67, Addison Road,
Kensington, W.
15th October, 1917.

Sir,

It is my deep conviction that the declaration framed by His Majesty's Government will, when announced, be received with joy and gratitude by the vast majority of the Jewish people all over the world. It will supply a powerful impetus towards the regeneration and rejuvenation of an ancient country and an ancient people and will thus form a notable step forward on the path of human progress and display anew the magnanimity of the British Empire.

I must abstain at this stage from entering upon a discussion of the views on the Jewish problem held by Zionists and Jewish Nationalists. These views have been fully expounded in the press and literature in this and other countries and I personally have had the honour to lay the Zionist view before prominent members of H.M. Government. But as your letter refers to the divergence of view existing in Jewry on the subject of Zionism, I beg leave, shortly, to refer to this point.

Although it is unfortunately true that a certain number of Jews, chiefly in Western countries, are opposed to the idea of a Jewish National Home in Palestine, it is no less true that these opponents, who are comparatively few in number, are almost exclusively to be found amongst those Jews who by education and social connections have lost touch with the real spirit animating the Jewish people as a whole. Our opponents, therefore, are entitled to speak in their own name only, but have no right to speak for the Jewish masses whose hopes, aspirations, ideals and sufferings they do not share. The real motive underlying their opposition is of an eminently individual nature. Our opponents are overcome by fear lest the existence of a Jewish National Home compromises to a certain extent their own

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The Zionist Movement: Balfour Declaration

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position in the eyes of the peoples in whose midst they are living and with whom they desire to be totally identified. This motive which they do not conceal is in itself an indication that they are conscious of being an isolated minority in Jewry and of having the bulk of the Jewish people not with but against them. Had it been really their sincere conviction that the great majority of the Jewish people does not sympathise with the establishment of a Mational Home, they would have no reason to be afraid of a scheme which can only be realised by the wholehearted and enthusiastic collaboration of all living forces in Jewry. They would, on the contrary, be content to let the experiment pass unhindered, in order to show by its certain failure how correctly they had interpreted the mind of the Jews in general.

As to the wording of the declaration, may I be allowed respectfully to suggest one or two alterations?

- (a). Instead of "establishment", would it not be more desirable to use the word "re-establishment"? By this small alteration the historical connection with the ancient tradition would be indicated and the whole matter put in its true light.
- (b). The last lines of the declaration could easily be interpreted by ill-wishers as implying the idea that, with the reestablishment of the Jewish national home, only those Jews will have a right to claim full citizenship in the country of their birth who in addition to being loyal and law-abiding citizens would also totally dissociate themselves from the Jewish National Home, showing no interest in, or sympathy with, its successful development. This unnatural demand is surely not in the mind of H.M. Government, and in order to avoid any misunderstanding I respectfully suggest that the part of the declaration in question be replaced by the following words:-

42

"The rights and political status enjoyed by Jews in "any other country of which they are loyal citizens".

(c). May I also suggest "Jewish People" instead of "Jewish "Race".

40 I beg to remain,

Sir,
Your obedient Servant,

The Secretary of the War Cabinet, 2, Whitehall Gardens,

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175, PICCADILLY, W.1

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ירות הציונית,

LONDON

15th October

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The Secretary of the War Cabinet,

Sir.

I received with profound pleasure and satisfaction your letter of the 6th instand I wish to express to His Majesty's Government the deep gratitude of the Zionist Organisation for the spirit of sympathy and justice manifested in the proposed Declaration. With regard, however, to the wording of the Draft, I beg leave - in accordance with your suggestion - to submit the following observations on behalf of the Zionist Organisation.

I understand that it is the desire of H.M. Government to express its sympathy with Jewish national aims in Palestine in a formula which will, at the same time, meet with the approval of all sections of British Jewry including those who have not accepted the programme of Zionism. This desire is, no doubt, responsible for the inclusion of a proviso safeguarding the interests of non-Jewish communities in Palestine and the status of Jews who enjoy political rights in other countries.

While the Zionist Organisation would naturally prefer a declaration on the lines of the draft which my friends and myself