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AVUKAH DISCUSSIONS.

No. 2

What is the Jewish Problem?

The various difficulties of the Jewish situation which collectively constitute the Jewish problem arise out of the abnormal situation of the Jews throughout the world. While many individual Jews may, to a greater or lesser degree, fit themselves into their environment, the Jewish group as a whole is in a unique and unhealthy position and does not fit into the world environment.

Wherein does the abnormality of the Jewish position lie?

1. The Jews have an abnormal economic structure. In every country there is necessarily a large majority of farmers and industrial workers (both in the basic and in the secondary industries) and a decreasing number of craftsmen, tradesmen, professionals and financiers. Among the Jews this proportion does not obtain. The very large majority of Jews is in the middle class, most of them being merchants, storekeepers and professionals. There are fewer craftsmen, and what Jewish laborers there are will be found in the lighter industries (generally in the finishing processes) such as the needle industries. There are hardly any Jews in the basic heavy industries and in farming.¹

This curious occupational distribution of the Jews is of course possible only because they are scattered over many countries in no one of which do they form a majority which has to bear the economy of the country. The direct cause of this distribution, however, was a series of historical conditions and events which forced the Jews into these particular occupational fields.²

2. The Jews are a minority everywhere, having no territory of their own. They are scattered over practically the whole world and while almost all of them are concentrated in a few large areas (United States; Eastern Europe; Central Europe) they are but a minority even in their greatest centers.³ In no place do they even have complete internal autonomy (recent developments in Palestine and Persia will be treated in Discussions 6 and 7).

The causes which led the Jews to scatter in this way and which preserved them as a distinct people, a distinct social entity, even under these conditions, are again the historical conditions in which the Jewish people has developed. ⁴

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These two abnormalities of the Jewish position lie at the root of the complex of Jewish problems. Chief among these problems are:

1. Antisemitism: Antisemitism arises from the conditions of economic competition between Jews and non-Jews and from the minority status of the Jews, socially and culturally, in each country. ⁵ This is the primary manifestation of the Jewish problem. Its effect is great not only on the ability of the Jews to make a living but also on the whole life, social and cultural, of the individual Jew. ⁶

2. Economic discrimination. Economically, the position of the Jews is very weak. They constitute a minority in every economic group. In every occupation Jews compete with non-Jews. In this competition the non-Jews naturally make use of the fact that the Jews are a national minority, thus evolving a national competition. ⁷ (with the use of such instruments as antisemitism) especially in those occupations in which the Jews form a relatively large minority.

3. The exceptional economic difficulties of the Jews, such as can be seen most clearly in Poland. ⁸ With the development of existing capitalist economy in the various countries the lower middle class is necessarily restricted and forced to the wall. This requires an internal adjustment in each country, with many individuals passing from middle-class occupations to industrial labor. The large majority of Jews is to be found in this class and for the Jews, therefore, this constitutes a major problem. The problem is made immeasurably more difficult by the fact that the Jews are hardly able to pass into industrial labor. The minority status of the Jewish people and the discrimination which has grown around it make it practically impossible for large numbers of Jews to find work in new fields. ⁹

They are thus crushed between growing monopoly capitalism on the one hand and barriers of economic discrimination on the other.

4. Political persecution. Politically, the position of the Jews is exceptionally weak. As a minority group they can always be used as political scapegoat and group antagonism (antisemitism)¹⁰ can always be played up for the political expediency of some party or institution. They are doubly weak in that they have no center of their own. Other nations also have minorities in foreign countries, but the Jews are the only people who are everywhere a national minority and who have no sovereign power which could act to protect them, and no territorial center into which they can escape when there is no alternative.¹¹ They are therefore, as a whole group, at the mercy of local developments everywhere, subject to oppression, discrimination, and the difficulties of repeated emigration.¹²

5. Lack of Self-determination. Socially, the Jews are dependent. They have no government, or even complete internal autonomy, and so cannot develop their own social-political forms and ideas. An outsider might ask "How do we know these social-political forms would be worth developing?" But we are not dealing here with questions of value. We are merely trying to discover what are the ramifications of the Jewish problem. The "worth" of the culture can be discussed later; the obstacles to it are a matter of fact. Without regard to the question of values, therefore, the inability of Jewish culture to express itself in its social-political forms, constitutes a problem, a difficulty.

As to the general question whether social-political autonomy for all peoples is desirable in the first place, it must be noted that this is a practical rather than a theoretical question. Theoretically in a definitive world society, group independence ("liberty") should give way to unified participation in the world order. In the present social struggle, however, it is a step forward to obtain this social-political autonomy ("self-determination") for every people, and progressive movements of all colors support self-determination for all peoples.¹³ Lack of

self-determination for the Jews is thus part of the Jewish problem.

C. Psychological Difficulties. From the point of view of the effect of this abnormal situation upon the Jew himself, secondary psychological ill effects are noticeable. In his article "Back to Ourselves", Max Brod writes:

"The Jewish people live under abnormal conditions, in an environment alien from the national point of view. Wherever national domains border upon one another each neighbor is constantly aware of the bad rather than of the good qualities of the other. And if they do recognize merit in each other that almost arouses only envy. A peripheral relationship intensifies hatred. It is the destiny of Jewry to lead a wholly and exclusively peripheral existence; it possesses only the periphery, with no territorial nucleus. Hence the good qualities of the peripheral consciousness - intellect, unrest, psychologism, understanding of foreign types and manners, etc. - have been overcultivated, and in their excessive manifestation become faults. While the permanent criticism to which Jewry and every individual Jew is exposed gave rise to diffidence, the typically Jewish self-hatred, inferiority complexes over-compensated by hysterical aggressiveness, spiritual Luftmenschen and the correlative phenomenon of family and heir sentiment - the entire infernal gamut of the over-stimulated temperament finding an outlet under the influence of fear and uncertainty or self-righteousness. But though we recognize all these national faults, we may yet establish that as an entity Jewry has conducted itself better than any other people in so perilous a situation, one which for centuries threatened total destruction.

"To come home to an uncomplicated Jewish world from an alien milieu where assimilation ever lures but never is realized, where every nerve is therefore subjected to the electrifying irritation of constant dissatisfaction; to become by this means a useful unit in the structure of humanity - that, in my view, is the essence of Zionism."

7. Cultural restriction. Culturally, the Jews are everywhere an island. When they had their own environment (in ancient times in Palestine), they were the bearers of one of the very greatest cultural developments in history.¹⁴ Since they scattered into distinct Jewish communities there have been no environments of Jewish culture. In every place it is secondary, lost in the sea of the surrounding culture which has behind it the power of numbers and institutions. We will not argue here against cultural pluralism, against the advantages of participating both in the general local culture and in the culture of a particular social-cultural group to which one may belong. The point is merely that that group culture is restricted and crippled by lack of some center of its own. Even under existing conditions Jews have maintained and developed (as a result of the conditions of their existence) a culture of great interest and value, the effect of which may be seen at many points.¹⁵ All this, however, is barely a promise of what would take place in a Jewish environment proper in a land where Jews would not be the minority group.¹⁶

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This is the Jewish problem. These are the chief conditions which must be removed from the Jewish situation. The unhealthy character of these conditions is obvious both per se and in the social diseases which they breed, such as antisemitism, the use of the Jews as a scapegoat in the rise of fascism and the crippling of Jewish cultural development. From the analysis of the problem we can now strike at the solution.

NOTES

Discussion 2.

1. See Discussion 3. For the occupations of Jews throughout the world see Arthur Ruppin, *The Jews in the Modern World* (1934) p. 111, 112, 121, *137, 140-158, 176. Lestchinsky in the *Menorah Journal* XX (1932) no. 2, gives the following figures for occupations of Jews throughout the world:

Commerce (including transport, trade and banking)	Population	%
.....	3,100,000	37.6
Industry (including handicrafts)	5,750,000	36.4
Professors and Civil Service	1,000,000	6.3
Agriculture	825,000	4.0
Miscellaneous labor	325,000	2.0
Unoccupied (including private means, pensions, etc.)	3,000,000	12.7

These figures include the newly productivized Jews of Soviet Russia; for the rest of the world the proportion in industry and agriculture would be smaller.

2. See *The Development of Jewish Society and Institutions* (National Avukah Program: The Jews as a Group) p. 15-16, 19-21.
3. See Ruppin, *Jews in the Modern World* p. 26-277. The following are the countries of largest Jewish population (not counting Palestine).

1. United States	4,500,000	3.5
2. Poland	3,050,000	10.4
3. Russia	2,750,000	14.3
4. Roumania	900,000	4.8
5. Germany	550,000	0.9
6. Hungary	500,000	5.9
7. Czechoslovakia	360,000	2.4
8. Great Britain-N. Ireland	330,000	0.7
9. Argentine	240,000	2.1
10. Austria	230,000	3.5
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Palestine	400,000	30.0

4. See *The Development of Jewish Society* p. 14-17.
5. See Discussion 4.
6. See Ruppin, *Jews in the Modern World* p. 243-258.
7. See Mordecai Zuckerman
8. See Discussion 8.

9. It is quite true that this problem of finding new fields of employment is the problem of the whole middle-class, not specifically of the Jews. It is also true that on the industrial labor market there is less discrimination against the Jews as a national minority than there is in other fields. This discrimination along national lines will be found rather in the white-collar and bourgeois levels. At the same time it is an undeniable fact that the Jews do have incomparably greater difficulty in moving from middle-class to proletariat than have the non-Jews (cf. the condition in Poland). This is partly due to the fact that when they do turn to industrial labor they turn largely to a few limited finishing-productions, and partly to the fact that some industrial fields are traditionally and completely closed to them and that in that sense national discrimination does exist in the labor market.
10. Inevitably in "democratic" society as we know it, there will always be political groups that can gain from such fomenting of anti-Jewish feeling. This is all the more true of a standing fascist government. See also Discussion 4.
11. Thus when scores of thousands of refugees, who had no alternative but to flee Nazi Germany, had no country to which they belonged, no country to which they could turn as a matter of course, - except Palestine which was not free to do all it desired - not only were the other countries not duty-bound to take the Jews, but they could not even be prevailed upon by the League of Nations to give them any sufficient haven.
12. Cf. the development of national cultures and of local self-determination in Russia on the part of the Soviet government.
14. See Development of Jewish Society p. 8-13.
15. See Development of Jewish Society p. 22-25, 28-29.
16. See Discussion 7 on the way this works out in Palestine.

Solutions To The Jewish Problem.

A number of attempts have been made to solve the Jewish problem, that is, to correct the basic abnormalities which lie at its root. We will first consider the immediate solutions. Solutions which presuppose a social revolution will be investigated in Discussion 6. Zionism will be taken up in Discussion 7.

The proposed solutions to the Jewish problem, outside of Zionism, can be generally grouped as follows:

I. Assimilation, i.e. the complete disappearance of the Jews, as a group, into the surrounding population, so that the Jewish group will no longer exist. This complete assimilation is not to be confused with adaptation of the Jew, as an individual, to his environment, without loss of identity. Such adaptation is of course taking place all the time and is quite different from assimilation.

A. This solution is unrealistic in assuming that the Jews would immediately assimilate if they could. Obviously, the Jews as a whole group are not trying, i.e. do not "want", to disappear.¹ The inner cohesive force of the group culture, superstructure* properly so called, is a continuing operating factor in the history of the Jews and its "isolating" force cannot be disregarded. We need not detail here how that superstructure arose², and we cannot say that it would continue to operate if changed conditions should long militate against it. But it should be clear that this group-association and group-superstructure³ is a real factor in the lives of the large numbers of Jews. Thus the Jews have not assimilated as a group even at times when it was possible and when great pressure

* The word 'superstructure' is intentionally used in these discussions as a technical term to denote the whole psychological and cultural make-up that is developed in a group in the course of its life and within the conditions of its growth. The term 'culture' might also be used in this sense, as it is used in anthropological literature, but it would be subject to constant confusion with 'culture' in its narrower and more everyday sense.

was brought to bear upon them (as in the religious persecutions of the Middle Ages, when baptism was a complete escape)³ Individuals, of course, can and do assimilate, but that has no bearing on the group as a whole.⁴

B. Assimilation is impossible, even if the Jews wanted it, even if there were no internal cohesive factor. It is impossible because of an external factor, antisemitism. We have seen that antisemitism has its roots in the very nature of the society about us and cannot disappear.⁵ Quite the contrary, it will probably become more acute in the countries of Jewish concentration. The Jews, obviously, cannot assimilate into the society about them as long as antisemitism continues. They would not be accepted into the environment and would not have the opportunity to lose their identity in it, even if they themselves were to try to their best.⁶ This point, that antisemitism will continue as long as present society continues, is conclusive, and for this reason all talk of assimilation into the present society is idle.

(Furthermore, assimilation of the Jews into the various people among whom they live is not in itself an ideal. There are some who consider it a theoretically desirable step, as part of the ideal of an eventual single world society. But the two should not be confused. That eventual ideal is an amalgamation of all peoples and is based on a disappearance of states. Assimilation of the Jews however would be merely the absorption of a small group by numerically and politically more powerful ones. It would mean the loss of one particular culture but not of a political unit; it would not be even a step toward the eventual union of existing states for that is a development of an entirely different order and presupposes entirely different (political) conditions.⁷)

II. Occupational Redistribution. We have seen that the Jewish difficulties arise from two basic abnormalities: the narrow economic base of the Jewish people (principally commercial and professional) and their lack of a territory (minority

status)⁸ Attempts have been made to remedy the first by training Jews to become workers in the heavy industries and farmers.⁹ These have failed, on the whole; certainly they have not made any considerable change in the Jewish economic set-up. And they are bound to fail, for:

A. Occupational redistribution is unrealistic. The Jews cannot be gotten to do this on a national scale. For this requires a wide-spread descent on the economic ladder, a step down to lower standards of living and lower intellectual levels (at least an abandonment of many intellectual pursuits).¹⁰ The individual psychological reorientation which this involves can be expected only as part of a great creative movement with broad social objectives and wide political-cultural sweep and with a strong hold on the imagination of the people.

B. Occupational redistribution is impossible within present society. There is no room for a mass of new farmers and workers recruited from the Jewish middle class. There is permanent unemployment in all countries in which Jews reside - a necessary result of the development of capitalism, even outside the present great depression.¹¹ It is out of the question for any country to absorb large numbers of new farmers and workers. Of course, the impoverishment of the lower middle class should force large numbers of Jews out of their present occupations. These Jews will not, however, become productivized to any great extent, because they will be unable to find jobs. A large part of them will fall outside the economy of the country, in what is known as the Lumpenproletariat, as has happened, in fact, in Poland.

III. Territorial Concentration. Attempts at a fuller solution are those which have been made at various times, usually by philanthropic agencies, to transplant masses of Jews from lands of persecution to undeveloped countries where they might live in a group and develop an economic and cultural center of their

own.¹² This should theoretically correct both Jewish abnormalities: a Jewish economic area should be built only by having a normal proportion of farmers and workers; and it would also afford the Jews certain opportunities of group acting to the extent that, in that area, they would not be a minority group. However:

A. Territorial Concentration is impossible because there is actually

no area in the civilized world where such a concentration of Jews could be effected.

B. Territorial Concentration (outside of Palestine) is unrealistic.

It demands great voluntary changes on the part of the individual Jews. It makes tremendous demands on them: renewed emigration to some undeveloped land far from civilization, lowering of standards of living, and change of occupation to farming or industrial labor. All this is possible only as part of a great mass movement. It must find form and expression in a basic group ideal; it must assume psychological "cultural" value among the people; it must be connected with the intimate culture of the group. Unless it can interpret itself this way to the people it will not gain their cooperation. For this reason the new territory must promise sufficient autonomy to give the Jews independence in their social, political and cultural forms. For this reason also the choice of territory must arise out of the conditions of Jewish history, a limitation which leaves Palestine as the only possibility. Territorial concentration as such can apply only to refugees from persecution, who must flee anywhere at all, and it is for them that it is usually proposed, although even so it does not succeed.¹³ From Argentine, where many East-European Jews were settled at the turn of the century, a large part returned to Europe as soon as they could, many others who had settled there left agriculture for business, and only a small number now remain on the farms.¹⁴ Territorialism has no meaning and no promise for the people as a whole; it gives neither independence nor autonomy and it does not satisfy the traditional cultural needs of the group. The Jews as a group cannot be made to accept it.

In this list of solutions, it has been found that every course proposed is both unrealistic, in demanding that Jews act in ways which neither actual conditions nor their own tradition will cause them to adopt, and impossible in actual practice in the world as we know it now.

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Discussion 5.

1. I.e. there is no active nation-wide movement to assimilate (in this sense of group disappearance).
- 2.. See Development of Jewish Society and Institutions (National Avukah Program: Jews as a Group) p. 9-14, 16-17.
3. It is disputed whether the Jews could have assimilated as a whole group during the Middle Ages if they had desired, i.e. if they would have been accepted by the community around them. The only definite fact is that they did not disappear. The conditions of development of the group determined its preservation. Quite certainly, however, there were times when masses of Jews could have disappeared and did, i.e. when the effective operation of the inner cohesive force of Jewish superstructure could be clearly seen.
4. There are only very small groups of Jews who really consider the assimilation of the Jews in the society around us as a desirable thing. The large numbers of Jews obviously do not, as was seen in the text. The individuals who want to see assimilation of the Jews are probably to be found in two chief groups: among the very wealthy (to whom such bonds to a minority group are especially irksome) and among students (to whom assimilation seems to be an ideal liquidation of the Jewish problem).
5. See Discussion 3.
6. No better example is needed than Germany where the Jews were most nearly adapted to their country, where a large number had actually - to all intents

and purposes - assimilated, and where the Jewish population as a whole considered itself completely German. Only the Germans apparently didn't - or could be made not to.

7. The difference between the absorption of a culture and the union or amalgamation of states is immediately apparent. The old argument, "We have so many nations already, and they make so much trouble; why build a new nation" is therefore doubly fallacious: (a) It is not nations; it is political states that make the trouble. How different is the case with nations may be seen from the fact that Russia is sedulously developing the nationalities within its borders (including the Jewish nationality, see Discussion 6); (b) The attempts to create a national center for the Jews are not "building a new nation". The Jewish people exists and continues to exist; the question is not how to revive it but how to rectify its abnormalities.
8. See Discussion 2.
9. Cf. The Jewish agricultural colonies in southern New Jersey (Norma, etc), the recent discussions of occupational redistribution at the National Conference in Economic Status of Jews in America in Notes and News of the Bureau of Jewish Social Research, No. 22, June 29, 1934, and at the National Conference of Jewish Social Service in the Jewish Social Service Quarterly xi. 1, September 1934."
10. This does not apply to agricultural and industrial life in Palestine because of special conditions obtaining there, see The Anulakh Program "Culture in Palestine."
11. This is especially true because Jewish population is centered in the more highly developed and industrial countries, in which permanent industrial unemployment is greatest.
12. Cf. The Baron de Hirsch colonization of Jews in the Argentine at the close of the last century.

Will Social Revolution solve the Jewish Problem.

To determine whether social revolution is a sufficient solution for the Jewish problem we should attempt to decide:

I. Will Social Revolution of itself solve the Jewish problem?

II. Can the problem wait for the revolution?

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I. Will Social Revolution of itself solve the Jewish Problem? After social revolution there will still remain the two possible solutions of (A) assimilation and (B) national-cultural rehabilitation.

A. Will the Jews assimilate (disappear as a group) after social revolution? We do not have the data upon which to give a definite answer; the effect of social revolution is in many respects an unknown quantity. Some indication of what would probably happen may, however, be derived from a detailed analysis and from the example of Russia. Antisemitism would in time disappear,¹ making assimilation possible and many individuals would in fact find full expression in the work of social reconstruction and so lose all need of their own national-cultural group. The internal cohesive force of superstructure* would, however, remain, if only by lag, and the group as a whole would retain and develop its superstructure of cultural background and tradition. This will happen (a) because of the general national-cultural revivals which follow in the wake of popular social change,² (b) because the government will be encouraging national cultures and utilizing them to carry to the people the new ideas of socialization.³ In the course of productivization of the Jews (most of whom will have been of the middle-class) many individuals

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would no doubt assimilate and cease to be Jews, as they pass from Jewish occupations to those more typical of the society about them. This would be especially true of those who pass into industrial labor. Those who pass into agriculture would, however, do so in groups, with a definite tendency to territorial concentration,⁴ and would so retain their identity as Jews. Furthermore, an exceptionally large part of the Jewish population would find its place in the white-collar work in the government bureaus and in the professions;⁵ the result would be that the Jews would still have a different economic (occupational) structure than the surrounding population. This could not of course raise any economic problems, for even though their proportions in the various occupations would be different, nevertheless, by the nature of the society, they would be as productive as any other group; but coupled with the continuing Jewish superstructure, it lays the basis for a continued existence of the Jewish group. All this has indeed happened in Russia.⁶

Assimilation cannot therefore be taken here into consideration. It is, besides, really an evasion, not a solution. It does not solve the question of how the Jewish people can have that same free opportunity for developments, individually socially and culturally, that the revolution demands for all groups.⁷

B. Since we cannot operate clearly with assimilation, what is the state of the Jewish problem after social revolution? There is no longer any economic problem for economic competition and group discrimination should no longer exist. It becomes directly and clearly a problem of group-cultural development. For all those immediate opportunities and specific measures which would then arise for the rehabilitation of the broad popular culture of the majority people and of its landed and concentrated minorities, would not be applicable to the scattered Jewish people. This problem can be solved in only one way, by giving the Jews a definite territorial center, one in which the Jews could create their own environment and which would function as a cultural (superstructure) center for those Jews who remain outside of it. Russia actually came to this point when,

after attempts at local Jewish autonomies, it announced plans for a territorial concentration of Jews and for a Jewish Republic, in Biro-Bidjan in Siberia.⁸

Russia has thus basically accepted the position outlined in these discussions (which is the Zionist position, best formulated by Borochoy, about 1900) that the problem of the Jews as a people can be solved only by creating a mass territorial center for the Jews. There must have been good reason for such a territorial concentration of the Jews in Russia, since the Russian government found it necessary completely to change its position on the Jewish question and to take up the very type of solution which Zionism had been preaching.

(Before the Russian revolution the Communist position was that the social revolution, by abolishing antisemitism, would automatically eliminate the Jewish problem. The problem, however, did not liquidate itself in this manner, and the Russian government has since tried various solutions, occupational redistribution, local autonomy⁹ and finally the Biro-Bidjan plan. Social revolution therefore does not in itself solve the Jewish question, but it removes most of Jewish disabilities and brings out sharply the question: how give the Jewish group an equal opportunity for development. Russia has finally come to face this question.)

And yet the Jews are not going to Biro-Bidjan.¹⁰ Why? Because the great sacrifices involved in building up the new country can only be expected of the Jews as part of a mass national-cultural movement. The workers of Russia today cheerfully accept privations and sacrifices when necessary, because it is all part of a great social-cultural movement, a rebuilding in which they are taking part. Such mass movements can only arise in and through the superstructure, the national-culture, the group ideas and aspirations of a people.¹¹ Russia has realized this very clearly when it attempts to reach each of its many national groups through the forms of their own national cultures, when it interprets the new social ideas to each in its own terms. But Biro-Bidjan means nothing in Jewish national-culture. In other words the territorialism of Biro-Bidjan fails because it does not take into account the very Jewish superstructure for the development of which it is ostensibly created.

We may now ask: Since Russia was able to go as far as this, and since it was willing to change its position on the Jewish question when necessary, why did it stop at this point? Why did it not treat the Jewish question as it did other national cultures, i.e. in terms of its own superstructure? The answer is clear: Russia was restricted by the political limitations of the Russian revolution. Russia could not make Palestine the Jewish Center because Palestine was outside of its jurisdiction. When it finally recognized the need for a Jewish center, it had to find such a center within its boundaries.

Furthermore, this whole development is a pragmatic one. The Russian government acts in accordance with the needs of its country. It is faced, not with the problem of the Jews of the world, but with the problem of the Jews of Russia. For them it thought that Biro-Bidjan might suffice; it could do no more without going beyond its boundaries. The historical limitations of Biro-Bidjan are essentially therefore the limitations of the Russian revolution, the limitations of "socialism in one country".¹² It falls down because one cannot solve the problem of say, Russian Jews, in a vacuum, apart from the general problem of the Jews of the world. Insofar as there is any connection between Jews of various countries the Jewish center by definition is the center for all Jews; the very lack which it comes to fill is the lack of a world center.

II. Can the Jewish Problem wait for Social Revolution? It has been seen that social revolution will not of itself solve the Jewish question, but that the question will still have to be solved after the revolution. There is no question, however, that social reorganization simplifies the problem as seen above. Some might therefore ask: Why not wait for the social revolution and then turn to solving the Jewish problem? There are reasons why the problem cannot wait, why its solution must be begun now, before social revolution:

A. As for the revolutionary struggle, the Jews as a group cannot actively participate in it. The large majority are in middleman fields¹³ and are

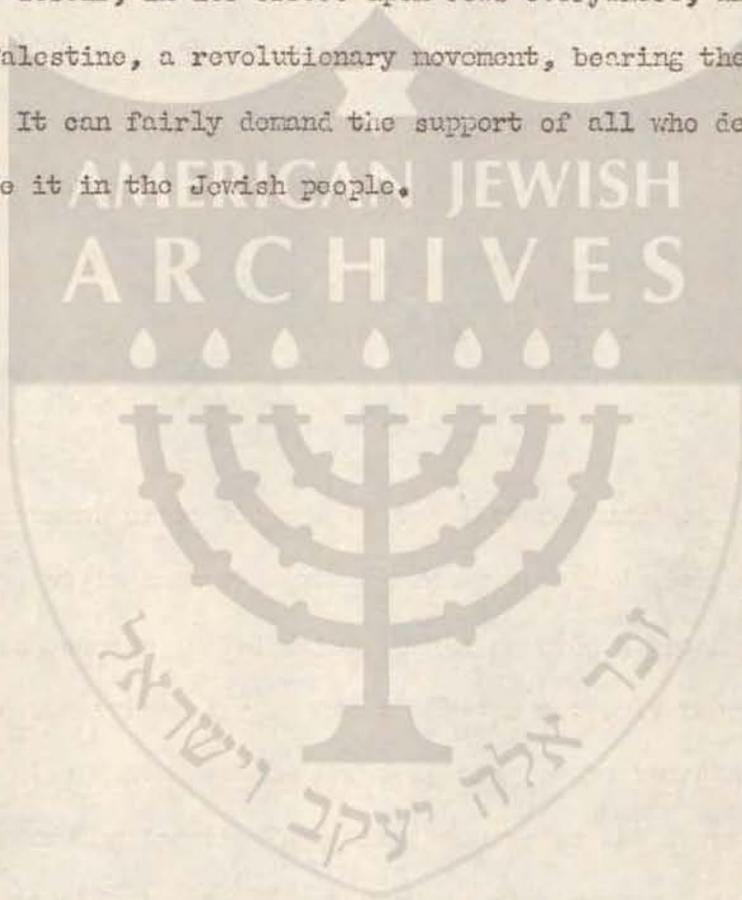
thus removed from any real opportunity to help in the struggle. Even the Jewish proletariat and those who make common cause with them are of limited value here because of their status of a minority group and one toward which there is considerable antagonism. Therefore, while Jews must of course take part in social movements in the countries in which they live, the Jewish group as such cannot take any real part in the revolutionary struggle until it is itself productivized and develops a center of its own where it will not be a minority.

B. In the event of a revolution a very large part of the Jewish population, being middleman, would be declassed. The tasks of bringing them to productive occupations would be extremely difficult (since they are so removed from farming and industrial labor) and would occasion untold suffering. All this has actually occurred in Russia. As many Jews as possible should therefore be productivized before the revolution, and that can only be done by taking them out of their present lands into a new territory which will be developed by them.

C. But these questions while important, are academic. In terms of actual realities there is no question here. Social revolution in most countries is not a thing of the immediate future, and this is especially true in America. The Jewish problem, heightened as it is by the contradictions of fascism and semi-fascism, cannot wait.¹⁴ In fact, it has not waited. There is a tremendous pressure of hundreds of thousands of Jews who must emigrate from the countries in which they live. These Jews are going no matter what we may say here. And they are going to Palestine because that is where many of them want to go and that is the place which, during the last fifty years, other Jews, who saw ahead, had prepared.¹⁵

The Zionist solution is now in process, and the completion of its program is a matter of the immediate future. Zionism is not a parlor philosophy. It is a movement which has already been of crucial importance in rescuing many victims of fascism as well as in developing and normalizing the Jewish group.

The Zionist movement arose the end of the last century not as the result of any one persecution but in answer to the whole system of Jewish oppression.¹⁶ In building a new Jewish center in Palestine it has created a broad base of farmers and workers. It productivized large masses of Jews not only those who are in Palestine now, but also many more who are preparing to go there and work. Zionism is thus performing for the Jews what amounts to the first step in social revolution. It is itself, in its effect upon Jews everywhere, and in its actualization in Palestine, a revolutionary movement, bearing the economic ideals of social change. It can fairly demand the support of all who desire social change and who wish to see it in the Jewish people.



NOTES

1. See Discus

Discussion 6.

1. See Discussion 4.

2. In the case of Russia there was a great growth of popular Zionist sentiment and activity immediately after the Revolution, which was eradicated by force by the government when it decided that Zionism was to be opposed. See Avraham Yarmolinsky, Jews and other National Minorities in Soviet Russia; and Marie Syrkin, "Zionism in Soviet Russia" in Jewish Frontier Dec., 1935.

3. Thus the Tenth Party Congress of the Russian Communist Party (1921) passed resolutions recognizing that of the 140 million people in Russia 65 million were not Great Russians, and stating that whereas the Tzarist government had restricted their cultural development and had made continuous attempts to Russify them, the Communist government would do quite the opposite. Specifically the Communist party would help these national groups (a) develop their own Soviet system, strengthening it in the form suited to their national peculiarities and conditions; (b) develop their native language and institutions, their local governments to consist of their own people, familiar with the life and psychology of the local population; etc. - Soviet Russia, October 1921, p. 161-164. The same article mentions the Jews as a racial-national minority. Later Soviet statements and publications stress these developments, e.g., the establishment of school systems for each of the many minority nationalities "each of them especially adjusted to meet the particular needs of the various types of children" (Soviet Union Review, May 1930, p. 77), or the establishment of national theatre-systems even in the most backward of the nationalities: "There are altogether 45 national theatres, in which 35 distinct languages are represented" (ibid, June 1932, p. 128). See also note 7 below.

4. From the very beginning "A strong campaign was made (by the Jewish Commissariat in Soviet Russia) to convert the Jewish small middleman into a land worker. With the full cooperation of the government, which supplied timber, etc., land communes were founded in several districts of Russia, where land was set aside for this purpose" (Soviet Russia, Oct. 1921, p. 169). "The settlement of the Jewish population on the land in compact groups made possible the Jewish administrative regions, Kalinindorf, etc". (Soviet Union Review, June 1932, p. 134). Note that throughout the system is that of Jewish group settlements.
5. It would be most natural for large numbers of Jews to go into this work, which is nearest to what they had been doing, and for which they had become especially fitted. Of the three million Jews in Russia some 500,000 are clerks and professionals (the numbers vary according to the understanding of the terms). See Lestschinsky, "Why Biro-Bidjan", Jewish Frontier, Feb. 1936. "In White Russia, among 6,612 civil servants employed in all departments of the government, 2,030, or nearly one-third, are Jews". (Anna Louise Strong, The First Time in History, p. 174). It may or may not be indicative that "About 50% of all the Jewish students in the R.S.F.S.R. are taking industrial and technical courses (the latter includes much white-collar work), the next largest number are specializing in various branches of economics, next in medicine, and the smallest percentage in agriculture" (Soviet Union Review, July-August 1930, p. 127).
6. See the notes above. The fact that it happened in Russia does not mean that it need happen everywhere else. However, in all countries which have large Jewish population the situation is analogous in its essentials. In all these lands the Jews are very largely concentrated in the lower middle class, very little represented in the heavy industries, and almost completely absent from farming. The attitude toward minority groups would also have to be

essentially the same as in Russia, though in few countries would it constitute so important a problem.

7. "Soviet Russia has from the very beginning encouraged the self-determination of the various nationalities within her borders. In the 'Declaration of the Rights of the Working and Exploited People' issued by the very first Congress of Soviets that met after the Bolsheviki had seized power, it was declared that 'the Russian Republic is to be founded on the basis of a free union of free peoples as a federation of Soviet national republics'. The conception of the Soviet policy as a voluntary alliance of peoples, each possessing a more or less autonomous political organization, is the basic principle of Soviet statecraft. Soviet Russia has encouraged at every step self-determination of nationalities: wherever possible minority groups are encouraged to form their own town and village and even country soviets, where all business is transacted in their own language." (Avraham Yarmolinsky, Jews and Other National Minorities in Soviet Russia, p. 149). See note 3 above.
8. See Marie Syrkin, "Zionism in Soviet Russia, Jewish Frontier, Dec. 1935, p. 19.
9. On the local Jewish autonomies: "In line with the general Soviet policy of political and cultural autonomy for national minorities, special Jewish Soviets are established wherever the Jewish colonies are large enough, or where the Jews are a majority of the population." (Soviet Union Review, Feb. 1930, p.24).
10. At present there are some 15,000 Jews in Biro-Bidjan, although organized and officially promoted immigration there began over six years ago. (Soviet Union Review, Jan. 1931, p. 22; ibid., Feb. 1936, p. 24; Jacob Lestschinsky, "Why Biro-Bidjan" , Jewish Frontier, Feb. 1936).
11. The difference between "social-cultural" in speaking of the Russian workers and "national-cultural" in speaking of mass movements in general is intentional. Properly every mass movement of this kind is national-cultural in form, i.e. it necessarily operates through the national-cultural forms in which the people have developed. In the case of the majority people this comes of its own

Zionism as the Solution to the Jewish Problem.

It has been seen that:

1. The present situation of the Jews constitutes a serious problem, and
2. The problem arises chiefly from the abnormal economic distribution of the Jews (as middle-men and professionals) and from their minority status everywhere as a completely non-territorial people. Thus they are the oppressed minority of the very lower middle class which, with the development of capitalist economy, is itself being pauperized and eliminated.¹

It is clear that a solution must immediately be found, and that it must be such as will correct these abnormalities. The solution can be tested by its elimination of these two disabilities and of the evils resulting from them (antisemitism, lack of social-political self-determination, cultural crippling).

The proposed solutions - assimilation, occupational redistribution and territorial concentration - have been reviewed, and all have been found inadequate for the Jewish problem and definitely impossible in the world as we know it now.²

The consideration of the Jewish problem eliminates all these proposals and leads necessarily to one solution: Zionism, the movement to establish in Palestine an autonomous Jewish center ("Homeland") where masses of Jews may be concentrated. That only such a territorial concentration would answer the needs, has been seen from Discussions 2 and 5. But why specifically Palestine?

I. Because there is no other place. Short of inaccessible areas far from civilization to which no one would go, there is actually no place where mass settlement of the Jews could be effected, certainly none where Jews could have any measure of self-determination and group freedom.³ (The one experiment of Biro-Bidjan is discussed in Discussion 6 and in the material appended to it.) In Palestine it can be done and indeed is already now far along the road to completion.

II. Because Palestine is the one place to which the Jews will go. Opportunity for group development (folkways, "culture") is one of the very deficiencies which

constitute the Jewish problem, one of the very things which a complete solution must offer; Zionism is a consequence of the fact that Palestine is an integral part of Jewish superstructure* and that the very Jews who will be actively interested in solving their problem, the very Jews who will go and suffer hardships to build the new center, are the ones to whom these symbols (Palestine as "home") are real and whom only Palestine will draw.⁴ The rehabilitation of a people must proceed from the economic and national-cultural forces of that people itself; it is sociologically unrealistic to map out its future without reference to the basic elements in its history and present interests.⁵ Herzl, founder of the Zionist Organization, did not have Palestine in mind when he formed the organization, but as soon as the Organization came in contact with the masses of Jews, the very ones for whom it was intended, there was no question left.⁶ To the people Zionism meant Palestine only, and when offers of other territories were publicly made, at a time when it was impossible to reach Palestine, they were definitively turned down by the people themselves.⁷ We have seen above that the task of building a new Jewish center makes supreme demands upon individuals.⁸ These individuals, the pioneers in the movement, will make the sacrifices only as part of a social-cultural revival which will give meaning to their lives and to their sacrifice. For the Jews such a revival is intimately bound up with Palestine.⁹

III. Because the Jewish center in Palestine already exists. Various historical conditions in recent years, coupled with the conditions of Jewish superstructure

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* The word 'superstructure' is intentionally used in these discussions as a technical term to denote the whole psychological and cultural make-up that is developed in a group in the course of its life and within the conditions of its growth. The term 'culture' might also be used in this sense, as it is used in anthropological literature, but it would be subject to constant confusion with 'culture' in its narrower and more everyday sense.

have brought about, first the small beginnings of Jewish settlement in Palestine and then a great Jewish immigration and national reconstruction there.¹⁰ Nothing can be more important in this whole discussion than that Zionism is already going on and has already shown many of the desired results.

This many-sided explanation of the reason for Zionism as the solution has its historical analog in the several different points of view from which Zionism actually arose, as a reaction to the heightening Jewish problem. To some it meant much needed political self-determination, raising the political status of Jews throughout the world; to some (Ahad-Ha'am) it was the opportunity to centralize and strengthen Jewish culture for the Jews of the whole world; to others (Borochov) it was the opportunity to straighten out a warped economic structure, to become once more a people of productive workers and farmers; to others again (Herzl) it meant an end to the socially maladjusted life of the Diaspora (Jewish dispersion) giving the Jews an opportunity to live a full free rounded life like anyone else, without antisemitism and without the ghetto; and to some now (the recent upper-class converts to Zionism) it is an inescapable and inevitable refuge for Jews who are forced out of their countries. But to the large number of Jews who swept into it and made it the mass movement of the Jews today¹¹ it was a positive reaction to their situation, an answer which included all of these expectations, more consciously realized or less, but one which was to erase once and for all their abnormalities and difficulties. It was for this reason, because Zionism was so definitely a mass reaction to their problems (especially as these problems were accentuated after the fall of the ghetto), that Zionism is so intimately bound up with social idealism and economic objectives. Both together, without a conscious differentiation, is what the people needed.

That this solution exactly fits the conditions of the problem is immediately obvious:

1. In creating an independent society Zionism must create for it the same broad base of farmers and workers that any other country has. This has actually been taking place and large numbers of Jews have been productivized in Palestine.¹²
2. Zionism creates a territorial center for the Jews so that they will cease to be, as a group, a minority people. While Jewish minorities will exist in the various countries of the Western World, the nation as such will not be so much at the mercy of local discriminations and persecutions. This is not mere theory. Were an autonomous Jewish Palestine in existence during the rise of Nazi fascism in Germany the situation would not have been a fraction as terrible as it is now, with scores of thousands hopelessly awaiting a chance to escape and having nowhere to go. Palestine would have conducted a great planned immigration, settling them in the country as they came. As it is, with volunteer funds and with a British Government which not only did not help but actually hindered, Zionism has settled in Palestine almost half of the Jews who fled Germany¹³ (70% of the German refugees who are settled and allowed to stay in their new homes are in Palestine), while at the same time taking in even more immigrants from Poland and other countries where the Jew can no longer live.
3. Zionism gives the opportunity for social and political self-determination. In those beginnings which have already been made, without governmental powers and without governmental aid, we see already the definite outlines of new social forms. The New Palestine is already one of the great social experiments of our age. The Histadrut¹⁴ (proportionately perhaps the strongest and most solid labor union in the world) and the Kibbutz (collective settlement) movement are among the most interesting and inherently valid social developments in the world.

(Why Jewish Palestine has developed, and necessarily must develop, in this way, is shown in Discussions 14 and 15.) It must be remembered that the more general governmental aspects of political economy cannot develop as yet in Palestine because the country is under an external British government.

Zionism is then the indicated solution. And above all, it is already in process. Every one of the changes which we found the Jewish group to need is now taking place in Palestine.

Only one doubt may now arise: Granted its validity in itself, does Zionism have any obstacles which will prevent its progress; does it imply any concomitant evils which invalidate it? This we will investigate in the following discussions.

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NOTE: The purpose here has been to show that step by step a consideration of the Jewish problem leads to an acceptance of the Zionist solution and to a recognition of the need of a mass Jewish center in Palestine. The place of such a program for the Jewish people as a group is clear (it being clear that we have not yet discussed what should or necessarily shall be the character of such a center, its economic and social structure, etc. These questions are taken up in later Discussions).

But a person may now ask: What is the individual and personal effect of all this upon those Jews who do not go to Palestine? In what way does Zionism, necessary as it is for the group as a whole, effect their problems? This opens the way to a very important discussion, for which the reader is referred to the Preface to this series of Avukah Discussions.

NOTES

Discussion 7.

1. See Discussions 2 and 3.
2. See Discussion 5.
3. Note the limitations of territorialism in Discussion 5. Even in the chief territorial experiments (e.g. Argentine) and in the various colonizational attempts (e.g. the New Jersey colonies: Woodbine, Norma, etc) there was no large mass settlement and no autonomy or real group-freedom.
4. Once the center is built it will serve for many who come not out of desire, not out of the force of superstructure, but out of persecution and economic necessity. If the early Zionists had not laid the foundations and built a large Jewish community, the Polish and German refugees would not have been able to find a haven in Palestine.
5. Cf. the difficulty of Biro-Bidjan, in Discussion 6.
6. See Short History of Zionism by Shoshanna M. Sankowsky (National Avukah Program, No. 2). Herzl himself, changed after he came to know the Jews of Russia and realized the power of superstructure, of Jewish culture and tradition, upon the group.
7. Note chiefly the refusal of Uganda, though it was offered as an escape to the victims of Russian pogroms. See the Short History of Zionism above. Instructive is the decline of the Argentine colonies: In the Jewish colonies: in farming, 17,800; non-farming 8,8000. In the cities 9,300 Jews. This represents the Baron de Hirsch millions. (Digest of Events, Jewish Statistical Bureau, Feb. 21, 1935).
8. See Discussions 5 and 6.
9. This is seen very clearly in the "idealism" of the Halutzim (pioneers)

especially of the second and third aliyot (immigration). Necessarily this national-cultural idealism is merely another facet of social "idealism" which necessarily characterizes the whole Halutz movement, the same personal sacrifice and social idealism which characterizes those people in every country who give all their lives to fight for social change.

10. See Sankowsky, Short History of Zionism.
11. Zionism is by far the major Jewish movement. For the Nineteenth Zionist Congress over 1,216,000 adult Jews over the world paid their shokol tax in order to vote.
12. For all facts and statistics on Palestine necessary for an understanding of these arguments see the History of Zionism referred to above, the articles on Palestine in the Jewish Frontier, two Avukah Palestine Programs: Halutz and Kvutza and Histadrut, and the later Discussions which deal with Palestine and the realization of Zionism.
13. See the Report of High-Commissioner James G. Macdonald, 1935, to the League of Nations. It is important to note that those who come to Palestine do not stay on refuge relief as in many other countries but are settled either on their own or on Zionist funds.
14. See especially the Avukah Palestine Program: Histadrut.

Does Zionism Function at the Expense of the Arabs?

The charge has been made against Zionism: It may be the solution of the Jewish problem, but does it not function at the expense of the existing Arab population in Palestine? Some have even said that Zionism was Jewish imperialism, that it intended to take Palestine away from the Arabs.

I. Is Zionism Jewish Imperialism?

An imperialist country obtains control over other lands in order to exploit them for its own interests. These colonies are usually of direct economic value, needed to protect the other colonies or the road to them. The imperialist country gets the most it can out of the colony. The direction of development of the colony is entirely determined by the type of profits that the home country can best make from it. Normally the colony is kept very backward industrially (remaining a customer of the home country), concentrated on some one or two products (which incidentally means that the country is economically one-sided and so economically and politically dependent, with a low standard of living and of wages (in the interest of the home employers who use colonial labor)). There are also special cases with different conditions; there are colonies into which the overflow of inhabitants from the home country goes to live, but even these are kept (as long as they are really colonies¹). "relatively undeveloped and economically dependent upon the home country.

Zionism presents a fundamentally different situation. The whole matter of "home country" does not exist. There is no place outside Palestine to which profits from Palestine can go. It is not the colony of any Jewish center? Palestine is itself acting as the "home country" of the Jews³. The Jews who go into it to live must necessarily develop and industrialize it, not for its usefulness to any other center but as the only land they have.

While the essential differences of approach and of necessary program between Zionism and imperialism could be multiplied⁴ this will suffice to show that Zionism

is specifically not imperialistic. As to the question whether Zionism does not intend to take Palestine away from the Arabs, that can be dismissed as unrealistic and verging on the absurd. Any idea of the expulsion of the Arab population from Palestine is fantastic.⁵ The Arab population is there and behind it is a sea of Arab peoples. Zionism, even if it so desired, could never involve itself in a struggle with the whole Arab area by trying to expel Arabs from Palestine into the Arab countries about it. Furthermore it is not part of the Zionist program and in no sense is it necessary to its success. The aim of Zionism is an autonomous mass Jewish center; there is nothing in that which required the expulsion of Arabs or the creation of any particular type of "state".⁶ Once the mass Jewish center is created, Zionism officially seeks an eventual democratic government in Palestine representing all the inhabitants of the country, and that is all Zionism would basically need, for the mass Jewish center would be already in existence.⁷

But the objection has been raised: Zionism may not be technically imperialist, but does it not nevertheless injure the Arabs? Does not Zionism after all function at the expense of the Arabs?

II. Does Zionism injure the Arab masses?

This is in part a question of fact. Unfortunately prejudice and argument have played so large a part here that fact has been lost sight of and there is no authority which all alike will accept.

On the whole it is quite impossible to deny that Jewish immigration to Palestine has brought distinct economic benefits to the Arab masses. While this is not the place to bring statistics and detailed information⁸ the following three facts will suffice to show the situation:

A. Wages of unorganized Arab workers in Palestine are now four to six times what they were before the coming of Jewish immigration, while Arab labor organized by the Histadrut commands even better wages;⁹

B. There being need for more workers than Palestine has (because the immigration of Jewish workers is limited by the British government) and the wage level there being higher than anywhere else in the Arab world, tens of thousands of Arabs from neighboring lands have come into Palestine to find work.¹⁰ In fact, they tend to lower the prevailing wage level so that Palestinian Arab workers have had to organize against them;

C. When the landowner leaders of the Arab nationalist movement in Palestine asked the Arabs of Transjordan to bar their land to Jews, the Transjordan tribal heads not and answered that it was all very well for the Palestinians, prosperous with Jewish money, to ask them to bar Jews, but that they in Transjordan needed them.¹¹ There is now some difficulty between the ranking British officer in Transjordan who wants to keep the Jews out and the Transjordan Arabs who want them to come in.

However, the ultimate question is not whether it has brought economic benefits to the Arab masses. Imperialism and fascism may also be so managed as to bring certain benefits to the population - though perhaps not to the extent of these benefits. Certainly a large part of the Arab population of Palestine is against Zionism.¹² Groups of Arab workers and farmers which have come in closer contact with Jewish workers have established peace and friendship,¹³ but the masses regard Zionism as their enemy. Is not that evidence that Zionism injures the Arab masses?

We must see D. what is the reason for this opposition of the Arabs to Zionism in spite of the benefits it brings them, and E. what is the real effect of Zionism upon the Arabs.

D. The opposition of the Arabs to Zionism is purely the product of propaganda and instigation on the part of the Arab leaders and on the part of the British government. (1) It is no new thing in history that a ruling class, through its political or clerical spokesman, should instigate the people to a course

contrary to their own interest. It happened frequently in the Middle Ages; it happens when wars are declared; it happens in fascism; it happens everywhere.¹⁴ Arab Palestine is a feudal country. The land is mostly in the possession of a few hereditary families. The peasant-serfs cannot read and are completely under the influence of their feudal lords and the religious leaders. To these groups, as we shall see below, Zionism is the ultimate foe with whom they cannot make peace, and the whole force of Arab feudal society and religious organization (the power of which cannot be gauged) has been directed to create this national antagonism. The anti-Zionist "Arab nationalist movement" of Palestine is in no sense a people's movement nor does it have a people's program. It is led and managed autocratically by landowners and religious leaders; its program insofar as it has any program is merely anti-Zionist, without a single social or popular demand, and its purpose and function within Arab society is obvious. (2) To this must be added the other necessary foe of Zionism: British imperialism in Palestine. In Discussion 11 it will be seen that there is an inevitable and basic contradiction of interest between Zionism and British imperialism. The British government in Palestine does its very considerable best to halt Zionism, to develop anti-Zionist antagonism among the Arabs for this end.¹⁵ Furthermore, in addition to this special reason, it is in general the policy of imperialism to "divide and rule". By keeping the Arabs fighting the Jews England's hold on Palestine is so much the stronger. In the last analysis, one thing has kept the Arab peasants and the Jewish workers (including farmers) and professionals from joining against England - and that is the antagonism between Arabs and Jews. It is for this reason that England supports the Arab religious leaders, encourages anti-Zionist riots, interferes in Arab-Jewish economic cooperation, and in general uses every method to create friction.

From Arab opposition to Zionism, then, we can learn nothing of the fundamental relation between the two nations in Palestine. We turn to a direct analysis of the conditions.

E. What is the fundamental effect of Zionism upon the Arabs? Without Zionism the situation of the Arab masses in Palestine would be essentially the same as it was before Jewish immigration (i.e. before 1908), and the same as it is now in other Arab countries. The serfs would be mercilessly exploited by the landowners and duped by the clerical leaders, and now further exploited by the imperialist power. Any nationalist ferment that would develop would be very limited,¹⁶ very far removed from any ideas of social progress or liberation.

Now what is the effect of Zionism? With the coming of the Jews the country is being industrialized.¹⁷ It must be industrialized in order to support a large mass of Jews (Jewish workers) and to supply the needs of the new, European, Jewish population. With this industrialization there is developing in Palestine an Arab working class, hitherto practically non-existent.¹⁸ With the modernization of the country and with the presence of the high Jewish standard of living the country passes into the bourgeois (capitalist) stage, and the feudal days of the Arab landowners are numbered. The landowners fight this modernization at all costs; the contradiction between them and Zionism is fundamental.

But this in turn clarifies the Jewish position. The landowners are their foes to the death. However, the Jews cannot live in Palestine always among enemies. To succeed, Zionism must make peace with the Arab population. Peace cannot be made with the Arab nation as such, for with the landowners there is no common ground. But peace can be made with the Arab masses. There is no contradiction of interests between the Jewish and Arab masses in Palestine. Both want merely to live in the country. There are roughly 850,000 Arabs and 400,000 Jews in a country which can support a few million. Zionism will have to make peace with the Arab masses against the Arab landowners (and British imperialism) who are the natural enemies of both.¹⁹ The Histadrut, the Jewish labor federation, will have to organize the

Arabs and develop their common ground. It realizes this and has already begun it, though the work is slow.²⁰

This is the effect of Zionism on the Arab masses: By the nature of conditions and the play of interests it must not only raise their standard of living but also work out a basis of cooperation with them and lead them to their struggle of liberation against their own master.

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N O T E S

Discussion 10.

1. As against, for example, English Dominions such as Canada, where the situation becomes quite different.
2. Throughout these Discussions it must be kept in mind that a number of concepts must be understood somewhat differently in the case of the Jews because one basic condition which is common to all others is different for the Jews: the Jews are the one people which is acting in concert not from any one geographical center. This illustrates the fundamental principle that while the method of analysis is "universal" and identical in all cases, the application should in each case be made directly to the conditions of that case. We cannot merely borrow the conclusions from one case into another. In reference to the Jews this individual characteristic, their united action without a center (i.e. their universal minority status, see Discussion 2), must always be kept in mind as a determining condition.
3. There are of course a few individual Jewish "absentee owners", i.e. Jews (chiefly in England and America) who buy orange-plantations, etc., in Palestine and spend the profits in the lands where they live. This, however, is not part of the Zionist aim which is creating a large Jewish population in Palestine.

In time they will have to come to a clash with Zionism, which will fight them as exploiters of Palestine.

4. The entrance of Jews into Palestine is quite different from that of imperialist invasion. Thus not only do the Jews pay very high prices to the landowners for the land they buy, but the J.N.F. also gives out additional money to the serfs and sees to it that they are able to reestablish themselves.
5. The one anti-Arab group which arose in the Zionist Organization, the fascist Revisionists who were fostered by the non-Zionist Jewish capitalist element in Palestine as a wedge against the Labor Federation (Histadrut), was forced out of the Zionist Organization (spring 1935), although even this group, in recent years, was not so open in its anti-Arab position.
6. The official World Zionist platform does not mention any particular state; it is "Zionism aims to establish in Palestine a publicly-secured legally-assured home for the Jews" (The Basle Platform, first Zionist Congress; see S. H. Sankowsky Short History of Zionism, National Avukah Program No. 2).
7. Resolutions of cooperation with the Arab people have been passed at many Zionist Congresses, notably the Twelfth and the Nineteenth (1935). As an example of the official Zionist position the following quotations will suffice, all taken from March-April 1931:

"But we must never forget what this crisis (the White Paper) has taught us: the bringing about of satisfactory co-operation between the Jews and the Arabs is not England's problem, but our problem. We - that is, the Jews and Arabs - must ourselves come to an agreement upon a course adapted to the needs of both peoples and leading to profitable life together."

(Excerpt from an address by Professor Einstein at a banquet in his honor by the American Palestine Campaign in March 1931.)

"There is room in Palestine for the legitimate aspirations of both Arabs and Jews." (Dr. Weizmann, President of the World Zionist Organization,

at the Jewish Agency dinner to Lloyd George, London, April 11, 1931).

"The Jewish people are determined to live with the Arab people in Palestine on terms of harmony and mutual respect, and together with them to make the common home into a flourishing community, the upbuilding of which may assure to each of its peoples an undisturbed national development."

(Statement of the Executive Committee of the Zionist Organization of America, April 29, 1931.)

8. The Avukah Research Staff is now engaged on a thoroughgoing investigation of the situation of the Arabs, using all official sources (British and Jewish) and the local Arab and Hebrew sources (newspapers, party statements, etc.). It is hoped that publication of the research reports, in November 1936, will enable us to speak with more certainty on the subject.
9. See the reports of the American Economic Committee for Palestine, in the Palestine Economic News (now the Palestine Economic Review) where exact scales of wages are given from time to time. The Arab rural communities in general benefit greatly from the Jewish immigration, especially villages near the new Jewish colonies (Reports on Administration of Palestine, British Colonial Office, 1924, etc., where information may also be obtained on rise of Arab wages especially for workers employed together with Jews). The small Arab bourgeoisie has also, of course, profited, as in the great and steady growth of Arab orange plantations and Arab building investments in mixed Jewish-Arab cities (while in pure Arab cities they have shrunk). See the Palestine Economic News.
10. Coupled with this immigration of Arabs must be noted the great rise of Arab population in Palestine (which had been stationary before Zionism), due to increased emigration and slowly falling death rate (because of Jewish drying of malarial swamps, Zionist Arab-Jewish health-work, better living conditions).

See the Discussions on Zionism in Palestine, the current descriptions of conditions in the country in the New Palestine, Jewish Frontier and Digest of Events of the Jewish Statistical Bureau (H.S. Linfield, Director) in New York.

"In 1920 the Moslem population in Palestine was, by government estimate 521,403; in 1931 it was, by census, 759,712; in 1934 it was by government estimate 807,180. The Christian population was, at the same dates, 17,801, 91,394, and 99,532, respectively.

"As to immigration of Arabs from Syria and Trans-Jordan into Palestine, no accurate figures are available. However, the Government of Palestine conceded that large numbers have come in recent years. It has been estimated that about 25,000 Arabs from Hauran (Syria) emigrated to Palestine, most of whom are engaged in the building industry, public works and a considerable number are in the Jewish colonies.

"In this connection it is interesting to note that emigration of Arabs from Palestine is practically non-existent at the present time. Before the war, it was estimated that about two souls per thousand emigrated each year. In 1929, it was stated by the United States Immigration Authorities that requests for immigration from Syria and the Lebanon were ten times the number of those from Palestine." (The American Economic Committee for Palestine. New Palestine January 18, 1935).

Jamil Bek Basham, Syrian nationalist leader, an anti-Zionist, writes: "Syria has benefited greatly from Palestine's progress. There is the penetration into Palestine of many Syrian laborers who earn their livelihood there. Not only workers, but many Syrian merchants and manufacturers have gone there." (Palestine Economic Review, January 1936, p. 10.)

11. "A meeting of the Arab sheiks in Transjordan yesterday resolved to support Emir Abdullah in his resolve to lease Transjordanian land to Jews.

The action of the Transjordanian chiefs is in direct contrast to the press campaign which Arab papers in Palestine are conducting against the consummation of the agreement which Emir Abdullah is said to have reached with a Jewish company to lease 50,000 dunams of his personal domain for a period of 99 years." (Jewish Daily Bulletin, January 22, 1933.)

"Today Mithkal Pasha the most influential sheikh in Transjordan, and the head of the largest Bedouin tribe - the Bnei Sakhr - followed the precedent set by Emir Abdullah himself and made an offer to lease 100,000 dunams of land to the Jews. Emir Abdullah, it was reported, leased to a Jewish company 50,000 dunams of his own land for a period of 99 years. Mithkal Pasha's according to the Arab paper "El Islamia" was dictated by the need of funds to keep his tribe from starving. The tribe, it is stated has been reduced to dire straits by the appalling economic situation in Transjordan." (ibid., January 18, 1933.) It should be noted that Transjordan is still largely pastoral.

12. Actively, the proportion of anti-Zionist is smaller than is usually thought; witness the comparatively small number of Arabs who actually participated in the 1929 riots (Maurice Samuel, What Happened in Palestine.)
13. There are many records of inter-village peace pacts, farmers' conclaves (and, of course, joint unions) in the newspapers.
14. This explanation should not be regarded as too facile or superficial. The power of the ruling class, aided by the imperialist government, suffices very well to explain the anti-Zionist attitude of the Arabs. Very much the same type of force explains the growth of antisemitism in Europe. The Arab people actually have no voice of their own. The press is of the leaders, there is no institution or group which even simulates democracy, and

- the people are swayed entirely by the words of their leaders and by such organizations as the fascist anti-Zionist Arab youth movement.
15. See Wise and de Haas, The Great Betrayal, Documents and Essays on Jewish Labour Policy in Palestine p. 59-65, 74; Sankowsky, Short History of Zionism. The Palestine Labor Daily Davar revealed at the time of 1929 riots that the British government in Palestine had secretly aided the religious leaders of the riots (the paper was suspended for a time for printing the documents). England's support of the first riots in 1920 is well known (see the books above). When Arab-Jewish local groups come to the government for local improvements, it makes it clear to the Arabs that if they had come without the Jews they would have received more. Such government moves as the myth of "dispossessed Arabs", the decree against sale of land to Jews, the proposed Palestine Legislative Council are all intended to arouse and sharpen Arab-Jewish conflict. Even the new Radio Station is used for this purpose, as in the allocation of Arab and Jewish hours, the arousing of Arab protest against use of the name Eretz Israel "Land of Israel", etc. Cf. Hashomer Hatzair for January and February 1936.
16. There would be very much less of this than in Syria, because Palestine was far less developed and less urbanized than Syria, before Zionism came.
17. See Discussion 11.
18. An Arab working class which finds employment in part in the Jewish factories etc., more in the government enterprises, and especially in the new Arab enterprises which arise as a result of the increased wealth and industrialization in the country.
19. In other words, the bourgeois revolution is already taking place in Palestine, at a greatly accelerated pace, and the ultimate cooperation of Jews and Arabs will involve and be based upon the next step of proletarian revolution. That the objective conditions (including here some peace .

between the two national groups) are not yet ready, is obvious. But the ground is certainly being laid and the necessary conditions, both economic and psychological are being developed much more rapidly than outsiders might realize.

20. On proletarianization of the Arabs, and on labor organizations among them, see: Documents and Essays on Jewish Labour Policy in Palestine (published by the Histadrut, 1930) p. 40-42, 109, 116; Maurice Samuel, On the Rim of the Wilderness (1931) p. 148-149, 152, 157. The Report for Palestine and Transjordan 1933, published by the British Colonial Office, lists the following Arab-Jewish Labor organizations:

- a. Union of Railway, Post and Telegraph workers, with many branches.
- b. General Workers Club, Haifa.
- c. The Sea Workers Union, Haifa.
- d. The Bakers Union, Haifa.
- e. The Quarry Workers Union: Haifa, Yajur.
- f. The Petroleum Workers Union, Haifa.

(Haifa is the largest Arab-Jewish industrial city). In addition there is the Transportation Union, and the like. For recent Arab-Jewish strikes see "The United Front", editorial in Avukah Bulletin, April 1935.

AVUKAH DISCUSSIONS

No. 11.

I. Is Zionism Part of British Imperialism?

II. Is Zionism Compatible with British Imperialism?

I. Is Zionism Part of British Imperialism?

Granted that Zionism is not detrimental to the Arab masses but rather lays the ground for their ultimate liberation, the objection has nevertheless been made: But isn't Zionism merely a part of the complex of British imperialism? To determine the answer to this question we must discover (A) whether British imperialism needed and needs the development of Zionism, and (B) whether Zionism is part of the program of British imperialism, i.e. whether British imperialism wants Zionism. We will then investigate the relation between Zionist and British interests.

A. Does British imperialism need the development of Zionism?

Did England need Zionism in order to obtain the mandate over Palestine? Clearly England could have obtained Palestine without Zionism. England and the other allied powers obtained whatever they wanted at the close of the war.¹ Certainly England's interest in Zionism as expressed in the Balfour Declaration was not a necessary condition for its obtaining Palestine.

Does England need Zionism now in order to keep Palestine? Clearly not. The very large part of the Arab unrest in Palestine arises from the anti-Zionist agitation of the Arab landowners.² If there were no Zionism, that agitation would not exist;³ the feudal Arab lords of Palestine would have been satisfied and quiet, for to them Zionist industrialization of Palestine is fundamentally objectionable while British colonial status (which would keep the land undeveloped) is not. If there were no Zionism, England would control Palestine almost as it controls Transjordan and better than France controls Syria.⁴ England does not need Zionism in order to keep Palestine.⁵ If anything, Zionism makes the problem of controlling

it more delicate⁶

If Zionism was not necessary to England, why then did it issue the Balfour Declaration in 1917, promising England's interest in the development of a Jewish homeland in Palestine? The reasons for the issuance of that declaration can on the whole be made out. We must remember that it was a war document and is to be understood in this light.⁷

One of the major reasons for the Balfour Declaration was certainly the desire to gain the war sympathy of the Jews, both among the allies and among the enemy powers, and especially in America.⁸ How prominent this motive was may be seen from the fact that Germany immediately issued a counter statement to the effect that should she win the war she would help the formation of a Jewish center in Palestine, and also from the way the British press belittled this competing German statement.⁹

A contributory reason was certainly the "lobbying" of British and especially American Jewish leaders¹⁰ who used all possible influence with the British government (including the interest of the American government which England wanted badly to win over)¹¹ to have the declaration issued.

And lastly, certain groups in the British war government thought that Zionism would fit in nicely with British imperialist plans, - that it would give a moral tone to British activities in Palestine. Many thought that a friendly Jewish nation so near the Suez would be a fine thing. Meanwhile, however, England made other tentative arrangements and conflicting promises to the Arab peoples, both before and after the issuance of the Balfour Declaration¹² and to cap it all, Palestine was still under Turkish rule at the time. The cautious and ambiguous wording of the Declaration shows how political was its purpose; it was so worded that it might sound important at the time, but could be vitiated and annulled later simply by recourse to the literal meaning of its words.¹³ In practice both the acts of the British government in Palestine throughout its history¹⁴ and the

actual proclamations of the government in London¹⁵ have annulled the Declaration. It never represented the opinion of the real operators of the imperialist machine, the Colonial Office, which in the first, Military Government in Palestine worked on the assumption that the Declaration was issued for war purposes only and that England neither needed nor wanted Zionism.

We see thus that the Balfour Declaration did not express England's real imperialist interest in Palestine, and that while England was ready to make what use it could of Zionism,¹⁶ it did not actually need Zionism in order to gain or keep its ends.

B. Is Zionism Part of the Program of British Imperialism? (i.e. does England want Zionism?)

If England promoted Zionism and conducted or aided the establishment of a Jewish state in Palestine, we would understand that the formation of such a state was part of the program of British imperialism. But England does not do this; on the contrary, it has impeded the development of Jewish Palestine all the time and in countless ways.¹⁷ The first British government in Palestine, the Military govern-¹⁸ment, established immediately after England conquered the land, was naturally the clearest in its imperialist character: it went about systematically crippling any possibilities of Zionist development, fomenting Arab uprisings against the Jews, and in general making it clear that the Balfour Declaration was a temporary and forgotten war document.¹⁹ This led to such Arab riots in Palestine that the course of British imperialism had to be changed.²⁰ Britain saw that whatever it might now think of the Balfour Declaration, and whatever the reasons for its issuance might have been, that document was a fait accompli. In its Palestine plans it had now to reckon not only with the Arab and Jewish population of Palestine, but also with the Jews of the world who wanted to get into the country, - the presumptive population. This point is very important. Zionism is not a thing which England

is fostering in Palestine; it is one of the given factors which England finds in Palestine (although it is true that England had a hand, for other reasons, in putting it there)²¹. Zionism is no more a desideratum or part of the program of British Imperialism than is the welfare of the Arab population of Palestine.

It is not always realized how definitely the British government in Palestine is combatting the growth of Zionism. The proposed Legislative Council for Palestine which England has been promoting is an attempt to arrest its growth once and for all.²² Having impeded Zionism practically by limiting immigration, economically by curbing industrial development, and politically by fomenting Arab opposition, England is now attempting to stop its further growth by crystallizing Palestine in its present state, with its present proportions of population (Jewish and Arab) and with its present political masters (among the Arabs). The Legislative Council, a supposedly democratic institution which England has suggested nowhere else in its empire, will serve as a sounding board for the opposition of the Arab leaders to Zionism and will afford a permanent Arab political majority, partly appointed by the British government and partly "elected" by the present Arab leaders. Its very existence and operation would tend to freeze Zionism at its present stage. The insistence of England upon this Council shows how definitely it desires to stop the growth of Zionism.

It follows that Zionism is neither necessary to British imperialism nor part of its program.

But, we may ask, doesn't British imperialism use Zionism? Certainly. It uses Zionism just as it uses the Arabs. It plays one against the other, by fomenting anti-Jewish riots, by trying to break up Arab-Jewish cooperation, by developing political differences between them.²³ It makes use of these two groups just as it makes use of all local factors and of all possible local divisions in every colony.²⁴ It does need Zionism specifically. If there were no Zionism other divisions would be accentuated and developed for this purpose, notably the conflict between Moslem

and Christian Arabs, between fellaheen (serfs) and bedouin (pastoral), and the bitter struggle among the leading Arab feudal families. This is no argument against Zionism, and it does not mean that Zionism is a "tool" of British Imperialism except in the sense that the Arabs themselves are. Both of these groups, and all groups in all colonies, are in this restricted sense unwilling "tools" in the hands of imperialism until they unite against it. Therefore, just as it is the duty of the British government to keep them apart, it is the duty of all anti-imperialists to help build the broadest possible people's front, Zionist and Arab, for united work. ²⁵

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II. Is Zionism Compatible with British Imperialism?

We may now ask: Granted that Zionism is not part of British imperialist plans for the Near East, yet since it is there, why should not British imperialism make its peace with it? Why should it hinder Zionism at every point? Why does it not develop some mutual agreement and really use Zionism as a tool, i.e. an ally, an instrument, in its colonial policies?

There are various contributory reasons: the Jews are not as tractable as the "natives"; ²⁶ they are harder to manage; they would want more independence; they might become too strong and make common cause with one of England's possible enemies, say Soviet Russia; etc.

But there is also a specific and very important reason: by their very nature Zionism and British colonial policy in Palestine are incompatible, are contradictory. Zionism, in order to succeed, must of necessity industrialize the land as quickly as possible, both in order to satisfy the wants of the Jews and in order to enable further mass Jewish immigration. ²⁷ Colonial policy requires, on the other hand, an undeveloped country which will be permanently dependent, economically and politically, upon England. These two interests are contradictory, and therefore the British government in Palestine has constantly tried to hinder the industrial development

of the country.²⁸ This industrialization has the further effect of developing a large (and, for England, dangerous) Arab proletariat,²⁹ and Zionism, in order to continue its work, will be compelled, sooner or later, to make common cause with the Arab masses against the landowners of Palestine and, eventually, against the foreign imperialist government.³⁰

We have thus seen that the ultimate interests of Zionism and British colonial policy are incompatible, that Zionism is not necessary to British imperialism and is not wanted by it, and that the only sense in which Zionism is a "tool" of British imperialism is the fact that the British government plays Jews and Arabs against one another, a situation which can and will be altered when Zionism and the Arab masses join hands.



NOTES

Discussion 11.

1. That England was going to receive Palestine anyhow is seen from the very fact that it was a British Empire army under Lord Allenby which conquered Palestine for the allies. At the same time it cannot be doubted that England used its interest in Zionism to strengthen its claim to Palestine when bargaining with the other allied victors. It is also true that probably the large majority of Zionists were very anxious to have England receive the mandate for the country and would have done anything they could to bring that about. People, Jews as well as non-Jews, did not usually think in terms of imperialist manoeuvres, nor was the struggle against imperialism sharpened at the time. The point that must be realized, however, is that none of this is a reflection upon Zionism as such. The opinions of Zionists at that moment, or the tactics of England, cannot be held against Zionism. It is only important that these opinions and tactics be understood so that when necessary they may be combatted. As to Zionism itself, its relation to British Imperialism depends not on this but on whether it materially aids Imperialism or is contradictory to it; see the remainder of this Discussion.
2. See Discussion 10.
3. If there were any peasant or large bourgeois movement against England, one would expect it to have existed even without Zionism. But the Arab movement in Palestine is almost entirely feudal and clerical. These groups are necessarily opposed to Zionism but not to England. This is because of the industrialization of Palestine, and so the end of foudal society, which Zionism necessarily brings; see Discussion 10.
4. Not only because of its better imperialist machine and colonial technique, but also because Palestine is very much less urbanized than Syria, or rather would have been if Zionism had not come.

5. For the question "Does England need Zionism to play against the Arabs?" see below in this Discussion.
6. By industrializing the land and so arousing the present anti-Zionist and so partially (but very little) anti-British Arab nationalist movement.
7. In analyzing past or future historical phenomena we can be specific and speak of necessary and perhaps predictable developments; but in discovering the reasons for state documents, especially those issued during war, we may meet varied interests, personal influences, and sometimes even slips of policy (on the part of the framers of the document). We must therefore use a different method of analysis at this point.
8. This motive is obvious and was possibly the chief reason for the Declaration. Thus Leonard Stein in his Zionism:

"Those in Great Britain and France who had inquired into the volume of Jewish opinion behind Zionism were impressed by it. They thought that a declaration of sympathy with the Zionist cause might swing Jews, wherever they were found, to the cause of the Allies. Moreover, Russia, which was drifting out of the war, and the United States, which had not yet come in, contained between them more than half of the Jews in the world. Then, President Wilson, whom the Allies were especially anxious to win over, fully supported the Zionists and let it be known in 1917 that he would "welcome a British pronouncement" in favor of the Zionist cause.

"If further proof be needed, a memorandum has been brought to light, made by the Imperial Russian government, of a telegram sent by the British government, in which is pointed out the fact that a favorable manifesto toward Zionism would achieve desired political results, and in which the opinion of the Russian government on the matter is asked."

9. See the London Times for November 1917. Germany also informed Turkey that after the war Zionist colonization would have to be permitted. It is rather amusing to see England and Germany competing in this way for the favor of the Jews.
10. Though many British and American Jewish leaders, chiefly of the wealthy groups, opposed the issuance of the Declaration; see the London Times for May 24, 1917; Wise and de Haas, The Great Betrayal p. 34-37; J. H. Patterson, With the Judaeans in the Palestine Campaign p. 6-10.
11. See Sankowsky, Short History of Zionism. (National Avukah Program, No. 2).
12. Ibid. England later explained that the promise of a string of Arab states did not include Palestine and so did not conflict with the Balfour Declaration.
13. The Declaration, sent by Lord Balfour in a letter to Lord Rothschild on November 2, 1917 reads: "His Majesty's government view with favor the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people and will use their best endeavors to facilitate the achievement of this object, it being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine or the rights and political status enjoyed by Jews in any other country."
14. See below in this Discussion, and Sankowsky, Short History of Zionism.
15. Chiefly in the Churchill (1922) and Passfield (1929) White Papers.
16. To what extent this means that Zionism is a "tool" of British Imperialism, see below in this Discussion.
17. In the following only the broad outlines of England's anti-Zionist policy can be indicated; further details may be found in Sankowsky, Short History of Zionism and in the pamphlet Zionism faces British Imperialism (Avukah Translations, No. 1); see also Wise and de Haas, The Great Betrayal, especially p. 58, 90-91, 109-111, 116.

18. Since it was not based on the Mandate (which was given England later at San Remo) but was a regular colonial government in a conquered territory.

19. The attitude and actions of the Military government were excessively clear. For their actions, see the sources above; for their words, typical are the following excerpts from "A Palestine Notebook", by Mr. C.R. Ashbee, Civic Advisor to the City of Jerusalem from 1918 to September 1920.

July 5, 1918: "The Jews don't like it. They think the new Jerusalem belongs to them. But we don't take that view."

January, 1919: "I have not met one Zionist yet whom I would really trust for a wise and sane constructive policy...the Jew is unthinkable without the bargain, he bears the brand of that mean fellow Jacob upon his brow."

A final statement by the author in 1923: "The policy of the Balfour Declaration is an unjust policy and Zionism as understood is based upon a fundamental injustice and therefore dangerous both to civilization and to Jewry!"

20. Since Palestine was after all not an outright colony but a territory to be mandated, and especially since the mandates were to be decided upon at the approaching San Remo Conference, England had to cover up the effects which these riots had upon the outside world.

21. One should not confuse the various reasons for the Balfour Declaration with the imperialist program of England today.

22. On this Legislative Council see Zionism faces British Imperialism (Avukah Translations, No. 1) and Discussion 18.

23. This policy of the British government in Palestine appears in very many ways. The very Legislative Council which if successful (from England's point of view) would serve as an effective brake against Zionism, would meanwhile also serve to arouse political differences and struggles between Jews and Arabs, bringing together Zionist and anti-Zionist Arab leaders to argue political questions.

Even such an apparently innocent project as a Palestine government radio station is used (and was probably partially intended) for that purpose: from the very first a political struggle arose around the use of the name "Eretz Israel" ("Land of Israel", Hebrew name for Palestine); the whole division into Hebrew hours with Jewish leaders speaking to Jews and Arabic hours with Arab leaders speaking to Arabs is ideally suited to the interests of the British government and gives it an added opportunity to promote its plans. For further material see Discussion 10, especially note 15.

24. Colonies, specifically, as against Dominions.
25. For the position of the Communist Party in Palestine on this broad people's front see "Error of Principle", Avukah Bulletin, Dec. 1935.
26. This attitude was clearest during the Military government.
27. Only an industrialized Palestine would be able to support a large number of Jews.

"In 1920 there existed in Palestine, according to the estimate of the Jewish Agency, 289 factories and workshops representing an investment of LP.525,962. The Industrial Census at the end of 1933 showed 3388 factories and workshops, with a capital of LP.5,371,136. The estimate of the Palestine Manufacturers Association at the end of 1935 declares that there are about 4,000 industrial plants with a capital of from LP.7,500,000 to LP.8,000,000". (The American Economic Committee for Palestine; New Palestine, February 28, 1934)

28. For example: "The Palestine Administration has consistently made difficulties for the development of textile industries in Palestine... The British will not "suffer" it - in the interest of Manchester. That is why Sir John Hope Simpson goes out of his way, in his report, to oppose textile industries" (Wise and de Haas, The Great Betrayal p. 109f., no.5). The Palestine Administration often keeps duties on raw materials so high, and duties on finished products so low, that industry in Palestine is crippled. "The

slowness of the Palestine Government to act upon the requests of the manufacturers for uniform customs tariff protection...has further aggravated their situation. It became so difficult some months ago that some manufacturers found it practically impossible to operate. Their plight became so obvious that the government took belated steps to investigate their difficulties. Although several months have elapsed very little progress has been made."

(Palestine Economic Review, January, 1936, p. 3).

29. Though this industrialization originates in Jewish immigration and capital, it inevitably reaches to the Arab population of the country; for details see Discussion 10, especially note 9. The danger for England of such a proletariat, especially in view of its necessary contact with a highly organized and class conscious Jewish proletariat, is of course obvious.
30. That in the logical course of history, Zionism will necessarily have to do this, has been demonstrated in Discussion 10. See also Meir Yaari, Analysis of Zionism (Avukah Translations, No. 2), p. 11-12.

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