall of Jerusalem began to heal with the fall of the Bastille.

The germ of progress contained within the bourgeois society was accompanied by a weakness greater than any possessed by

other forms of social organization. "Freedom" was inscribed on the bourgeois ensign, but in no other form of social organization was there so much dependence of man on man. "Equality" was destroyed by the differences in wealth and property, while "fraternity," in bourgeois society, became an ironic symbol. In its struggles, the bourgeoisie unfurled the banner of "humanity," but never was individualism so much an end in itself as it is today. The contradictions of the bourgeois society find their expression in the individualistic character of that society—contradictions which lead to its breakdown. The very freedom and equality which the bourgeois society proclaimed, but which it now denies, marshal the forces that spell its doom.

The bourgeois society, whose sole aim is the accumulation of material wealth through the medium of competition, brought about a new appraisal of Jewish values. The traditions and aspirations of the Ghetto clashed with the new order of society and had to be thrust aside. While Ghetto Jewry was a homogeneous, though isolated, nation, Emancipated Jewry soon disposed of its nationalism in order to create for itself the theoretical basis for emancipation. This same Jewry, which not long ago prayed thrice daily for its return to Jerusalem, became intoxicated with patriotic sentiments for the land in which it lived.

This encysted and conservative people, which in the course of its exile was nourished by its nationalism, had suddenly become the exponent of national self-renunciation. If formerly the Jewish nation considered itself the crown of humanity, it now began to despise itself more than it was despised by its greatest enemies. The Ghetto Jew proudly displayed his Jewishness through his language, clothes, and customs; the Emancipated Jew endeavored to destroy the very essence of Judaism. The hope for the Messiah, for the renaissance of the Jewish people and for the return to Palestine, were the driving forces of the Jew in Galuth; in Emancipated Jewry there arose an antagonism towards this hope, an antagonism expressed by the eradication of the messianic concept from the synagogue. The solution to the Jewish problem was sought in assimilation. This assimilation was not dictated by higher moral ideas, but by the improved living conditions of bourgeois society.

Assimilation, which arose on the one hand through internal conflict with traditional Judaism and on the other hand through the adaptation to a new form of society, epitomized national self-abnegation. But as long as the assimilatory process was

in the making, it had to find a connecting link between the old traditions and the new Judaism, between the lamentations of the exiles by the waters of Babylon and the "prayers" of Jewish stock brokers who contentedly strolled by the waters of the Spree. This task was willingly assumed by theologians. The synagogue, like the church, has a healthy stomach—it digests all that its preservation demands.

In such manner, the synagogue began to draw toward the Frankfurt stock brokers. "The Jews are not a nation, but a religious sect created by God for the purpose of spreading the gospel of monotheism among the nations of the world"—thus philosophized modern Jewish theology. The Jewish inhabitation of Palestine and the national life of Jewry were, according to the historian Jost, merely an error of history which was corrected after the destruction of the Temple when Jewry began to appear before the world as the apostle of Jehovah. According to Geiger, the destruction of Jerusalem and the dispersion of Jewry was the wise and careful plan of divine providence, for the Jewish historical mission was to bring before the world the truth revealed at Sinai. In the case of the pagans, the Jews accomplished this through Christianity. But Christianity was not *pure* monotheism. Only when Christianity will be purified by the uncompromising monotheism of the Jew will his historical mission be fulfilled.

The Messianic hope which permeated all Jewish writings was falsely interpreted by the new Jewish theology. The modern synagogue, influenced by the new society, invented a philosophy contrary to Jewish reality, full of logical contradictions. This was done because an ideological basis for assimilation was needed. How blasphemous was the rationalization of the rabbis, that the mission of the Jew was to spread the monotheist idea, when in reality, the rabbinical mission was self aggrandizement.

It appeared as though bourgeois freedom and Jewish assimilation had finally solved the old Jewish problem. But in reality, the splendor of the solution lasted only as long as the reign of liberalism. To the extent that the bourgeoisie had betrayed the principles of liberalism and had turned into an oppressing class, to that extent the theory on which assimilation was based, disappeared. The struggle for economic power, both of individual and class, became the chief characteristic of the modern bourgeois society, once it discarded its higher principles as unnecessary burdens. The emancipation of the Jew and his admission to all branches of social

activity was not palatable to the egotism of the bourgeois society. Jewish emancipation, therefore, began to evaporate as did the liberalism of that day. Jewish emancipation was from the beginning a general principle rather than a reality.

The characteristics of the new society were such, that Jewish emancipation was an anomaly. Freedom of competition in this bourgeois society resulted in a war of each against all—an everlasting individual and class struggle. The principle of "might is right" became the foundation of society. In the economic and political struggles of bourgeois society even the principle of liberty was relinquished.

Was it not natural, then, that the Jews, who even after their attempts at assimilation still remained a separate group, were mistreated because they were weak?

In addition, there were other conscious and unconscious motives which forced society to declare war against the Jews. The Jews were originally endowed with talents which were perfected during the course of millennia of struggle for survival. As a result, the Jews were better equipped in their struggle for existence. The economic solidarity of the Jews, remnant of Ghetto days, further increased their strength. The emancipated Jews began to scale the social ladder. The economic and social rise was in itself sufficient cause to arouse the predatory society to a united struggle against the Jews. Simultaneously, the Jewish meekness, and self-denial, their fear to appear as Jews, their passion to assimilate, their false patriotism—in short, their entire make-up—served as additional incentives to prejudice society against them. No matter how weak the Jews were without this make-up, with it they were weaker.

Jew-hatred appeared in all fields of society, wherever Jews were found and could be recognized as such. As in the Middle Ages, hatred, scorn, and derision again reigned supreme. Socially, the Jews were already outcast, and politically, the demand for the revocation of their liberties was gaining a strong foothold. In Germany, Austria, and Roumania the condition of the Jews, in spite of formal emancipation, went from bad to worse. In Russia, where the Jews resided under medieval special laws, their position was intolerable. Regardless of restrictions, there were enough avenues of competition between Jews and non-Jews to provoke conflict.

What is the basis for Jew-hatred? In the Middle Ages it was difference in religion; in modern days, it is racial difference. In other words, racial prejudices still exist after religious differences are no more a vital factor. Jew-hatred

sails under the flag of anti-Semitism, although it is the same ship and the same crew.

"The Jews are an incurably bad people, a people always seeking its own benefits and wanting to enslave the entire world, a people which, in spite of all its efforts to assimilate, still remains strange and hostile to the non-Jews. The Jews are the torch-bearers of capitalism, exploitation, usury, and suppression. At the same time, they are the historical virus, the despoiler, the trouble-maker personified. In short, the Jewish people is the curse of humanity." Such is the cry of modern bourgeois society.

But the unbiased observer must question this cry and ask of the bourgeois society: Is then not the bourgeois Jew an image of yourself, only clothed differently? Do you not find yourself reflected in him, and he in you? Does not the Jew exploit because he can, and do you not rob because you can? Are then not usury, exploitation, and swindle as characteristic of you as they are of him? Are you not both ready, twenty-four hours a day, to betray your state for your class interests, and your class for your private interests? In spite of all your declarations of love and sympathy for your own compatriots, are you not stranger and more hostile to your own oppressed brethren than to the Jewish bourgeoisie? Do you not resemble each other more than you differ from each other?

At these words, the bourgeois society plays its patriotic tune and cries hypocritically, "Jew-slave! What is right for me is not right for you, for we differ in spirit. That which I create is genuinely Deutschisch—you falsify and distort! There is an inherent madness in you which makes you feel as free as a bird. *Hep! Hep!*"

But when this filthy egotism is clothed in the mantle of racial superiority—a doctrine essentially false (besides, the Semites and Aryans belong to the same Caucasian race)—logic disappears and debate is useless.

Anti-Semitism, which is an integral part of the class society, differs in degree with the various classes. In a dormant form, anti-Semitism is hidden in all classes of society because it is a product of the class structure. However, it reaches its highest peak in declining classes, that is, the *middle class*, which is persistently being destroyed by the bourgeoisie, the almost ruined *landowner* who is being destroyed by the capitalist, and the decaying *peasant* class which is being strangled by the landowner. In modern society, these classes are backward and morally decayed. They are on the verge of bankruptcy and

battle perplexedly for the maintenance of their positions. They belong to the propertied class, but their property consists of debts. They are owners, but they do not possess that which even the common workers have—labor power. They are on the fence between the wealthy class and the proletariat, in constant fear of falling into the latter. The more wretched their positions become, the fiercer their internal conflicts, the more they are driven to become vampires who suck the blood of the working class. As time passes, the middle class sinks deeper and deeper into this infernal abyss. Unlike the proletariat, it is without culture or the desire for it, without character or ideal, without self-consciousness or desire for freedom. In spite of their steady economic decline, the middle classes still hold on to the tail of the ruling class; their eyes are focused above, though their bodies are sinking into the deep; they help maintain an order whose victims they are.

These classes pretend to be revolutionary, but their struggle is egotistic and far removed from any principles. Should their own interests be satisfied, and their state bonds converted into sound cash, this world would in their eyes be the best of all worlds. Then they would become the most loyal defenders of this society and its devoted guards. To slave and enslave—this is the motto of these classes.

If anti-Semitism has become the guiding political and social motive of these sunken classes, it is comprehensible in the light of their position. While class interests in general dictated struggle against Jews, the middle class intensified its anti-Semitism because it suffered from Jewish as well as general competition. The Jewish capitalist, not unlike the Christian capitalist, delivered heavy blows to the middle class; the Jewish middle-man was at dagger points with his Christian neighbor over a customer; the Jewish broker attempted to beat his Christian competitor. It is clear why anti-Semitism became the mainstay of the socio-political program of these classes.

Just as the lower middle classes were the rawest elements of society, so, too, was their anti-Semitism of the rawest type. Their opposition to the Jew was not fundamentally a result of Jewish characteristics, though admittedly assimilation and self-negation produced an unfortunate caricature of the Jew which might have nauseated the non-Jew. Nor was their opposition based on national and religious misunderstandings. These unrefined classes were not capable of such spiritual experiences. Only egotism, the lust for Jewish money, the desire

to undermine the Jewish competitor and expel him from the land—only these and no other reasons made Jew-haters. Hatred, jealousy and falsehood characterized them in their fight against the Jew.

Anti-Semitism of the middle class is a revolutionary movement of a low type, the revolt of a class against the existing order, not for the sake of higher human principles, but for egotistic interests, and though they clothe themselves in an ideological mantle, their true intentions are discernable. This type of anti-Semitism is best reflected in its leadership. The decayed elements of the bourgeois and proletarian society, who have lost every sense of truth and self-respect, and confused creatures who can be moved only by the lowest of passions, raise the banner of anti-Semitism and become its torch-bearers. No other parties, therefore, have as many publicly compromising leaders as the anti-Semitic ones. If their criminal records are such convincing evidence of their moral degeneration, it is even more evident in their insults, lies, and blackmail. At least one part of Ludwig Berne's famous saying that anti-Semites will in the future be candidates either for the workhouse or for the insane asylum, has been realized.

In spite of the moral degeneration of anti-Semitic leaders, and in spite of the disgust which the intelligent person has for anti-Semitism, the movement is constantly growing. The more the social classes are disrupted, the more unstable life becomes, the greater the attack on the middle class, and the more imminent the triumph of the proletariat—the higher will rise the wave of anti-Semitism. The classes which struggle against each other will unite in their common attack on the Jew. The potent elements of society, i. e., capitalism, monarchy, the Church and the State, seek to hide the social struggle and in its place bring to the fore the religious and racial struggle.

Anti-Semitism has, therefore, the tendency to sweep all society, and undermine the existence of the Jewish people. It is a result of the unequal distribution of power in society. As long as society is based on might, and as long as the Jew is weak, so long will anti-Semitism exist.

CHAPTER II.

INTERNATIONALISM vs. NATIONALISM

Anti-Semitism originates in physical superiority and is fed by the ever-increasing class struggle. The Jew derives from anti-Semitism a spiritual force, an impetus for his rejuvenation and renaissance. Whereas the Jew previously found solace in passively ignoring and detesting the enemy, his attitude has changed to a conscious and active protest. This process of moral purification is yet in its beginning, because the Jewish people is too subjugated by the spirit of assimilation. The Jewish people, however, possesses forces which will guide it in the right direction.

A class-less society and autonomous national power are the only means of solving the Jewish problem completely. The social revolution and cessation of the class struggle will assist in removing the abnormal condition of Jewry. Therefore, the Jew must join the ranks of the proletariat as that element which strives for the termination of the class struggle. Until now, the Jew was the torchbearer of liberalism, but since the bourgeoisie, which was responsible for Jewish emancipation in the old society, has betrayed its principles, the Jew must become the vanguard of Socialism.

Even prior to the birth of anti-Semitism, Jews began to join the ranks of the growing Socialist movement. The Jewish Socialists of Western Europe unfortunately inherited the traditions of the assimilationists and displayed the same lack of self-respect found in the Jewish bourgeoisie, with the only difference that with the former the moral degeneration was revealed more sharply. To the Jewish Socialists, Socialism meant first of all the discard of Jewishness, just as the liberalism of the Jewish bourgeoisie led to assimilation. And yet, this tendency to deny their Jewishness was unnecessary, being prompted by neither Socialism nor liberalism. It was a product of the general degeneration and demoralization of the Jews.

Impelled by their Judaism towards the path of revolution, the Socialists erred in that they did not guard the purity of their revolt. Instead of emphasizing, in their revolutionary opposition to the class society, their kinship with the most suppressed people of the world, and designating their protest in the first place as specifically Jewish and later raising it to

a higher, universal out-cry, they acted contrary-wise. What is more, they robbed the protest of its Jewish character. They suppressed all reference to their Jewish origin, and thus became merely another type of Jewish assimilationists.

The assimilated bourgeoisie turned away from Judaism. They denied Jewish nationalism because the Jewish people was weak and its conditions unbearable. Jewish Socialists turned away from Judaism, because, for them, Socialism was not the result of a moral protest against the world of oppressors, but a haven for the Jew whom liberalism had betrayed. Jewish assimilation clothed itself in the mantle of vicarious nationalism, of patriotic fervor for those lands in which Jews resided; Jewish Socialism used internationalism as a cape to cover its nakedness. This negative and honorless attitude towards its Jewish origin was just as little justified by the truth of internationalism as by the illusion of foreign nationalism.

The term "internationalism," because of the poverty of our vocabulary, is a source of unconscious mistakes and conscious falsifications. Two quite diametrically opposed phenomena of life with completely contrary ethical and historic-philosophical values are conceived in the above term, so we must employ criticism and analysis in order to arrive at a clear understanding.

Internationalism, not only in the narrow sense, but also in the cosmopolitan sense, is undoubtedly the ideal to which humanity strives. The confederation of all nations, the creation of one humanity with a common language, territory, and fate—of which the greatest spirits of all times have dreamed—is undoubtedly one of the greatest concepts of the human mind. Nationalism is always an accidental product, not a rational phenomenon of history. Nationalism is only an historical category and is not absolute. National differences rose in certain historical phases and will disappear in higher historical moments. The characteristic symbol of nationality is neither language, religion nor state, but the consciousness of historic unity.

Socialism will do away with wars, tariffs, and the conflicting economic interests among civilized peoples, and will eliminate the possibility of oppression of one nation by the other; on the other hand, commercial and cultural intercourse will increase to create a common base of interests and purposes. This alone will pave the way for internationalism. International developments and solidarity of the civilized peo-

ples will weld them into one humanity. Socialism, with its basic principles of peace, cooperation, and cultural development, bears in itself the seed of realization of the pure internationalism, that is, cosmopolitanism.

Socialism, which proclaimed the holiness of freedom and the right to self-determination, is both in its nature and in its practice the absolute opposite of pseudo-internationalism. Socialism is the opponent of all those conspiring to suppress a people. The Socialist movement staunchly supports all attempts of suppressed peoples to free themselves. Each national emancipation movement finds its moral support in Socialist ethics and in Socialist concepts of freedom. It was the Internationale which first greeted the Polish revolt against the Czar. Likewise, the Socialist masses of France and Italy reacted favorably toward the Cretes in their revolt against Turkey. At the national and international Socialist congresses the right of every nation to self-determination was proclaimed, since emancipation is an organic part of the ethics of Socialism.

The Socialists of most nations have already coordinated their nationalism and Socialism. No one can point to Socialist leaders who denied their own nationality and preached assimilation with a stronger people. It is the bourgeoisie of oppressed nations who deny nationalism and preach assimilation. They betray their own nation at the first opportunity when it behooves them to do so for more profits. Thus, the Polish bourgeoisie betrayed Poland and was the first to join hands with the enemy. Likewise, the Jewish bourgeoisie adopted assimilation and disposed of the Jewish nationality together with its hopes and aspirations in order that it might lighten itself of the ballast of Jewishness and occupy itself more freely with the stock exchange.

The bearers of national emancipation among all suppressed nations are the intelligentsia, the Socialists, and the proletariat. Only in the case of the Jews among whom everything is topsy-turvy, have the Socialists inherited the assimilation of the bourgeoisie as their spiritual treasure. In this, we recognize the decline in their Socialism.

The Jews once did not possess a higher national aspiration, and this was their life tragedy; nevertheless, they were still a separate nation. It was considered by the enemy as such. Though the Jews were robbed of all external national characteristics, being dispersed, speaking all languages and jargons, possessing no national property or creative national

forces, they were a distinct nation whose very existence carried the reason for its being. The existence of the Jews, who for centuries long carried on a bitter struggle against the external world, possesses a higher significance, since with their existence the Jews represent freedom of conscience. If the suppression of the Jew represented unrighteousness resulting from domination by the strong, then the existence of the Jew was a protest against that injustice. The Jew symbolizes human rights which would be extinguished if he were to vanish. The decline of the Jew must be paralleled by the decline of humanity.

The national suicide of the Jews would be a terrible tragedy for the Jews themselves, and that epoch would be the most tragic in human history. Let us imagine the last Jew surviving when Jewry dies in the midst of the blossoming peoples of the world. The blood which the Jews shed in their struggle for existence, the millions of victims lying strewn over all lands bearing eternal witness to their revolutionary struggle against their oppressors—would appear to him a tragic farce, a lost game. It is the sacred duty of the Jew to live, for he represents freedom and justice. Schopenhauer once stated that life is an offense because we pay for it with the penalty of death; for the Jew, life is a duty, because to him death is an offense.

In such a time as ours when the large Jewish masses do not and cannot assimilate, when the Jew is surrounded by enemies, when need and misery are the fate of the Jewish people, when the right of the Jew is publicly disregarded, when his honor is tread under foot and his misfortunes laughed at, to justify assimilation would be ironical. To elevate ourselves and give to life a purpose must be the motto of the better type of Jew. Out of the need of the Jew to fight for his existence, there necessarily grows the higher ethical duty of endowing his life with a national content as well as of removing all those barriers which limit the creative genius of the Jewish people.

If Jewish Socialism, which claims that it is not only a result of class interests but also of ideological motives, wants to elevate itself to a sincere and normal protest, then it must accept the Jewish protest as its guiding motive, and proclaim it publicly. The Socialism of the Jew must truly become a Jewish Socialism.

From the sound of these words, one may perhaps picture a type of reactionary Socialism because the word "Jewish" brings to mind the terms Christian, German, National, etc. However, this is not implied, because logically Jewish Socialism should be placed on the same level with proletarian So-

cialism, both having their common source in the suppression of human beings and unequal distribution of power.

Where the Jewish proletariat became class-conscious, it also created the true Jewish Socialism, free of every slave-like trace of assimilation. The Socialism of the Jewish proletariat bears in itself also a special Jewish protest which expresses itself together with its class-consciousness. The peculiar literature, thought, and sentiment of the Jewish masses which give them an outspoken national character differentiating them from other nations, are reflected in Jewish Socialism. Free from assimilation and without a tendency toward self-denial, the Jewish proletariat bears in itself consciously and unconsciously, the specific Jewish protest.

Insofar as the Jewish proletariat had in its early stage nourished itself on the propaganda of the assimilated intelligentsia, thoughts of assimilation entered its ranks, but the healthy consciousness of the proletariat, its self-confidence and self-respect fought and checked this infection. Furthermore, the Jewish class-conscious proletariat greatly influenced the Jewish intelligentsia and aroused the latter to self-consciousness.

Jewish Socialism will, sooner or later, remove all assimilatory tendencies from its ranks, and will loyally and publicly declare itself a huge protest movement of Jews. As a protest movement against Jewish suffering, Socialism may become the common possession of all Jews, because Jewish sufferings affect the Jewish proletariat as well as the intelligentsia, the Jewish middle class as well as the upper bourgeoisie.

Anti-Semitism helps the Jews maintain their national solidarity. As a result of the recognition of their common problem, the Jews may elevate themselves to a nation of honor and respect, and strive for higher goals. However, one must not make the mistake of thinking that this problem of the Jews is a desirable means for bringing about their moral elevation, or that anti-Semitism is a welcomed guest in Jewish ranks. Not the woe of the Jewish masses but a clear understanding of the causes will help solve their problem. Jewish suffering is a result of the unequal distribution of power and therefore will exist as long as there are in the world stronger and weaker forces. This is a truism of social life not influenced by the desires of man.

To illustrate this we bring as an example the Social-Democratic party. This party draws its moral strength from the economic decline of the masses. That, however, does not mean that it desires the economic ruin of the middle class, as reac-

tionary parties maintain. Social-Democracy registers economic fact, diagnoses its cause, and transforms it into ammunition for the class struggle.

The Socialist movement embodies those political tendencies towards which the Jews are driven. The Jews must accept the Socialist movement as their own. The Socialist proletarian is the only friend of the Jews and his victory will also end the Jewish suffering.

But as soon as the Jews attained national consciousness, and the Jewish Socialists, at the side of economic class struggle, took up the Jewish national protest, there appeared another form of protest which grew out of the peculiar condition of the Jewish people.

CHAPTER III.

ZIONISM

Socialism will solve the Jewish problems only in the remote future. Though Jewish suffering is the result of general social conditions, it has a specific characteristic with which Socialism cannot deal. Socialism, whether in its daily struggle or its ultimate realization, aids all the oppressed. Through the Socialist struggle, all oppressed have an opportunity to increase their political power, improve their economic lot, and elevate their spiritual condition.

It is altogether different with the Jews. The economic structure of the Jewish people, its political deprivation and its social conditions, place it in a peculiar situation which cannot be improved at present through the Socialist struggle.

The social structure of the Jewish people includes the upper bourgeoisie; the middle class, consisting of merchants and intelligentsia; and the lower class, composed of skilled and unskilled workers. The social struggle conducted against the Jews is aimed, first of all, at the economic position of the Jewish middle class. The Jewish intelligentsia, as part of the middle class, also suffers from anti-Semitic storms and together with the entire class has to exert all its energies to survive under strained conditions.

The class struggle can help the Jewish middle class but little, if at all. Economic instability is the prime characteristic of the Jewish middle class which is becoming weaker and weaker with the advance of anti-Semitism. Not only is the class struggle ineffective in this case, but since anti-Semitism draws nourishment from the class struggle, the keener the class struggle becomes, the greater becomes the need of the Jewish middle class.

The middle class cannot die. The elimination of small, independent owners does not advance with that tempo originally predicted by Socialist theory. The objective process of evolution is slow and the bearers of economic development somehow adapt themselves to change and postpone the fate which awaits them.

Nor can the insecurity of the Jewish intelligentsia be removed through the class struggle. The social boycott which is rapidly developing against the Jewish people in general, and against its intelligentsia in particular, cannot be broken

by any form of protest. At best the intelligentsia can bear economic and social hardship with an air of resignation. Even those governments which granted civil and political rights to the Jews rose against this class. With the intelligentsia of every nation steadily becoming more dependent upon its government, the Jewish intelligentsia lost its footing. Nor can the Socialist movement, because of its proletarian character and for tactical reasons, aid the middle class, particularly the Jewish middle class, which belongs to a despised people.

The class struggle cannot aid the Jewish proletariat to the extent that it does the general proletariat. The "lumpen" (slum or taterdemalion) proletariat, which embraces the greater part of the Jewish workers, and which consists of small merchants, peddlers, etc., is incapable of class struggle or Socialist activities. It can at best strive toward Socialism and sympathize with the class struggle, but can be of little real value.

In eastern Europe, where the Jewish proletariat lives in great need, it will not quickly be discharged from its social position. The unemployed Jewish proletariat must naturally, both as an oppressed class and as Jews, accept Socialism, though Socialism does not as yet affect the peculiar Jewish conditions.

Socialism is against any denial of Jewish rights, yet it often happens that for tactical reasons Socialist parties adopt passive attitudes. No matter how diametrically opposed the Social-Democratic Party of Germany is to anti-Semitism in principle, there were numerous political occasions when this Party rejoiced in anti-Semitism, or, at least, failed to attack it. Recent political history best reveals the character of the Socialist parties. Mention may be made of the attitude of the French Socialists towards the Dreyfus "Affaire." Just as the opportunism of the Social-Democratic Party sometimes led against the basic principles of Socialism, so, too, because of opportunism, the Party abandoned its absolute stand on justice for the Jews.

If the Socialist parties of democratic lands do not yet bring the Jews the awaited benefits, Socialism is of even lesser comfort in those lands where the Jews have not yet been emancipated. In Russia, where Jews are not emancipated, their condition will not be radically altered through an overthrow of the political status. No matter what new class gains control of the government, it will not be deeply interested in the emancipation of the Jews. That emancipation shall come to the

Jews as "manna," or as a result of idealism and humanitarian principles, is inconceivable. Only in the future Socialist state will Russian Jewry attain emancipation. Till then they will have to remain undesirables.

It is clear that no solution to the problem of oppressed peoples can ease the Jewish situation. His only alternative, as it was centuries ago, is immigration to other countries. In western countries, the Jews seek a temporary solution in social isolation; in eastern Europe, in immigration to free lands.

Dark clouds hover over the Jewish quarters. The eternal Jew once more takes his wanderer's staff. Once more walls are erected—"Into the Ghetto!" Need and misery, pain and shame again become his fate. These sufferings are greater than those of former days because they are accompanied by the knowledge that there is no further escape.

How shall the Jew react?

In the Middle Ages the Jews accepted their fate resignedly and only some individuals amongst them protested against the world. But modern Jewry adopted the rational means of migration. To pave a path for economically driven immigrants, for refined Jews stung by insults, and romantic and orthodox Jews who bewail the deterioration of the people and the destruction of the Temple, to form a rational outlet and raise their individual protest to a general moral protest, to a rebuilding of Jewish life—that is the aim of Zionism, a movement born of Jewish sufferings. Just as Cabet attempted to establish a social republic in Icaria, just as Herzka attempted to undertake the anarchist experiment of a stateless society in Freeland; so does Zionism attempt to create a common territory for the Jewish homeless in Palestine.

A political Utopia is that project which goes contrary to the direction of human efforts and experience, or for which there are not present in society any satisfactory motives for its development. Every attempt to turn history forward or backward, contrary to the main tendency of the time, must be considered a political Utopia. Thus, for example, it was an Utopian experiment when workers and their sympathizers fought the machine during the first days of the industrial revolution. On the other hand, it was an Utopia when the Socialist, Fourier, sat for many years in his home waiting for a millionaire to come and bring him the necessary capital to develop a Socialist state. Even if such a millionaire had come to his aid, the project would not have endured for long. The general social interests of those days were not in harmony

with the Socialist project which Fourier developed from his ethical and rational convictions. Nevertheless, fantastic experiments are not Utopian if they synchronize with the needs of humanity.

Zionism is not Utopian, since it derives from the life of the Jews. It is as little Utopian as Socialism, Socialism being the consequence of the social problems produced by the modern class structure. Zionism is borne out by existing realities; Utopias were the products of individual and rare spirits. Icaria is associated with Cabet, Freeland with Herzka, but the Jewish state is the product of the Jewish nation. The Jewish state answers Jewish needs and Jewish aspirations, and is closely bound up with the old land—Zion.

There is another important difference between the Jewish state and the Socialist Utopias. With the Utopians, the driving force was the ideal; with us, the need.

Zionism is a real phenomenon of Jewish life. It has its roots in the economic and social positions of the Jews, in their moral protest, in the idealistic striving to give a better content to their miserable life. It is borne by the active forces of Jewish life. Only cowards and spiritual degenerates may term Zionism an Utopia.

All non-Zionist attempts to solve the Jewish problem bear an Utopian stamp. For example, when the assimilationists parade about with the hope that Jews will assimilate—it is Utopian. Likewise, when some benevolent Jews believe that the Jews can return to agriculture in the land where they reside, and bourgeois Jewry and intelligentsia will lower their living standard—it is also Utopian. Furthermore, it is Utopian when bourgeois Jewry, feeling its position weakened by Zionism, believes that Zionism will disappear and the Jews will sink to their former resigned state. All these solutions to the Jewish problem are Utopian, since they are not in harmony with the striving and feeling of contemporary Jewry.

It is not the Utopian element that bars masses of Jews from Zionism, but their subjugation and passiveness which are the result of our thousand-year old bondage. Opponents imbibe their opposition to Zionism from various schools of thought, yet it all springs from one source—inner void and spiritual degeneration.

No other class is as morally bankrupt as the bourgeoisie. It lives in an atmosphere of falsehood and fraud. The bourgeois Jews come out openly as the defenders of society and supporters of the State, and yet, deep in their hearts, they

greet the revolutionary parties whom they can trust. They are overflowing with patriotism and chauvinism, yet consider the land and the people among whom they live only as objects of exploitation. Outwardly, they parade their love of country and people, inwardly they are cynical. Zionism removes the mask and presents them as they are—people without honor and respect, whose sole purpose is the accumulation of money. Zionism arouses the Jews to protest, and enables them to understand their own worthless and miserable existence.

The modern synagogue is partner to the Jewish bourgeoisie. Zionism comes into strong collision with it. At no time in history was the church so pliable to the demands of the ruling class as is the Jewish synagogue of the present time. The synagogue prostituted itself to the Jewish bourgeoisie. Zionism, which strikes the master, also strikes the servant. Zionism dispels the fable of the Reformed rabbis concerning the Jewish "mission." Therefore, Zionism encounters nowhere so much opposition as in the Reformed synagogue where the Jewish bourgeoisie prays to the almighty dollar.

Opposition to Zionism has also arisen from quarters least expected. It is painful that the Jewish Socialist intelligentsia should be hostile to Zionism. How is it possible to derive from the principles of Socialism, whose mainstay is equality and self-determination for all nations, opposition to a movement which has no purpose save the creation of a home for the unfortunate persecuted Jewish masses? Through their opposition, the assimilation-Socialists best revealed their lack of understanding of the essence of Socialism.

Jewish Socialists dig up baseless reasons to support their anti-Zionist attitude. When the excuses of internationalism, and the denial of the existence of a Jewish nationality were discarded, they found another argument—that Zionism conflicts with the class struggle. The Jewish people, they maintain, is divided into classes which struggle against each other, while Zionism ignores these economic differences, postulating a so-called unity of the Jewish nation. There can be no more foolish argument than to maintain that the Jewish class struggle conflicts with Zionism. Those who maintain this, do not grasp the meaning of the class struggle, and create contradictions which do not exist. Why should the Jewish proletariat, which is the first to be helped by Zionism, reject it merely because the other classes of Jewry have also adopted Zionism?

The class struggle does not give vent to all expressions of

social life. When a people is endangered, all parties unite to fight the outside enemy, though in normal times the classes fight each other. Similarly, parties unite in elections and form coalitions against internal enemies. Modern parliamentarism is based on this procedure. In every union of men for idealistic purposes, the struggle which divides man against man disappears and higher forms of solidarity emerge to the foreground. Class struggle is the main driving force of history, but it is not properly conceived to solve all our social problems. Creative activities are realized not through the class struggle but in spite of it. Zionism is a creative work of the Jews, and is not in contradiction to the class struggle. Moreover, it rises above it. Zionism can be accepted by all Jewry in spite of class differences.

The Jewish proletariat, the poor Jewish masses, the intelligentsia, and the middle class, can justifiably oppose a Jewish state being built on the principles of capitalism. True, the Jewish state, regardless of form, can erase a great number of the Jewish problems, but the modern conscience is so greatly impregnated with social and economic ideals that the Jewish masses will not accept a capitalistic Jewish state.

The *form* of the Jewish state is the only debatable issue involved in Zionism. Zionism must take the opinion of the Jewish masses into consideration, for without them Zionism will be a still-born child. The wheels of the Jewish state can not be turned if the powerful arms of the Jewish workers are missing. Zionism must take into consideration the Socialist aspirations of the Jewish proletariat, without losing sight of the aspirations of the middle class and intelligentsia. Zionism must of necessity fuse with Socialism, for Socialism is in complete harmony with the wishes and hopes of the Jewish masses.

Any other form of a Jewish state is scientifically and socially unsound.

CHAPTER IV.

THE JEWISH SOCIALIST STATE

It is impossible to conceive of Jews volunteering to build an autonomous state on the basis of social inequality, since that would signify "a social contract of servitude." In order that a social contract be fully realized, it must be based on freedom. Social inequality is primarily a product of the historic process. Conscious social activity desires to alter, in a rational and moral manner, the status quo. To build a new structure on the basis of competition and social inequality is socially and psychologically unsound.

People are now well aware of the nature of the modern bourgeois state, and they will not volunteer to build a structure that is unsocial, irrational and wasteful.

In order that a Jewish state become a fact, it is necessary that from the very beginning we avoid all the infirmities of modern life. If the Jewish state is to call forth a deep interest, it must adopt as its ideal justice, righteousness, social planning, and social solidarity. When the social principles of the Jewish state are realized, modern technology will flourish in it. The Jewish state must be a Socialist state if it is to be realized. Zionism must fuse with Socialism in order to become the ideal of the entire Jewish people, of the proletariat, of the middle class, of the intelligentsia, as well as of the idealist.

Fusing with Socialism, Zionism can be raised to a great national passion. All Jews will wish it to succeed, none will be indifferent. The hope for a Messiah, always the basic sentiment of the Galuth Jew, will be converted into political fact. The Jewish people will gain new content.

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