תמצית המאמרים באנגלית

# TEL-AVIV UNIVERSITY THE CHAIM ROSENBERG SCHOOL OF JEWISH STUDIES THE INSTITUTE FOR ZIONIST RESEARCH FOUNDED IN MEMORY OF CHAIM WEIZMANN



#### ZIONISM

### STUDIES IN THE HISTORY OF THE ZIONIST MOVEMENT AND OF THE JEWISH COMMUNITY IN PALESTINE

v

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The Institute for Zionist Research founded in memory of Chaim Weizmann was set up in 1962 at Tel-Aviv University through the initiative and with the assistance of the Executive of the World Zionist Organization, with the aim of furthering the research and the teaching of the history of the Zionist idea, the Zionist movement and the Land of Israel in modern times.

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ENGLISH SUMMARIES

#### SUMMARIES

## 'JEWISH COLONIES' AS PART OF THE FIRST DELIBERATIONS ON THE 'JEWISH QUESTION' by Jacob Toury

Since 1778, proposals for the establishment of Jewish colonies appeared with growing frequency in German-speaking countries, including Alsace and the Habsburg capitals Prague and Vienna. They started as an offshoot of 'enlightened' policies, aimed at educating the Jews to become 'useful' members of society and 'productive' subjects of the authorities. The ensuing proposals for the establishment of Jewish colonies at home or abroad received only scant attention at government-level; yet they were given some prominence in booklets and periodicals, at first with rather friendly intentions, but soon as a favourite topic for Jew-baiters.

Chronologically, there were four short periods between 1778 and 1819, when projects for Jewish settlements seem to have attained a certain prominency: the first was the time of Joseph II's *Toleranzpatent* and of Chr. W. Dohm's book *On Civil Betterment of the Jews* (1781—1783); the second was closely connected with the revolution and the ensuing deliberations on Jewish rights in France (1787—1791), and their repercussions in Germany (1793); the third centred on the political reorganization of Germany at the Regensburg Diet (1802—1804); and a final outburst of discussions accompanied the Congress of Vienna and continued (1815—1819) until the so-called Hep-Hep Riots in most parts of Germany.

Parallel with this chronological and geographical subdivision, a shifting of ideology and typology occurred: until 1783, settlements within the several states were favoured, in conformity with enlightened physiocratic principles; colonies outside Europe appealed mainly to Austrian and Bohemian Jew-baiters, while Palestine remained the romantic by-product of Schiller's poetic genius.

In the second period, proposals for colonies in the Atlantic and American possessions, especially of France, came to the fore, some of them being designated by their anti-Jewish proponents as New Jerusalem or Canaan.

During the third period, from 1802 to 1804, domestic colonies were again preferred, particularly by anti-Jewish writers broadcasting their intention of segregating the Jews instead of educating them.

Finally, on the eve of the Hep-Hep Riots, the plans for internal colonization were almost entirely abandoned by 'völkish' and racist anti-Semites. They wanted the Jews relegated to far distant lands but generally disregarded the one feasible place of settlement, the United States of America. Instead, 'plans' for emigration to Palestine attracted many of the Jew-baiters, who thus manifested their goal of complete geographical and physical segregation of the 'alien' Jews from Germany.

## ON RELIGION AND FAITH IN THE THOUGHT OF MOSES HESS $\ensuremath{\mathit{by}}$ Shulamit Volkov

Behind the inconsistencies and the apparent confusion in Moses Hess's writing it is possible to discover a continuous search for personal faith and religious identity. In an ecstatic state of mind the young Hess was engaged in writing his early historical-philosophical tracts. Seeking to assert his independence, he had rejected orthodox Judaism and sought to adopt Spinoza's pantheism. He soon discovered the attractions of Christianity, the religion of the dominant culture which he then admired, and came to think of his own spiritual mission in its messianic terms. His 'holy history' applied a three-fold division to human history designed to appear parallel to the Holy Trinity. This was a device used by a number of other thinkers at the time, all of them continuing a long Christian tradition of chiliasm. It was not Jewish Messianism which had inspired Hess, but he did exhibit a particular moral indignation and a sense of apocalypse which perhaps betrayed his Jewishness.

For a short time Hess followed Feuerbach into a phase of atheism, elaborating upon his critique of Christianity, and gradually turning his gaze to more mundane problems of social injustice, materialism and the moral decay of his time. He became a socialist but, unlike Marx, was unable to disclaim for long his interest in religion. Socialism served as his faith, but a meaningful

history without God soon became an impossibility. He was again seeking a religion in order to overcome the fragmentary nature of his thought, to make more comprehensible the fragmentary nature of the world around him, to provide him with hope for harmony. He found himself back with Judaism, his own authentic faith — a solution to his constant search for peace with himself.

## THE CONFRONTATION BETWEEN HAREDIM AND MASKILIM IN THE HIBBAT-ZION MOVEMENT IN THE 1880s by Yosef Salmon

During the 1880s there was considerable hesitation among the Haredim with regard to their participation, side by side with the Maskilim, in the recently established Hibbat-Zion movement. Actually, a group led by Rabbi Y.B. Soloveitchik of Brest-Litovsk, favoured the establishment of a separate movement. Nevertheless, although there was no unanimous decision, the first meeting of the Hovevei-Zion in Bialystok (1883), under the leadership of S. Mohilever, produced the impression that the *Haredim* were ready to cooperate with all sectors of the Jewish community. But the Kattowitz Conference, which convened in the following year, elected a leadership which increased the apprehension of the Haredim lest the future development of the Hibbat-Zion movement would be dominated by Maskilim. Those rabbis, headed by Mohilever, who did not demur or actually withdraw from the movement, determined to take over the leadership. This they accomplished at the Vilna Conference (1889), when Pinsker resigned.

Two struggles for power to fashion the character of the Hibbat-Zion movement were waged during the 1880's. The first (1886—8) related to the non-observant behaviour of the Gedera settlers. Here the *Haredim* succeeded in obtaining recognition of the principle that the Hibbat-Zion settlements in Palestine must conform to an observant way of life.

The second issue concerned the manner in which the *Shemitta* year of 1888/9 was to be observed. It engendered a conflict within the Orthodox camp itself, with supporters and opponents of Hibbat-Zion aligning themselves on both sides. A rabbinical decree,

permitting agricultural work during the *Shemitta* under certain limitations, which had been urged by the moderates, was finally authorized by the rabbis who opposed Hibbat-Zion, although it was not universally accepted. The sour taste left by this dispute served the purposes of the Orthodox propagandists against the Hibbat-Zion movement.

## THE HEBREW SCHOOL SYSTEM IN PALESTINE: CONFLICTS OF ORGANIZATION AND STRUCTURE (1918—1920) by Moshe Rinott

During World War I, many Hebrew schools in Palestine became financially dependent on the World Zionist Organization. With the end of the war, it became necessary to construct a new organizational framework for the religious and the secular schools.

The religious Mizrahi party demanded the establishment of two autonomous school systems under the auspices of the Zionist Organization. One of them was to be religious and come under their party's wings. The secular majority, however, desired a single school system with a sub-division for the religious schools, thus providing considerable autonomy without political interference.

The author examines the ensuing struggle and analyzes the conflicting views of the organizations and groups involved. After bitter controversy, a compromise was reached at the Zionist Conference in London in July 1920. The Mizrahi agreed to a single school system with limited autonomy for the religious schools; the others conceded to the Mizrahi party control of the religious schools.

### BEATRICE WEBB'S VIEWS ON JUDAISM, JEWS AND ZIONISM by Yosef Gorni

Beatrice Webb (1858—1943) was one of the most prominent and impressive figures in British left wing intellectual circles during two decades. In the 1880's, as a young social investigator, she met the Jewish immigrants in East London. More than forty years

later, in 1929—1931, as the wife of Lord Passfield, Secretary of State for the Colonies in the Labour Government, she was drawn into an acute confrontation with the Zionist Movement.

The author attempts to ascertain whether Beatrice Webb's later attitude to Zionism was related to her earlier opinions on Jews and Judaism. He concludes that, though her anti-Zionism does not seem to have sprung directly from her youthful views, the latter did have a noticeable impact on the complex of her arguments against Zionism, which are described and analyzed in the article.

# THE DEBATE IN MAPAI ABOUT THE USE OF VIOLENCE, 1932-1935 $by \ \ {\rm Anita \ Shapiro}$

In the years 1931—35 the struggle for hegemony in the Zionist Movement between the Jewish Labour Movement in Palestine, headed by the largest party, Mapai, and the Revisionist Movement gained in intensity, causing grave repercussions within the Yishuv. The Revisionists resorted to strike-breaking, with the aim of undermining the power of the Histadrut — the General Federation of Jewish Workers in Palestine — which controlled the labour market and prevented the employment of Revisionist workers who were not Histadrut members. Under the impact of current events in Germany, the Labour Movement tended to regard the Revisionists as a Palestinian offshoot of triumphant Fascism, which must be curbed, if necessary by force. Several incidents in which violence was employed by workers' councils touched off an acrimonious debate within Mapai as to whether and under what circumstances the use of violence was permissible. The chief protagonists of violence were the leaders of the workers' councils, who were involved in daily confrontation with the Revisionists. They were opposed by Berl Katznelson, who was generally accepted as the supreme moral authority in the party. He feared that the Labour Movement might itself become contaminated with Fascism. and insisted that the Movement must seek an accommodation with the Revisionist workers. This attitude reflected Berl Katznelson's

general views on social relations within the Yishuv and his desire to achieve a national consensus, which he held to be essential for the ultimate attainment of a Jewish state.

The polemic did not produce a clear-cut decision, but after 1935 Mapai refrained from the use of violence against political rivals.

#### POLITICAL CONSIDERATIONS IN THE PROCESS OF BRITISH POLICY-MAKING WITH REGARD TO JEWISH IMMIGRATION INTO PALESTINE by Gabriel Sheffer

Immigration was a major factor in the growth of the Yishuv and in the development of its autonomic institutions during the 1930's. Yet, even more than other aspects of this process, it still requires elucidation as to the rules that governed it, its impact on general developments in Palestine and the region, and its effects on the Yishuv's relations with the British and with the Arabs of Palestine.

For reasons of space and analysis, the discussion in the present article is confined mainly to an examination of the external constraints on the formulation and implementation of Zionist policy in regard to immigration and to British policies which served as the main constraint on the Jewish leaders.

The main hypotheses examined in the article are: a) British policy resulted from a combination of political and economic considerations; b) British policy was shaped in accordance with certain definite long-term principles; c) the small British policy-making élite was immune to direct Jewish and Arab pressures.

This inquiry should enable us to re-examine the effectiveness of Jewish and Arab policies, the accuracy of their respective analyses, the validity of their strategies and tactics, and the 'net' results of the pressures and influences which were brought to bear on the British.

The author examines a number of actual decisions made by the British. They include those taken during the crisis of 1929—1931 in Palestine; the decision to increase immigration in 1932; to curb it in 1935; to resist Arab pressures during the Arab rebellion of 1936;

and finally, the decisions taken in the wake of the Royal Commission (Peel) report in 1937.

## THE PARTITION PLAN AND DR. NAHUM GOLDMANN'S MISSION TO WASHINGTON IN THE SUMMER OF 1946 by Zvi Ganin

In the summer of 1946, Anglo-Zionist relations reached a nadir, culminating in the Black Sabbath of 29 June, when leaders of the Jewish Agency were arrested by the British, and large-scale searches for Haganah arms were undertaken. Whitehall also came up with a political scheme for Palestine (later known as the Morrison-Grady scheme), which was endorsed by the State Department.

The Jewish Agency Executive, meeting in Paris in early August, rejected the Morrison-Grady scheme and accepted Nahum Goldmann's alternative plan of partition. It also approved his suggested mission to Washington, aimed at inducing President Truman and his administration to support partition. The mission lasted from 6 to 11 August; Goldmann succeeded in persuading Undersecretary of State Dean Acheson, Secretaries Patterson and Snyder, David Niles and, most significantly, President Truman, to support his partition scheme. But Goldmann, who acted independently of the leader of American Zionism, Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver, created a crisis in Zionist ranks which resulted in Silver's resignation. Moreover, it soon became evident that Truman's tentative endorsement of partition did not diminish British opposition to the creation of a Jewish State. Goldmann's coup in Washington, in itself a masterpiece of personal diplomacy, could not produce the desired immediate result. Nevertheless, in the long run, the Goldmann mission did not prove abortive. By submitting the partition plan, Goldmann succeeded in maintaining Truman's interest in the Palestine question. Internally, Goldmann broke the Zionist taboo on partition and won the support of Joseph Proskauer, President of the American Jewish Committee, for the creation of a Jewish State.

## EARLY DISCORD IN BILU — 19 DOCUMENTS by Shulamith Laskov

The letters published here are part of a collection of about 450 manuscripts concerning the Bilu movement and the Gedera colony. Discovered in 1938 under the cellar floor of a Gedera house belonging to S. Z. Zuckerman, a Bilu member and one of the colony's founders, they were donated in 1971 to the Institute for Zionist Research of Tel-Aviv University.

The Bilu movement was founded in February 1882 by 50 Jewish students of Kharkov University and their sympathizers, in the wake of the pogroms of 1881. Its aim was to spearhead the Jewish renaissance in Palestine by establishing a model colony there.

In April 1882 the Turkish Government prohibited the immigration into Palestine of Jewish subjects of Russia, Rumania and Bulgaria. A month later, Sir Laurence Oliphant arrived in Constantinople with the intention of trying to persuade the authorities to withdraw the decree and to accept his old plan of developing Jewish colonization in Palestine under a British administration and Turkish patronage. Several Jewish Russian associations for the settlement of Palestine, which had been established after the outbreak of the pogroms, sent emissaries to gain his support. Among them were four Bilu delegates. But Oliphant was thwarted in his efforts by Turkey's suspicions of designs of the great powers on the Ottoman Empire in general and the Holy Land in particular, suspicions which had recently been enhanced by England's intervention in Egypt. When confronted with this situation, most Jewish delegations gave up and dispersed, but the Bilu emissaries, together with 14 other members of the movement who had arrived in Constantinople, decided to go to Palestine come what may. The Bilu leadership in Odessa and Kharkov considered this to be a rash step, and a bitter controversy ensued. The negotiations between Oliphant and the Bilu emissaries, and the conflicts between the latter and the Russian centres are the main themes of these letters.

As a result of the argument, the Bilu leaders in Russia lost heart and the movement broke up, but the eighteen of Constantinople sailed for Palestine, followed later by some forty other members of the movement. Most of them ultimately left the country. Of the remainder, one group settled in Rishon Lezion, while others established the colony of Gedera.

### YEMEN — THE APPOINTED LAND by Yehuda Nini

Five letters of Edward Glaser to Theodor Herzl, written in 1897 and 1898, are presented in Hebrew translation.

Edward Glaser, orientalist and philologist, visited Yemen several times toward the end of the nineteenth century and became enamoured of this sparsely populated country. When he learned of Herzl's plan to establish a Jewish state in Palestine, he tried to persuade him that besides being impracticable, his project was actually dangerous. He argued that: a) Palestine's position at a strategical crossroads made it a desirable and vulnerable objective for all powerful empires; b) the Jewish state must be established at a considerable distance from the centres of acute Christian and latent Moslem anti-Semitism. Glaser believed that the Yemen satisfied both these requirements. Herzl, of course, could not be deflected from his course, and the relationship, which at first had been marked by mutual respect, turned sour. Glaser ultimately adopted a hostile attitude toward Herzl and Zionism, which was yet deeply rooted in his sincere concern for the future of the Jewish people.

THREE DOCUMENTS FROM THE TIME OF THE VOZROZHDENIYE DEBATE, ON THE EVE OF THE POLTAVA CONFERENCE OF THE JEWISH SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC WORKERS PARTY — POALEI ZION by Mattityahu Mintz

The documents, all from the Ben-Zvi files in the Labour Archives in Tel-Aviv, contain: 1) an official announcement by the Yekateri-

noslav organizing committee of Poalei Zion, consolidated in April 1906 as the Jewish Socialist Workers Party (as against the Jewish Social-Democratic Workers Party — Poalei Zion, which Borochov and Ben-Zvi had established; 2) a résumé of a lecture on the need for territorial autonomy; 3) a résumé of a lecture on ways and means of obtaining territorial autonomy.

These documents contain important information on the situation and activities initiated towards the end of 1905 and early 1906, when Poalei Zion were involved in a fierce internal struggle in connection with the tendency to set up an overall organization in Russia. They also reflect an ideological alignment which was not yet completely identified with the Vozrozhdeniye outlook; from the organizational point of view, too, the authors of the announcement stressed their Poalei Zion identity. Another aspect is reflected in the allusions to the so-called 'S.S. minority', which indicate the method employed by Vozrozhdeniye for infiltrating Poalei Zion circles.

### HERZL IN PARIS (REVIEW) by David Shaary

The review discusses certain aspects of a new Hebrew edition of the articles which Theodor Herzl, as parliamentary correspondent of the Neue Freie Presse, despatched from Paris in 1891—1895 (Theodor Herzl, From Boulanger to Dreyfus 1891—1895, Reports and Political Articles from Paris, edited by A. Bein and M. Schaerf, Zionist Library, Jerusalem 1974).

The reviewer concentrates on three issues: 1) the Third Republic in the years of crisis between the Boulanger affair and the Dreyfuss affair, as seen by Herzl shortly before the epoch-making publication of his *Judenstaat*; 2) an attempt to summarize Herzl's fragmentary and scattered comments on the 'aristocratic republic' as a desirable regime; 3) 'the Jewish question' during the crisis years of the Third Republic. Up to the conclusion of his assignment in Paris — a bare six months before publication of his book — Herzl's reports included no discussion of Jewish problems

from the point of view of the internal Jewish predicament. He was merely cognizant of the 'Jewish aspect' in French politics, but did not allude to the possibility of transforming the 'school of suffering' of the Jewish people. In conclusion, the reviewer raises a number of basic questions with regard to the publication of miscellaneous writings by the founding fathers of Zionism.