

POALE ZIONISM

AN OUTLINE OF ITS AIMS
AND INSTITUTIONS

BY

H. FINEMAN

APPENDICES PREPARED

By I. ZAR

NEW YORK

Central Committee of the Jewish Socialist Labor Party
Poale Zion of America

266 GRAND STREET

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The Fundamental Principles

The Jewish Socialist Labor Party, Poale Zion, is an international political party of Jewish workingmen organized for the purpose of liberating the Jewish masses. The Poale Zion consider the Jewish people as one nation dispersed in various countries and leading everywhere an abnormal economical and national life. Economically the Jewish masses are more exploited than most non-Jewish workers. The lack of an agrarian class, compulsory migration, social ostracism, and other factors, limit the number of occupations in which Jews are engaged and subject the Jewish masses to a greater inequality of economic opportunity and to more horrible forms of poverty than most non-Jews are compelled to endure. The fundamental cause of Jewish poverty, like that of all poverty, is however the capitalistic system; and the Poale Zion accept only one radical economic solution for this unendurable state of affairs—Socialism. The Poale Zion therefore urge Jewish workingmen to organize as a distinct group and combine with workmen of every land in order to destroy class government and change the present social order. They propose to fight with workingmen of other nationalities for the abolishing of private ownership of the means of production and for the substituting of social ownership and socialist production. Nationally the Jews are minorities the world over and do not enjoy the right and power to determine their own fate as a nation. In spite of the fact that they have lived in various countries for centuries and have helped to build those countries with their blood and brain and muscle the attitude assumed towards the Jews as a group is unfriendly. In poly-national states,

that are not organized on the principle of the recognition of the rights of minority nationalities, this unfriendly attitude reveals itself, indeed, not only towards Jews, but toward all other minority peoples. In such countries the dominating national group considers itself as *the* nation and looks with suspicion and jealousy upon the national activities of the minority groups and tries to bring about their enforced assimilation through cultural, economic, and political state institutions, as well as through various indirect and direct forms of persecution. In the case of the Jews the prejudice of centuries as well as peculiar abnormal conditions, aggravate the situation; and unfriendliness assumes forms of ostracism, antisemitism, economic boycotts, and even massacres. The Poale Zion accept only one radical solution for these injustices—Zionism, based on the unhindered national development of the Jews the world over. They therefore proceed, without surrendering their class-consciousness, to organize the Jewish workingmen throughout the entire world into national units and join as a distinct and separate entity with all other classes in Jewry for the specific purpose of obtaining national rights for the Jews in those countries where such rights are essential for the welfare of the Jewish people; and they also combine as a distinct group with various elements in Jewry in order to achieve the Zionist aim.

Together with most socialists the Poale Zion thus deny that there is any conflict between Socialism and Progressive Nationalism. Indeed, socialism and nationalism are, from their point of view, complementary forces. Socialism is *international* and not *cosmopolitan*. The cosmopolitan ideal that involves the assimilation of smaller groups within an ever growing unit, is a capitalistic attitude that is an outgrowth of imperialistic tendencies in modern society. In Jewry the wealthy bourgeoisie

are assimilationists, because there is no independent Jewish political life and their opportunity for political domination depends on their associating themselves with the ruling nationality of any given country, i. e. on the gospel of assimilation; and they are, of course, quite ready to sacrifice the interests of the Jewish masses for the sake of their personal aggrandizement. They therefore deliberately try to create the illusion that the Jews are merely a religious sect, and though they themselves are without faith they support reactionary religious tendencies and through various institutions try to destroy Jewish national consciousness. Many Jewish socialists have been likewise anti-national or cosmopolitan because, failing to realize that cosmopolitanism is with the Jews really a form of assimilation that makes the Jewish masses a pawn in the hands of ambitious bourgeois, they sincerely believed that Zionism or nationalism would obscure the class-struggle and lead to reactionary tendencies. With the Jewish masses, however, nationalism means self-assertion, contempt for servile sufferance, a higher cultural development; and above all, a determination to take one's fate into one's own hand. Cosmopolitanism or assimilation involves surrender of individuality and destruction of self-reliance and self-respect. A people that is humiliated and is made to feel that its own speech and culture are of negligible importance is one that can also be more easily exploited. No wonder then that with minority nationalities the wealthy bourgeoisie and the exploiting plutocrats are usually in favor of assimilation and on the other hand, class conscious workingmen more or less clearly recognize that problems of cultural autonomy, and equality of national rights are of primary importance to the working class even in their economic struggle.

Nationalism like that of Poale Zionism which is neither

chauvinistic nor imperialistic, is an asset to the economic class struggle of the workingmen insofar as it helps to put content into the struggle for democracy and raises the self-consciousness and general cultural condition of the masses. Moreover, the attempt on the part of the Poale Zion to create a Jewish State in Palestine through the aid of methods of modern labor is in perfect conformity with that phase of socialism that undertakes to organize the economically undeveloped world, not for the sake of exploitation for a mother country, but for the purpose of increasing human productivity and bringing that productivity in normal relationship with the rest of laboring humanity.

The Poale Zion believe, in brief, that only by teaching the Jewish working class self-reliance, and self-respect; and only by organizing them politically and economically and nationally as a self-conscious class, will the Jewish workingmen be in a position to solve their difficulties. Their difficulties are, in the main, economic and national; the solution for those difficulties are Socialism and Zionism.

The Poale Zion base their Socialism and Zionism on the actual needs of the Jewish people, and therefore consider it essential that Socialism and Zionism be combined in one movement. The economic and national difficulties of the Jewish nation may perhaps be thought of separately in abstract theoretical discussions. In actual life they are interdependent. Jewish economic conditions are determined by Jewish national abnormality; and the solving of the Jewish national problem depends on definite economic factors. There is therefore no question as to priority in the forms of activity that lead to Zionism and Socialism. Both activities are merged into one. To ignore the national woes of the Jewish people while trying to solve their economic diffi-

culties is a ghastly mockery. To attempt to create a Jewish state in Palestine while ignoring the present economic needs of the Jewish masses is a grim joke. The Poale Zion are not Socialists *and* Zionists; they are Socialist-Zionists.

The Jewish workmen of the world have a common fate and common interests. They must therefore be organized as a unit and as such be represented at the Socialist International. They have to solve peculiar economic problems that assume a national scope in each country in which the Jewish masses live. They must therefore not only conduct socialist propaganda in their own speech but enter the Socialist parties in the various countries as a national-socialist group in order properly to protect those interests.

The concept of nationality and state entertained by the Poale Zion differs fundamentally from that of non-socialists. The state as organized at present, though it presumably defends the interests of all classes, is primarily an instrument protecting the powers and rights of only one group—the ruling capitalistic class. Remedial measures such as state insurance, eight hour laws, national ownership of post-office,—are all measures adopted by the state in order to perpetuate or make enduring the present capitalistic system. National state policies whether economic such as regulation of commerce and industry and taxes, or political, such as colonial administration, treaties and war, or cultural, such as establishing vocational schools are all planned from the point of view of the interests of the ruling class, who try however to make the community feel that the policies are for the interest of all. Socialists, on the other hand, look upon the state and nation from a different angle. To them the interests of the nation are synonymous with those of the toilers. They propose to abolish class inter-

ests and the system of class rule by freeing workers from exploitation. Nationalism with class-conscious workingmen accordingly assumes a proletarian character that differs violently from Junker-nationalism, and the dollar-state. The real interests of the state become to them those that protect not the interests of the ruling class, but of the toiling producing masses who are the people. Similarly with Jewish socialists. The desirable methods to be employed in developing the Jewish nation and in creating a Jewish state become those that arise from the interests of the Jewish proletariat. This concept of nationalism and state naturally leads to a Jewish socialist-nationalist movement that differs from the non-socialist type. The Poale Zion therefore have to organize themselves into a distinct party in order to perform socialist-national duties in the Zionist movement as well as in the general Socialist organization.

The National Phase of the Program

The Jewish people is dispersed throughout the entire world. In certain countries—Russia, Austria, Germany, America, Palestine, England—they live in concentrated masses. In France, Italy and other countries the Jewish population is less compact. They have been living in these lands for centuries. They have helped to build each country they have inhabited and they are entitled to the same rights and privileges that are granted to all other citizens. Such rights are not to be given them however at the cost of compulsory assimilation. Participation in the rights of citizenship does not and should not involve the need of giving up the individual traits and culture that a group happens to inherit. Indeed the value of the type of civilization that is being developed in America, for instance, is enhanced through the

preserving and further-developing of the national cultures of the various groups that make up its citizenship. Assimilation in the sense of mechanical indiscriminate adoption of the culture and manners of the predominating group in the present American state is anything but a virtue. Individual Jews may indeed selfishly profit from such a process of assimilation, for their identifying themselves with the ruling group in society opens up for them greater fields of domination and personal aggrandizement. The Jewish masses and the world's civilization are however the losers. The loss to the Jewish masses consists largely in the fact that the most talented Jews, because of assimilation, desert to other nationalities. This leads to a cultural disintegration and to a spiritual stagnation of the Jewish people that reacts unfavorably on the entire community in which they live. Any gain that non-Jews may derive from this desertion is more than offset by a certain loss of moral stamina that the Jewish spiritual deserter necessarily must bring with him into the new camp. Moreover assimilation into a new nationality involves a certain wastefulness of creative energy that naturally accompanies the process of adaptation to new environment. Were the Jews living under normal conditions, such desertions would not have taken place and the contribution to the world's culture offered through Jewish channels would have been more wholesome and more productive.

The unwillingness on the part of the more wholesome elements of Jewry to surrender their national qualities does not imply a desire for medieval segregation or an unwillingness to fit themselves into the general mechanism of organized society. Jews in every country in which they are minorities will necessarily have to acquire, in addition to their own speech, a knowledge of

the speech of the majority group in the state; and in co-operation with all the other elements that constitute the state will develop the cultural and industrial resources for the benefit of all. By not surrendering their individual cultural and national life they will lead a more normal self-respecting life and will thus be of greater service in helping to develop a state of free citizens.

The precise nature of Jewish national rights differs in various countries. These differences are the outgrowth of the peculiar national conditions that prevail in the world. Thus in poly-national states the Poale Zion demand on behalf of the Jewish people the same national rights that ought to be granted to all the nationalities that constitute the state, i. e. national equality in the general government and complete self-government in Jewish national affairs. A refusal to grant such rights to the Jews amounts to not placing them on a par with the other citizens, and really deprives them, as the situation in Austria has proven, of their most fundamental rights. In countries in which the situation does not warrant such national demands the national activities of the Poale Zion have been limited to the fostering of Jewish national consciousness through public measures and institutions that help to develop a more wholesome cultural and economic life for the Jewish masses.

In Russia of the past, much of the energy of the Poale Zion had necessarily been devoted to active participation in the revolution against Russian autocracy in order to obtain for the Jewish masses its most elementary human rights. In present free poly-national Russia, the Poale Zion are demanding full equal national rights for the Jewish people. They are demanding the right of self-assertion for the Jewish nation—involving the right of self-determination, the right of proportional national

representation in Parliament, the right to receive an education in its own speech through self taxation or through the proportional refunding of taxes from the general government—in brief, the right to live and create in its own language and determine its own fate in Russia.

In Roumania Jews have been deprived of their rights in a more brutal and outrageous manner than even in autocratic Russia. The equality guaranteed to them by the Berlin Treaty has been most impudently violated. The condition of Jews in that country will be unendurable so long as the ruling classes deny to the Jew national as well as civil rights. Unless a democratic Roumania be created at the close of the war it will be necessary to guarantee Jewish rights in Roumania through international intervention.

In Poland that contains a Jewish population of about three millions the rights of the Jews as citizens and as a nationality must likewise, because of the reactionary and intolerant attitude of Polish leaders, be guaranteed through international institutions. The Poale Zion are in favor of an independent autonomous united Poland. Such a Poland should not be created, however, without a guarantee that the rights of the Jewish people—national as well as civil—shall be properly protected.

In Austria the Poale Zion about a dozen years ago first formulated the demand for national proportional representation of the Jews in Parliament. They have demanded that the Jews be put nationally on a par with all the other nationalities of Austria. Jews pay taxes and their money is used for creating national educational systems in all languages but that of their own. Jews must support their schools from their own resources because they are not recognized as a nationality and as a result there is an intellectual stagnation among the Jewish masses. Economical organizations of various

types created by various nationalities receive support from the central government. Jewish economic organizations are not recognized and partly for this reason Jewish economic degradation has become unendurable. Politically the Jews in Galicia are practically disfranchised because of this lack of national recognition. They have been forced into the Polish electoral group where they constitute a minority and their power of voting is thus rendered practically worthless. The Poale Zion in Austria have accordingly entered the political campaign with a program that demands the full national recognition of the Jewish people in Austria.

The condition of Jews in poly-national countries emphasizes that the sole guarantee for civil rights in such states is complete national emancipation. Denial of national rights to Jews in countries like Roumania, Poland, or in the new state of Ukraine or that may be created in Lithuania, etc., means putting them on a basis of inequality with the rest of the citizenship and leads to a practical nullification of civic rights and personal freedom and to unstable economic conditions as well as cultural stagnation.

In America, where the need for the recognition of the Jewish nationality has not arisen, the national activities of the Poale Zion have largely expressed themselves through an attempt to create a Jewish secular national educational system. The radical national schools founded by the Poale Zion in almost every city of importance in the United States aim, by offering secular courses in Yiddish and Hebrew literature, folk-songs, and history to counteract assimilative tendencies and develop a national Jewish spirit. The attempt to create popular universities for workingmen and the publication of special educational and scientific series, all aim in the same general direction.

In demanding national rights for the Jews, the Poale Zion have no illusions concerning the difficulties that will confront the Jewish masses once these rights are obtained. For centuries the Jews have not been accustomed to lead a normal independent national life. Once national rights will be granted, it will naturally devolve on a national socialist party like the Poale Zion to try to organize that new life in such a manner that the interests of the masses be properly attended to. The danger of permitting the Jewish masses to become a prey to the interests of the professional Jewish philanthropists and politicians will have to be averted. Medieval forms and mental attitudes and policies that are a product of abnormal ghetto life will have to be eliminated. A Jewish democracy of free citizens will have to be created.

The Poale Zion have faith in the intrinsic value of the Jewish culture that is and may be developed in various Jewish centers. Modern Yiddish and non-Hebrew literature, no matter how dwarfed by abnormal conditions, does represent even at present the best that the Jewish mind displays in our age. Not to participate in the cultural life of the Jewish masses is a form of treachery and cowardice on the part of the Jewish intellectual. Moreover, it is to be expected that once national rights will be granted a new epoch will open! Jewish educational and economical institutions, organized Jewish communal life, and the more respectable position occupied by Jewish speech and Jewish political life, will play an important role in helping to elevate and make the type of Jewish life that will be developed less medieval and more normal.

Even in those countries where national rights cannot be obtained for the Jews, the conscious endeavor to improve cultural and economic conditions will be bene-

ficent for the Jewish masses and incidentally for the entire community. It will help to produce a more wholesome, less reactionary, and finer type of Jew. The duty of developing in such countries institutions and forms of life that will conform with the interests of the Jewish democracy will again naturally devolve upon proletariat organizations like the Poale Zion.

The Poale Zion realize, however, that even under the best of circumstances the field of higher development of Jews in the various countries is limited. This limitation is due to the fact that the Jews are minorities the world over. Even after national rights will be granted to the Jews they will still be subject to the processes of assimilation that will rob the Jewish nation of its own intellectual forces. Their national life will always be menaced and their economic conditions will be unstable. The position of the Jews in Ukraine, Poland, Roumania and other countries will indeed become more tolerable once national rights are granted, but Jewish national groups in these countries will be doomed to national impotence unless there be created a big Jewish national center in which Jewish life will be unhampered because the Jews will constitute there the preponderating majority. Jewish national culture will be dwarfed as long as Jews are minorities the world over subject to processes of assimilation. It will need spiritual sustenance and self-sufficiency that can come to it only from the type of culture that can be created in an independent and autonomous Jewish state. Moreover the granting of national rights will not remove the chief causes of the lack of stability in Jewish national economic life. Only through creating a center in an undeveloped country like Palestine does the possibility arise of creating a Jewish agrarian class and of opening up to the Jewish masses unhampered fields of economic activity. The

emigration of Jewish workingmen from the various countries will relieve the congestion that prevails in the specific "Jewish" industries, and the new export and import industries created in Palestine will likewise function in stabilizing Jewish economic conditions. The Jewish national and economic problem cannot thus be solved in any particular country apart from the creating of an autonomous state in Palestine. In the center of all activities that lead to the betterment and wholesome development of Jewish national life must be placed the Zionist goal.

The creation of a state in Palestine is the only radical solution of the Jewish national problem. It will at once remove abnormal conditions in Jewish life. The Jew who does not care to live in Palestine and prefers to assimilate will be able to do so without arousing suspicion as to the sincerity of his motives. The Jew who will be dissatisfied with the forms of Jewish life that may be developed in those countries in which national rights will be granted to the Jewish people, will be able to emigrate to Palestine. Moreover, whether a large number of Jews will or will not emigrate from America, for instance, the creation of a Jewish center in Palestine is bound to react on the national and economic life of the Jews in the Diaspora and will help to place it on a more normally productive basis. The entire Jewish people is thus vitally concerned in the creation of a Jewish state.

The usefulness of such a state for the non-Jewish world is likewise evident. It is not merely a matter of social justice or of paying a debt that the Christian world owes the Jewish nation for years of persecution. Nor is it merely a question of creating a buffer state in Palestine for the protection of the rights of the greater nationalities and for assuring a more permanent world peace.

A Jewish republic in Palestine will free the Christian nations as well as the Jews of the Jewish problem. The Jewish problem is really a world problem. It cannot be convenient for the Christian world to have in their midst a people always wronged, persecuted, partly assimilating and partly ostracised, and agonizing itself and others because it leads an abnormal life. The creation of a Jewish state will at once establish normal relationships between non-Jews and the Jews who will keep on living in European and American countries.

The right that the Jews have to Palestine hardly needs defence. Since the last Jewish national catastrophe—the defeat of the army of Bar Kochba—the Jews have never given up their historic claim to the land of their forefathers. There have been indeed at all times among the Jewish people national deserters who tried to deny Jewish nationalism. The temptations of assimilation were found by many in all ages alluring. The Jewish masses at all times have however been “Palestinian.” Their religious and cultural life has been intimately bound up with Palestine. Their Zionism was however Messianic. They expected the return to Palestine to be accomplished through miracle. The breaking down of the ghetto wall and the consequent more intimate participation of the Jews in the economic and cultural processes of Europe and America, as well as the ascendancy of the national idea in Europe since the 19th century were among the important factors that transformed Messianic Zionism into Political Zionism. The will to be an independent people that has persisted in Jewish life for thousands of years thus assumed a modern form. The love for Palestine became definitely associated with a passionate wish for political freedom, and modern means began to be employed in order to realize the dream of centuries.

Important as these historic reasons may be, the Jewish claim to Palestine rests not merely on reasons of the past. The Jews base their right to Palestine on the same title that Americans have to America. They are the only people who are willing and capable to develop the resources of the country. They have the ability to colonize for the benefit of themselves and mankind. Thirty-five years of pioneer work has demonstrated the ability of the Jewish people to rebuild their fatherland. They are the only people who have sufficient reason to want to continue to rebuild it. The Arabians who live in Palestine cannot develop the country because of the primitiveness of their culture and because they have no special national reasons for investing the energy necessary properly to develop it. They have all Arabia at their disposal. The Jews, and the Jews only, thus have a real claim to the land. The creation of a Jewish state in Palestine will involve the economic and cultural development of all the inhabitants of the country and will thus be a boon, not only to the Jewish nation, but to civilization in general.

The national program of the Poale Zion therefore definitely aims to create a national home for the Jewish people in Palestine. This aim does not involve the surrender of the interests of the national rights of the Jews in the countries they now live in. It does not involve the surrender of the class-consciousness of the Jewish workingman. The Zionist program of the Poale Zion is based on a more normal economic and national life in the exile countries as well as on class consciousness.

Zionism and Palestine

The Poale Zion together with other elements in Jewry constitute the Zionist organization that was created in

Basle in 1897 under the leadership of Theodor Herzl. The aim of Zionism as formulated by the first Zionist Congress is "to create for the Jewish people a publicly recognized legally secured Home in Palestine." Various institutions have been created subsequently in order to realize this aim.—The Shekel—an annual contribution that can be offered by any Jew or Jewess who agrees with the aim of Zionism, was instituted in order to cover the expense of the international Zionist organization. In 1898-1899 was founded a banking institute—The Jewish Colonial Trust—in order to aid in obtaining a charter on Palestine and facilitate the process of settling there.

The National Fund, which is raised by voluntary contributions, is a financial apparatus through which land is to be purchased in Palestine that is to remain forever the property of the Jewish nation. The administration and general direction of the Zionist movement is conducted through Congresses of delegates elected by those who pay the Shekel. The Congress elects a great and small Actions Committee that administers Zionist affairs.

The Poale Zion are part of this Zionist organization and participate as an independent entity in the sessions of the Zionist Congresses. Their attitude towards the practical program of Zionism usually differs however, from that of other groups.

As a workingmen's organization the Poale Zion are vitally concerned with preserving the democracy of Zionist institutions and are endeavoring to see to it that a new Palestine is organized as much as possible on the bases of co-operation and self-help. The leaders in Zionism are bourgeois and cannot altogether escape the psychology of their class. As a result conflicts frequently occur between the Poale Zion and the "general" Zionists in regard to proper administration of institutions as well

as general policies pursued. Thus recently a conflict arose over the proper use of Jewish National Fund money. The Jewish National Fund is a socialistic institution with whose money certain portions of Palestine are to be obtained that are to become the property of the Jewish people. Yet part of the National Fund was utilized in Tel-Aviv in such a fashion as to enable private speculators to acquire outrageously high profits in real estate. An attempt to repeat a similar scandal was made in Haifa. The protests and interpellations of the Poale Zion made impossible such repetition. It is to be expected that only a socialist organization will be in a position consistently to defend the interests of Jewish democracy. Social reformers and bourgeois intellectual liberals may at times advocate democratic policies but after all problems of democracy are with them not radically vital. With the working class democracy is one of the most significant weapons of self-defense; whence the peculiar role of defenders of democracy in Zionism naturally devolves on the Poale Zion.

But the Poale Zion do not merely play the role of democratic watchers of the Zionist program. They have consistently advocated and are largely responsible for various co-operative endeavors undertaken by the Zionist organization. They have created Palestinian institutions of their own and have formulated distinct attitudes towards various phases of Zionist activity.

Zionist activity centres about two problems — obtaining international recognition of the right of the Jewish people to Palestine and the concentration in a wholesome manner of a Jewish majority in Palestine. For over twenty years a national political propaganda has accordingly been conducted in order to create public sentiment in favor of the rehabilitation of the Jewish nation. Expressions of sympathy have been obtained at

various times from different governments. In 1903 the British government offered the Zionist organization a territory in British Africa (Uganda) with rights of local autonomy. After investigation the Zionist Congress rejected the offer. On November 3, 1917, the British Government proclaimed its approval and promised its unequivocal support of the complete Zionist program—"the creation of a national home for the Jewish people in Palestine."

The aims of the present war as formulated by the warring powers include the Zionist goal. Those aims propose to safeguard the rights of nationalities and undertake to guarantee larger opportunities for a better and happier life. These aims cannot be accomplished without the Jews obtaining their national rights. The Jewish sacrifices in the war have been stupendous, and Jewish suffering in the war has indeed been more horrible than that of Belgium or Poland. If justice is at all to prevail, the Jews will be permitted to be represented through their own democratically elected delegates at the world peace conferences that will be held at the cessation of hostilities and present at such conferences demands that will put them on a par with other peoples. No peace settlement that will ignore the national rights of the Jewish nation in Palestine or their rights in other countries can be a lasting settlement.

The Poale Zion have been instrumental in helping to create public sentiment in favor of Zionism. They have insisted on the need of *conducting Jewish national diplomatic negotiations in the open and not through secret channels*. They have appealed to their socialist comrades among the working class of the entire world. Largely through their efforts the working class in England adopted resolutions in favor of the Zionist goal. The

American Federation of Labor has adopted similar resolutions in 1917.

Conferences were held with the Holland-Scandinavian Socialist Committee, with representatives of the Russian Workingmen's Council, Finnish Delegation, Armenian, Tcheko-Slavic, Bulgarian, Roumanian, South-Slavic, and the majority and minority factions of the German Socialist Party. A sympathetic understanding of Zionism has been created among the representatives of the working masses of the world. The invitation extended to the Poale Zion to attend the peace conference at Stockholm is also symptomatic of the growth of understanding for Jewish needs and aspirations.

Indispensable as this public recognition and support of the aims of Zionism may be, the Poale Zion do not base their Zionism on the mere consent and goodwill of European civilization. The Jews the world over do indeed confidently expect that the world peace conference, following the attitude of the British Government, will recognize the right of the Jewish people to Palestine and will officially sanction internationally guaranteed institutions that will make possible the concentrating of a Jewish majority in Palestine. Poale Zionism has come into being, however, before the world war and will continue no matter what terms may result from the world Peace Conference. It bases its Zionism and Jewish nationalism on the creative powers of the Jewish nation. Justice to the Jew, administered by the Peace Conference, will only simplify the process of creating a state in Palestine; it will not, however, achieve that process. Only the direct participation of the Jewish masses in the creating of new forms of industrial and cultural life in Palestine is the ultimate guarantee of an autonomous Jewish state. The Jewish laboring class must immigrate and colonize and through their labor produce a sound

economic and cultural life. Future Jewish diplomacy is to be based, not on a mere appeal to the justice and fairness of the world but on the organization of a firm Jewish community life in Palestine and on the power that such life implies. Imbued with this point of view, the American Poale Zion have organized the Haholutz—a Jewish legion of pioneers who are to settle in Palestine as soon as the war is over.* They have likewise organized the co-operative Achvah Society* and are engaged in other activities that will make possible mass-immigration into Palestine and will guarantee the development of a wholesome life and thus of a real basis for Jewish national diplomacy.

Palestine proper has an area of 26,000 square miles and is approximately as large as Belgium with the adjoining French Départements. The present population of Palestine proper (i. e. Western Palestine) is about 700,000. If five millions settle in that section the population would be less dense than that of the Lebanon in the Beirut Canton in Asia Minor. With a population of eight millions the density would be less than that of Italy and about half that of Belgium. Ancient Palestine (designated in the Bible as “the land of the Canaanites”) has an area of 100 to 108 thousand square miles and is larger than the British Isles. There is thus no question as to whether the fatherland of the Jewish nation is large enough to contain the Jewish people. The industrial resources of Palestine are practically unlimited. With the building of roads and the improving of means of transportation Palestine can become a great country of export and import. Its geographical situation is especially favorable for its developing into a great commercial center. Irrigation conducted on a large scale could make large uncultivated areas extremely produc-

*Vide Appendix.

tive. The phosphate mines in Western Palestine, the asphalt in the Dead Sea, the oil wells near Hebron and the waterfalls of the Jordan are among the numerous natural resources that can be exploited. The mineral waters of Tiberiah and of other towns, as well as the marvelous climate of the country as a whole, are among the factors that can make of Palestine a great tourist country. Under proper management it should thus not be impossible to accommodate in Palestine, if necessary, all the Jews of the world.*

At present the Jews constitute, however, only one-eighth of the population of Western Palestine. In order to create a Jewish autonomous state conditions must be created that will enable the Jews to become there not only a mere majority. Without infringing on the civil and national rights of the non-Jewish inhabitants, Palestine must become the great national center of the Jewish nation. Millions must therefore settle in Palestine. As soon as the Peace Conference will adopt the British declaration the coping with the problem of mass-immigration will become comparatively a simpler matter. The recognition of the right of the Jewish nation over Palestine will create for the Jewish people the means that will enable them through processes of irrigation to cultivate large tracts of land and in other respects to develop the resources of the country. Mass emigration can then possibly start. At first perhaps small numbers will enter the country. These in turn will be able to help in the immigration of others.

According to the Poale Zion this *mass-immigration must be definitely associated with colonization plans that are largely co-operative in character.* Once the Peace Conference will recognize the right of the Jews to Pales-

*The facts concerning Palestine have been obtained from Comrade Ben Zwi's "Palestine as a Land for Jewish Colonization."

tine there will be indeed many individual Jews who will need no further inducements in order to abandon their Goluth "prosperity" and emigrate. The capacity of the Jewish people for sacrifice is not to be questioned. The creating of a Jewish state is not, however, a matter of mere valor or idealism. It is a question of making possible immigration on a large scale to Palestine. The Jewish masses have all been settled in various countries for centuries and it will not be an easy matter for them to sever all their relationships with the immediate past. The prospect of creating a Jewish state does indeed enthuse them, but economically only a small number will be in a position to give up their little belongings and emigrate. Palestine will be for some time a country of undeveloped resources and will not have the economic allurements that America can hold out to poverty-stricken people. In order to make possible mass emigration to Palestine it is important to place before the Jewish masses prospects for a better kind of economic as well as cultural life. All this can be done when co-operative methods of colonization and co-operative methods of communal organization will be employed. The new Palestine is to be at least as progressive as New Zealand and Australia. The task of bringing about mass colonization and of converting a city-bred people into a rural population is tremendous. It will hardly be successful unless modern co-operative methods will be employed. The Jewish masses will hardly emigrate unless the exploitation of the natural and industrial resources will be for the benefit of the many and not of the few.

The Poale Zion, impressed with this point of view, have from the very outset initiated and supported a whole series of co-operative and democratic enterprises in Palestine. They have tried to prepare the ground by training the Jewish population already in Palestine to

think and act in terms of co-operation. They have helped to prevent exploitation of laborers carried on professedly in the name of the Yishuv and have helped to create the Hashomer as well as raise the general standard of life by increasing the spirit of social self-help. Particularly significant in Palestine is the special Palestine Labor Fund created by the Poale Zion in order to achieve constructive work in Palestine proper. Through the aid of this Fund a Labor Bureau has been established. This bureau is actively engaged in endeavoring to ameliorate labor conditions in Palestine as well as lay the foundations for more wholesome economic development. Problems of unemployment, redistribution of work and the question of regulation of immigration of Jewish labor are among the questions it is attempting to solve. Matters of sanitation, housing of laborers, the creation of public kitchens, labor lyceums, are likewise undertaken by this bureau. Finally of a special significance are certain co-operative enterprises that are largely supported by the Palestine Labor Fund. There are in Palestine day-laborers' co-operative societies organized on the Italian and Swedish plans that make the profit of the intermediary go directly to the laborers themselves. This system has enabled many workingmen to subsist who would otherwise have found it impossible to stay in Palestine. The Poale Zion have likewise created the Achvah* and have otherwise consistently advocated ideas involving collective ownership of land. The Poale Zion have no Socialistic illusions concerning these activities undertaken in Palestine. They do not confuse them with Socialism. The co-operative organizations are mere attempts at helping to raise the standard of life and of opening up new spheres of work. They are of special significance because co-operative enterprises train Jewish laborers to lead a communal life. The Jewish communi-

*Vide Appendix.

ties in Palestine are thus becoming accustomed to new forms of economic activity, and therefore foundations for a wholesome progressive Jewish state are being laid. The ground is thus being prepared for the reception and proper assimilation of larger and larger masses of Jews into the new Palestinian life. The support given by Jewish workmen in exile to the Palestine Labor Fund is thus not offered in a spirit of charity but rather of self-help. They are creating for themselves institutions which will be of service to them once they settle in Palestine. They are consciously building a home for themselves—the homeless toiling masses of the Jewish people.

The Economic Program

The masses of the Jewish people consist of exploited workmen and of an impoverished middle class. At least one-third of the Jews in Russia and Austria and about one-half of the Jews in the United States belong to the laboring class. The large number of Jews engaged in trade and manufacture—perhaps thirty per cent. of the Jews in Russia and Austria—are mostly hucksters and petty shop-keepers, many of whom are even less well-to-do than the proletarians. Their occupations are almost entirely limited to the clothing and food industries. The educated class—partly because of anti-Semitic and traditional prejudices—is likewise limited to only three or four professions.*

“At the last Russian Census in 1897, there were 5,063,000 Jews, of whom 1,957,000 lived by trade. On the other hand, there were 2,774,000 Jews who were engaged in manual labor and manufacturing (1,794,400), in casual labor of all kinds (335,000), in liberal professions (265,000), in transport (201,000), and in agricul-

*Vide Appendix.

ture (179,000). But just as the Jews employed in manufactures are almost exclusively hard pressed artisans working for themselves, so those engaged in trade ought not to be regarded as well-to-do merchants. They are mostly wretched hawksters and shop-keepers, who are in constant danger of sinking to the low level of the unemployed. Thus, as at least two-thirds of the Jews of Russia belong to the classes who live by the labor of their hands, the proletariat forms more than one-third of the Jewish population. According to the official statistics and reliable private enumerations there were in 1897, among the Jews of Russia more than 275,000 workmen in trades and industries, 175,000 in wage-labor of various kinds, and about 150,000 trade proletarians, that is, altogether 600,000 workmen engaged in trades; thus, including the dependents, we have a laboring population of 1,500,000 to 1,800,000 souls. Since the year 1897 the conditions, according to all indications, have undergone a change rather in the direction of a considerable increase of the wage proletariat. Thus, one-third of the Jews of Russia belongs to the laboring class.

“The conditions are similar in Austria, where according to the census of 1900, there were 1,225,000 Jews distributed among the following occupations: there were 430,000 Jews engaged in trade as compared with 676,000 who maintained themselves by manual labor and manufactures (351,000), wage-laborers of different kinds (67,000), transport (38,000), liberal professions (80,000) and agriculture (140,000).* What has been said about the hard struggle for existence of the Jewish middle class in Russia, holds good in still higher degree of the Austrian region occupied by the Jewish masses—Galicia and

*In Russia those employed in forestry and agriculture are mostly peasants (in South Russia), in Austria, on the contrary, the number of tenant farmers is very considerable.

Bukowina. In Austria, too, we have a numerous Jewish proletariat: 81,500 in manual labor and manufactures, 42,600 business employees, 48,000 wage-laborers of various kinds. These 172,000 proletarians, with their dependents, make up a laboring population of 350,000 to 450,000 souls, or one-third of the Jews of Austria.

“If we turn our gaze across the ocean, to the United States, where, within three decades, the second largest Jewish center has arisen, we find still greater masses of Jewish laborers concentrated. At least 60 per cent. of the immigrants are displaced proletarian artisans, who have been absorbed in the huge Jewish ‘needle industries.’ Thus, of the two and a half million Jews who have settled there since 1881, there are at least one and a half million laborers engaged in various industries. As a matter of fact, there are in the United States about 350,000 organized Jewish laborers (about a quarter of a million in New York alone), and if one adds the number of laborers not yet organized, who are at least 150,000, and their family dependents, one arrives at the same result. Thus one-half of the Jews of the United States belong to the laboring class.”*

No matter what historical reasons may be offered for this unique economic situation, it should be realized that Jewish economic life is hampered not only by anti-Semitism and tradition, but by a lack of agrarian foundation that is in turn due to lack of an independent national existence. Jews who come to America enter a country that is industrially already organized and therefore have to fit themselves into conditions that are not of their own making. They can accordingly enter only into a small number of industries and the city habits and

*From the “Jews and the War”—memorandum prepared by the Jewish Socialist Labor Confederation Poale Zion to the International Socialist Bureau. (The Hague, 1915.)

tastes that they bring along with them from European countries preclude the possibility of their becoming engaged in agricultural pursuits. Years of life in the Ghetto, as well as legal restrictions and prejudices, have produced the same effect on Jews in European countries. Under the circumstances Jewish economic life can become normal only in an undeveloped country which the Jewish nation itself will develop. The realization of the Zionist program in the manner advocated by the Poale Zion makes possible the basing of Jewish life on a sound agrarian foundation and the consequent releasing of the hampered productive powers of the Jewish nation.

Zionism will indeed play an important role in eliminating or reducing certain abnormal features in Jewish economic life. It will not, however, destroy the fundamental causes of Jewish poverty, because those causes lie outside of national forms of life. The capitalistic processes of production and distribution that are based on the exploitation of the millions of workers of the world will not be seriously affected by Zionism or any other national movement. Co-operative forms of living as well as other methods introduced into Palestine and among the Jewish masses throughout the world may indeed alleviate somewhat economic conditions. They will not, however, destroy Jewish poverty. The Jewish workingman like the non-Jewish workingman will receive a just share of the world's product that he is creating only through the overthrow of capitalistic rule and the establishing of socialism.

The Poale Zion, who undertake to liberate the Jewish workingmen, therefore join the socialist ranks as a distinct Jewish Socialist party. They use all the various means that are employed by socialists in order to further the aims of socialism. The weapons of socialism, in order to be telling in the hands of the Jewish workingmen,

have to be adapted, however, to the peculiar needs of the Jewish people. This lack of proper adaptation, according to the Poale Zion, has been the source of a great deal of mischief and has confused and limited the battle for the economic and cultural betterment of the Jewish working class.

The trade union movement is with all proletarians one of the most effective means in the present system for increasing the share of the workmen in the product. The economic conditions of the Jewish masses can and are likewise ameliorated through the aid of strikes and labor legislation that are largely effected through trade union organization. Jewish trade unions are confronted, however, by special problems national in character. The fact that the very existence of many Jewish unions in America is frequently placed in jeopardy by the continuous influx of immigration, makes it essential for Jewish trade unions to make special provision for proper assimilation of the new arrivals into organized workmen's life. Jews who try to break away from the needle and thread industry and enter new productive occupations frequently meet with opposition on the part of non-Jewish unions. Special provision must therefore be made to create a more friendly attitude of reception for the Jews who try to enter into new industries; and anti-Semitism, occasionally to be found in unions of trades in which Jews participate slightly, is to be met with in dignified fashion by Jewish trade union life. Finally the general conditions are such that the great Jewish masses the world over—America not excluded—are compelled more and more to look to Palestine as a place in which they might lead a better and more wholesome life—and Jewish trade unions must adjust themselves to this state of affairs when carrying on their economic organization. The continuous state of immigration of Jews into this

country; the migration of Jews within the country; the prospective emigration of workmen to Palestine; the cultural development of workmen already organized within unions; as well as the adjustment of Jewish workmen to new trades, are all problems by no means local in character and can be solved satisfactorily only by unions that understand Jewish problems from a broad national standpoint. That Jewish trade unions in this country are still under the influence of leaders who lack national perspective is a menace to the economic and cultural conditions of the workmen. The interests of the Jewish working class demand a change in this perspective.

The co-operative movement is likewise a useful weapon of socialism partly insofar as it actually does help in the improvement of the economic conditions of workmen; and largely because it educates the working class in the independent direction of its own affairs. The need for creating a state in Palestine for the sake of the Jewish people, makes it all the more imperative for Jewish workmen to learn to lead a co-operative life. The very possibility of the creating of a sound state depends on the existence of an economically well organized and well trained Jewish workingman. Such a type is a guarantee against a Palestine of alms-receivers and hindered by all sorts of subventions. He makes possible the creating of a Palestine that will be based on economic self-help and that will discard many of the baleful philanthropic elements in modern society. The future as well as the present well-being of the Jewish workingman thus demands his active participation in co-operative activities. Largely for these reasons co-operative organizations of various types have been started by the Poale Zion in this country as well as in Palestine.

Of great significance is likewise the political campaign

conducted by the Poale Zion. In Russia and Austria where a fight has to be waged for the recognition of Jewish national rights the Poale Zion enter the political campaign as independent parties and put into the field Poale Zion candidates. At present, in free Russia, the Poale Zion are represented in communal councils and in the Soldiers' and Workmen's Councils. In Austria, with great odds against them, they have at all times vigorously translated the national demands of the Jewish people and the economic needs of the workers into political action. With the Poale Zion as with all Socialists the political campaign is not a mere means of propaganda or of estimating strength. It is an effective way of arousing sentiment in behalf of legislation favorable to the interests of the working class. The Jewish working class, owing to the abnormal conditions of the Jewish people, has in each country definite needs of its own to protect and to urge and should, therefore, enter the political campaign as an independent socialist unit, combining with other socialist parties insofar as it is necessary to protect the general interests of the entire working class.

In America the Poale Zion have not as yet found sufficient reason for putting independent candidates in the field. They are, however, not affiliated either with the Socialist Party or with the Socialist Labor Party and, though they support socialist candidates in all political campaigns, they assume an independent attitude. They reserve the right to oppose such socialist candidates whose views are inimical to the welfare of the Jewish masses. In a reorganized American Socialist Party the Jewish workingmen would officially participate as a federated group in order to defend within the Socialist Party Jewish rights and the peculiar economic problems of the Jewish masses.

Equally pronounced are the demands of the Poale

Zion in regard to the relationship of the Jewish proletariat to the Socialist International. The International has already adopted a resolution on March 4, 1906, in which a nation is defined as a group "whose striving after independence and whose intellectual unity must be regarded as the result of a long-continued historic tradition whether it is subject to one or several governments." A Jewish section in the International Bureau has, however, not been created. The Poale Zion demand that the International formally recognize the existence of the Jewish nation and, just as Polish and American delegates are seated as Poles and Americans, the Jewish proletariat should likewise be officially represented by Jewish delegates. The Jewish proletarians the world over have interests in common that clearly differentiate them from other national proletarian groups. Only Jewish delegates duly elected by Jewish workingmen can inform properly the International concerning Jewish economic conditions and problems. The invitation extended the Poale Zion to attend the conference at Stockholm is only a step in the direction of such recognition. A Jewish section in the International must be unequivocally granted.

Concluding Remarks

The tasks confronting the Poale Zion are indeed very numerous and difficult. The goal is always the same—the liberation of the Jewish masses. They propose to protect all the interests of the Jewish working class, national and cultural as well as economic. The Poale Zion parties of various countries have local programs adapted to meet the peculiar needs of the Jewish masses in those countries. Since the underlying causes of the suffering of the Jewish masses are, however, the same

the world over—economic exploitation and national abnormality—these local programs are all based on the same fundamental principles of Socialism and Zionism. Poale Zion societies are therefore united in one world organization that has its central office at the Hague. Members of the Poale Zion pay a yearly voluntary contribution—The Trumah—which goes to support this world-wide organization. Congresses of the Poale Zion of the world consisting of delegates elected by party members take place from time to time. These congresses appoint an administration committee that represents the organized International Jewish Socialist Labor Party Poale Zion. The various institutions of the Poale Zion are all founded by these international conferences or congresses.

Historically, as a labor organization, the Poale Zion is a movement of Jewish workingmen that has sprung up spontaneously in all sections inhabited by a large number of Jews. Starting out with the need of organizing workingmen for economic betterment and class struggle, small numbers of thinking Jewish workingmen the world over were forced to the conclusion that the abnormal condition of the Jewish nation necessitates that such efforts be based on opposition to assimilation and on the attempt to found a Jewish state in Palestine. Gradually, as the Poale Zion increased numerically the program of the Poale Zionists broadened out to include not only economic activities but also in more and more definite form a synthesis of certain features of the national programs of other Jewish workingmen organizations—such as the “national culture autonomy” of the Jewish Bundist Party and particularly the “all inclusive Jewish autonomy” of the “Semisten,” and the “regulation of emigration and colonization” ideas of the Socialist-Territorialists. The Poale Zion proceeded to include these aims in **Zionism**

in the belief that the activities such points of view involve are dependent on and must therefore be carried on parallel with the attempts at colonizing and founding a state in Palestine. By elaborating a program that protects all the interests of the Jewish workingmen and at the same time recognizes that the Jewish proletariat the world over has a common fate, the Poale Zion have become the only Jewish international organization that speaks for and defends all the interests of the Jewish workingmen of the world.

Poale Zionism is a Jewish national revolutionary movement in the sense that it undertakes to reorganize Jewish life. It proposes to put Jewish economic life on a sound basis. It proposes to produce conditions that will make possible the creation of a normal national Jewish culture and it battles against the Jewish exile psychology of submission, timidity, and spiritual segregation, and welds the Jewish masses into a courageous nation that will take its fate in its own hands, and by identifying its own emancipation with that of all mankind, will create in Palestine a Jewish secular state of free citizens.

This state is not a gift that is to be granted to the Jewish people. It is rather a new mode of living to be created by them through their own conscious efforts and it cannot therefore be produced by a Jewry that is degenerating in exile countries. Only in proportion as Jews will be in a position to develop, by enjoying national rights in exile countries, are the chances increased for the realization of Zionism, the dream of centuries. A Jewish working class in exile countries well organized and self-conscious nationally and economically, is thus a primary condition for the realization of a Jewish state in Palestine.

The Poale Zion confidently expect that as soon as conditions will be made possible for mass-immigration to

Palestine the Jewish working class will emigrate and colonize. Its class consciousness will be the guarantee for a democratic state that will approximate a socialist system. Its class consciousness will be the safe-guard for democratic forms of organization in the Jewish national life that will develop for the benefit of all in the various exile countries.

The Poale Zion expect the sympathy and co-operation of their socialist non-Jewish comrades in their various endeavors. The hopes of the Jewish masses naturally are bound up with the organized proletariat of the world. The proletariat is that class that should most oppose the policy of imperialism and subjugation of nationalities. It should sympathize with the endeavors of the Jewish working class to free itself from the yoke of national oppression. That sympathy has already here and there been expressed. More is needed for the sake of Socialism as well as the Jew. The non-Jewish Socialist should realize that apart from all other considerations the struggle for the national liberation of the Jewish masses helps to make the Jewish Socialist a more revolutionary and a more productive factor in the organized socialism of the world. The non-Jewish Socialist should moreover realize that the creating of a Jewish Republic in Palestine is of universal importance. Of all nationalities the Jews are the most oppressed and lead the most abnormal life. The recognition of the rights of the Jewish nation involves therefore the most radical solution of the national problem. There can be no recognition of Jewish national rights without the complete recognition of the rights of all small nationalities. Only on the basis of free nationalities can be reared the structure of the re-organized International and the future free United States of the World. Moreover the experiment of creating in the twentieth century a new state through mass emigration

and colonization should be of great interest to the democratic world at large, and the International proletariat should support the Jewish workingmen in their endeavors to create that State on bases as approximately Socialistic as possible.

Resolute in their faith in the creative powers of the Jewish masses, the Poale Zion proceed with their program. They refuse to believe that a people of fourteen millions lacks within itself sufficient energy to save itself from a state worse than annihilation. It is only necessary to arouse self-consciousness on the part of the Jewish masses in order to convert the program of the Poale Zion into reality. And this self-consciousness of the Jewish masses must be, and is being, aroused through constructive activity.

POALE ZION PROGRAMS AND INSTITUTIONS

APPENDIX A American Poale Zion

The Poale Zion movement started in America in 1903 in which year Societies were organized in New York and Philadelphia. A Conference of nine Poale Zion societies was held in 1904 in Philadelphia, in order to adopt a general program. Disagreement in regard to the acceptance of the territory of Uganda offered to the Zionist organization by the British government made it impossible to effect any permanent organization. The American Poale Zion Party was formally organized at a Convention held in Baltimore, December 1905. The program adopted at that convention is in the main the present program of the Party though a few revisions of the Baltimorean program were subsequently made at the Conventions in Chicago (Ill.), Montreal (Canada) and Boston (Mass.).

The official organ of the American Poale Zion is "Der Yiddisher Kaempfer" (The Jew Militant) published at 266 Grand St., New York.

Program of the American Poale-Zion

(Adopted in 1909 at Chicago, Ill.)

The name of the Party is "Jewish Socialist Labor Party Poale-Zion."

The fundamental principles of the Party are:

1. The Jewish Socialist Labor Party Poale-Zion aims, together with the working classes of all nations, to overthrow Capitalism and to establish the Socialist system of society.

(a) It organizes the Jewish working class for the economic and political struggle against Capitalism.

(b) It enters the Socialist International as a separate national section and aims to bring about the national equality of the Jewish people in the Socialist and labor movement of each country.

2. The Jewish Socialist Labor Party Poale-Zion aims to concentrate the Jewish people in Palestine and to establish therein an autonomous Jewish commonwealth.

NOTICE: Under "Palestine" we understand Palestine and the adjacent territories.

(a) The Party affiliates with the general Zionist organization as a separate body on a federative basis, participates in the Zionist Congress, and stands for proportional representation in all its institutions.

NOTICE: We consider the Zionist organization and the Zionist Congress as a federation of all classes, parties, and tendencies of the Jewish people for the territorial solution of the Jewish question in Palestine.

(b) The Party works for the Zionist institutions of the Shekel, National Fund, and National Bank, and strives to broaden their democratic principle.

The two clauses (a) and (b) have been interpreted by the Ninth Convention in the following sense:

The Party creates for its own activity in Palestine independent institutions, such as the Palestine Workers' Fund and others, which are under the direct supervision of the International Jewish Socialist Confederation Poale-Zion.

The Party is, however, at the same time interested that the work of the general Zionist institutions in Palestine shall be carried on in conformity with the interests of the working masses, in an ever more democratic spirit.

(c) The Party proposes to see that all the economic enterprises maintained by the funds of the national in-

stitutions are as much as possible based on the foundations of the cooperative principle.

(d) The Party aims to create institutions which shall help to build up in Palestine a Jewish working class, both agricultural and industrial, and which shall defend the interests of Jewish labor in its struggle against capitalism.

3. The Party takes an active part in the national work of the Diaspora to the end that the economic, national, cultural, and political condition of the Jewish people shall be raised in the lands of exile.

(a) It fights for the national and political equality of the Jewish people all over the world.

(b) It combats with all the forces at its command assimilation and assimilation tendencies.

(c) It endeavors to raise the cultural standard of the Jewish people in the Diaspora, making use for that purpose of both languages—Hebrew and Yiddish.

(d) It seeks to open to the Jewish masses new sources of productive labor which shall strengthen their economic position.

4. The Party engages in the work of regulating the Jewish migrations.

(a) It seeks to divert the immigration towards Palestine.

(b) Inasmuch as the stream of emigration cannot be diverted toward Palestine, the Party endeavors to regulate the emigration in such manner as shall best meet the economic, national, cultural, and political interests of the Jewish wandering masses.

5. The Party strives to unite the entire Jewish proletariat into one world-wide Jewish Socialist Labor Party on these fundamental principles.

APPENDIX B
Platform of the Jewish Social-Democratic Labor
Party (Poale Zion) of Palestine

Adopted at the Sixth Convention, March, 1910

(1) Our Social Ideal:

The Jewish Social-Democratic Labor Party (Poale-Zion) of Palestine seeks the abolition of class domination in human society, the taking over by the people themselves of the means of production and the establishment of the Socialist system.

(2) Our National Ideal:

An economically free, compact Jewish settlement in Palestine.

(3) Our Minimal Program:

The strengthening of the economic condition of Jewish labor in Palestine, the stabilization of its class struggle, the elevation of its social position, its healthy development and numerical growth.

(4) The Work of the Party:

For the attainment of its objects the party occupies itself

(a) With industrial activity; such as, building up trade unions, mixed labor associations, workmen's loan associations, and co-operative societies.

(b) With the regulation of labor immigration through specially created institutions and in conjunction with other establishments of the same nature;

(c) With the organization of workmen's groups for co-operative colonization;

(d) With the technical training and general education of the workers through lectures, schools, clubs, etc.;

(e) The Party recognizes the value of physical training and establishes non-partisan gymnasiums, chiefly for workers:

(f) The Party publishes labor literature in Hebrew, as well as in the other languages of the Jewish masses;

(g) The Party engages in domestic and general political activity.

A. Domestic Policy. The Party works for the democratization of the Jewish communities. It participates, for this purpose, in the communal elections of the towns and colonies.

B. General Policy. (1) Turkey as a state composed of different nationalities, must accord complete autonomy to all the nationalities thereof, as well as the equality and the unabridged freedom of the language which each people recognizes as its own.

The Government shall encourage the immigration of Jews into Palestine and their naturalization as Ottoman citizens.

3. Universal, equal, direct, and secret ballot for all representative bodies: Parliament, National Assemblies of the individual peoples, County Boards, and City Councils.

4. Absolute freedom of unionization and the right to strike.

5. Absolute liberty of opinion, religion, speech, press, and assemblage.

6. Labor laws protecting the interests of the working class.

7. Secular school study in the national mother-tongue.

Concerning the Language.

The Party considers Hebrew as the national language of the Jews, furthers its propagation in Palestine and Turkey and demands the official recognition of the He-

brew language by the Government and society.

The Party at the same time carries on its propaganda in the other vernaculars of the Jewish masses in Turkey (Yiddish, Arabic, and Judeo-Spanish).

Concerning our Tactics.

(a) Together with the Zionist organizations, we take part in the institutions designed to advance Jewish colonization in Palestine and to ameliorate the political and cultural conditions of the Jews, insofar as those institutions do not essentially conflict with the interests of the working class.

(b) We co-operate, in social politics, with all those elements who champion the cause of Jewish democracy and of Jewish organization in Palestine.

(c) In our Socialist work, we unite with those elements who stand for international solidarity. Our aim is the union of the Socialist parties of Turkey into an international federation.

APPENDIX C

International Jewish Socialist Labor Confederation Poale-Zion

1. GENERAL PRINCIPLES

The International Jewish Socialist Labor Confederation Poale-Zion embraces all those who recognize the principles of Socialism and have the following aims:

(a) The overthrow of the capitalist order and class rule through the economic and political class struggle of the proletariat, and the socialization of the means of production.

(b) The territorial solution of the Jewish question through the establishment of a Jewish commonwealth in Palestine.

2. MEMBERSHIP

(a) A member of the Poale-Zion Confederation may be every one affiliated with the below-mentioned parties or with other Jewish socialist organizations which recognize the fundamental principles of the International Jewish Socialist Labor Confederation Poale-Zion, giving it their moral and material support.

(b) The Confederation embraces the Jewish Social Democratic Labor Party (Poale-Zion) of Russia, the Jewish Socialist Labor Party Poale-Zion of Austria, the Jewish Social Democratic Party (Poale-Zion) of Palestine, the Jewish Socialist Labor Party Poale-Zion of England, the Jewish Socialist Labor Party Poale-Zion of America and Canada, and the Jewish Socialist Labor Organizations Poale-Zion in Western Europe, Rumania, Bulgaria and Argentina.

(c) The constituent parties are independent (autonomous) in all their internal organization matters. Indi-

vidual organizations may enter into relations with the executive organs of the Confederation only through their respective central committees, or executive boards.

(d) Organizations in countries with no party or central executive, enter into direct relations with the executive organs of the Confederation. If the central committee of a constituent party ceases to exist, the Confederation has both the right and the duty to establish direct relations with the individual organizations of the respective country and to appoint therein a temporary executive board.

3. INTERNATIONAL CONVENTION

(a) All the members of each organization affiliated with the Confederation, and paying the annual Confederation tax (Trumah), may participate in the elections to the International Convention.

(b) The highest authority and representative body of the International Jewish Socialist Labor Confederation Poale-Zion is the International Conference which takes place biennially. If desired by a majority of the central committees, the Confederation Council may advance or extend the date of the International Conference.

4. THE DUTIES OF THE INTERNATIONAL CONVENTION

The duties of the International Convention are :

(a) To hear the reports of the executive organs of the Confederation, of the central committees of the autonomous parties, of the Managing Board of the Palestine Workers' Fund, and of the other Confederation Institutions.

(b) To determine the program and tactics of the International Jewish Socialist Labor Confederation Poale-Zion.

(c) To decide on the budget and the forms of organization of the Confederation and its Institutions.

- (d) To take action on submitted proposals.
- (e) To elect the Confederation Council, the Control Committee, the Managing Board of the Palestine Workers' Fund, and the other executive bodies of the Confederation.
- (f) To decide conclusively on the admittance into or the expulsion from the Confederation of organizations and comrades.

5. PARTY AND CONFEDERATION

(a) All matters of general policy within the state limits of the affiliated party rest exclusively with the authority of the party conventions.

Notice: Discussions on the policies and tactics of a constituent party by the International Convention are permissible, but no binding decisions may be taken.

(b) All matters not specific to a particular country and which involve the interests of the entire Jewish working people, are left to the decision of the International Convention, which formulates the general lines of the joint action of all the constituent parties.

(c) The constituent parties may enter into relations with foreign organizations extending beyond the limits of the respective country, only through the European Bureau of the Confederation Council.

(d) In their negotiations with other parties and organizations within the country, the constituent parties must act in conjunction with the Confederation Council.

6. REVENUE OF THE CONFEDERATION

The revenue of the Confederation is derived from Confederation dues (May-tax) and special contributions.

7. EXECUTIVE ORGANS OF THE CONFEDERATION

(a) The Confederation Council is the responsible organ of the International Jewish Socialist Labor Con-

federation Poale-Zion and consists of ten members, nine elected by the International Convention, and one, representing Palestine, being chosen by the Central Committee of the Palestine Poale-Zion.

(b) The Council is divided into two bureaus: a European, consisting of five members, and a Palestine, consisting of four members chosen by the International Convention and the representative of the Central Committee of the Jewish Social Democratic Party Poale-Zion of Palestine.

(c) The European Bureau of the Confederation Council represents the Confederation in its relations with the outside world, supervises the carrying out of the resolutions of the International Convention by the constituent parties, conducts the Confederation press throughout the world, controls the financial institutions of the Confederation and carries on organization and propaganda work in the countries where there are no parties.

(d) The Palestine Bureau carries on the economic, cultural and political activities of the Confederation in Palestine and Turkey, and enters into direct relations with the constituent parties in matters of Palestine activity.

(e) The joint Confederation Council works out the plans of activity and the yearly budget of both bureaus, after ascertaining the opinions of the general management of the Palestine Workers' Fund. New enterprises and actions extending over the limits of the jointly worked out budget, are left to the decision of the entire Confederation Council.

(f) If a member withdraws or is unable to fulfill his functions for some length of time, the Confederation Council by a two-thirds majority elects a substitute member in his place.

(g) Two members of the Confederation Council have the right to vote at the International Convention; the rest of the Council members, if not delegates themselves, have a seat thereat in an advisory capacity.

(h) The members of the Council act in an advisory capacity at all party conventions and sessions of the central committees, executive boards, and party administration of the constituent parties.

APPENDIX D

Articles of the Palestine Workers' Fund

1. THE AIM

Sec. 1.—The aim of the Palestine Workers' Fund is to facilitate the immigration of Jewish workers into Palestine and their firm establishment in Palestine and adjacent lands and to make secure their economic position.

2. THE MEANS

Sec. 2.—To achieve its end, the Palestine Workers' Fund shall:

- (a) Establish information and employment bureaus.
- (b) Support and maintain immigrant sheltering, homes, lodgings and kindred institutions for the workers.
- (c) Aid the trade, co-operative, and political organizations of the Jewish working class in Palestine and adjacent lands.
- (d) Support the cultural institutions, such as libraries, reading rooms, newspapers, book publishing, etc.

Notice: The Palestine Workers' Fund assists only *institutions of organized workers*, but in no case private individuals.

3. INCOME

Sec. 3.—The income of the Palestine Workers' Fund consists of contributions, collections, stamps, donations and such other means as approved by the management of the fund.

4. CONTROL

Sec. 4.—The Convention of the International Poale Zion Confederation determines the program and the budget of the Palestine Workers' Fund for a period until the next convention, on the basis of the plan submitted by the Labor Bureau in Palestine and upon ascertaining

the views of the Jewish Social Democratic Labor Party (Poale-Zion) and the representatives of the labor organizations of Palestine, which recognize the Palestine Workers' Fund and the principle of the class struggle.

Sec. 5.—In case the International Convention should not take place on the date set, the Confederation Council, with the approval of the general management of the Palestine Workers' Fund, shall make a temporary budget, the same rule applying to extraordinary appropriations not provided for by the regular budget.

Twice a year, at the beginning of April and at the end of September, the Labor Bureau shall work out a detailed budget under the conditions of paragraph 4, which shall be published in the Party press.

Sec. 6.—In case of doubt, final decision rests with the next Convention. Should one of the organizations mentioned in paragraph 4 find the matter urgent, the right to decide on the urgency of the matter as well as upon the whole question is hereby vested in the Confederation Council which shall take action after a hearing of all concerned.

Sec. 7.—Not less than 1000 kr. shall always remain in the treasury as a reserve fund.

THE GENERAL MANAGEMENT

Sec. 8.—The Convention of the International Confederation shall elect the General Management of the Palestine Workers' Fund, the same to consist of at least three comrades who shall reside in one place. The Management has the right to co-opt additional members, upon approval by the Confederation Council.

Sec. 9.—The functions of the general Management shall be: to

(a) Transmit the appropriations to the respective institutions as determined by the International Convention.

(b) Organize collections, through central agencies, in various lands, in collaboration with the executives of the national parties.

(c) Carry on propaganda for the benefit of the Palestine Workers' Fund by circulars, leaflets, brochures, etc.

(d) Keep accounts of the moneys and deposit same in banks and government savings institutions.

6. DISBURSEMENT OF APPROPRIATIONS

The disbursement of the appropriations shall be carried out by the Labor Bureau, pursuant to the resolutions of the International Convention or in accordance with Paragraph 5.

Notice: The management of the Palestine Workers' Fund in Palestine shall have a representative of local organized labor in addition to the Labor Bureau.

7. TRUSTEES

Sec. 11.—The Convention of the Confederation shall elect a Trustee Committee of three to reside in the same place where the General Management of the Palestine Workers' Fund has its seat, which shall audit every six months the books and accounts of the Management.

8. Dissolution

Sec. 12.—If the International Jewish Socialist Confederation Poale-Zion disband or unite with other parties, the Palestine Workers' Fund shall pass to the new party provided the latter subscribe to its statutes, otherwise the Palestine Workers Fund shall become the property of the Jewish Social Democratic Party (Poale-Zion) of Palestine.

APPENDIX E

Rules and Regulations of the "Achvah" (Brotherhood)

1. NAME OF THE ASSOCIATION

The name of the association shall be: Association for Co-operative Colonization in Palestine "Achvah."

2. CHARTER

The Association has been incorporated under the laws of the State of New York.

3. AIM OF THE ASSOCIATION

The aim of the Association is to organize the immigration of Jewish labor to Palestine and to colonize industrially and agriculturally on a brotherly co-operative basis, where the individual cares for the community and the community cares for the individual.

4. MEMBERSHIP

(a) The membership of the Association is unlimited.

(b) Any one may become a member of the Association upon recommendation of two members.

(c) A member must pay in to the Association \$500 in the course of 5 years, the first installment being not less than \$10 and the following installments not less than \$2 per week.

(d) So long as the money has not been invested in Palestine, each member desiring to withdraw from the Association, receives all the money he has paid in less three per cent.

5. CO-OPERATIVE GARDEN-CITY

(a) After 200 members have paid in the first \$100,000 the Association shall proceed with the establishment of the first co-operative Garden-City. The \$100,000 is only part of the required sum. The Association expects to get

land from the Jewish National Fund on a long lease term, as well as sufficient credit for the erection of the necessary dwellings.

(b) So long as the Association is not in possession of the National Fund land it shall not proceed with the colonization.

(c) The Association may begin building its first co-operative Garden-City for more than 200 members.

(d) The plantations, dairy-industry, industry in general, and the purchase of all necessary things and implements for a colony, must be on co-operative lines. With regard to horticulture the colonists themselves are to determine whether it should be on a co-operative basis, or each member should receive 5 Dunam for his personal use.

7. INTERNAL ORGANIZATION OF THE CO-OPERATIVE GARDEN-CITY

(a) All comrades enjoy equal rights with regard to the possession and administration of the colony.

(b) The whole activity and the administration of the colony is in the hands of committees to which all members are eligible. Representatives of the various committees constitute the Central Committee of the colony, which supervises the general life, the industrial and spiritual unity of the colony and serves as its representative in its external affairs.

(c) All the workmen are in principle paid according to their work. Those employed at hard, unpleasant tasks are entitled to a shorter working day.

(d) Part of the expected profit of the colony shall go into the fund of the colony; part shall be distributed among the members of the Association in proportion to the amount of annual labor done by the respective mem-

ber, and a certain percentage left for the further activity of the Association.

(e) The colony may also pay skilled laborers a higher wage than usual if unable to obtain labor on other conditions.

(g) The final authority in all the questions of the colony, its industry, finances, working day, wage scale, choosing of committees, new enterprises, relationship between the individual and the colony, etc., rests with the entire membership of the colony.

8. THE COLONY AND THE ASSOCIATION

Each colony is an independent economic unit and is required to pay only a part of its net income into the Association. In case the colony decides to give up its co-operative character, and to work with hired labor, the Association is entitled to three-quarters of the wealth of the colony.

9. ADMINISTRATION OF THE ASSOCIATION

(a) The Association shall be managed by a committee of five elected at a general meeting of all the members.

(b) The Association, as well as all its co-operative societies, are founded on the principle of universal suffrage without regard to sex and the principles of referendum and recall.

10. DISSOLUTION OF THE ASSOCIATION

The Association may be dissolved by a three-quarters majority, and all the possessions remaining after the reimbursement of the members shall go to the Palestine Workers' Fund.

CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENTS

The following amendments have been incorporated in the Constitution of the "Achvah" at the session of the

New York members and ratified by the members throughout the country:

1. No member of the "Achvah" may possess more than one share to the amount of \$500.

2. No one is permitted to engage in private business within the colony.

3. Members of the "Achvah" may not engage in enterprises outside the colony.

4. A group of five persons may organize a branch of the "Achvah" with a secretary of its own.

5. No member may remain indebted for longer than three months.

6. No one may become a member of the "Achvah" if three members of the respective groups vote against him.

APPENDIX F
PROGRAM OF THE HACHOLUTZ
The Principles

The restoration of the Jewish people in Palestine is a process that cannot come about through the mere purchase of the land. The cornerstone of the Jewish future, the true foundation of the Jewish national homeland, is *Jewish labor*. Without the Jewish workman the whole Jewish agricultural and industrial colonization has no national value.

This fundamental principle, which ought to have formed the chief point in the program of the entire national restoration movement, has, however, quite naturally, become clear first of all to the workers themselves. The whole Jewish working people in Palestine, without regard to party, on the one hand, and the worldwide Poale Zion movement, on the other, stand for the principle of Jewish labor as the foundation of all activity in Palestine.

Now that actual work in Palestine is impossible, we must use all our endeavors to prepare that peaceable army of labor, which should be ready at a given moment to take up the work. We have in mind exclusively those people, who desire to express their active sympathy by personal endeavor, which may find expression first of all in agriculture or in guarding the Jewish settlement, which is so necessary under the present conditions; or in professional, even intellectual pursuits, inasmuch as there is room for them in the country.

All such elements have their place in the "Hacholutz," providing they are ready personally to take part in the national work and to go to Palestine whenever the organization will find it necessary.

This last condition is especially important in order to give the "Hacholutz" practical control of its forces in whose name it could speak and with whose help it could undertake specific tasks.

1. The "Hacholutz" has as its aim the organization of a labor army for Palestine.

2. The work in Palestine shall proceed on co-operative bases, in the form of workmen's groups, co-operative land-reclamation and colonization societies.

3. For this purpose the "Hacholutz" unites those determined to go to Palestine at the first opportunity and to cast their personal lot with the fortune of our country, and who recognize the principle of co-operative labor for the new settlement in Palestine.

4. The "Hacholutz" organizes a special group of Guards for Palestine.

5. The departure of the members to Palestine is supervised, as the whole work of the "Hacholutz," by its Central Administration.

6. On entering the "Hacholutz" each comrade specifies in writing that he is under the obligation to go to Palestine when necessary and to follow in this respect the discipline and directions of the Administration.

The Organization

1. The "Hacholutz" has been founded by the Palestine Committee of the Poale-Zion Party of America. The Central Administration of the "Hacholutz" is elected by the members through general referendum.

2. Every man or woman may join the "Hacholutz" if in agreement with its principles.

3. The Central Administration founds branches of the "Hacholutz" throughout the country.

4. Each local of the "Hacholutz" consisting of no fewer than three members organizes a committee of

three: Treasurer, Recording Secretary, and Financial Secretary, the latter being at the same time the responsible representative to the Central Administration.

5. In places where there are no three members the representative is appointed by the Central Administration.

6. Each branch has the right to work out its own local by-laws.

7. Each member is obliged to hold with the Central Administration an amount of \$60 for voyage to Palestine. This amount is obligatory for each member and is accumulated through weekly payments of \$1.

NOTICE 2. The amount is the fare from New York to Palestine.

NOTICE 3. Members unable to pay in the amount are required to pay regularly as much as they can, the balance creating a standing indebtedness to the treasury of the "Hacholutz."

8. The weekly payments are transmitted monthly by the local representatives to the Central Administration. The money is not returnable unless in accordance with the decision of the Administration and only when the member withdraws from the "Hacholutz" for reasons beyond his control.

9. The "Hacholutz" establishes a special "Pioneer Fund."

10. New members are admitted upon approval by a majority of the respective branch.

11. Each member is required to follow explicitly all the decisions of the local and the directions of the Central Administration.

12. Members not paying punctually or not observing the discipline may be expelled by a majority of the branch. The expelled may appeal to the Central Administration.

13. The locals arrange for their members: (a) lectures in Hebrew and in the science of Palestine; (b) Gymnasiums and military drill; (c) Wherever possible, the members are required to learn agriculture by working on farms.
