

Ber Borochov
SELECTED ESSAYS IN
SOCIALIST-ZIONISM

edited by
Dr. S. LEVENBERG

RITA SEARL
London
1948

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INTRODUCTION

Humanity may be divided into two categories: the few and the many. Few, indeed, have a critical approach to their spiritual inheritance and try to open new vistas of thought. Revolutionaries by nature are rare, Ber Borochov was such a person.

When Borochov appeared on the arena, both Zionism and the Jewish branch of Socialism were in their initial stages. At the beginning of the 20th century Zionism was a dream; its adherents sustained themselves through phraseology unaccompanied by action; contenting themselves with trifling donations; incapable of pioneering deeds. In those days Jewish Socialists still lived an idyllic life, full of confidence and optimism; they accepted with reverence everything which emerged from the official school of Marxism without even attempting to adapt their theories to prevailing conditions of Jewish life.

Zionist Socialism was a spiritual revolt against Bourgeois Zionism and the imitation of the cosmopolitan school of Jewish Socialism and the "Bund". One of the pioneers of that revolt was Ber Borochov. He studied at the feet of the great teachers of Zionism and Socialism, but he did not allow his mind to be enslaved by them. In short, he was an independent thinker. For him, Zionism and Socialism were neither two separate ideologies nor a mechanical combination. After a thorough study of Jewish life he came to the conclusion that Zionism cannot be realised without a great social ideal behind it; at the same time Socialism among Jews must remain merely a lofty ideal without the Jewish people acquiring through Zionism a place among the nations of the world.

Not everything Borochov wrote 30 or 40 years ago is valid today. Some of his theories have become outdated in the course of time. Nevertheless after two great wars and tremendous changes in political and social conditions Borochov's writings are surprisingly fresh and invigorating. On the whole, his message is so powerful today as it was at the time of publication. His social-economic approach is invaluable in order to get a deeper insight into the problems confronting the Jewish Labour Movement.

Borochov's writings deal mainly with conditions in Eastern Europe during the years 1905-1917. At that time the most virile part of the Jewish people was concentrated in Czarist Russia. The political unrest in

that country; the misery of the Jewish masses; their yearning for freedom, form the background of Borochoy's articles. The Zionist Movement, the Jewish-Socialist groups were then in the stage of formation. Many theoretical controversies raged at that time. Many truths which are today accepted were still a matter for discussion.

During this " Sturm und Drang " period Borochoy played an outstanding rôle as lecturer, political writer, organizer, cultural worker, party leader, and last but not least scholar. He considerably influenced Jewish-Socialist thought both in Palestine and the English-speaking countries, especially the United States. The ideals of Poale Zionism were brought to these countries by refugees from Russia, who left their mark on the development of the Movement.

For a short time Borochoy lived in England, where he studied in the British Museum and participated in the work of the Poale Zion.

Borochoy's approach applied to present-day Jewish life in England or America would be like a fresh rain on a hot summer day; it " clears the air "; explains many social phenomena and makes us intellectually richer.

Why anti-Jewish prejudice? Why opposition to Zionism by some Jewish circles? What are the reasons for the Jewish malady and tragedy in the Diaspora? What is the reply to Jewish helplessness? Why Palestine? Why not another territory? Why is Labour the vanguard of Zionist realisation? A reply to all these and many other problems are to be found in Borochoy's writings. But the most important thing which we derive from him is his scientific method. Borochoy has taught us how to study Jewish problems; how to think courageously; how to arrive at our own conclusions. This is, perhaps, one of Borochoy's greatest contributions to Zionist-Socialist thought.

S. LEVENBERG.

London, September, 1947.

A BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH.

BER BOROCHOV was born on June 21, 1881 (seventh of Tammuz), in the town of Zolotonoshi in the Ukraine. The constant pogroms and attacks in the small towns and villages forced many Jews to move to the larger cities. Two months after his birth Borochov's parents settled in the capital city of Poltava.

Poltava was by no means a large city. It had no factories to speak of, and the Jews gained their livelihood mainly from trading with the neighbouring cities and villages. For some unknown reason, the Russian government chose to exile revolutionists to Poltava, and some of the outstanding intellectuals of that time were sent there. They exerted a profound influence on the youth of that city.

Poltava was also one of the first Zionist centres. A branch of the "Lovers of Zion" was established there. Borochov's father, Moses Aaron, was among its active members. The practical work for Zion evoked an interest in Jewish culture, schools, and libraries, and enriched Jewish life.

The ideological components of socialist Zionism thus found their way into Poltava. These currents of thought operated independently of each other. Both of them, no doubt, impressed Borochov, who later integrated Socialism with Zionism.

Ber Borochov's parents were cultured people. His father, a Hebrew teacher, had to work long hours to eke out his living and therefore could devote little time to the education of his son. His mother, Rachel, possessing a love for learning, spared no effort to educate Borochov. With her help, at the age of three he could already read Russian; and, listening to his father's classes, he also learned Hebrew: Hebrew was his hobby. Young as he was, he never put away a book without making sure that he understood it. Even in his early childhood, his Jewish and non-Jewish comrades recognized him as their leader, although some of them were much older than he. He could tell them stories and help them with their lessons.

Though Borochov read everything he could lay his hands on, his favourites were travel stories. Inspired by these stories and by the Zionist atmosphere of his home and town, Borochov (at the age of ten) and a playmate decided to "leave" for Palestine. Secretly, they sneaked away from home early one morning, but were brought back late at night by strangers who found the "travellers" on the outskirts of the city.

At the age of eleven, Borochov entered the *Gymnasium*. At that time he knew Russian well, for his parents had conversed in Russian with him since he was three years old. They did that because the

school authorities did not tolerate "a Jewish accent." Thus he was called Bori, and only later did he adopt the Jewish name Ber.

Though an excellent pupil, his interests lay outside his text-books. The study of philosophy and languages attracted him greatly. Even before he graduated (in 1900) he already had a good command of Greek, Latin, Sanskrit, philosophy, and economics. His instructors acknowledged his scholarship but resented his lack of discipline. Once, having escaped punishment in school, he decided for the second time to leave for Palestine. He had earned enough money from his tutoring for a day's travel. Having reached Nicolayev penniless, he turned to the local rabbi. He told the rabbi of the noble mission and asked him for assistance. The rabbi explained to young Bori the unfeasibility of the plan and persuaded him to return home assuring him that his parents would not punish him.

Social problems attracted Borochof very soon. Because his father was a government-licensed teacher, he was not suspected of harbouring revolutionists or illegal literature. When the occasion arose, therefore, Borochof's father offered a safe haven. In this way, Borochof came in contact with illegal literature. He became interested in the lives of conspirators and learned that one of their holiest vows is not to disclose the names of fellow members. Once his mother noticed a wound on his hand. Upon inquiry, he told her that he had wanted to test his endurance. He had held his hand over the flame of a candle until he was convinced that he would not betray his comrades no matter how brutally the police should treat him.

Borochof was a candidate for the gold medal offered by the *Gymnasium* to the most outstanding student. Because of the anti-Semitism prevailing in the *Gymnasium* he failed to receive it. He therefore refused to enter the university, lest he meet in the higher schools of enlightenment and learning the same anti-Semitic hate. From then on his political life begins.

In 1900 Borochof joined the Social-Democratic Party and for a time served as an organizer and propagandist. An independent thinker, searching for a solution to the problem of nationalism which the party ignored, Borochof's doubts led to his expulsion from the party in 1901. He then organized a labour club with Socialist Zionist leanings. He was a travelling lecturer for the General Zionist organization, addressing himself to the Jewish worker. Then he made his first attempts to integrate Zionism with Marxism. At the close of 1903 he made his literary debut—in an essay dealing with "The Nature of the Jewish Intellect."

Officially Borochof joined the Poale Zion Party in November, 1905, after the Sixth Zionist Congress, when the burning issue was Zion versus Uganda. His opposition to any other territory than Palestine found expression in his famous essay, "To the Question: Zion and Territory." At the Poltava conference (November, 1905), Borochof helped to formulate the Poale Zion programme. The young Party could not unite all the elements because of the various current ideologies. Only in the December of 1906, after numerous splits, did the first convention of the pro-Palestine Poale Zion take place; and its adopted programme guided the party till the Bolshevik Revolution.

At that time Borochov published his "Our Platform," the result of a three-week discussion of the committee which was delegated to draft a programme. During 1905-06, Borochov edited the Russian organ, *Yevreshkaya Rabotochaya Chronika* ("Jewish Labour Chronicle"). He also wrote then "The National Question and the Class Struggle."

On June 3, 1906, the Czarist government disbanded the *Duma* (Parliament), and on the same night Borochov was arrested. Among the prisoners he founded a "People's University." There were many Ukrainians there who fell under the spell of Borochov's theories of nationalism. Later, a number of Social-Democratic Ukrainian groups even called themselves "Borochovists", and many of his theories of nationalism were adopted. He soon escaped from prison and settled for a time in Minsk. There in 1907 he first began to write in Yiddish. Constantly spied on by the police, Borochov was forced to leave Russia; and in the latter part of 1907 he left for Crakow and thence to the Hague.

From that time on Borochov's life became that of a wanderer. In the summer of 1907 Borochov helped found the World Confederation of Poale Zion. He became a member of its administration and for a time was also its secretary.

He went to Vienna to edit the Party organ, *Das Freie Wort* ("The Free Word"), from 1907 to 1910. Up to the World War Borochov travelled continually. He visited England, France, Belgium, Holland, and Switzerland; and everywhere he shared his time between literary work and Party activities. He was a correspondent for a number of European and American Jewish papers, and collaborated in the writing of the Russian Jewish Encyclopedia (which contains his articles on Vienna, Jewish professions, and the Yiddish language). In 1913 he published in the *Pincas* ("The Record") two monumental works: "The Tasks of Yiddish Philology" and the "Library of the Yiddish Philologist," which to this very day are the basis for this branch of Jewish science.

During this period he also attempted to form a union among all Jewish socialist and labour parties, but without success.

With the outbreak of the World War, Borochov was forced to leave Austria, and he came to America. Here too he divided his time between Party work and literary work. A gifted orator and writer, Borochov enriched the Party during his stay in America. He edited for a while *Der Yiddisher Kaempfer* ("The Jewish Militant"). He became one of the outstanding proponents of a democratically organized American and World Jewish Congress. He edited the publication, *Der Yiddisher Congress*. His profound analysis of the minority problem and of the question of minority rights is contained in the book, *In The Struggle For Jewish Rights*. In his fight for democracy within Jewish life he spared no one. He disclosed the timid psychology of the wealthy assimilationist and the cosmopolitan Jewish socialist. That American Jewry was finally represented at the Peace Conference in Paris is in no small measure due to Borochov's activities.

More than once his views conflicted with those of the majority in the Party. He was against the pro-Allies sentiment which dominated the Party during the World War. He also criticized severely the

Party's orientation on bourgeois Zionism, asserting that in its attempts to bring socialism into the ranks of General Zionism, it estranges itself from the Jewish labour movement. In spite of these differences and also his opposition to participation in the Zionist Congress, he knew that this period of *Sturm and Drang* was not the time for debates.

His literary activities were none the less abundant. He was on the staff of the Yiddish daily, *Die Wahrheit*, writing articles and editorials. He continued with his research work in the Yiddish language and literature and completed—a yet unpublished work—“A History of the Yiddish Language and Literature.” He also introduced a new Yiddish orthography which, with but slight revisions, is now in standard use.

The March Revolution broke out in Russia in 1917, and Borochov could no longer bear to remain in exile. The Russian Party, too, demanded his immediate return. His wife, Luba, and their five-year old daughter (now in Palestine) at first pleaded with Borochov not to return to Russia. His wife was again an expectant mother, but even this did not influence Borochov's course. “I am a soldier—I must answer the call!” was his reply.

On his way to Russia, Borochov stopped in Stockholm and helped to prepare the memorandum containing the Poale Zion demands before the Holland-Scandinavian Socialist Conference, to which he was also delegate. From there he proceeded to Russia to attend the Third All-Russian Poale Zion Convention.

S. Har, who met Borochov in Petrograd and accompanied him to Kiev, relates that among other things Borochov announced his plans to issue a revised edition of “Our Platform” to take account of present Jewish and Palestinian realities.

The Party selected him as one of its delegates to the Conference of Nationalities, and there he delivered two addresses: “The Federation of Nationalities in the New Russia” and “The Language Problem.” His proficiency in the problem of nationalism resulted in his selection as a candidate to the Constitutional Convention of the Russian Republic. In the course of the Party's preparation for these responsible tasks, Borochov travelled day and night as its emissary. On one of those trips he caught a cold which later developed into an inflammation of the lungs; and after a brief illness he died in Kiev on December 17, 1917 (second of Tebet)—at the age of 36.

II. 1. A PIONEER OF ZIONIST-SOCIALIST THOUGHT (1917).

By NACHMAN SYRKIN.

AT the open grave of Borochof, it is difficult and perhaps premature, to evaluate fully his contributions to Socialist Zionist thought. Borochof was the forerunner and founder of a distinct branch of Socialism. He was a pioneer and guide in the field of social research and proletarian thought. He had the courage to introduce new ideas and initiate a new social movement. Now that Socialist Zionism has triumphed and the Jewish labour movement follows the path which Borochof charted, his works are of particular significance.

Borochof was the first to apply a Socialist ideology to labour Zionism. *Labour* Zionists thus became *Socialist* Zionists. Because Borochof was a Marxist, the Poale Zion movement which he led became Social Democratic.

Even the early postulates of Zionism were based on the Jewish economic conditions and on the Jews' migratory life. Pinsker and Herzl, in their *Auto-Emancipation* and *The Jewish State* respectively, point to the Jewish socio-economic needs, as well as to the national *luft mensch* as a social type, and to the limited economic opportunities of the migrating proletariat. In the early years of the *Lovers of Zion* movement, Levanda and Lilienblum advocated the transformation of the Galut middlemen into a people of farmers in Palestine. Nevertheless, General Zionism, in both theory and practice, failed to note the relationship between Zionism and Socialism.

Borochof was among the first to perceive the unique position of the Jewish proletariat in the Galut. He recognised the utter impossibility of the proletarianisation of the Jewish worker. The term "non-proletarianisation" may sound paradoxical, but it contains an element of truth. The Jewish worker cannot penetrate into the technologically developed industries, or the basic industries. They are restricted to the small shops and factories. The only large industry into which Jews have penetrated is the clothing industry since this industry developed from the Jewish tailoring shops. Jewish labour is limited in scope and isolated from the basic industries. Hence, the Jewish revolutionary movement bears an ideological, psychological and national rather than a social character. Borochof was one of the first to perceive the unparalleled position of Jewish labour and from it he arrived at the conclusion that the first practical application of Socialist theory to Jewish life was the reconstruction of the Jewish economy, that is, Zionism.

The programme of the Russian Poale Zion contains Borochof's unique view of the Jewish problem. In that programme, Borochof

approaches Zionist theory and tactics from a Social-Democratic viewpoint. Borochof maintains that our economic position and our wanderings will, of historic necessity, direct the Jews to Palestine. There the class struggle between the Jewish bourgeoisie and the Jewish proletariat will develop. Through the class struggle, the Jewish masses will gain control of Palestine, naturally, with the consent of the democratic European nations. There is a close correlation between the Jewish class struggle in the Galut and in Palestine. He therefore concludes, that the class struggle is the revolutionary road to Zionism.

Borochof was, perhaps, too dogmatic in defining the class struggle as the exclusive force in historical development. But this theory helped considerably in furthering Socialism among the first Poale Zionists, who came primarily from the Zionist ranks. This was a peace-offering to Socialism, particularly to the Bund and its criticism of Zionism as a non-historic movement disassociated from the class struggle. At that time, Borochof's theories were an asset to Poale Zionism. The permanent value of Borochof's teachings is that he taught the Poale Zion to think as an independent class-conscious proletarian party within the Zionist movement.

It is incorrect to conclude that because Zionism was to Borochof an historic necessity, he was indifferent to the general Zionist movement or its activities. His Marxian interpretation of Zionism did not exclude Zionist activities. He was interested in Zionist projects, whether large or small. Borochof was one of the staunchest supporters of the co-operative colonization movement, although at first he believed that it was a negation of the class struggle.

His analytic, mathematical mind always sought to explain social phenomena objectively. By assembling the facts, by analysing the Jewish economic structure, by clearly painting the picture of the chaotic Galut reality, Borochof succeeded in making the Jewish problem vivid and commanding. Borochof, however, was not a champion of the Galut. He wanted his party to engage in a broad programme of Galut activity. But like the orthodox or Hebraistic Zionist, he negated the Galut ideology. . . .

Borochof has passed away but the fruits of his labour for Socialist Zionism will survive forever.

2. TEACHER AND FIGHTER (1927).

By S. KAPLANSKY.

I ATTEMPTED to study Borochoy's works intensively and to find out which parts of his creations bear the stamp of eternity, and which are only a product of his time and era, and will pass with them. I gave up this attempt. Reading what Borochoy wrote twenty or more years ago, I was again convinced that many of Borochoy's thoughts which then, and even ten years ago, appeared to us as being far from reality—a passing tribute to the thinker and fighter, to the spirit of his time and the necessities of polemics—have later become of prophetic stature. And just as on the day of Borochoy's death it was too early to evaluate his historical works, so it seems to me that even to-day we do not possess the necessary perspective to his spiritual work which will enable us to evaluate his personality and accomplishments in their real historical light.

We shall not remain true to the spirit of our late leader if we canonize with a cloth of eternal truth all that Borochoy said and wrote. It is clear to me, that the future generations of the Jewish Socialist movement will not only learn from Borochoy, but will critically wrangle with his works. Even to-day it is no secret that not all parts of Borochoy's teachings are of equal value, and that in the light of eternity they have their boundaries and limitations. Often it seems to me that the true genius of Borochoy will be disclosed to us through a scientific study of his life, by separating Borochoy, the analyst, the man who looks far into the future, from the man who is closely associated with his contemporary environment.

In explaining what Borochoy meant to us and to our generation, I would say that he was the *founder and thinker of the prophetic period in the Poale Zion movement*. Fate, however, cut his life short at the moment when we stood on the threshold of the period of realization. We, therefore, do not know whether the above role was the result of his personal greatness, or of an historical situation. In the history of Jewish Socialism, Borochoy, however, will occupy that specific position. In the period, during the ten years of search, differentiation, and concentration of scattered powers in the Diaspora, during the ten years of organizational work of the World Confederation of the Poale Zion, we possessed two great personalities who symbolized the principal elements of our period—the *spirit of revolt against the Jewish and Socialist reality, and the spirit of revolutionary searching*.

Nachman Syrkin was the prophet of revolt against the Diaspora and against the society which exists on exploitation; the fighter

against the old human standards of living and against the sickly inheritance of the Jewish people. He was the flaming torch of Socialist Zionism, the banner carrier of the *moral pathos* of the new stream in Jewish Socialism which he united with the depth of Jewish history to the roots of Jewish prophecy. Borochof was the torch bearer of the *ideological and intellectual paths of proletarian Zionism*. The first steps of the Poale Zion movement are closely associated with the analysis of Jewish economics and the diagnosis of our national economic structure in the Diaspora through the eyes of Socialistic criticism. Borochof raised the Poale Zion critique to the height of a system, and with his erudition, and critical ability in Marxism, he gave us an economic interpretation of Zionist thought and lighted the path of the Jewish Labour movement which recognizes class and national problems. It is a credit to Borochof and his gigantic spiritual works that Socialist Palestine became an historic necessity in the consciousness of thousands of Jewish workers and Socialists.

It is possible that only those of us who were raised and educated in that period of the first Russian revolution and the golden period of the development of the Socialist movement in Western Europe can evaluate the accomplishments of Borochof as thinker and analyst for the Jewish Labour which sought to justify nationalism. The revolutionary spirit at that time was stimulated by scientific research; the recognition of the powers which dominate the social life became a source of faith in the struggle for emancipation. The intellectual paths gave birth to the revolutionary paths and supplied the fighters with power to battle with the bitter enemy. This determined faith and the scientific and historic truth of Zionism, Borochof gave to his comrades. Borochof did not remain only the founder of a system, a student enclosed within the four walls of his library—he was also a teacher and fighter, a leader and a guide. At the time of the "Territorialists" and "Sejmists" he became the rescuer of Socialist Zionism in Russia. The belief and faith which Borochof brought out in the metropolis of the Jewish labour movement has spread throughout Austria and America, and has brought encouragement to our comrades in those lands. When we gathered in the Hague twenty years ago to form the World Poale Zion Party it was organized by the pupils and disciples of Borochof.

Closely allied with Borochof's name are the first steps in the realization of our activities in Palestine. True, it would be an exaggeration to say that the process of Jewish life in Palestine develops exactly as Borochof foretold, or that we always go along the paths Borochof paved. In the problems of realization we often disagree with our comrade, as we sometimes did even when he was still alive. The trend of events has greatly changed the subjects we often debated with him. It would be an act of naivete and sectarian partiality for us to declare with certainty what attitude Borochof would take to this or the other situation. The great problem which faces us is the serious and responsible duty to disseminate the revolutionary thought which we brought to the Jewish worker and the Jewish people in the last decades, and give a concrete expression to the ideals which

we proclaimed in our formative period—in a reality which is being inscribed on the stones in Palestine. We will learn much from Borochof's spiritual legacy, but we will be inefficient beneficiaries if we deny our duty to strengthen and fortify our forces with the wealth which that man left us—the man who carried our banner, the man who was the Prince in our intellectual world during the formative period of Socialist Zionism.

EXTRACTS FROM THE WRITINGS OF BOROCHOV

SECTION ONE

HISTORICAL AND DOCUMENTARY

1. A. LIEBERMAN: FATHER OF JEWISH SOCIALISM (1917).

FORTY YEARS have elapsed since the Jewish socialist press made its first appearance. The Hebrew journal, *Haemet* ("Truth"), the first Jewish socialist publication, made its debut in Vienna in May, 1877. The journal and its publisher and editor, Aaron Lieberman, are among the most interesting and extraordinary phenomena of modern Jewish history. To understand the first Jewish socialist publication and the period in which it originated, we must make a study of the man Lieberman, who truly deserves the title of "Father of Jewish Socialism."

Aaron Shmuel Lieberman (later known as Arthur Freeman, his pen-names being *Bar Drora* and *Daniel Ish Chamudot*) was born about 1848 in the town of Luna in the province of Grodno, Russia. He received his education in the larger cities of Sowlke and Vilna. Independently, both he and his father (a Hebrew teacher tutoring in the homes of the well-to-do) fell under the influence of *Haskala*. Thus young Lieberman was spared the conflict which the freethinking youth of that period had with their pious parents. In his father's home, Lieberman obtained a knowledge of the Hebrew language and literature. Throughout his life he was a fanatical devotee of Hebrew, the language of his socialist propaganda.

In accordance with the Jewish custom of those days, the future nihilist married at an early age and was already a father when he entered the Rabbinical school in Vilna. In the 70's the Rabbinical school in Vilna was a centre of enlightened, liberal, and even revolutionary thought. Several pupils were aware of the socialist movement among the Russian intelligentsia; and two, Aaron Lieberman and his younger friend, Zundelovitch (born in 1854), were active socialist propagandists.

1873-78 were important years in the Russian revolutionary movement. That period marked the commencement of the interesting movement of "mingling with the people." The social-revolutionary intelligentsia learned manual trades, dressed as peasants and workers, and mingled with the masses, thereby spreading revolutionary ideas.

The leader of this movement was P. Lavrov who published a fortnightly journal, *V'Period*, which was printed in London and illegally circulated in Russia.

Zundelovitch and Lieberman were original. Whereas other Jewish socialists agitated among the Gentile workers or were contented merely with writing Hebrew poetry on social problems, the two young students of the Rabbinical school attempted to win the Jewish masses over to Socialism. This was a unique approach, for at that time not only Gentile, but also Jewish intellectuals negated the economic role of the Jewish masses. Jews are not fit for productive work, they claimed; they are by nature brokers, merchants, money-lenders and "parasites"—in short, an element that is not susceptible to socialist propaganda. Zundelovich and Lieberman were more intimately acquainted with the Jewish masses. Being themselves proletarians and raised among the Jewish proletariat, they knew that the Jewish masses lived by their own toil—that the Jewish people was not a people of exploiters and parasites, but a people of exploited and oppressed workers.

They therefore devoted themselves to this dissemination of socialist propaganda among the Jewish masses. With this aim in view, Zundelovitch organized a group of young Jewish intellectuals in Vilna. But he was soon drawn into the Russian political movement and left for St. Petersburg. There he established an illegal press, fell into the clutches of the Czarist police, and was sentenced to Siberia. He was not freed until three years later, during the Revolution of 1905.

Lieberman made a timely escape from the Czarist police by fleeing abroad where he devoted the rest of his short life to spreading socialist propaganda among Jews.

Immediately after his escape Lieberman organized in Berlin the "Jewish Group of the Internationale," consisting of Jewish socialist emigres from Russia. He then left for London where he worked on Lavrov's *V'Period*. He also organized a Jewish socialist society—the first in Jewish history. The membership was a comparatively large one for that period, totalling thirty-seven, mostly workers. Lieberman was the secretary of the branch. The title page read:

RECORD OF THE SOCIETY OF THE HEBREW SOCIALISTS OF LONDON.

Founded Iyar 26, in the Year 5636, May 20, 1876.

The record contains the program of the society, written in Hebrew as well as in Yiddish (although the minutes of sessions were in Yiddish). The first Jewish socialist program states in part:

We are convinced that the present order, which holds sway everywhere, is ruthless and unjust. The capitalists, rulers and clergy have taken unto themselves all human rights and property and have enslaved the working masses through the power of their money.

As long as private ownership continues, economic misery shall not cease; as long as humanity is divided into nations and classes, hatred will not cease; as long as the clergy continues to sway the emotions of the people, religious hatred will continue.

The liberation of humanity can be achieved only through a basic change in the political, economic, and social relations—by uprooting the existing order and constructing in its place a new society based on socialism which will abolish the injustice and domination of capital, which will eradicate the parasites and the system of “mine” and “thine.”

We Jews are an integral part of humanity and cannot be liberated except through the liberation of all humanity.

The liberation of humanity from misery and slavery can be achieved by the workers only if they unite in a struggle against their despoilers, destroy the existing order, and replace it by the reign of labour, justice, freedom, and the fraternity of mankind.

The workers of Europe and America have united in various societies to achieve their aim and are preparing for a revolution, for the establishment of the reign of labour socialism (*Socializmus Laavoda* in the Hebrew text). Therefore, we, the children of Israel, have decided to affiliate ourselves with this noble Alliance of Labour.

This program was written by Lieberman and was unanimously accepted by the society.

The society existed seven months, disbanding with Lieberman's departure from London.

During his stay in London, Lieberman published the first socialist proclamation in Hebrew. Commencing with *el shlomei bachuri yisrael* (“To the intelligent youth of Israel”), he appealed to the youth to devote their energy to the public welfare and participate in the struggle for the emancipation of the working masses of all peoples. In a biblical style he portrays the awakening of the Jewish masses and their struggle against their Jewish exploiters. The Jewish people will soon recognize their enemies and will exclaim:

Thus have your sins been visited upon us; your crimes have caused us sorrow. You have brought upon us the anger of the sword and the crash of thunder and lightning. Your sin has inflamed against us the hatred of the people; your treacherous hand has carried a blaze of religious hatred against us. Sharp-ened swords have been cast at us and have pierced through the bodies of thousands of our brethren. You have humiliated our people. Your deceit in trade has branded the Jewish people, the very same people whom your plundering has suppressed and tortured, to a much greater extent than all other evildoers on earth.

This proclamation was signed by the “Loyal Volunteers of the People of the House of Israel.” The proclamation showed a deep love for the Jewish people and for humanity. The opening of the proclamation was: “We, the friends of the Jewish people and of all the suffering masses”

After his departure from London, Lieberman settled in Vienna where he became acquainted with the conservative and nationalist publicist, Peretz Smolenskin, and for a short time was a contributor to the latter's periodical, *Hashachar* (“Dawn”). But he soon went

his own way; and in May, 1876, he founded *Haemet*, the first Jewish socialist organ. Although Lieberman cloaked his writings in metaphors to escape Czarist censors, *Haemet* did not have a long life; the Vienna authorities shut it down after the third issue and arrested its editor. He was extradited by the Prussian police and was tried in Berlin with two other Russian-Jewish socialists (Hurwich and Aaronson, a brother-in-law of Eduard Bernstein). Lieberman was sentenced to prison (according to some, for fifteen months; according to others, for nine months) and was not freed until January, 1880. All in all, Lieberman spent two years in the prison of Vienna, in continuous danger of being handed over to the Russian authorities.

Prison life affected Lieberman's mental balance. A tragic love affair in London and America, where he went after his liberation, did not help restore it. In November 13, 1880, the father of Jewish socialism committed suicide in Syracuse, New York. His last written words were: "Long live the world! He who finds only misery and pain is doomed to die. Do not accuse me before you have put yourself in my position"

The documents of the founder of Jewish socialism reveal in him a deep conflict. He denied the existence of a Jewish people, while elsewhere he expressed almost Zionist thoughts. S. L. Zitron (in *Hed Hazman*) and M. K. (in *Hashiloach*) related that in his long discussions with Peretz Smolenskin, Lieberman "negated the historic past and dismissed the national problem." Lieberman's leading article in the first number of *Haemet* devoted to the Jewish problem, categorically denied the existence of a Jewish people, as may be seen from the following: "We Jews do not possess a culture of our own which differentiates and isolates us from the nations among whom we live. . . . Any bond which may ever have existed between us has long been torn asunder."

Thus wrote an author *who spoke to Jews in the name of Jews in the ancient Hebrew tongue* which for centuries served as the cultural tie of our scattered people!

The previously mentioned records of the London society illuminate a different characteristic of Lieberman. The minutes of the tenth meeting, held on the second of Ab, 1876, contain a motion of Lieberman that the next meeting, which would have been held on the ninth of Ab, be postponed.

This move was opposed by George Saper, who said, "We socialists are not interested in *Tisha B'Ab*. We have renounced ancient tradition . . . We are interested in the equality of humanity."

To this Lieberman replied, "At the present time *Tisho B'Ab* has the same significance for us Jewish socialists as it has for all Jews; for as long as the social revolution has not taken place, political freedom is of prime importance to every people. To the Jewish people it is of the utmost importance. On this day we lost our independence for which our people has mourned for the past 1,800 years." The society agreed to Lieberman's proposal and postponed the meeting.

Lieberman's cosmopolitanism came from the prevailing belief of the socialists of all nations that they were on the eve of the social revolution. Lieberman refused to publish advertisements in his

Haemet. Expecting the social revolution at any moment, Lieberman avoided anything that might identify socialism with the present order. He considered both nationalism and advertising to be capitalistic phenomena which might carry a bourgeois spirit into the labour movement.

The father of Jewish socialism did not succeed in creating harmony between his deep Jewish national instinct and his carefully construed socialist philosophy.

Lieberman's picture of the Russian martyrs published by M. Vintchevsky in the *Zukunft* (1909, p. 88) was an artistic achievement. Artistic tendencies were noticeable also in Lieberman's handwriting, preserved in the archives of the *Bund* in Geneva and in the New York Public Library. These writings reveal a soul full of beauty and artistry.

Lieberman's friend, Hurwich, relates a most unique incident in Biloa. He tells us that Lieberman presented a most extraordinary gift to his great teacher, Lavrov. The gift was Lieberman's own hat, with the following note: "As it is impossible for me to send you my head, I send you my hat."

Lieberman's tragic inner struggles drove him to suicide. The father of Jewish socialism died before the advent of the Russian pogroms—they might have clarified his attitude to the Jewish problem.

2. THE JUBILEE OF THE JEWISH LABOUR MOVEMENT (1916).

IT WILL BE twenty-five years in July since the Jewish workers in Russia went out on their first mass strike and the Jewish labour movement began to assume a more or less planned and conscious character. This was the first important step of the Jewish labour movement not only because of the extent and the duration of the strike (all workers in Bialystok mills were on strike for two months) but also because of its wonderful organization. These first steps towards the organisation of Jewish labour date back to 1887, exactly ten years before the rise of the *Bund*.

Broadly speaking, the Jewish labour movement is not as young as is commonly thought. In two years we shall celebrate the fiftieth anniversary of the first known Jewish trade union. I mean the association of women's clothing workers in Mohilev, organized in 1864. . . .

With regard to the economic struggle, the history of the Jewish labour movement may be divided into short periods.

(1) The early period in which the socialist ideology and the economic struggle of the workers existed in separate spheres. Both were weak and divided, with no point of contact between them. The workers occasionally went out on strike but they had no conception at all of socialism or class struggle. The few Jewish socialists of that time (with the exception of Zundelovitch) had not yet begun to think

in terms of the class struggle. Socialism had not yet found the path to the Jewish workers and the latter did not know how to proceed towards a class conscious organization. This period lasted from the sixties to about 1889.

(2) The preparation period for a broad organization started in the Russian Pale of Settlement with the general strike of the Jewish weavers in Bialystok in 1887, and with the founding of the first small strike fund in Vilna in 1888. We can therefore consider 1887 as the beginning of the organized Jewish labour movement in the Pale. In the next decade the workers and the socialists sought and found each other.

(3) The economic and political organization began with the founding of the "General Jewish Workers' Alliance of Lithuania, Poland and Russia," the *Bund*, in September, 1897, and continued until 1901-1902. A new Jewish labour movement then appeared on the scene—the Poale Zion or Socialist Zionists. The *Bund* on its part ceased to rely solely on the economic struggle of the Jewish workers and assumed an outspoken political character.

(4) The period of political splits can be divided into two sub-periods: from 1901 or 1902 to the Revolution of 1905, and from the Revolution to 1907.

The fifth period begins now and it is not up to the historian to consider it; that is left to the party spokesman and publicist.

All this concerns only the Jewish workers in Russia. In the remaining countries with Jewish communities, the course of events, naturally, was different. It is interesting to note, however, that at the time that a broad movement bearing a clear-cut mass character began in Russia, a similar manifestation appeared in other Galut countries. The first large strike of Jewish tailors in New York occurred in 1886, and in 1889 ten thousand Jewish tailors went out on strike for the first time in London. The Polish socialists began to organize the Jewish proletariat of Galicia early in the nineties. In 1894 in Amsterdam, the first general strike of Jewish diamond workers broke out and resulted in the organization of the powerful Diamond Workers' Union.

Although we have treated the beginnings of Jewish labour struggles in Russia before those in other countries, the almost simultaneous rise of broad mass movements in the other large Galut centres must be kept in mind. There is a good reason for this development; the eighties and nineties were a period of world-wide economic recovery which contrasted markedly with the terrible crisis of the late seventies. Parallel with this upward swing was the growth of socialism throughout the world. In America (Chicago) huge labour disorders broke out during 1886, and in Europe the Socialist International was revived in 1889. Deeply significant events also took place in Jewish life; a powerful anti-Semitic agitation developed; emigration from Russia, Galicia, and Roumania to America, England, and Holland rose tremendously. The eighties and nineties were a period of blind groping, of universal uncertainty and dissatisfaction. Due to the

common need for emigration, a living bond tended to unify the Jewish masses of the different countries.

World-wide horizons spread before them, and the national idea began to manifest itself. The fruit of proletarian thought from different countries was carried over imperceptible, spiritual paths from one end of the world to the other. Socialist ideas were brought from tyrannized Russia to free England and America. Filled there with a new content, they returned through London, Koenigsberg, and Vienna to the Ghettos of Galicia and Russia. A worker who had just gone on strike in New York could exchange his new impressions with a friend who would soon be striking in Bialystok or Vilna. His head full of vague longings, the Jewish worker set out on the long road. At all points en route, through Austria, Germany, France, England and Holland, he came in contact with comrades from all countries, weaving a spiritual thread between east and west. In that way the seed of revolutionary thought was carried to the four corners of the world. The flow of migration spread the Jewish labour movement everywhere.

It is for that reason that the years 1886 (the first mass strike in New York), 1887 (Bialystok), and 1889 (London) bring back glorious memories not only for each country with Jewish communities, but also for the whole world, wherever there are exploited and wherever a Jewish worker struggles for a better life.

This year we have a four-fold celebration. It is 35 years since the Jewish workers spontaneously took their first, not as yet conscious step; 25 years since their first planned movement; 15 years since the founding of the first Jewish labour party, the *Bund*; and 5 years since the founding of the World Confederation of the Jewish Socialist Labour Party, Poale Zion.

1877, 1887, 1897, 1907! Four historic years in the formation of Jewish proletarian revolutionary activity. At each step the movement is ten years older; each time it is ten years riper in its consciousness; in each decade it takes a step forward to a new, broader perspective. From a chaotic state to the first spark of consciousness, and from a strong organization to world-wide unity—that is the development of the Jewish proletariat.

*On the Occasion of the Tenth Anniversary of the Poale Zion
in Russia, 1906-1916.*

THIS PURIM will mark ten years of the founding convention of the Poale Zion Party in Russia. Ten years! It is impossible to transcribe the emotions that rise up in the mind of an "old" Party worker like myself when he is reminded of that memorable event. However, let us narrate the rather dry historical facts of the small, hardly distinguishable beginnings from which the convention arose. Let us consider also those historical events which raised our weak and limited undertaking to its present high level.

Here are the facts. The convention, the jubilee of which we shall soon be celebrating, was not the "first." The Party had actually existed five years previously and during that time had called several conferences. The Poale Zion idea, the concept of organic unity between socialism and Zionism, had already attained quite a respectable age. Our idea is not much younger than socialism proper. It was originally formulated by that celebrated German socialist and member of the First International, Moses Hess. A more concrete and modern form of Socialist Zionism was first propounded by our comrade, Nachman Syrkin, who is justly considered in our movement as its spiritual father.

Nachman Syrkin first developed his new and militant concept in his speeches and articles on the Jewish question. His lectures were delivered to Russian Jewish youths studying abroad, and his articles were published in *Das Deutsche Wort* in Vienna. Syrkin's propaganda continued from 1898 to 1901. Its first tangible result was the organization of a group of "Socialist Zionists." Under its auspices in Berlin, in May, 1901, Syrkin issued his widely circulated Russian pamphlet, "An Appeal to the Jewish Youth." This was the first official manifesto of Poale Zionism, even though it did not bear that precise name.

Syrkin's ideas were developed independently, having little connection with the forgotten philosophy of Moses Hess. Similarly, in Russia proper, there arose an independent Socialist Zionist movement which had no relationship to Syrkin's propaganda abroad. The first group of socialist, class conscious Poale Zionists in Russia was formed in November, 1900, in Yekaterinoslav. Its founders were the writer of these lines and Simon Dobin.

You will permit me to say a little more about this first organiza-

tion. From September, 1900, to May, 1901, the writer, who belonged to the Russian Social-Democratic Party in Yekaterinoslav, delivered a series of papers on Socialist Zionism to an educational club of intelligent young proletarians. It consisted of about one hundred and fifty members. Dr. Shmarya Levin, who was then the government recognized Rabbi in Yekaterinoslav, delivered a series of lectures to the same club against the new idea. The lengthy and highly intelligent discussions, in which other prominent Zionist leaders participated (they were all against uniting Zionism and Socialism), resulted in the club accepting the new viewpoint and calling itself the "Zionist Socialist Labour Alliance." Its first public appearance was in the organization of a self-defence group during the small pogrom of Pesach, 1901. Its second appearance was during the strike of men's tailors, during Succot of the same year. That was the first strike of Jewish workers in this big city.

All these things are being disclosed now for the first time. The facts show, above all, that the first Jewish self-defence group was organized by the Poale Zion two and a half years before the Jewish Socialist *Bund* (in Homel, September, 1903). . . .

Many splits tore our youthful movement to pieces in the years 1904 to 1906. The Uganda issue awakened territorial tendencies in many of the young organizations. Even that early fighter for Socialist Zionism, Nachman Syrkin, was for a long time carried away by the current. The territorialist sections seceded in January, 1905, at their first convention in Odessa, wherein they named themselves the "Zionist Socialist Labour Party" (the "S. S."). In August of the same year followed a second split, formed by the *Seimist* group. They rejected Palestine together with all Zionist work.

At the Kiev conference of the pro-Palestine Poale Zion in July, 1905, the Jewish Social-Democratic Party Poale Zion was constituted. Shortly after, it sent forty-seven delegates to the Sixth Zionist Congress in Basle. Following the congress, most of the delegates assembled at Zurich and chose a Central Committee. But the *Seimist* influence was already being felt, and the Central Committee did not have a chance to see the light of day. In December, 1905, the split was completed at a highly dramatic conference in Berdichev. Two organizational conferences were held almost simultaneously; ours in Poltava and the *Seimists'* in Kiev.

Thus came that great historical event of our movement, the "All-Russian Organizational Convention of the Jewish Social-Democratic Labour Party Poale Zion," which finally put an end to all splits. It is the tenth anniversary of this Convention that we are now preparing to celebrate.

The conference began on Purim eve (February, 1906) in Poltava, in the presence of thirty delegates. Meetings were held under cover in the small room of a Jewish bakery on the outskirts of the city. For seven days and nights we sat and slept there, not taking a step outside for fear the Czarist police would notice us. The profoundest theoretical questions and the most difficult organizational problems were courageously and enthusiastically dealt with in that uncomfort-

able environment. Finally, the police did notice us, and we had to transfer ourselves hurriedly to an hotel in the centre of the city.

Our "retreat" took place in perfect order, so that the enemy was unable to capture any prisoners of war. Our small army quite peacefully continued its deliberations in the hotel which we had forcibly captured by sternly warning the proprietor not to accept any other guests. But the police discovered us even in our new abode, and two prisoners fell into their none-too-gentle hands; but the minutes and other documents were carried to safety in time. We hastily finished the most important organizational work, elected the first Central Committee, and appointed a commission to draw up the Party platform.

The commission hid itself in a small town in the province of Poltava immediately after the police had surprised us in the hotel. There again ferreted out by the Czarist minions, we transferred ourselves to Simferopol, once more leaving two prisoners in the clutches of the government.

The result of the commission's deliberations was the ideological strengthening of our Party. One of the resolutions of the conference was to establish the "World Poale Zion Alliance."

In the course of ten years, the Russian Poale Zion has played an important role in the world movement. Our Party in Palestine is to some extent the product of the Russian Party. The same comrades who organized the movement in Russia participated in establishing and leading the Party in Palestine. Russia systematically contributed editors to the Party periodicals in Austria, America, England, Palestine and Argentina. Russia was for a long period the foundry in which Poale Zionist thought was molten and cast for the whole world.

The secessionists, the S. S. and the *Seimists*, who in the beginning far surpassed the Poale Zion both numerically and intellectually, quickly disappeared. Their influence over the Jewish community soon evaporated because everything that was vital in their platforms was already in the program of the Poale Zion. We continued to grow in numbers and still more in influence.

The day is not far off when the Poale Zion will assume the leadership of the whole Jewish working class. That will be history's judgment of the small, secret conference in the hot and dusty bakery where we were in constant fear of the police.

WHY POALE ZIONISM ?

SECTION TWO.

1. THE ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT OF THE JEWISH PEOPLE (1916).

THE SOCIO-ECONOMIC structure of the Jewish people differs radically from that of other nations. Ours is an anomalous, abnormal structure. Stubborn Galut champions have been wont to reject or ignore this truth. Recently, however, their eyes, too, have been opened; and although very few have been able to offer a satisfactory analysis of our economic abnormalities, no serious student of Jewish life can ignore them.

The case of the Jewish people is analogous to that of the patient who has complained of sundry aches and pains for a number of years, but whose physician has not been able to arrive at any satisfactory diagnosis. There was no doubt about the patient's illness, but in the course of the illness the body developed some measure of resistance to it. As the years progressed and new resistances were built up, the character of the disease changed, new symptoms appeared, and the physician found himself in a continuous state of bewilderment. Likewise, the Jewish nation has not been a passive patient awaiting his inevitable demise. Resistance to the disease has appeared at various times. There has always been the normal effort to regain organic equilibrium. It was not unnatural therefore that the diagnoses of our social "doctors" varied with the morphology of the disease.

It is as if an inexorable whip of history were driving the Jews further and further away from soil and nature, and higher and higher into the insubstantial ether of social stratification; it is as if history had conspired never to liberate the Jews from the shackles of economic landlessness.

The story is that of a people far removed from the most important, most influential, and most stable branches of production—far removed from the occupations which are at the hub of history. Instead of concentrating about the vital centre of economic life, the Jews are scattered on its periphery. Obviously, the fate of society does not to any extent rest on the needle or tobacco industries. The superficialities of social life, which is made up of the give-and-take of finished goods, must draw its sustenance from labour in such central branches of production as agriculture, sheep raising, mining, railways, shipping, etc.

The moral of this story told by dry statistics is, that as long as the Jewish people remains remote from nature and basic industry, Jewish economic life will remain stagnant, Jewish culture will be at

a low ebb, and the political welfare of the Jews will remain the plaything of chance. These figures force upon us the inevitable conclusion that in *international* Socialism, the class struggle, and the revolution, the part played by *Jewish* Socialism will be as insignificant as the Jewish needle and hammer are when compared to the non-Jewish tractor, locomotive, or steamship.

Such is the chronic malady of Jewish history. Those who seek strengthen the attachment of the Jews to the rarefied economic stratosphere of the Galut, those who seek comfort for the Jewish people in Exile songs and Exile hopes, merely help to perpetuate our chronic malady.

The Jews are compelled to seek new work; and under this compulsion they migrate to the four corners of the earth, in search of opportunities to develop new industries. Even in the countries where Jews have most recently found a haven, however, they are relentlessly pursued by the spectre of displacement. In England, where Jews founded a large, modern needle industry, Jewish labour is being displaced by Gentile girls. In America too, Jews are losing control of the needle trade of which they were the founders. Gradually, step by step, they are being eased out of their jobs in the American needle industry by the influx of Italians, Poles, Lithuanians, and Syrians.

As we proceed, it becomes more obvious that the Jewish economic structure is malformed because of its remoteness from nature. The so-called Jewish malady is a result of historic conditions, and is therefore chronic. It is well known that an organism afflicted by a chronic malady may survive for a long time. This is just what has happened to the Jewish national organism: it has adapted itself to this chronic ailment that has tortured it for almost two thousand years. But the Marxian analysis has brought to light another, and more disquieting, complication. It warns us that, under modern capitalism, the process of displacement will continue to aggravate our condition. After two thousand years, our malady has ceased to be quiescent. It has become acute.

The landlessness of the Jewish people is the source of its malady and tragedy. We have no territory of our own, hence we are by necessity divorced from nature. Therefore, given the recently developed environment of capitalistic production and competition, this abnormal circumstance quite naturally assumes proportions of an acute and dangerous nature.

For hundreds of years the Jewish masses have blindly searched for a way that will return them to nature, to the soil. At last we have found it. *Zionism is the way. Zionism is the logical, the natural consequence of the economic revolution* that has been going on within Jewish life for the past few hundred years. Even in the Galut, our people have been striving to turn to more "natural" and more productive occupations, but this radical change cannot come to its full fruition in the hostile atmosphere of the Galut.

Zionism is the only movement capable of introducing reason, order, and discipline into Jewish life. Zionism is the only answer to the economic and historic need of the Jewish people.

2. "JEWISH ANTI-SEMITISM" (1913).

IT IS a well-known and tragic fact that many a Jewish worker who has slaved away for years in a growing Jewish industry awakes one fine morning to find himself ruthlessly displaced by a non-Jew from the very factory to which he has given so much of his sweat and blood. This problem becomes particularly acute when the industrialist introduces modern methods of production, that is, when he substitutes machine labour for hand labour. It has become almost axiomatic that Jewish workers are not privileged to work at the machines but are doomed to hand-labour.

Our movement (the Poale Zion), as early as ten years ago, called attention to this phenomenon in Jewish life. Another faction which to this very day considers itself the "sole representative" of the Jewish labour movement (the *Bund*) mocked the Poale Zion and heaped ridicule upon our thoughts and actions. But contemporary life has demonstrated the correctness of our view and has forced our opponents to take cognizance of the real conditions. And now, when the elimination of Jewish workers has reached the stage of a veritable epidemic, when the tragic news of the dismissal of Jewish weavers, spasmakers, and tobacco workers has become an open secret, they awake from their slumber and evince an interest in this tragedy of Jewish labour. It is natural that those who only now have recognized this malignant condition are puzzled and bewildered. They neither analyse the symptoms of the disease, nor propose a cure. . . .

If we wish to investigate the real causes of the displacement of Jewish workers, we must consider the problem in its two parts: *isolation and discrimination*. We must give due consideration to the fact that historically the Jewish worker has been torn away from nature (agriculture), from the natural resources (mines, quarries, and forests), and from those industries which produce the means of production and the transportation facilities (metallurgy, manufacture of machinery, steamships and railroads). The Jews have been removed for centuries from the basic branches of production upon which the economic structure depends. The Jews are concentrated in the final level of production—those branches which are far from the core of our economic structure (the production of consumers' goods). This phenomenon cannot be attributed to anti-Jewish discrimination. Jews were not forced out of metallurgy into locksmithing. They were not transformed from railroad men to teamsters; from farmers to tailors, cobblers, and cigar makers. They were not forced out of forestry and thrust into the match industry. True, the Jews have not en-

gaged in basic industries since their dispersion, but neither the Sabbath nor the economic struggle of the Jewish worker are responsible for this state of affairs. Its root lies in the unique history of Galut Jewry.

Our severance from nature and the basic industries is the chief characteristic of the Jewish economic life in the Galut. Under the capitalistic economy, however, we note the additional anomaly that even in those branches of production in which the Jews have long been engaged, they are restricted from entering the more developed forms of industry. This second phenomenon is not an historical one, and the two-thousand-year-old wandering of the Jew which is responsible for the first anomaly is not at all responsible for the second. These phenomena are often confused. We shall differentiate between them by calling the first, *isolation*, and the second, *discrimination*.

We already know the cause of our isolation. What, however, is the cause of the discrimination? Its cause may be attributed to the assimilationist tendency of the Jewish bourgeoisie. The Jewish manufacturer who is about to become a big capitalist wants to sever, as soon as possible, his relations with the Jewish community from which he emerged. He does it for two reasons. He wants to conquer the Gentile market and be on the same footing with the Gentile manufacturer. His Jewishness is in this respect a disadvantage since his competitors refuse to recognize him as an equal. He is, therefore, eager to display his *goyish* (non-Jewish) patriotism. Secondly, to the extent that he is traditionally bound up with his people, he seeks to govern them. He utilizes his influence in the *kehilla* and in the charitable institutions as a means of crushing the Jewish masses and public opinion. The fewer ties he has with the Jewish community, the less he fears its control. He is anxious to employ Gentile workers and managers and, to as great an extent as possible, restrict his commercial intercourse to Gentiles because he wants to identify himself with his Gentile competitor and rid himself of Jewish public control. To the Jews, he offers charity and faith; in his business, however, he prefers to associate with Gentiles or with Jewish assimilationists of his own kind.

The Jewish employer, upon introducing steampower into his factory (the symbol of large-scale production), substitutes the Gentile for the Jewish worker. Being an enemy of *Jewish* labour, he is particularly angry when the latter protests or strikes. Hence, he justifies his acts with the Sabbath excuse, or the pretext of inexperience or physical weakness of the Jewish worker. But these are not his real motives. The truth of the matter is that he wants to rid himself of the Jews and of the Jewish environment. And when our "sole representative" (the *Bund*) and its bourgeois allies take the contentions of the Jewish capitalists seriously, it only proves how short-sighted they are and how superficially they interpret Jewish reality.

We have noted two diseases: isolation and discrimination. Two types of treatment are possible: one is in the form of a **palliative**; the other is a radical and lasting cure. Marx often quoted William

Petty: "the land is the mother, and labour is the father of wealth." As long as the Jewish people lives in the Galut, it will never have a "mother." The remedy will come only with an economic revolution in Jewish life, only when the Jewish people will have its own land, its own territory. Palliatives are of little help in the Galut. *The only cure for isolation is Zionism.*

Such is not the case, however, as regards discrimination. Here our enemies want to rob us of positions which we have won with our sweat and blood. They want to expel us from those fields into which we have penetrated. This we must firmly oppose. If we possessed the power to win our economic positions, then regardless of our present weakness we must be strong enough to retain them. *We must strike at the anti-Semitism of the Jewish capitalists.*

Let us pause awhile and ask ourselves: What is our aim? Do we wish to render only temporary relief to the Jewish workers, or do we wish to make impossible their continued displacement? Do we want first aid for the unfortunate, or are we interested in finding a radical solution?

At the present time, the masses are so depressed that they long for even a modicum of relief. Therefore, the agitation for first aid, for weak and even demoralizing palliatives—and we certainly have an over-abundance of palliatives—finds fertile soil among the masses. The bourgeois nationalists prescribe philanthropic remedies and the *Bundist* guardians deliver social sermons. The Galut nationalists reproach the Jewish industrialists for being "bad Jews," having no pity on the poor Jewish workers. They appeal to the national conscience of the capitalist. The Jewish "communal leader" often succeeds in arousing the capitalist's pity to the extent of bringing about re-employment of a few Jewish workers. The *Bundists* don a *kosher* proletarian mask and reproach the Gentile Polish workers for being "bad Marxists." They appeal to their sense of solidarity; they write humble letters to their Polish comrades, appealing to the latter's sense of class justice. The results are nil. The tactics, both of the Galut nationalists and of the *Bundists*, are as ridiculous as they are harmful.

Of course, an appeal to national pity and class philanthropy sometimes helps. Reproaches are temporarily effective. When the manufacturer succumbs to the newspaper sermons and the spark of Jewishness flares up within him, he sometimes consents to take back a few Jewish workers. In such instances, how does the worker feel towards his boss who has become a man of "good" deeds? The boss is a "great and pious Jew" and the worker will have to pay bitterly and dearly for his boss' justice. The worker is no longer a proud, dignified man, but an uninvited beggar. The boss' pity is a strong weapon with which to break the spirit and resistance of the Jewish worker.

Socialist pity, likewise, may occasionally be of help. Through such pity, the Jewish weavers in Bialystok persuaded their Gentile comrades to permit them to work. But do not for a moment imagine that all Jewish workers were accorded this right. No. The class

compassion of the Polish workers led them to introduce a system of *numerus clausus* for the Jews. Previously we were blessed with a *numerus clausus* in schools, and now, class solidarity as conceived by the *Bundists* has blessed us with a *numerus clausus* in the factories. What a remarkable victory!

One who is overjoyed at the great victory which we scored in Bialystok, one who can humble himself by appealing to the class consciousness of his comrades (as did the shoemakers in Warsaw), is not fit to defend his honour and has lost all courage to struggle for his interests. Such demoralization has been introduced into the ranks of the working masses by our "sole representative," the *Bund*. *We must understand once and for all that one who has no national dignity can have no class dignity.*

3. ANTI-ZIONIST FRONT (1911).

IN periods of turbulent social change, Jewry, being the landless and the weakest among the conflicting elements, is hardest hit. It brings the greatest sacrifices to the altar of progress. Therefore, the alignment of forces within Jewry assumes a distinct and peculiar form.

Among other nations, the alliances usually proceed along class lines. The ruling classes unite and build one reactionary bloc whereas the suppressed groups form a revolutionary bloc. These blocs are not always internally harmonious, but they exhibit a tendency toward class unity. Even to-day this trend is manifest in many countries.

Among the Jewish people, however, the grouping does not occur on a class basis, but on the basis of the varying national aspirations. Within Jewry the chief struggle is not between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, or between the urban and agrarian populations, but between Zionists and Galut champions of all classes. The concentration of anti-Zionist forces usually precedes Zionist consolidation.

This does not mean to imply that there is no class struggle within Jewry. On the contrary, the class struggle within the Jewish people is more intense and involves the masses to a greater extent than it does within other nations. But the class struggle in Jewish life has meagre social content. Its historical horizons are limited. The class struggle of the Jews is primarily on the economic front.

We lack, however, the political class struggle; for the Jewish people is now divorced from state functions and political rule as a unit. Under the prevailing conditions in the Galut, it is really impossible to engage in this struggle. Instead, each class, guided by its own interests, participates in the political struggle of the people among whom its members reside. Although in its struggle against the general bourgeoisie, the Jewish proletariat cannot avoid a clash with the Jewish bourgeoisie, that struggle is not for dominance within Jewish life, for there is no one to divest of or invest with power. In Jewish life, only the *economic* class antagonisms find full play; the political conflicts go off at a tangent.

I admit that with the achievement of national autonomy in the Galut we shall gain a base for a political class struggle within Jewish life. But even this base will be narrow and limited in its social aspects. Our autonomous Galut life will never be a substitute for a Jewish national home.

Small wonder, then, that among Jews there is no conflict between class ideologies. The classes of our people possess different psychologies and opposing ideals, but their class psychologies are derived not from Jewish life, but from the surrounding environment. These ideals (contrary to the views of our *nationalists*) are not abstractions, nor are they a product of rationalization; they are living and creative, for they have their origin in our everyday life. However, it is not from Jewish life that we derive our socialism, radicalism, liberalism, and clericalism. Our differing social ideologies are mere reflections of the life of our neighbours.

Within Jewry there does not exist the class struggle in its usual forms; we have among us a struggle between national factions. Once this struggle took place between the champions of *Haskala* and Orthodoxy, then between Zionism and assimilation, and now between Zionism and *Galutism*. It is unnecessary to point out that assimilation has to-day lost its ideological grounds. Only tattered remnants remain of its former ideological garb and these are clumsily patched on to other ancient but seemingly progressive ideologies. Fifteen or twenty years ago, the enemies of Zion (irrespective of class) negated the principle of Jewish nationality. To-day, however, Zionism faces an enemy under whose banner are united various ideologies, the majority of which contain national aspirations. The hodge-podge of Yiddish culturists, the autonomists, the Social-Democrats, and the various shades of bourgeois radicals, the staunch nationalist *Seimists*, as well as the hazy territorialists who suffer from an anachronistic hatred for Palestine all join hand to form the anti-Zionist front.

Contemporary events have produced a mass of facts which point to the unquestionable consolidation of these forces. I believe that the coming era of social unrest will tend to strengthen this anti-Zionist front.

There is no people in the world whose members are so efficient, alert, stubborn, and adaptable in their struggle for personal existence as the Jewish. Likewise, there is no people in the world so weak and spineless, infirm and supine in its struggle for national development as the Jewish. One of the contradictions in the Jewish Galut life is the extraordinary strength of the individual and the unparalleled weakness of the group. Our people is not capable of harnessing the individual energy of its talented members for collective creation. Assimilation in its various nuances finds support among those individuals who are unconsciously dominated by careerism, and who seek anxiously to assure their own future even at the price of breaking their bond with their unfortunate and landless people. On the other hand, it is clear that the Jewish people as a whole, which is being deserted by irresponsible individuals seeking only personal success, needs strength and unity in order to become independent. Zionism in all its shades is postulated upon the collective fate of the

Jews. *The paths to individual success and national welfare lie in different directions. This situation gives rise to the conflicting, antithetical, "material" interests within Jewish life.*

Assimilation was unaffected by the antagonism between the individual and the group interests. But when Zionism called upon the individual to sacrifice personal interests for the sake of the national renaissance, the assimilationists instinctively felt the danger of Zionist agitation. To defend the rights of individual careerism, assimilation armed itself with a well-equipped arsenal of bogeys depicting Zionism as "reaction," "chauvinism," "narrow-mindedness," etc. Indeed, Zionism was based on and drew its nourishment from the conflicting interests of the individual and the group; Galut nationalism unconsciously attempted to "reconcile" the interests of the individual and the group.

The individual on whom benign fortune smiles warmly does not desire to leave his well established Galut domicile. The Galut is his home and the non-Jewish environment, his Fatherland. But the Jewish people as an historic organism, as a material and spiritual tradition, as a mode of living and as a cultural, psychological type has its effect upon every individual. True, the Jewish people does not have a very strong material tradition. We have few petrified relics of the collective efforts of earlier generations. We do not possess the power of the soil, the magnetic force of the black earth. Instead, we have many cultural traditions—our thought processes, temperament, and intellectual inheritance. These traditions rarely allow an individual to escape from their tenacious grasp. In general, the Jew, with all his careeristic strivings, remains within the fold. This is the source of the inner contradiction of assimilation.

On the other hand, the Jewish community must fortify itself and become rooted in the surrounding environment, tying itself organically to the soil of the neighbouring peoples. A whole people cannot live as if in a hostelry. A neglect of this truth caused the inner contradiction of General Zionism.

Formerly, assimilation offered a more subtle way of solving the above contradiction. As soon as the theoreticians of assimilation were convinced of the impossibility of obtaining security for themselves by purely individual endeavour, they instinctively began to seek those paths which the masses were following in their inevitable attempts to become rooted in the Galut. The assimilationists who fell heir to the influence of the old custodians of the Jewish people, of the plutocracy and communal leaders, found open before them (in this period of transition) all doors to the Jewish masses, to their institutions and organizations. The older generation ruled the *Kehillot*, the Jewish Charities, and educational institutions. Their descendants gained control of the modern societies, mutual aid organizations, and workers' associations. These new rulers have demonstrated their ability to exploit the hereditary habits of the Jews in order to strengthen their own positions. As the "sole representative" of Jewry, or of their own class, they received the recognition of the corresponding groups of the neighbouring peoples.

Without any original desire to serve the Jewish people, these

leaders returned to the fold thanks to the failure of their personal, careerist assimilationism. These talented and active intellectuals were to a certain extent valuable. They organized charity, cheap credit, education, statistical surveys and emigration bureaus, and also led strikes and political labour demonstrations. They almost completely monopolized Jewish communal affairs, in keeping with the historical principal of "priority rights." And all of these activities had one aim—to obtain the recognition of the neighbouring peoples, and to achieve personal integration in the Galut through the medium of the Jewish people. Thus, our Galutistic intelligentsia, which in spirit remained indifferent to the fate of the people whom it served, brought no sacrifices for the sake of the group. Personal ambitions were thus happily harmonized with service to the community.

The services which this intelligentsia rendered the Jewish people were not fundamental but superficial, for they were confined to the limits of the Galut. These services satisfied only the most temporary needs. Hence certain groups and individuals profited thereby, while the basic problems of the people remain unsolved. All this activity on the part of the bourgeoisie and the proletarian intelligentsia was and remains opportunist, because it arose out of personal and transient rather than national and fundamental needs.

Since these activities brought some amelioration, the Galutistic intelligentsia boasted to the outside world of the partial confidence in them displayed by the Jewish masses. They were responsible for the unpleasant atmosphere of loud self-advertising and partisan mudslinging. That was the cause for their ideological shallowness, their avoidance of all organic unity with Jewish life, their fanatical falsification of all positive values of the Jewish people, their fear of facing the naked truth. Their chief concern was to be the "only representative" of Jewry to the mighty, enticing, outside world. Therefore they maintained that "within the Jewish people, under our care, peace must reign."

This extremely vapid and negative ideology enabled the intelligentsia to abandon their former assimilationism. The demise of assimilation did not drive them to tears, called forth no memories, since it did not shatter their personal careers. (The tears shed at the Sixth Zionist Congress over the question of Uganda vs. Zion (as the territory for the Jewish people) is a superb example of the collective feelings of Zionists.)

With characteristic shrewdness, the intelligentsia, even before the 1905 Revolution, turned from assimilation and cosmopolitanism to a distorted Galut nationalism.

Zionism, on the other hand, underwent quite a different evolution. Zionism was created by that section of the Jewish intelligentsia which was most sensitive to the terrible blows of social and state anti-Semitism. They were unable to link the happiness of their people with personal careerism. These Zionists renounced the Galut, seeing in it the chief source of Jewish suffering and sterility. The Zionist intelligentsia, however, swung to the other extreme and turned a deaf ear to the positive everyday realities of Jewish life.

Highly inspired by the ideals of our national rehabilitation in

Palestine, Zionism's vision was far too lofty to see the needs of the passing moment. During the first twenty years, Zionists did not think of capturing and fortifying our positions in the Galut and did not deem it necessary to combine their personal interests with general interests. The Zionists viewed the economic struggle of the workers, the fight for civil rights, and the development of the Yiddish language, and intra-diasporic migrations as futile. Since the basic work was to be done there, in the historic home of the Jewish people, of what avail were temporary efforts in the Galut?

Meanwhile, the anti-Zionist elements gained control of the communal institutions. Their extreme intellectual poverty was offset by their great sense of practicality and organizational prowess; Zionism, despite its courageous and penetrating thought, proved itself organizationally impotent.

Every social upheaval had its repercussions among the Jewish people, bringing new hopes, grave dangers, and alluring prospects. Zionism banked on the dangers and worries of the Galut, while Galutism fortified itself with bright prospects and hopes. At first Zionism tried to ignore these hopes and prospects and with a sickly joy grasped at everything that was tragic and horrible in Jewish life in order to obscure the bright spots. Anti-Zionists on the other hand underestimated the gravity of the situation, and met the upheaval smilingly, with a soothing self-deception; it was not courage but vacuity that closed their eyes to the depths of the cavern. None in the Jewish community called out: "With head held high are we going to meet our fate!"

Zionism grumbled and waged an ideological battle, while its enemies built strongholds in Jewish life. In those dark, yet important years, one after another of the most active and most mature elements deserted Zionism. A new form of Galut nationalism arose from the bosom of Zionism, more profound and genuine than the wordy nationalism of the semi-assimilator. Even workmen who theoretically remained loyal to Zionism deserted it in spirit to unite their immediate tasks with the ideal of vitalizing the nation in its land of residence. Finally, after this fermentation had carried off the most radical and sober, the headquarters of the Zionist army began to fight for positions in the Galut. The *Helsingfors* programme in Russia and the formation of the Jewish National Party in Austria initiated a new trend in Zionist politics. Thus Zionism at last began to resolve the contradictions of its role. Instead of merely dreaming of saving Jewry at one stroke, Zionism began to strengthen Jewish Galut positions.

Zionism became synthesized and integrated. It encompassed every need of Jewry in the Galut and in Palestine: in the present, and in the future. But most Zionists were so psychologically unprepared for these tasks that only lately have they undertaken them in practice. Unfavourable circumstances undoubtedly contributed to this backwardness, particularly in Russia. Besides, the most important communal positions were already in the hands of the enemies of the *real* renaissance of the Jewish people. It was difficult for Zionists (if we exclude the Poale Zion who have long since under-

stood the question and developed their tactics accordingly) to become accustomed to the thought that Zionism is facing a *struggle for power* within Jewish life.

In short, Zionism must take over all that has been usurped by its enemies to the detriment of the people. The positions that the anti-Zionist intelligentsia had held were not taken away from Zionism; they simply never were under Zionist control. It is noteworthy that where Zionism strives to penetrate into Jewish life, it is received warmly by the masses. It was so in the elections to the first and second Duma, and in Galicia a year or two earlier. To date Zionism has failed to utilize the potent sympathies for it that lie dormant in the Jewish masses.

On the threshold of a new era in universal and Jewish history, when the Jewish people faces new dangers and contemplates glorious visions, we pose these questions: How can we overcome the organizational weakness of Zionism? How can we develop the maximum of activity among the masses so sympathetic to the ideal of rebirth in our national home?

The answer is: *A national front against the anti-Zionist front.*

4. NATIONAL HELPLESSNESS VERSUS NATIONAL SELF-HELP

(1915).

Death and suicide are the most radical reliefs from disease. Similarly, assimilation is the most radical solution to the Jewish problem. If there were no Jews, there would be no suffering from the Jewish tragedy. Nevertheless, no medical expert would advise his patient to take poison for a cure. No honest statesman or idealist ever attempted to solve, for example, the Polish question by suggesting that the Polish people should cease existing. And how would the Belgians, in their present plight, look upon anyone who gave them the excellent advice to assimilate with the Germans, and cease to exist as an independent nation?

Only to us Jews have self-appointed "physicians" had the audacity, the shamelessness to preach national suicide. It is beneath the honour and dignity of our great heroic and martyred people to take the assimilationist Utopianists seriously. The Jewish nation *lives* and *will live*! Other nations may love us or hate us, but they will never succeed in wiping us out, either by persecution or by assimilation.

Nevertheless, were assimilation possible, we might have considered it. The truth of the matter is, however, that assimilation is nothing more than a harmful illusion. The Jewish masses become assimilated only to some degree. At most, they accept *the external characteristics* of the neighbouring nations: the clothes, the language, certain foods and habits. But inwardly, in their spirit, they remain strange to the culture of their neighbours. Even the most assimilated Jews cannot intermingle with their neighbours, and always lead a distinct Jewish life.

As long as other nations exist, the Jewish nation will also exist. A part of the Jewish intelligentsia and upper bourgeoisie strenuously attempts to commit national suicide, but the Jewish masses, the Jewish working class, will not yield to the notion that the Jew disappear among foreign nations and alien cultures.

"Progress of humanity" is a beautiful idea, but we must always be aware of one thing: progress does not create man, but man creates progress. Progress is not self-made, but must be won, step by step, by the masses. True, there is such a thing as technical, scientific, and economic progress. We continually become wiser, keener, and more experienced in the control of nature. That alone, however, cannot make our character more humane, our feelings more refined, our motives, nobler. Political institutions do not of themselves become ennobled, and social justice does not just "happen."

Social and political rights grow only through bitter struggle. Oppression maintains itself as long as the oppressed have not the strength to throw off the yoke and institute a new *equilibrium*. The moral progress of mankind is nothing more than a result of this bitter struggle for this equilibrium. Wherever might and helplessness meet, oppression will be the inevitable result. The only defence the weak have is their own organized effort and their common struggle for their interests. The law, the police, and the courts of justice will at most come to the aid of the innocent, suffering *individual*, but not to the aid of the oppressed *group* or *nation*. Every law, every statute is passed and controlled by the powerful, who utilize technical progress for their own purposes. The laws and judicial practices can improve in favour of the oppressed classes and nations through no means other than their own efforts.

The World War has clearly demonstrated that even the best of mankind will not cease to oppress the weak if the latter comes into conflict with its own interests. In proof of this truism, we submit the example of the German Social-Democratic Party which consented to the military move of the Imperial Army in occupying neutral Luxemburg and Belgium. No one will deny that the German Social-Democrats are good Socialists. But when it seemed to them that it was essential to violate the neutrality of weak neighbours, they did not hesitate in the least. The Belgian and French Socialists acted similarly.

In short, the weaker element, be it class or nation, should not depend on the humaneness and justice of the stronger. The basic principle of Socialism is that the emancipation of the working class must come through its own efforts and through its own struggle. What a fine thing it would be if the worker depended on the moral progress of the capitalist to cease exploiting him!

And are we not naive in assuming that the Jews will cease to suffer and will be guarded against all catastrophes when the nations shall have become more humane and shall no longer persecute weaker peoples? We Jews should trust no one but ourselves. *The emancipation of the Jewish people can be gained only by our own efforts.*

The only solution to the Jewish problem is the creation of an

equilibrium of power which will not permit other nations to persecute us so freely without being called to account. The uniqueness of the Jewish tragedy resides in the fact that the Jews have no land of their own. For that reason Jewish interests and needs do not evoke respect.

Consider a tiny country like Montenegro which has a quarter of a million poor, semi-barbarian inhabitants without any influence whatsoever on world civilization. Then consider the Jewish nation, a cultured people of over thirteen million, with a thousand-year-old culture, a people of great capitalists and great revolutionists, of Rothschilds, Poznanskys, and Schiffs, and of Marxes, Lassalles, and Gershunys; a nation which has everywhere statesmen, journalists, artists, poets, teachers, and social leaders; a people of great capabilities, exerting a powerful influence on human civilization.

Whose interests will be taken into greater account—that of the thirteen million highly cultured Jews, or that of the quarter million Montenegrins? Whose voice will ring clearer in the international chorus of the movements of freedom? The answer is plain. The Montenegrins are in a better position to struggle for freedom than are the Jews. The interests of the Montenegrins will be taken into greater account for they do not depend upon assimilation and human progress, but on their own small forces and planned connections with the great powers of the world. This must also be the national political slogan of the Jewish worker; *organized national self-help. We must unite ourselves in the struggle for our own future.*

5. FACING REALITY (1917).

ZIONISM IS facing reality, while the enemies of Zion are turning their backs on it.

What we predicted about fifteen years ago, and again at the beginning of the World War, has now become a fact. The question of a Jewish national autonomous homeland has been placed on the agenda of world politics. For the present, this all—no more, but also no less.

This is unquestionably a victory for all Zionists. Were it not for the twenty years of intense Zionist propaganda, and were it not for the ten years of practical revolutionary work in Palestine, this question would never have been seriously considered and world diplomacy would never have been seriously interested in it. Only people with a naive conception of politics could imagine that this question would have been given any consideration if there were no great Zionist movement. As a matter of fact, the Zionist movement has played second fiddle to none in bringing about this result—not even to the British march on Palestine. It will be well for our friends to remember this and surely it will not be harmful for others to take note of it.

No question of rights is ever raised until those directly interested demand them. History proves that the Jews secured their rights

only after they demanded them and only in that measure in which they fought for them. The English and Dutch Revolutions of the seventeenth century did not bring equal rights to Jews because the Jews did not ask for them. The first French Revolution did not bring full equality because the Jews made their demands too late. Before the Revolution of 1848, the Jewish emancipation movement was very weak; and, therefore, that revolution brought them but little relief.

For fifty years Jewish emancipation movements were active in Russia. Hence, the Russian Revolution immediately broke the chains of the Jewish people. The Russian Jews, however, were almost as instrumental in bringing about their freedom as was the Revolution. If our hearts are filled with gratitude to the Russian nation and the Russian working class for our emancipation, we must also give the same wholehearted thanks and recognition to the Jewish *Maskilim* of the 60's and 70's, to the Jewish Socialist *Bund*, and to the Socialist-Zionists, through whose struggles the result was made possible.

I go further. Outside agents often have less influence in bringing about the emancipation of an oppressed people than does the conscious effort of the people itself. Emancipation is after all the concern of the enslaved, of the working class, and of all oppressed peoples. Civil rights for the Jews of Central Europe in 1867—1870 were not effected by a revolution, but came as the result of an active struggle for these rights and as a result of the strengthening of constitutional principles in Austria, Hungary and Germany.

The factors responsible for the recognition of our civil rights, will also bring about the recognition of our national-political rights in Palestine and our autonomous national rights in the Galut. To be sure, external political situations must be favourable, but what we need primarily is a strong movement within Jewry to focus world-wide attention upon our interests—a movement which shall make use of every favourable political situation, and, whenever necessary, take advantage of every suitable alignment with other political forces.

From a political point of view, propaganda is less productive than action. *Create facts and more facts—that is the cornerstone of political strategy.* Facts are more convincing than phrases. Accomplishments are of greater influence than proclamations. Sacrifices are better propaganda than resolutions. The *Bund*, for example, played a more important role in the emancipation of Russian Jewry than all the apologetic literature on the question of Jewish rights produced during a period of fifty years. The *Bund* did not content itself with talk, but fought and made sacrifices. It created political facts, small and insignificant in their isolation, but in combination building up one great fact which has now borne fruit. (I refer, of course, only to the former *positive* achievements of the *Bund*.)

The same is true of Zionism. The practical colonization work in Palestine, with its experiences, its sacrifices, its inevitable mistakes has created those political *facts* which have paved the way for our present status. No matter how small and weak the Jewish colonies might be, no matter how great the shortcomings in their system of colonization—they did more towards enlightening the Jewish nation than a thousand beautifully-worded programmes and diplomatic nego-

tiations. A fallen *Shomer* plays a greater role in the realization of Zionism than all declarations.

The best guarantee of Zionism lies not in a charter but in the Zionist movement. The guarantee lies in the organization of the Zionists and Socialist Zionists. I said this fifteen years ago, and I will not cease reiterating it even now when the world is so carried away by current political and diplomatic events. I am not fearful about the disillusionment which may follow. The sole danger lies in confusion. One must not fail to see the trees because of the forest. The beautiful forest of political perspectives for Zionism can exist only because of its trees—the practical accomplishments of the Zionist movement.

Meanwhile, our goal has not been fully achieved. It is still in the process of realization. We must remember that Palestine is not yet ours. We still have no official promise that we are going to get Palestine. It is true, nevertheless, that Zionism has finally become a serious matter in world politics. This great victory for the Zionist movement must ultimately result in substantial dividends—even though we may suffer temporary setbacks. Ostensibly, the first Russian revolution (1905) was a fearful fiasco, but to-day it has borne fruit with a vengeance. That tragic revolution with its tragic disappointment dealt the true death-blow to Czarism. Likewise, our latest victory has dealt a death-blow to the Galut ideology and to reactionary anti-Zionism.

Anti-Zionism has been mortally wounded. The world may now see that anti-Zionism has no sound psychological or social foundation, that it is thoroughly decadent, that it represents reactionary and obscurantist issues in Jewish life. The enemies of Zion, who brazenly turn their backs on life and freedom, do not realize that life has answered them in kind by turning her back on them.

I repeat, the gain will be permanent even if the existing diplomatic negotiations bring no positive results.

Let us hope that world events will so shape themselves that they will contribute to the highest interests of mankind and the Jewish people. The World War is progressing from its imperialistic phase to its revolutionary phase. Let us hope that it will end with a thorough emancipation of all peoples.

It is almost certain that England will conquer Palestine, Mesopotamia and Syria. It is almost certain, too, that revolutions will make an end of the Hohenzollerns, the Hapsburgs, and the chauvinism of the Young Turks. If so, a Jewish republic in Palestine is destined to come.

But who knows? Is it not possible that the wheels of history will take a queer turn and Zionism, like other revolutionary hopes, will be disappointed, that the knights of Jewish assimilation and Galut opportunists, together with other reactionaries, will once again come out the "victors"? Yet, one positive fact will remain. Once placed on the table of world politics, the Palestine question will not be removed from there. The Zionist movement will, through its practical accomplishment, bring the problem to its ultimate solution—an assured and autonomous homeland for the Jewish people in Palestine.

Zionism is the only answer to the economic and historic needs of the Jewish people. It will be realised through the Zionist movement, through the Poale Zion, and through our labours and struggles.

6. DIFFICULTIES OF POALE ZIONISM (1913).

HOW DIFFICULT it is to be a Poale Zionist! " exclaimed an old Party comrade at a jubilee celebration of the Warsaw organization. " How much easier to be a *Bundist*, or a member of the Polish Socialist Party! In those organizations one is little perturbed by questions that provoke thought or study. How difficult and responsible, however, are the burdens of a Poale Zionist! "

We can fully appreciate the complaints of our devoted comrade, who, though paying for his Party convictions with a life-sentence to Siberia, still remains a devoted Poale Zionist. In spite of all difficulties, we firmly adhere to our principles. Wherein lies the power of this mission, which, while so complicated and so difficult, is yet so dear to us all?

It is really difficult to be a Poale Zionist, for Poale Zion thought and practice are more complicated and possess finer and more varied nuances than the thoughts and practices of other Jewish parties. Nevertheless, within Jewish life to-day, with its intricate Galut problems and its striving for renaissance, the Poale Zion programme offers the maximum results with the minimum of effort. The *Bund* demands less spiritual and physical effort on the part of the Jewish proletariat, but it is also satisfied with more limited objectives.

We desire to revitalize Jewish life, Jewish labour, and Jewish energy in all fields of endeavour. We cannot be content merely with the results obtainable in the Galut. But even in our Galut work, our programme for the Jewish proletariat opens a much vaster vista than the programmes of the other Jewish parties. According to the Socialist-Territorialist, the Jewish problem can be solved solely by a programme based on emigration. To the *Bundist*, the Galut problem is somewhat broader, but its programme and activities are limited only to the most direct forms of struggle with the bourgeoisie and the State. Hence, while the Socialist-Territorialists perform constructive work only in the fields of emigration, and the *Bund* among Jewish workers on strike, the Poale Zion endeavours to do constructive work along all economic, cultural and political fronts.

It becomes obvious that the complexity of our programme does not in any way hinder its practicability. Though the Socialist-Territorialists speak of the need for regulation of Jewish emigration, they let the practical work be conducted by the bourgeois territorialists and assimilationists. The Poale Zionists, however, do not limit themselves to propaganda and have already, in the course of their short existence, achieved something through their own institutions (e.g., the Palestine Workers' Fund and the Information Bureau in Jaffa). Though the *Bundists* constantly propagandize on behalf of the Yiddish language, literature, and schools, they have done very

little for Jewish culture, science, and education in comparison with the youthful Poale Zion Party.

The above clearly demonstrates that of all programmes of the Jewish parties—both bourgeois and proletarian—the Poale Zion programme presents the most inclusive solution to the Jewish problem. Therefore, it is really difficult to be a Poale Zionist—for Poale Zion thought and practice demand of the Jewish worker the greatest exertion of his spiritual and physical faculties. And yet this exertion is a bare minimum in comparison with the all-embracing programme of Jewish life to whose attainment the Poale Zionists strive.

Primitive mind presupposes that truth is simple. Complicated and well-founded thoughts puzzle the uneducated man.

The question of the so-called "consistency" of programme and tactics of social movements is complicated. The undeveloped and insufficiently conscious Jewish worker assumes that "consistency" means one of two things: here or there, Diaspora or Zion. He cannot comprehend the integration of the two.

In Socialist thought, too, the question of consistency arises. Thus, for example, the Anarchists, who desire to simplify the tactics of the labour movement, accuse scientific Socialism of inconsistency. The Anarchists would indeed be right in their criticism were Socialism to preach *social revolution* on one day and *social reformism* the next. But actually, Socialism integrates in its programme both the struggle for social revolution and for immediate reform. Thus, scientific Socialism is more complex than Anarchism, and though the common mind may not fully comprehend it, it is, nevertheless, consistent. Socialism then has to bridge the gap between reform and revolution, just as Poale Zionism has to integrate Diaspora and Zion.

The whole is greater than any of its parts. Since Socialism is a basic element of Poale Zionism the difficulties of Socialism are also the difficulties of Poale Zionism.

Scientific Socialism demands that our ideals be based on the objective forces operating in society. It is not sufficient that individuals or even the masses feel a need for something; it is essential that these needs and desires, expressed as vital elements of a Party programme, be in harmony with historic trends. The objective forces which form the basis for an ideal also create the "historic necessity" for this ideal.

The prime difficulty of the Poale Zion programme is that it demands of the Jewish worker who supports it to be thoroughly convinced that the social programme of the Galut and the national programme of Palestine are not only beautiful ideals, but also objective possibilities.

We can now fully comprehend the demands that scientific Socialism makes of each Poale Zionist. First, he must become acquainted with the conditions of our present day social life and he must study the essence of the historic necessity of Socialism. Second, he must fully comprehend the nature and solution of the economic and cultural problems of the Jewish working class. Third, he must orientate himself in the problem of nationalism in our own times and particularly in the Jewish national problem.

One should not err, however, in concluding that every Poale Zionist must necessarily be a great theoretician. Not every Poale Zionist need thoroughly master the Socialist, the Poale Zion, or anti-Poale Zion literature; nor need he necessarily be an expert in all questions pertaining to the Socialist movement of each nation and the Poale Zion movement of each country.

Through active participation in the Socialist Party, the worker acquires what is commonly termed a *Socialist consciousness* which is of greater value than his mastery of books. This is, in reality, the essence of Socialist education. The very fact that the masses participate in Socialist work in increasing numbers is sufficient proof of its historic necessity. The course of the historic necessity of Socialism cannot be charted with mathematical accuracy. Human knowledge is as yet not sufficiently developed to be able to foresee historic developments with mathematical precision. It is not correct to assume that Marx, or for that matter any other thinker, has succeeded in proving beyond any doubts the historic necessity of Socialism. Theories can illustrate and interpret—not prove historic necessity. But that which theory cannot do, life can. His daily experiences rather than books will convince the worker that the struggle between himself and the capitalist becomes ever fiercer.

In a similar manner, our education aims to develop a *Poale Zion consciousness*. That consciousness even more than our literature will solve the theoretical difficulties of our programme. Poale Zion literature can illustrate and interpret our programme; it cannot prove its merits. The fact, however, that our movement grows and develops is in itself sufficient proof of its historic necessity. The steady growth of national consciousness among the Jewish masses, the gradual rise of respect for the Jewish personality, the growth of the movement for Jewish national rights, the growing Jewish labour movement in Palestine—all these are the objective facts, the *real* factors which find their theoretical expression in the Poale Zion programme.

Our programme is more difficult than that of other parties which content themselves with a narrower perspective. Our task, however, is not impossible of achievement; for our theory is based on the needs of Jewish life, and on the living experiences of the organized Jewish proletariat. Like Socialism, Poale Zionism will solve its *theoretical difficulties* only in its *practice*.

7. THE TERRORIST AND THE *SHOMER* (1916).

A SLIGHTLY built peasant, with an unkempt beard and humble gray eyes bespeaking ceaseless toil, was crouching on his prison bed. Hopeless, embittered, he was perhaps dreaming of the broad earth and of freedom. I shared his prison cell in Southern Russia, together with several Gentiles who had been arrested for political activities. Once he turned to me of a sudden and asked:

"Pray, esteemed one, will the two new prisoners be hanged?"

"I don't know. Probably." The answer tore itself out of my burdened heart.

"Why? They were fighting our cause. Is there not enough land for all . . . The governor thrashed all of us . . . we blessed them when they shot the governor. Why will they hang them and not us? Is that justice, esteemed one?"

Again he became motionless, and I continued to knead the black prison bread into checkers.

"They are our *heroes!*" His frightened thoughts stopped there, his eyes opened wider, and the unimpressive figure of the village rebel seemed to shrink.

"They are our *heroes!*" For the first time, the peasant understood that strange word. Now he began to grasp the meaning of the word "hero," which he had heard somewhere but which had meant nothing to him.

"They are our heroes" that naive and pious exclamation rings in my memory when I pore over the *Yizkor* book. Every line, every picture pulsates with this thought: "They are our heroes." One of those two heroes who was about to be hanged for defending the tortured peasants was a Jewish lad. He gave the ardour of his youth and his life for a strange people, an alien nation. He gave his life for freedom in a strange land. He was neither a deep thinker nor a theorist; he did not participate in any discussions at secret gatherings. A fugitive conspirator, he dropped his own name and gave himself Christian names—a different one in every town. To this day, I have not learned his Jewish name; I only knew him from occasional meetings at which I discussed the Jewish problem with him.

"Oh you chauvinist, you bourgeois—you do not realize that everything depends on the agrarian problem. Give the Russian his land and his freedom and you dispose of the Jewish problem."

This reply used to ring with pleasant firmness. He looked at me as a wealthy philanthropist looks upon an arrogant beggar who spurns his charity. His eye gleamed with the silent reproach: "I want to offer my life for the cause of freedom, for the land, for the peasants

and for you—and you, foolish chauvinist, don't want to accept my sacrifice!"

No. I appreciated his sacrifice, and the sacrifice of hundreds of other Jewish youths like him, who gave up their dreaming heads for others. But I was not satisfied. They were not *our* heroes.

And many of that wonderful generation of enthusiasts died, surrendering their last breath to the Czar's hangmen. The rest became wiser; they gave up their desire for the welfare of the world and turned to material gains. The erstwhile revolutionists became careerists.

But the spirit of our Jewish youth was not entirely crushed in the pursuit of pleasure and of a career. Somewhere that idealism survived. In the depths of the people's hearts there smouldered that urge for great historical deeds. The national spirit glowed with holy ecstasy. And instead of *their* heroes came *our* heroes who gave their lives for the Jewish land and Jewish freedom.

The condemned Jewish terrorist found a worthy heir in the Jewish *Shomer*. The terrorist denied his Jewish name, and went to the gallows with a Christian stamp on his brow. The *Shomer* changed his ghetto-name to a national name—one symbolic of our past history and future hopes.

Their Berl and Velvel became *Anthony* and *Konstantin*. Our new heroes, the Palestinians, come with new names, with names of our own land and freedom—*Shmueli, Achduti, Reubeni*. To-day there are hundreds of them; to-morrow there will be thousands. Some of them have already devoted themselves whole-heartedly to fructify the Jewish land, to renew her with young blood and muscle, so that green shoots of Jewish freedom might sprout from her bosom. The *Shomrim* were the first defenders of the Jewish strongholds in Palestine, the guards of the Jewish national treasure. Some of them fell while performing their voluntary duty. The Russian terrorist was ready to kill and be killed because in his zeal he intended to destroy the ancient structure of despotism, to batter down with his own head the towers of falsehood and darkness. The modern Jewish pioneer went to Palestine not to destroy, but to build; not to kill and be killed, but to enrich the soil with his peaceful, fruitful labour. However, under the brutal, stubborn conditions of that desolate land, he was compelled to arm himself against his semi-barbarous neighbours. Our heroes were the opposite of the terrorists. The *Shomrim* fell with the full understanding of the cause they defended.

By the graves of the fallen Jewish workers and guards Jewish youth composed a new and glorious prayer—a prayer of freedom and hope, of pride and dignity, and this prayer was bequeathed to the world in the form of a book. This black-bound book of memories and deeds is known as *Yizkor*. The new *Yizkor* does not bewail the death of these martyrs, it does not wring its hands in the helpless sorrow of *El Malei Rachamin*. *Yizkor* commemorates the souls of the fallen as only a comrade can. The authors of *Yizkor* are not mourners and orphans, but warriors who pronounce a solemn oath at the graves of their fallen comrades.

And on Sunday, the living workers and *Shomrim* will assemble.

Then the black-enveloped book will be distributed along with the only bequest of the dead. That bequest is the idealism which the fallen have entrusted to the living.

As we assemble, we shall commemorate the names of those young men who abandoned the crowded cities and narrow towns for the glorious hills and broad deserts of Eretz Israel, And over our heads will hover the silent wings of the immortal spirit of the departed—the spirit of peaceful labour, of an emancipated land.

8. A UNIQUE CELEBRATION (1913).

TO ALL peoples, everywhere, Easter is a festival of liberation. But it is remarkable that, with all peoples, it is not man, not the nation, but a Divinity who becomes liberated at Easter; and the resurrection of the Divinity symbolises the Spring, the revival of the sun, giver of light. Only the Jews, in their national consciousness have dared to connect the liberation of nature with the liberation of the people, with the exodus from Egypt. Only the Jews, in their cosmic world egoism, have known how to transform Easter into "the Feast of our Freedom."

... It is only recently that young nations began to celebrate their freedom: the American Yankees, the French, the German commemoration of the March revolution. The Jews, however, have been commemorating their liberation for thousands of years.

9. THE CAUSE OF HUMAN PROGRESS (1915).

JEWISH INTERESTS are bound up exclusively with the cause of human progress, with the growth of democracy, the destruction of the old political world, and the building of the new. The firm bond between Jewish interests and the freedom of humanity has been in existence for almost two centuries. The nature of these interests may change: ideals of "enlightenment" may be replaced by those of assimilation, these again by cosmopolitanism, giving way in their turn to national and Socialist ideals. The content of human progress may also vary: it may be bourgeois and liberal, or revolutionary and Socialist. The one unvarying factor is the bond between our interests and the historic progress of oppressed humanity.

This bond can bring us neither deception nor disappointment. We may be defeated, but never led astray. We may over-estimate—we frequently do—the inner forces of progress; but renounce them, make common cause with the dark forces of the past—that, for our people, is an historical, psychological and physical impossibility. We can make common cause only with the human being, not with the beast, in mankind. And Zionism striving for full national liberation, has a meaning only in conjunction with the belief in man, in the liberation of the whole world.

10. * ERETZ YISRAEL IN OUR PROGRAMME (1917).

TIME IN its flight has not passed us by; it has brought to the fore new slogans and deeds. Some twelve years ago, our Party, the Poale Zion, made its first appearance as an organized body. Since then, the proletariat in general and the Jewish proletariat in particular have advanced.

Hitnerto the proletariat sought to remove only its immediate obstacles; now, it strives to create a new society. Our programme, too, must keep pace with our growing aspirations.

Our terminology must be made richer and more elastic. Formerly, we approached life in general from a naive, abstract point of view, and only our immediate demands were prompted by purely realistic conditions. Now, however, there have arisen in Jewish life cultural and aesthetic needs which demand immediate self-expression. . . .

But times have changed. The difference between our Party and the others is sufficiently clear. No one will mistake our identity. It is therefore an opportune time to introduce a newer and richer terminology. Now we can and must employ an emotional terminology. Now we can and must proclaim: "Eretz Yisrael—a Jewish home!"

Our chief concern, however, is our programme. The class interests of the Jewish proletariat remain unchanged. Our ultimate aim is Socialism; our immediate need is Zionism. The class struggle is the means to achieve both.

* From a speech at the Conference of the Russian Poale Zion:—

SECTION THREE.

IN THE BEGINNING (1906)

... In our analysis of the Jewish problem we must bear in mind the fact that the national struggle is closely allied with the social. There is no struggle which is equally in the interest of all classes of a nation. Every class has national interests differing from the national interests of other classes. National movements do not transcend class divisions; they merely represent the interests of one of several classes within the nation. A national conflict develops not because the development of the forces of production of the whole nation conflicts with the conditions of production, but rather because the developing needs of one or more classes clash with the conditions of production of its national group. Hence the great variety of types of nationalism and national ideologies.

Since the Jewish nation has no peasantry, our analysis of its national problem deals with urban classes: the upper, middle, and petty bourgeoisie; the masses who are being proletarianized; and the proletariat.

The upper bourgeoisie, because it is not confined to the home market, is not national in any true sense, but highly cosmopolitan. The Jewish bourgeoisie finds its interests best served by assimilation; and were it not for the "poor *Ostjuden*," the Jewish upper bourgeoisie would not be disturbed by the Jewish problem. The continuous stream of immigration of East European Jews and frequent pogroms remind the upper bourgeoisie of Western Europe only too often of the miserable lot of their brethren. The East European Jewish bourgeoisie is, of course, more directly affected by the status of Jewry. The West European upper bourgeoisie, however, considers the entire problem to be a gratuitous and unpleasant burden. And yet it cannot find a safe retreat away from our East European masses. Since the Jewish upper bourgeoisie would like above all else to lose its individuality and be assimilated completely by the native bourgeoisie, it very much affected by anti-Semitism. It fears everything which tends to spread anti-Semitism. If anti-Semitism were the hobby of only a few psychopathic and feeble-minded individuals, it would not be dangerous. But anti-Semitism is very popular among the masses, and very frequently its propaganda is tied up closely with the social unrest of the lowest elements of the working class. This creates a dangerous cumulation of Judaeophobia.

Anti-Semitism is becoming a dangerous political movement. Anti-Semitism flourishes because of the national competition between the Jewish and non-Jewish petty bourgeoisie and between the Jewish and non-Jewish proletarianized and unemployed masses. Anti-Semitism

menaces both the poor helpless Jews and the all-powerful Rothschilds. The latter, however, understand very well where the source of trouble lies; the poverty-ridden Jewish masses are at fault. The Jewish plutocracy abhors these masses, but anti-Semitism reminds it of its kinship to them. Two souls reside within the breast of the Jewish upper bourgeoisie—the soul of a proud European and the soul of an unwilling guardian of his Eastern co-religionists. Were there no anti-Semitism, the misery and poverty of the Jewish emigrants would be of little concern to the Jewish upper bourgeoisie. It is impossible, however, to leave them in some West European city (on their way to a place of refuge) in the care of the local government, for that would arouse anti-Semitic ire. Therefore, in spite of themselves and despite their efforts to ignore the Jewish problem, the Jewish aristocrats must turn philanthropists. They must provide shelter for the Jewish emigrants and must make collections for pogrom-ridden Jewry. Everywhere the Jewish upper bourgeoisie is engaged in the search for a Jewish solution to the Jewish problem and a means of being delivered of the Jewish masses. This is the sole form in which the Jewish problem presents itself to the Jewish upper bourgeoisie.

The middle bourgeoisie is bound more closely to the Jewish masses. In general, the economic interests of a middle and petty bourgeoisie depend on the market which the mass of the people affords, which market is co-extensive with the national language and cultural institutions. Therefore, in the case of territorial nations, the middle and petty bourgeoisie is the chief supporter of all types of "cultural" nationalism. Since this section of the Jewish bourgeoisie has no territory and market, it falls under the influence of assimilatory forces. On the other hand, because of the intense national competition in which the middle and lower bourgeoisie is involved, the isolating factor of anti-Semitism is felt in every branch of activity. Anti-Semitism is at the root of all the discriminatory laws against Jews in politically backward countries and of the social boycott in the bourgeois-democratic countries. The boycott, which is becoming more organized and more intensive, overtakes the Jewish bourgeoisie everywhere; in trade, in industry, in social life, and even in the press. With the growth of capitalism, there is a corresponding growth of political democracy on the one hand, and of national competition on the other. Those who see in the growth of political democracy the elimination of discriminatory laws against the Jews and the corresponding lessening of the acute form of Judaeophobia (such as pogroms) see merely one side of the process. They fail to recognize the continual sharpening of national competition in bourgeois society, the growth of which is parallel with that of democracy. This process strengthens the hostility and makes for a stronger and more efficiently organized boycott against the Jews. The Jewish middle and petty bourgeoisie, with no territory and no market of its own, is powerless against this menace. In the white-collar class the discrimination against the Jewish physician, engineer, and journalist forces them to face the Jewish problem. Jewish misery is closer to them than to the upper bourgeoisie. Their nationalism, however, is of a specially middle and petty bourgeois character. Lacking any

means of support in their struggle for a market, they tend to speak of an independent political existence and of a Jewish state where they would play a leading political role. They feel the effects of state anti-Semitism very strongly and therefore strive to protect Jewish civil and national rights. Since they are directly affected by the poverty and degeneration of the Jewish masses, they tend to advocate a Jewish national policy.

But as long as they succeed in retaining their middle class position, as long as the boycott and the isolation brought about by anti-Semitism have not yet undermined their material well-being, the centre of gravity of their political interests continues to be in the Galut. Their personal needs remain outside the Jewish national sphere, for the conflict between their economic interests and the conditions of production restricting Jewish life has not yet reached a peak. In other words, as long as the Jewish middle bourgeoisie retains its economic position it is relatively unconcerned with the Jewish problem. True, the Jewish position is a cause of certain discomforts to the middle class, but the class is not sufficiently hard pressed to desire a radical change in its condition. Its energy can be utilized to a certain extent on behalf of the rehabilitation of Jewish life, but the middle class as a whole can never be the base for a movement of Jewish emancipation.

For the purpose of this discussion we may consider the Jewish petty bourgeoisie and the proletarianized masses as one group. As a result of historical circumstances, this group constitutes a large majority of the Jewish people. To us proletarian Zionists this class is doubly significant. In the first place, the Jewish proletariat has become socially differentiated from the larger group only recently. (To understand the Jewish proletariat it is necessary to analyse properly the petty bourgeoisie, which still serves as its reservoir of manpower). Secondly, the heterogeneous mass of emigrating petty bourgeoisie and proletarians-to-be is the main source of the human material for the future Jewish rehabilitation. . . .

The national problem of the declining Jewish petty bourgeoisie consists in a search for a market which should free it from the horrible economic isolation which characterizes it at present

In the case of this group, the national problem is very acute. To solve it, the Jewish petty bourgeoisie is forced to abandon its native lands and to migrate to new countries, but even there it finds no satisfactory solution. Misery overtakes the bourgeoisie; poverty is its lot in the new country. It therefore enters the labour market and is transformed into a part of the working masses. In the labour market, too, it must face national competition. Consequently, the proletarianized Jewish petty bourgeoisie can penetrate only the final levels of production. Thus there arises a national struggle based on need and the impossibility of satisfying the need.

The national question of the petty bourgeoisie, then, is the quest for a national market and the conservation of the associated cultural institutions such as the language, national education, etc. Concretely the problem of the Jewish petty bourgeoisie is that of emigration:

the quest of an expatriated nation for a place of economic security.

The Jewish problem migrates with the Jews. Thus a universal Jewish problem is created which involves not only Jewish philanthropists but also the political powers of the civilized nations. . . .

Emigration alone does not solve the Jewish problem. It leaves the Jew helpless in a strange country. For that reason Jewish immigration and any other national immigration tend toward compact settlements. This concentration alleviates the process of adaptation to the newly found environment, but at the same time it accelerates the rise of national competition in the countries into which the Jews have recently immigrated. If so large a number of Jewish immigrants had not settled in New York, Philadelphia, and Chicago, it is doubtful whether national competition against them would have come into existence; but the existence of the Jews as such would have become impossible. The outward contradictions of Jewish immigration—the clash between the habits brought along from the old country and the conditions in the new country—necessitate concentration.

Such concentration, however, contains a double contradiction. Mass concentration aims at facilitating the process of adaptation to the new environment, but it results in the segregation of the newly arrived group and hinders the process of adaptation. Upon his arrival the immigrant seeks to enter the first levels of production. Through their concentration in the large cities, the Jews retain their former economic traditions and are condemned to the final levels of production—the manufacturing of consumers' goods. Thus the need of the Jews to develop their forces of production and to become proletarianized remains unsatisfied.

The contradictions inherent in this process lead to decentralization of the concentrated mass of immigrants. Jewry settles in more or less compact masses not in one place, but in many, thus aggravating the problem. Instead of remaining localized, the contradictions appear in numerous places. The Jewish problem thus becomes more acute and evolves into a world problem.

As a result of these two fundamental contradictions, the Jewish petty bourgeoisie and working masses are confronted by two needs. The impossibility of penetrating into higher levels of production creates the need for concentrated immigration into an undeveloped country. Instead of being limited to the final levels of production, as is the case in all other countries, the Jews could in a short time assume the leading position in the economy of the new land. Jewish migration must be transformed from immigration into colonization. This means a territorial solution of the Jewish problem.

In order that the Jewish immigration may be diverted to colonization of undeveloped countries, it is not sufficient that the colonization merely should be useful to the Jews. It is also necessary that the immigration to the previous centres become more difficult. This, as a matter of fact, is taking place. Because of national competition, immigration into the well-developed capitalistic countries is being limited. At the same time, the need for Jewish emigra-

tion is steadily becoming greater; and it can no longer be satisfied by the old centres of absorption. New lands must be found, and the emigrants increasingly tend to go to semi-agricultural countries.

To avoid decentralization, there is need for organizational forces which would unite the Jewish masses and which would introduce system into the spontaneous processes of migration. Left alone, Jewish migration will continue to be a confused and scattering process. A new and conscious element is required. The Jewish emigrating masses must be organized, and their movements directed. That is the task of the conscious Jewish proletariat.

The scheme of the dynamics of Jewish life operates as follows: (1) emigration of the petty bourgeoisie who turn to proletarianization, (2) concentration of Jewish immigration, and (3) organized regulation of this immigration. The first two factors are the products of the spontaneous processes operating in Jewish life; the last, however, is introduced by the organized Jewish proletariat.

Capitalistic economy has reached the stage where no revolutionary changes are possible without the participation of the working masses and especially of the organized sections of the proletariat. The emancipation of the Jewish people either will be brought about by Jewish labour, or it will not be attained at all. But the labour movement has only one weapon at its command: the class struggle. The class struggle must assume a political character if it is to lead to a better future.

Proletarian Zionism is possible only if its aims can be achieved through the class struggle; Zionism can be realized only if proletarian Zionism can be realized.

. . . . The Jewish proletariat is in need of revolution more than any other. It is hoping most ardently for the good which is expected to come with the growth of democracy in society. The terrible national oppression; the exploitation on the part of petty Jewish capitalists; and the comparatively high cultural level and restlessness of the city-bred Jewish proletarian, the son of the "people of the book"—these generate an overwhelming revolutionary energy and an exalted spirit of self-sacrifice. This revolutionary zeal, hampered by the limitations of the strategic base, very frequently assumes grotesque forms. A disease of surplus energy is the tragedy of the Jewish proletariat, and is the source of its sufferings. A chained Prometheus who in helpless rage tears the feathers of the vulture that preys on him—that is the symbol of the Jewish proletariat.

. . . . Jewish immigration is slowly tending to divert itself to a country where petty Jewish capital and labour may be utilized in such forms of production as will serve as a transition from an urban to an agricultural economy and from the production of consumers' goods to more basic forms of industry. The country into which Jews will immigrate will not be highly industrial nor predominantly agricultural, but rather semi-agricultural. Jews alone will migrate there, separated from the general stream of immigration. The country will have no attraction for immigrants from other nations.

This land will be the only one available to the Jews; and of all countries available for immigrants of all lands, this country will provide the line of greatest resistance. It will be a country of low cultural and political development. Big capital will hardly find use for itself there, while Jewish petty and middle capital will find a market for its products in both this country and its environs. *The land of spontaneously concentrated Jewish immigration will be Palestine. . .*

Political territorial autonomy in Palestine is the ultimate aim of Zionism. For proletarian Zionists, this is also a step toward socialism.

The broadening and consolidation of Jewish economic and cultural positions in Palestine will proceed at a rapid pace along with the above mentioned processes. Parallel with the growth of economic independence will come the growth of political independence. The ideal of political autonomy for the Jews will be consummated by *political territorial autonomy in Palestine.*

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