

INTRODUCTION:

This ideology was written over fifty years ago by Ze'ev Jabotinsky-Rosh Betar. In reading this today, it is important to keep in mind the different aspects of specific problems of Zionism, then and now. Some of his remarks about being militant and class struggle may now seem academic; this is a tribute to the greatness of his vision. The principles for which he had to fight are now to a great extent accepted without question. We are here presenting this article in its entirety, for its historical value, as well as for its ideological precepts.

1. THE MISSION OF THE BETAR

The aim of the Betar is simply stated: to create that type of Jew which the nation needs in order to better and more quickly build a Jewish state. In other words, to create a "normal", healthy citizen for the Jewish Nation. The greatest difficulty is encountered because as a nation the Jews today are neither normal or healthy, and life in the diaspora affects the intelligent upbringing of normal and healthy citizens. During two thousand years of exile, the Jewish Nation lost the habit of concentrating its will-power on all-important task, lost the habit of acting in unison as a people, lost the ability to defend itself and to arm itself in case of an emergency. Instead, the Jews became accustomed to shouts and deeds without substance, to disorder and disorganization, to negligence, both in social and personal life. Every step of Betar education signifies therefore, a desire to achieve this normalcy, even though it will take a long time for every Betari to grow up in the proper ways of life and behavior. This goal is not easily attainable but at the very beginning it is reassuring indeed to know that he, the Betari remembers it and aspires, even if slowly, to arrive at the heights.

2. THE JEWISH STATE

The basis of the Betarian viewpoint consists of one idea: the Jewish State. In this simple idea however, lies a deep meaning indeed. The significance of statehood is that every nation must contribute its own share to the common culture of mankind, a share which is distinguished by its own specific spirit. This contribution should not and can not consist merely of ideas and good advice to other nations; it must serve as a living example of ideas and ideals, tangibly realized, expressed not only in books but in the collective life of the people as well. For this purpose every nation must possess its own "laboratory", a country wherein the nation alone is master and can freely suit its collective life to its own conception of good and evil. A people's own state is such a laboratory.

There was prevalent a long time ago, the opinion among Jews that although the Jewish nation has a "mission of its own", a complex of ideals, which it must contribute to civilization we can nevertheless best serve this mission by remaining scattered among the nations. Thus the argument ran, we would be able to by closer contact offer our ideas to every nation so

that it would follow our advice in its collective life. This is a grave mistake. As already stated, one cannot be taught to precept alone. The world is prone to learn-even new ideas-from tangible examples only. England has, for instance, given to the world an important social idea-self government of a free citizenry. How did the English nation teach other people to understand and regulate such a state-system? Certainly not by being scattered among the nations- just the opposite is true. The English were in a position to teach others only because they formulated and developed a parliamentary system in their native country. Thus it became an example from which the world learned. In like manner, the French nation carried out its "mission" of instructing the world in the teachings of liberty and equality which it accepted during the great French revolution. The only right way to offer mankind some good, is to show practically and not verbally, how to achieve it. The contention that the Zionists abandoned the idea of the mission which the Jews owe to the world is untrue-for we hold that mankind has many truths to learn from us, truths still unknown to it. But first of all we need the creation of a Jewish State in order to teach others.

3. A JEWISH MAJORITY IN ERETZ ISRAEL

We must now consider what actually constitutes a Jewish "state". When can it truly be said that our country has ceased to be "Palestine" and has become Eretz Israel? Only when there will be more Jews than non-Jews; for the first condition of a national state is a national majority.

For a long time many Jews, including Zionists, were unwilling to understand this simple truth. They maintained that the creation of important positions in Palestine (colonies, cities, schools) was enough. According to them, a national life could be freely developed even though the majority of the population were to be Arabs. This is a vast mistake. History proves that any national position, however strong and important they may be, cannot be safeguarded as long as the nation which built them does not constitute a majority.

A minority can safeguard its cultural positions only as long as it can control the local majority. In countries like these, there could never be free, democratic governmental institutions, for then the local majority would rule in Parliament, become master and undertake to turn Tel-Aviv into an Arab city and Mount Scopus into an Arab University. Sooner or later, every country in the world is to become the "National State" of the predominant nation there. Thus if we desire Eretz Israel to become and remain a Jewish State we must first of all, create a Jewish majority.

The first step in Zionism consists of this, but it does not follow that it is the last step in Zionism. After attaining a majority in Palestine and being enabled to govern upon broadly democratic principles, we will have before us an even more important task: Shivath-Zion (the Return to Zion). By this we mean the creation of conditions which would enable every Jew who is willing or able to settle in the Jewish State. Also to aid those Jews who are unwilling or unable to live in the diaspora to settle in the Jewish State, and earn his livelihood there. These would probably reach into the millions, while a sufficient majority can be attained by one million, or a million and a half settlers.

After this will come what is probably the most important task of all: to make Eretz Israel the leading state of the civilized world, a country the customs and laws of which are to be followed by the whole universe. "From Zion the Torah shall come forth," signifies a "Torah" not merely in the religious sense. Zionism is a tremendous, overwhelmingly important task, the boundaries of which our generation cannot as yet envisage. The first step, the deed without which there can be no Zionism, or a Jewish State, or a real Jewish nation, is the creation of a Jewish majority in Palestine on both sides of the Jordan.

4. MONISM

This is one basis upon which is founded the entire Betarian viewpoint of building a Jewish State. It means the creation of a state comprising a Jewish majority on both sides of the Jordan. The one concept which is the pride of Betar and which differentiates it from all the other youth movements in Jewry, is Monism. Betar signifies a generation that dedicates its life to the sole idea of a Jewish State, without recognizing any other ideals.

It does not follow from this that a Betari must be blind to the importance, or even greatness, inherent in other ideals for betterment and reform, which now inspires masses of humanity; on the contrary the Betari must be open-eyed, clear-minded and generous of heart. A Betari must be able to deal fairly and respectfully with all honest aspirations of his fellow-men, especially because the best of these are derived from Jewish sources. Pacifism, for instance and above all, the war for social justice have their mainspring in the Bible. We also hope for a time to come when the Jewish State will show the world the right way-both to eternal peace and social justice. First of all, however, the Jewish Nation must build its state. This undertaking is so complicated and difficult that it demands the full strength of an entire generation-perhaps of even more than one generation. Jewish youth must, therefore, devote itself completely to this sole task; all other ideals, though they might be beautiful and humane, should influence us only in so far as they do not hinder the rebuilding of the Jewish State. When one of these ideals becomes (even if indirectly) an obstacle on the road to a Jewish State, it must be mercilessly sacrificed in favor of the one ideal. One should remember that one may have many ideas and respect them highly, but one can have only one ideal-for two ideals are as absurd as two gods; one can worship only one God and only one ideal. Everything else one may like is, and must remain of secondary importance.

As already stated, this is the one fundamental which distinguishes the Betar from all the other Zionist youth movements. The Betar have the characteristic tendency to "co-ordinate" two ideals; like Zionism and Socialism, serving both simultaneously. As a result there is a confusion which renders impossible a clear-cut relationship towards Zionism and the Jewish State. Being Zionist, this youth is glad with the fact that private capital can find an outlet in Palestine and thus attract additional capital, which aids the foundation of new enterprises and increases Jewish immigration; being Socialists, however, they consider such business a plain result of exploitation. The outcome of such an adulteration of conceptions is that neither here nor there are they correct. In

reference to Zionism, they are prohibited from using such expressions as "Jewish State" or "a Jewish Majority" for this would mean the encouragement for the capitalist settlers too; without whom there can not be a large Aliya and inflow of workers. As far as socialism is concerned, these young people are jeered at by the "pure" non-Zionist Socialists who keep on reminding the Zionists that their actions are contradictory to the Proletarian principles. Consequently, we witness the fact that many tire of such confusion and throw the Zionist ideal overboard for two ideals cannot dwell together and one or the other must eventually give way and disappear.

This admixture of various ideals, which Betar absolutely rejects, we may call biblically, *schaatnez*, the euphonistic stand of Betar may be termed in Hebrew CHAD-NESS (One Flag). Betar has no torn apart souls, no breach caused by two equally valued aspirations. Everything which disturbs the upbuilding of the Jewish State, whether in connection with private interests or with a group or class, must, without reservation, bow to the one flag, to the command of the highest, the supreme ideal to the Jewish State.

5. CLASS-STRUGGLE:

Very apparent is the difference between Betar and other youth organizations regarding the idea of class-struggle in Eretz Israel. This idea maintains that every Jewish worker should consider himself an enemy of the Jewish capitalist even though the latter utilizes his capital to build another factory, or to purchase a plantation and employs in his concerns Jewish labor exclusively.

This conception the Betar holds to be the most conspicuous example of the "*schaatnez*", of a blind absurdity. Classes can exist only in an already formulated and established society; but since we are concerned as yet with the colonizing stage, there are no classes or proletarians or wealthy- there are only pioneers. These "*chalutzim*", each of whom participates as well as he or she is able, in a mutual and very difficult enterprise are merely figures on the chess-board of Zionism- be they Tom, Dick or Harry, they play a fighting game while being manipulated by one excellent player. They, the *chalutzim*, are merely various instruments in an orchestra: each instrument has its own musical score, but the combined instruments play at the same concert and are led by the same conductor. In our case, the chess-player and the conductor is named: the Jewish State.

Nobody denies that even in Eretz Israel the individual interests of the worker are unlike those of his employer: the former wants to earn more, the latter to pay less, - as in any other country. However, whereas in France or England it is not the concern of the worker whether his employer, a manufacturer, can "stand" a high wage or not, the case is entirely different in Eretz Israel. There the worker, if he is a Zionist, cannot afford the luxury of ruining a factory because the scope of colonization is narrowed. The manufacturer too, if he is a Zionist, must not tolerate impossible working conditions in his enterprise, which then would lose its colonizatory significance. In other words, in Eretz Israel, high and mightier than class-interests, the

Common interest in rebuilding the Jewish State rules supreme. Consequently, there should be no talk of class-war, a system, the harmful tendency of which, is manifested when one side threatens the other by means of strikes or lockouts. In Eretz Israel, such conflicts must always be settled in one manner only, through obligatory national arbitration.

Of course, as long as there is no Institute for National Arbitration, a strike may be at times, the only recourse to gain just concessions from a miserly employer. The Betari must never forget that there is a solidarity among all wage earners. The Betari must beware of such courses which threaten to turn the Jewish worker in Eretz Israel into a poor, needy man who cannot live decently and educate his children properly. Upon noticing that arbitration bodies are as yet non-existent and the only manner to defend just working conditions is, to our regret, a strike, he, the Betari is not allowed to disrupt it. We are sorry that there are frequent and quite unnecessary strikes in Eretz Israel; when encouraged without economic need, these slow up the work of rebuilding. Especially is this true when referring to the strikes with the help of which the "Histadrut" seeks to control the economic life of the Yishuv. The "Histadrut" strikes if a manufacturer or colonist hires laborers, like Betarim (though on the same conditions) who do not desire to join the "Histadrut" or be subject to its employment bureaus. The real purpose of such a strike seems to be the ejection of Betarian workers. Naturally such a strike is not merely "unholy"- it is a crime, an injustice which is intolerable for the state which urgently needs every one of its pioneers. Such a strike must not merely be disrupted-it must be made impossible whether one is cursed with the name "scab" or not. An unjust and State-disintegrating strike must be mercilessly broken as well as any other attempt to damage the Jewish State reconstruction. Finally, it is the right and duty of Betar itself to decide as to the justice or injustice of a conflict, help the former and break up the latter.

In another sense too the class struggle in Eretz Israel is but a fiction; in the sense of uniting the "Proletarians of all countries" in a common battle against the bourgeois of all nations. Every Jewish worker in Eretz Israel knows very well indeed that if Arabian proletarians were to attack the hateful bourgeois of Petach-Tikvah, he being a Zionist would defend middle class property against his "class-brethren". Why? Because it is, first of all, Jewish property, a factor in Jewish colonization, a position to be eventually utilized in the process of attaining a Jewish majority.

A colonizatory period has its own social laws, which are fundamentally different from those which govern the already established countries. Here are several social laws pertaining to our colonization as comprehended and proclaimed by the Betar.

A. One hundred percent Jewish labor in all Jewish enterprises. Otherwise, these are from the colonizatory viewpoint, worthless. The worst of all national crimes in Eretz Israel is the boycott of Jewish labor.

B. Decent labor conditions for the Jewish worker. Otherwise, he will be unable to emigrate and Eretz Israel will then never be a Jewish State.

Normal investment of private capital—otherwise capital will cease pouring in Eretz Israel—and thus building of the Jewish State will cease.

D. Obligatory national arbitration in all social conflicts of Jewish economic life and a "cherem", a taboo against the two national crimes: strikes and lockouts.

Since the strongest of the labor organizations in Palestine, the Histadrut Haovdim, does not recognize these principles but insists upon the class struggle viewpoint, the Betarim workers in Eretz Israel do not join the Histadrut and cannot therefore, find employment through its labor bureaus.

E. The formation of neutral employment bureaus, with an equal representation of all Jewish labor organizations as well as of employers, under the chairmanship of neutral elements, preferably under the guidance and inspection of such an Institute whose function is to be national arbitration.

6. THE LEGIONIST: 7

The Betar is steadfast concerning the Legion and Legionism: it demands of its members as well as of the Jewish youth generally that they fully train the technique of utilizing firearms, and that they be ready always to answer personally the call to self-defense, or if needed, to a new Jewish Army.

The Betar holds that a pioneer who did not prepare himself for this task is useless and unsuitable for Eretz Israel, and hachshara Haganatit (military training) is the first and most important of all other requisites.

Our rivals call this "militarism". We should not be afraid, however of a Latin word. There was a time when the first Zionists, too, were threatened with a Latinism: "nationalism"...But those first Zionists were undaunted and answered that there were two sorts of nationalism. If a nation dwells in its country but also desires to annex the land of its neighbors,—that is bad nationalism. On the other hand, when a nation is entirely homeless and demands for itself a portion of God's earth it is a good nationalism about which there is nothing to be ashamed. The same applies to "militarism". If a power, unharmed by anybody, begins to arm in order to attack its peaceful neighbors it is a bad militarism. In the case of the Jews, however, who are being beaten almost everywhere, and who, even in Eretz Israel, are threatened with destruction—it is certainly proof of good nationalism to arm for the defense of our lives, property, and future. We may then well be proud of it.

Every great colonization in history has always entailed a revolt of the natives. Palestine is no exception to the rule. One who thinks that the Arabs are right to oppose Zionism, may well reject entirely the idea of colonizing Eretz Israel. But he who upholds that the Jewish people have a sacred right to their historic homeland, and that the opposition of the Arabs (a people of about 40 million which possesses a territory as large as half of Europe) is unjustified—he should draw

logical conclusion, and in accordance with his conviction aid in the creation of such defenses as will make the destruction impossible.

7. THE HEBREW LANGUAGE:

Betar recognizes Hebrew as the only and eternal language of the Jewish people. In Eretz Israel it must become the language in all phases of life; in the Diaspora it must, at least, be the language of the Jewish educational system, starting with kindergarten and ending with high school (later on perhaps with college life too-if we shall ever have Jewish universities in the Diaspora). In the education of every Jewish child it must be the beginning and the base of everything. A Jewish child who is ignorant of the Hebrew language is not entirely Jewish, even though he or she is a Betari.

We have the utmost respect for the other languages which are utilized by our people. Particularly do we appreciate the tremendous role of Yiddish in preserving our national integrity and the wealth of its literature and press. We also esteem the Spaniolian (Ladino) of the Sephardim (Jews of Spanish descent) which also served as an excellent remedy against assimilation. A national language, however, is something different and by far greater. It cannot be a language which the nation has adopted in the course of its history, derived from a strange people and then used for its own purposes. Very significant indeed is the fact that the greatest, immortal works of our national genius-The Bible, the books of Halevi and Gabriol; of Bialik and Schneour, were not created in Aramaic during antiquity, nor in Yiddish in our times, despite the full and great role of both languages in our own development. A national language is one which is born, simultaneously with a nation, and then accompanies the latter in one form or another, throughout its entire life. Such to us is Hebrew.

I hope-being a hopeful man and having unbounded faith in the Betar-that there will eventually arrive a time when Betar will also play an important role in the Renaissance movement of our language; one role which was forgotten by all the groups participating in this Zionist revival. I refer to that role which is to safeguard the beautiful tone and pronunciation of Hebrew. Our language is being revived, but without that marvelously harmonious enunciation which it apparently possessed in the ancient times of the Prophets. Doubtless, in those days, Hebrew was as musical a language as Latin or French. Today, very often, Hebrew is spoken vulgarly, and the accents are ill-sounding and foreign, even in Eretz Israel. This, too, is a problem which can be termed "lack of Hadar"-to talk the language in any manner whatsoever and be careless of its beauty. It is sufficient to look over attentively a page of the Bible with its various notes of pronunciation in order to understand the love for each letter and the wealth of nuances that could be found in its spoken Hebrew. I sincerely hope that it will be Betar's fate again to renew this forgotten tradition of our national language. Our national language must again be what it once upon a time was: a poem, a musical masterpiece.

8. BETARIAN DISCIPLINE:

The building of the Betar is founded upon the principles of discipline.

Our aim is (an aim which as yet is hardly achieved) to make Betar such a world organism that it will be able to simultaneously move tens of thousands of hands in all cities of all countries. Our adversaries say that it is "unworthy of free men", "that it means being made into a machine".

For it is the highest achievement of a mass of free men, if they are capable to act in unison, with the absolute precision of a machine. Only free and cultured people can do so. When we listen to a choir or an orchestra, a hundred participants of which follow one conductor and so create an impression of absolute solidarity and unity, it is certain proof that each individual gave his best efforts to achieve such a result. It was not the conductor who forced things; it was the artist himself who desired a complete unity of tone. Into such an orchestra we want to transform the Jewish nation, and the first step is the Betar. No young man is forced to enter the Betar ranks and remain there; it is his own free will which makes him recognize as the first characteristic of mankind the ability to unite one's individuality with that of the others for the sake of the common goal. Indeed the entire conception of mankind in its deepest and most delicate sense is centered in unity. The salvation of Israel will dawn at the moment when the Jewish Nation will learn how to act together and in unison, as a machine; when humanity as a whole will learn the art, salvation will come to the world, and warring particles will be transformed into one world family.

Discipline is the subordination of a mass to one leader; that leader must subordinate himself to his superior, the superior to somebody higher than himself, etc. It does not signify, however, that one subordinates himself to a stranger's will for the leader is but the executor of your own will, your representative whom you freely empower to conduct your "orchestra". Otherwise, you would not have joined the Betar or remained there indefinitely. The meaning of Betarian discipline, too, lies in the very important fundamental law of euphonism, We all have one will, we build together the same structure; we therefore listen to the call of that architect whose construction plan suited us best. Consequently, as long as he, the architect, is accurate in his planning, we pave stones and hammer nails as instructed.

The leader, the conductor, the architect, may either be an individual or a body—a committee, for instance. Both are equally democratic as long as leadership is vouchsafed by a mass agreement. In France there reigns a collective body, the cabinet, in the United States, solely the President—yet both are strictly democratic republics. For Betar the American system is better suited because Betar is a combination of both school and army and a class of pupils or a regiment of soldiers is best led by one teacher or one commander, not by a group with divergent opinions. Nevertheless, the first and last source of this complete hierarchy of Betar is expressed in the will of the Betarian mass because it freely elects the highest functionary of the movement—Rosh Betar.

The growth of the Betar and its conception of discipline form a happy and healthy union between freedom on one hand, and monistic harmony on the other.

"Hadar" is a Hebrew word which is with difficulty translated into another language; it combines various conceptions such as outward beauty, respect, self-esteem, politeness, faithfulness. The only suitable "translation" into the "language" of real life must be the Betari in his dealings, his actions, speech and thought. Naturally we are all as yet removed from such perfection, and it thus cannot be achieved in one generation. Nevertheless, "Hadar Betar" must be the daily goal of each one of us: our every step, gesture, word, action and thought must always be strictly executed from the Hadar viewpoint.

If "Hadar" is important to every man generally, it is doubly so to us Jews. We have already stated that life in the Diaspora has greatly weakened many of our sondest normal instincts. The outward form of our life, however, was even more neglected. A man should accustom himself to speech and gestures in which there must be discerned a great esteem of his own dignity. If the expression "aristocrat" has any meaning, it is this: an aristocrat is he whose fathers, grand-fathers and so on, for many generations were men of culture; men who did not merely exist but were capable of engrossing themselves in noble ideas and suited their way of life to higher ideals. If such is the case, we Jews are the most "aristocratic" people in the world. Even the most ancient of ruling dynasties have to their credit not more than 20-30 generations of culture. Futher, somewhere at the beginning we find at best a medieval half-savage peasant, or a robber. Jews, however, have 70 generations in their past, men who could read and write, who studied and discussed God, history, ideas of justice, human problems and the future. In this sense, every Jew is a "prince" and the bitterest of all jokes that the Diaspora played upon us is that the Jews are generally regarded as people without background.

Only the ignorant can persuade themselves that the question of "Hadar" is a private matter.

Each one of us recognizes the fact that we behave differently towards a person whose every word denotes him as a man of dignity, no matter how poorly he is dressed. Were all Jews to act properly, the anti-Semites probably would hate us anyhow but it would be a hate mixed with respect, and our situation in the world would have been quite different than it is. In attaining the Zioinst aim, too, a tasteful mode of life would help us greatly, every group, every individual of which shows in his behavior and mannerism a long-standing tradition of culture, forces even an enemy to admit that, "Yes, this is a nation, these people can build a State!"

One of the good methods of "Hadar" education is, in fact the Betarian discipline-but this is not sufficient. Every individual must examine and weigh and measure his personal habits. "Hadar" consists of a thousand trifles, which collectively form every-day life: Fat noiselessly and slowly, do not protrude your elbows at meals, do not sip your soup loudly; walk upstairs at night, do not talk-you awaken the neighbors; in the streets give the right of way to a lady, to a child,

every man - him be true, he not so yourself. All these as well as a mass row of other virtues make up the "Hadar Betari".

More important by far is the moral "Hadar". You must be generous, if a question of principle is involved. Every word of yours must be an "word of honor", and the latter is mightier than steel. A time must eventually arrive when a Jew, desiring to express his highest appreciation of human honesty, courtesy and esteem will not say, as now: "He is a real gentleman!" but: "He is a real Betari!"

10. THE PRINCIPLE OF MOBILIZATION (Plugot Hagiyus or "Sherut"):

The word "giyus" (mobilization) is definable thus: first and most important is the mobilization of a new Jewish army at the opportune time. The second mobilization signifies permanence, and it refers to every Betari who settles in Eretz Israel. According to our statutes, the Betari must consider himself "mobilized" for a period of two years and is obligated to do any assigned work in any given place on conditions deemed fit by the Betar command.

This principle is extraordinarily important. Nowadays, the "Aliya" to Eretz Israel has become a very usual thing indeed, and even non-Zionists are very desirous to "escape" to Eretz Israel, though they may not be interested in the national idea. At times, the difference between the conception of "pioneer" and "refugee" is hardly discernable. We must not allow it in Betar. To us "Aliya" must remain "Aliya" indeed: an action which should possess an element of effort, of accomplishment, of sacrifice for the national welfare, not merely a matter for personal betterment. We therefore demand of every Betari that during the first two years in Eretz Israel he should entirely disregard his own interests. During that time a Betari is only an instrument of rebuilding; he must not prefer to work in Tel-Aviv rather than Mettula or be pleased to become a baker rather than a carpenter. He must go to such places and do such labor as the Jewish State might demand and as commanded by the Betar in Palestine. Thus act thus of our young laborers who at the present time are working in various Jewish colonies, and who are organized as "Plugot Hagiyus".

Our "Olim" (Pioneers-newcomers) must know that this is an obligatory duty. Those who do not desire to be subject to the two-year "giyus" should not receive the "diploma" of a Betarian Oleh. Of course, those Betarim born or bred in Eretz Israel should also voluntarily enter the "Plugot Hagiyus". In case a Betari desires to continue his mobilization period, we will most certainly be glad of it; but one thing must be remembered: The first two years are not yours, they are the Nation's.

11. TOTZERET HA-ARETZ:

To the Betar, the principle of "Israel Products for the Diaspora", is not merely one way of aiding our colonization-it is the way. A man is "colonized" not because he settles in Israel, establishes a factory there or plants an orange grove: this is not sufficient; he is still a "tourist" for tomorrow, he may lose his means of livelihood and be forced

to leave. When is he colonized? At the moment he sells his products-
thereby striking roots in the country. In this sense it may be said
that colonization is being firmly carried on not where the "Olim" settle,
but in those places which offer marketing possibilities for their pro-
duce. To spread "tozeret ha-aretz" means to the Land of Israel coloni-
zation as much as settling there; it means active participation in its
direct help for those who work in Israel and need customers abroad for
the fruit of their toil. When the Betar will be ready for its great task
in the above-mentioned field, we might possibly call the persons en-
gaged in this work: "Pioneers of Israel Produce"-for he who aids in the
selling of an article made by a "Halutz"(pioneer) in Israel is not in-
ferior, but as important as the producer.

12. A BETARIAN SOCIALISM:

I wish to touch upon a subject which probably will never enter into our
ideology because many of us doubt the need of the Betar to create its
own theory of social reform. We have decided that in building a State,
we must utilize the means at hand, be they new or old, good or bad, if
only we will thus attain a Jewish majority. We know that another gen-
eration will arise, and make use of the national laboratory which we
prepared for it. Such a generation may variously test and analyze so-
ciological problems, experiment with the prevalent social orders and
seek solutions for its betterment. This is a sound principle, for it
includes the sacred fundamental law of Monism and as such it must in-
variably remain as far as practical activity is concerned.

We may inquire, however, whether we must unconditionally surrender the
course of our theoretical idea. The mind of a thinking young man is
hardly asleep; if alert, a young man delves into various wordly problems,
among them he meets the social questions. One may theoretically agree
with Socialism, or be indifferent toward it-this cannot be forbidden and
it is unnecessary to bewail the fact. Everything goes well, if only
the projects for a distant future do not disrupt the harmony essential
to the one task of the present-the building of a Jewish State on both
sides of the Jordan.

13. HACHSHARA MIKZOIT:

In this field too, Betar will have its own say. The present day system
of preparation for Aliya is, needless to say, unsatisfactory. Never-
theless, one does not hear any positive proposals of how to change the
situation. I do hope that the right proposal, and better still, the
example itself will come from the Betar.

Here, too, I cannot outline anything definite; life and experience
will do that. I am able, though, to express several lay-opinions which,
perhaps may help those of us who need practical Hachshara(Aliya training)
to finally find the right way.

About twenty years ago it was generally conceded that the best a person
can do for himself, is to completely master some trade or profession.
Shoemakers or tailors or lawyers, were certain to find their respective

social and economic positions. Today, too, it is probably the best way, but not the surest any longer, for we may all ask: how many good tailors and excellent lawyers do not earn enough money to buy bread with? In regard to colonization that certainly almost vanishes altogether-for you cannot exactly estimate how many shoemakers, farm-laborers and doctors the country will need and be capable of absorbing in the very near future. Consequently, we may well ask the question: would it not rather be a good method to train such pioneers who, though not specialists in any trade, are quick to become acquainted with and concentrate themselves in any new field of labor.

There is a French expression *debrouillard* that cannot adequately translate. It refers to such a man who is able to extricate himself easily from any difficulties that might befall him. For instance, if the electricity is to be repaired, such a man can do it, although he is not an electrician; when the foot of a table is to be put in place, a pair of trousers mended, or a dinner must be cooked-he is capable of handling dexterously all these jobs. It may not be a first-class accomplishment not even one of secondary importance, but it is very useful indeed. I often ask myself whether a "debrouillard" is not the most suitable pioneer type in a colonisatory period? For one of the characteristics to be found in such a pioneer is naturally this: that when, sooner or later, he will get a steady occupation, he will master his trade quicker and better than others. (Especially is this true of very young people).