

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

The Institute of Research in the History of Zionism 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.

ZIONISM

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

Volume XXII



TEL AVIV UNIVERSITY
THE CHAIM ROSENBERG SCHOOL OF JEWISH STUDIES
THE INSTITUTE FOR RESEARCH IN THE HISTORY OF ZIONISM
FOUNDED IN MEMORY OF CHAIM WEIZMANN

Editors: Yosef Gorni, Shalom Ratzabi

Editorial Board: Paul Alsberg, Daniel Carpi, Gavriel Cohen,
Aviva Halamish, Michael Heymann, Matityahu Minc,
Yehuda Nini, Dina Porat, Avraham Shapira, Anita Shapira,
Yaron Tsur, Ronald Zweig

Style Editing: Amos Carmel
Type Editing: Smadar Rothmann
English Editing: Shulamit Amir-Zarmi
Production Manager: Shaul Shragai

© 2000

All Rights Reserved
Tel Aviv University
The Institute for Research in the History of Zionism
Founded in Memory of Chaim Weizmann

Published by the Ben-Gurion Research Center
Sede Boker Campus

Photo Typesetting: Sefi Graphics Design, Beer Sheva
Printed in Israel at A.R.T. Tel Aviv

CONTENTS

ESSAY

Eliezer Schweid

Israel, the Diaspora and the Jewish People 1

Ofer Shiff

The Dialectic Nature of the American-Reform Attitude Towards
Eretz-Israel (From the second half of the nineteenth century until
the 1930s) 15

Itzhak Kraus

Judaism and Zionism - An Irreconcilable Pair: The Radical
Doctrine of R. Yoel Teitelbaum - The Rebbe of Satmar 37

Dov Schwartz

A Theological Rationale for National-Messianic Thought:
Rabbi Zvi Yehuda Kook 61

ARTICLES

Yosef Salmon

Herzl and Orthodox Jewry 85

Marcos Silber

Poalei Zion in Austria in World War I and the Jews' Struggle for
National Autonomy in Galicia and Poland 99

Eliezer Tauber

A Plan to Establish a Jewish State in the Persian Gulf During
World War I 129

Baruch Kannari

The Aliya that Fulfilled its Commitment 141

Meir Margalit

The Dispute Between the Zionist Executive and the National
Council Concerning the Treatment of New Immigrants at the
Beginning of the Mandatory Period 159

Shimon A. Shur	
Arthur Ruppin and the Economics of Hebrew Education	179
Mahmoud Yazbak	
From Fallahin to Revolutionaries: Economic Factors for the Rise of the Arab Revolt in 1936	185
Ilan Keissar	
The Dilemma of Poalei Zion-Zeirei Zion's During the 1930s - Zionism or Socialism	207
Ofer Boord	
The Realization of the General and Individual Reparations Agreement from West Germany in the Ihud Hakvutzot Vehakibbutzim Movement, 1945-1965	229
Alek D. Epstein	
The Creators of Hegemony or Alienated Outsiders? The Role of Israeli Intellectuals in the Society-Building	261
Eli Tzur	
The Solitude of an Elderly Leader	283
DOCUMENTS	
Zvi Loker	
Proto-Zionism and Messianism	313
Zaki Shalom	
A Missed Opportunity? Israeli-Egyptian Negotiations Prior to the Six Day War	321
List of Participants	354
English Summaries	VII

Summaries

Eliezer Schweid

Israel, the Diaspora and the Jewish People

The growing degree of anger and insult in the reaction of Diaspora Jewish movements to the polarized conflict on the problems of Jewish Identity in Israel, indicates a higher level of estrangement, not only between the establishments of Israel and the Diaspora, but also between the **Jews** of the Diaspora and the **Jews** of Israel, as members of a living people, unified by a sense of brotherly solidarity and existential responsibility. In this paper, the author analyzes the historical processes that headed towards the critical separation. He points to the fact that both in Israel and the Diaspora, estrangement is the result of detachment from common roots of Jewish self-identification, and that this is now a concrete threat to the very existence of the Jewish people, as well as to the existence of Israel, which can survive only as a Jewish State.

To respond properly to the threat it is necessary to re-establish a Jewish Forum beyond the establishments that represent separatist interests. There is a growing need for a popular democratic movement, based on voluntary personal belonging. The Zionist organization is the fittest organ for that movement, but it must be redeemed from its bureaucratic enslavement and renew its activity as a popular movement, both in Israel and in the Diaspora. It must also revolutionize its ideology, reject the now irrelevant theory of the "Negation of the Diaspora", and center all its efforts to the creative and educational undertakings of a renewed Jewish culture.

Ofer Shiff

The Dialectic Nature of the American-Reform Attitude

Towards Eretz-Israel

(From the second half of the nineteenth century until the 1930s)

This article attempts to re-examine the much reputed anti-Zionist attitude of the Reform movement, and claims that this attitude was dialectic by its very nature. The article explains the Reform attitude toward Zionism as a by-product of the Reform quest to turn universalism into a viable Jewish existential ideology. Although the Reform movement had to oppose the particularistic symbols of Zionism and of the traditional-religious attitude toward Eretz-Israel, it could never afford to negate them completely. Total negation could mean denial of a powerful symbol of Jewish existence, thus

a failure of the Reform movement to simultaneously achieve its two equally important goals of integration and Jewish continuity. As a result, the very reasons for the Reform rejection of Zionism were also responsible for a parallel Reform attempt to redefine the basic particularistic symbols of Zionism, with the aim of integrating them into its own universalistic-Jewish ideology. The article attempts to trace this process, from its early stages in the second half of the nineteenth century until it reached its climax in the 1930s.

Itzhak Kraus

Judaism and Zionism - an Irreconcilable Pair

The Radical Doctrine of R. Yoel Teitelbaum - The Rebbe of Satmar

Rabbi Yoel Teitelbaum, the Rebbe of Satmar, is known as the torchbearer of the anti-Zionist movement. A review of the anti-Zionist doctrine from its inception reveals that Rabbi Yoel's doctrine constitutes a sequel to the doctrine of his predecessors. It appears that Rabbi Yoel's singularity as an anti-Zionist ideologist is clarified in the historical context. His struggle against Zionism differs from the battle of his predecessors against the Zionist movement. While his predecessors were opposed to various pioneer movements and ideologies, Rabbi Yoel argued with facts. In his doctrine, he chiefly contended with the Spirit of History, i.e. as a consequence of his anti-Zionist ideology, which stood for Jewish passivity, he was forced to cope with the destruction of the Jewish communities in Europe during the Holocaust. Additionally, he had to provide a response to the success of the Zionist movement with the revival of the State of Israel and Zionism's great triumph in the Six Day War. Rabbi Yoel adhered to his radical position and fervently asserted that Judaism and Zionism were two opposites that could not be reconciled. He further developed this idea in his doctrine. This article presents the main motifs in Rabbi Yoel's polemic.

Dov Schwartz

A Theological Rationale for National-Messianic Thought:

Rabbi Zvi Yehuda Kook

Zvi Yehuda Kook was a member of a charismatic circle which crystallized around his father, Abraham Isaac Kook. The members of this circle were in constant search for prophetic revelation believing that they were indeed active in times of the final redemption (*Geulah*). Z.Y. Kook's leadership was interpreted by his pupils to be a result of divine choice and mission. In the

manner of Lazarus and Steintal's *Völkerpsychologie*, Z.Y. Kook believed that divine immanence was the special characteristic of the Nation of Israel. Hence, Jewish nationality is a "Divine creation". Z.Y. Kook did not hesitate in presenting a detailed messianic interpretation to Twentieth century Jewish-historical development. His bitter and violent attack against any territorial compromise concerning the Holy Land did not weaken this messianic interpretation. Kook claimed that the messianic process was indeed a determinist one. His concept of leadership contributed to the appearance / emergence of a new political leadership within the Religious-Zionist camp: Heads of *Yeshivot* and Talmud scholars.

Yosef Salmon

Herzl and Orthodox Jewry

Herzl arrived at Zionism from a Jewish background which was quite removed from his forefathers' tradition. He brought to Zionism modern and liberal Western ideas which were acceptable to him. It was these notions which he wished to apply to the Jewish state that he wanted to establish. It was clear to one and all that these ideas were contradictory to Jewish values based on tradition and the Halakha. The inevitable clash between these two positions was only a question of time.

On the other hand, Herzl's national viewpoint was not compatible with the attitudes and mores of both orthodox and liberal rabbis of Western and Central Europe (Austria-Hungary, Germany, France and England). All Herzl's attempts to bind them to his goals were doomed to failure. Following many trials and efforts, Herzl failed to gain the support of all trends of the rabbinical leadership in Eastern as well as Western Europe.

This fact explains the difficulties of the Zionist Organization to penetrate Jewish communities worldwide and its means of expansion in practice. This process of non-integrating of institutionalized Jewry within the Zionist movement had far-reaching implications on its development.

Marcos Silber

Poalei Zion in Austria in World War I and the Jews' Struggle for National Autonomy in Galicia and Poland

Due to the vicissitudes of World War I, the center of Austrian Poalei Zion's political activities moved to Vienna where its young members rebuilt the party. The main political struggle during the war years had been to achieve

autonomy for Austrian Jewry and in particular for the Jews of Galicia and Poland. In keeping with the party ideology, its members maintained that achieving real equality meant not only attaining equal rights as citizens, but also receiving national rights.

The forty members anticipated that relations with the Polish state would mainly be characterized by coolness and distrust. Unusual in this respect were the party branches in western Galicia; but there too, doubts arose as manifestations of anti-Semitism in Galicia grew more and more destructive and bloody. The more futile the direct demands made to the Polish leadership to accept the Jews as a national minority appeared to be, the more the party members turned to new channels of struggle, such as the Congress movement. Yet, even though party chiefs cooperated in the organization of the Congress movement, disagreements arose within the party over the effort to achieve unity among all the Jews and the necessity of the Congress itself. Despite these differences of opinion, they stressed the need for organizing a mass Congress movement that would arouse the Jewish public to join the common struggle and bring about Jewish cohesiveness in the spirit of nationalism. The party members opposed the idea of organizing a group of leaders to go to the authorities and make their demands, calling instead for a process in which the masses would take part. But even the Congress movement became irrelevant in the wake of the deterioration in inter-ethnic relations within the Empire, up to its final collapse, which was also painful from the point of view of Galician Jewry.

With the disintegration of the Empire, Poalei Zion joined the Jewish national councils in various localities throughout the Empire, sometimes as equal partners, at other times as junior or senior partners, according to their strength in the town and the prominence of the local party head.

When the Ukrainian-Polish War broke out, the party refrained from taking a stand in the conflict. In western Galicia it supported the new Polish state. In eastern Galicia the party declared unequivocally that support should be given to the Ukrainian state. In Przemyśl, on the western border of eastern Galicia, the party maintained a neutral stand. Nonetheless, the party organ published in Vienna contained expressions of support for the Ukrainian state, which appeared to be honoring Jewish civil rights, and protested the official Polish position.

Eliezer Tauber

A Plan to Establish a Jewish State in the Persian Gulf During World War I

In September 1917, Dr. Léon Rothstein, a Jewish physician of Russian origin, approached the British ambassador in Paris with a proposal to establish a

Jewish state on the Eastern coast of the Arabian Peninsula. His plan was to concentrate Jewish military forces under his command on the island of Bahrain and from there to invade the former Ottoman district of al-Hasa and declare an independent Jewish state there. He expected the Allies in general, and the British in particular, to support his plans financially and militarily, and promised in return that the Jewish forces would cooperate with the Allies in their war against the Ottoman Empire. Rothstein's plan was rejected by the Foreign Office and later on by the India Office. However, Edwin Montagu, Secretary of State for India, made use of this plan in his struggle against the issuance of the Balfour Declaration. In a memorandum against Zionism which he delivered to the British cabinet in October he distorted the story as if the proposal had been officially made by the French government, thus trying to prove that the French did not really support Zionist aspirations, but just wanted to get rid of the Jews, even by sending them to the Persian Gulf.

Baruch Kanari

The Aliya that Fulfilled its Commitment

The pioneers of the *Third Aliya* (1919-1923) deserve to be called utopians. Rather than they themselves adapting to the reality in the Land of Israel, it was their predecessors of the *Second Aliya* (1903-1914) who made them do so, in a complex process, leading not only to successes, but also to friction, tragedies and the loss of a great deal of the pioneering spirit.

The *Third Aliya* swept into the country in a totally disorganized way. It was members of the *Second Aliya* who directed them into models they had created and which they had not, until then, been able to implement.

What the members of the *Third Aliya* brought with them was youthful daring, readiness for self-sacrifice and determination. These qualities played a useful / major role within the framework for the settlement of the country, created by the *Second Aliya*.

The *Third Aliya* members were the ones who fulfilled the commitment - they did not point the way. Theirs was a generation which acted, thereby setting the process in motion. They did not lay down the precepts for pioneering, but played the role of Nahshon Ben Aminadab who "jumped into the water" and by his daring action determined the future chain of events.

Meir Margalit

The Dispute Between the Zionist Executive and the National Council Concerning the Treatment of New Immigrants at the Beginning of the Mandatory Period

During the Mandatory period, the Jewish *Yishuv* was administered by two parallel systems which were known by the general term "The National Institutions", namely, the Zionist Executive (*Hahanhala Hazionit*) and the National Council (*Hava'ad Haleumi*). The Zionist Executive was supposed to represent the Zionist Organization (*Hahistadrut Hazionit*) which was based in London, and the National Council was supposed to represent the Jewish *Yishuv* in Eretz-Israel. The article deals with the relations between the two institutions as was revealed in the debate concerning the treatment of new immigrants (*Olim*) in the 1920s which was fraught with tensions and frustrations. The competition concerning the treatment of the new immigrants was not simply an altruistic struggle for the right to perform a good deed, but was part of a multi-faceted struggle for the leadership in administering the needs of the *Yishuv* and part of an open competition for control of budgets that were earmarked for immigration. The competition was asymmetric it that the National Council had no resources of its own, whereas the Zionist Executive controlled the "Zionist Funds" - and especially the Jewish National Fund (*Keren Kayemet LeIsrael*) and the *Keren Hayesod* - and was financially independent.

Despite this, throughout the 1920s a stubborn struggle was fought between the two in which, repeatedly, whenever either of them set up its own immigration council, the other set up a parallel council. The article also documents the bitter conflict which arose when the National Council attempted to enter the area (which was too weighty for it) of setting up shacks for *Olim*, and got into trouble over debts which threatened to damage it severely, and the Zionist Executive refused to assist the National Council beyond the money which it had already invested in it.

The article contributes to the understanding of the relationships within the leadership of the *Yishuv* which appeared to be smooth and to be administered according to an orderly and correct division of tasks. The article proves that this relationship was far from being correct.

Shimon A. Shur

Arthur Ruppin and the Economics of Hebrew Education

As early as 1907, during his first visit to Eretz-Israel, A. Ruppin, the predominant economist of the Zionist enterprise, recognized the importance / relevance of the Hebrew language in the Zionist nation-building process. While visiting a Hebrew kindergarten in Jerusalem, he became aware that amongst the children's families more than a dozen different languages were spoken. How could one possibly build a nation under such circumstances he asked himself.

Despite the fact that Ruppin himself had difficulties in learning Hebrew, (therefore he abstained from speaking in public), he made great efforts in developing a Hebrew educational system in the *Yishuv* and brought it under the supervision of the Zionist Organizations.

Mahmoud Yazbak

From Fallahin to Revolutionaries

Economic Factors for the Rise of the Arab Revolt in 1936

On 15 April 1936, a revolt broke out among the Arab population in Palestine which lasted for three years. It was brutally put down by the British who nevertheless were sufficiently impressed to announce a change in policy in the White Paper of 1939. Much has been written about the political and national causes of the Arab revolt. In this article, the author attempts to show that economic, rather than political or national factors, played a major role in the outbreak of the Arab revolt. In doing so he gives center stage to Palestine's *fallahin*, the country's peasant farmers who made up more than two-thirds of the indigenous Arab population and whom, one contemporaneous outside observer put it, had been "floundering in deep water for several years" and who knew that "the water would very soon close over their heads" if there was no immediate change in their situation.

By the 1920s the *fallahins* were being pushed off their lands in increasing numbers and were moving into the urban centers in search of work and a decent livelihood. Instead, most of them encountered social marginalization and often abject poverty. Unable to break out of this vicious circle, and crowded together in the shanty dwellings they had put up in Jaffa and Haifa, they found succor and encouragement in the teachings of Shaykh 'Izz al-Din al-Qassam, a charismatic Muslim preacher who worked among the poor in Haifa. It was in those parts of Haifa where the poorest, largely unemployed *fallahin* had found shelter, that rebellion first erupted. Thus, initially this

was a popular uprising which having produced its own leaders rapidly turned into a national revolt.

Ilan Keissar

The Poalei Zion-Zeirei Zion's Dilemma During the 1930s - Zionism or Socialism

The problem of the implementation of Labor Zionism's dual ideology in America, that is the rebuilding of the Jewish Homeland in Palestine, based on cooperative principles, and the promoting of national and proletarian awareness among Jewish workers in America, is best shown by Poalei Zion-Zeirei Zion's relations with the Jewish Labor Committee. The Committee, founded by major Jewish workers' organizations had as its aims to fight Fascism and Nazism in Europe and anti-Semitism in America. PZ-ZZ identified with these aims and was willing to take part within the newly established organization. However, PZ-ZZ needed to maintain its unique ideology against two confronting interests. One was the ambition of the Committee to present itself as the Jewish community's sole representative in America, challenging other universal groups like the American Jewish Congress. Second was *Mapai* and the *Histadruth's* interest to deepen their contacts within the American Jewish Labor Unions, sometimes at the expense of PZ-ZZ local considerations. Increasing international tension and the deteriorating conditions of European Jewry strengthened the Palestinocentric orientation of PZ-ZZ at the expense of its involvement within the American labor movement.

Ofer Boord

The Realization of the General and Individual Reparations Agreement from West Germany in the Ihud Hakvutzot Vehakibbutzim Movement, 1945-1965

In September 1952, the General Reparations Agreement between Israel and West Germany was signed. At the same time, laws regarding the rights of those persecuted by the Nazis, for individual reparations, were legislated as a continuation to the implementation of the agreement. The issue of the general and individual reparations was also directly related to the kibbutz movement, both as an end user of the products within the general reparations, and as the entity encompassing thousands of members entitled to individual reparations. The following paper is an attempt to examine the process of the realization of both the general and the individual reparations within one of

the main streams of the kibbutz movement, *Ihud Hakvutzot Vehakibbutzim* (*Ihud*).

The process of using products from the reparations funds by the *Ihud* started immediately after the beginning of the realization of the agreements, and was conducted in a centralized and organized manner. However, only after some kibbutzim members started to realize / demand their own rights to individual reparations, the centralized organized process began.

The *Ihud* management organized the kibbutzim members' individual reparations claims and in 1959 this had already become a well-established issue. The *Ihud* activists, both in Germany and in Israel, achieved great success in gaining individual reparations for the majority of the members' claims. The members themselves signed documents authorizing their kibbutz to make use of their individual reparations funds.

The individual reparations contributed primarily to improving the economic situation of certain kibbutzim who received large sums due to the fact that many of their members were of German origins. The *Ihud* did not have a say as to how each kibbutz would allocate the money. Eventually, after assigning set amounts for both public purposes and individual needs, the majority of *Ihud* kibbutzim used the money to cover debts as well as for everyday expenses.

Alek D. Epstein

The Creators of Hegemony or Alienated Outsiders? The Role of Israeli Intellectuals in the Society-Building

Summarizing previous research regarding the role of Jewish intellectuals in the shaping of Israeli society and public consensus concerning its collective identity, one can distinguish between two critical approaches: The first assigns the intellectual a marginal role in the cultivation of a national culture in the formative years of the Zionist Movement and the State of Israel, whereas the second approach argues that "self-mobilized" intellectuals have penetrated the political culture of the Israeli society. It seems that both descriptions are not quite correct: during their meetings with Prime-minister D. Ben-Gurion, in their publicist and public appearances, Israeli intellectuals actively disputed even the fundamental concepts of Zionist state building. During mandatory times as well as after the establishment of the State of Israel, a singular group of intellectuals, of mostly central European origin, worked not within, but side by side, with official Zionism, explicitly expressing the disagreement with Ben-Gurion's conception of the primacy of the State over society.

This paper focuses on comparative analysis of the contribution of Jerusalem academic community to the emergence of a civil society during the formative

years of the Israeli state-building. The paper is based on the analysis of the map of key events that became prominent on the Israeli public agenda and invited the responses of intellectuals who felt the need to interpret them in political, cultural or historical contexts. Jerusalem professors' attitudes towards the issues as the military administration over Israel's Arab community and the legitimacy of public protest and disobedience are also examined. Undoubtedly, many of the prominent scholars were not only active participants in the Zionist movement, but after their emigration to Palestine became personally dependent on the political success of the Zionist project. Nevertheless, the author argues that the Israeli intellectuals' loyalty to the political leaders of the *Yishuv* and the State was limited by their sense of truth and justice. In what was, at the time, a very etatist society, Israeli intellectuals maintained the principles of political freedom, and contributed a great deal to the advancement of the ideals of civil rights (especially with respect to the recognition of personal and collective rights of the Arab minority), and to the development of a critically oriented public discussion on the central issues of state-building.

Eli Tzur

The Solitude of an Elderly Leader

This paper presents the political crisis of two political leaders, David Ben-Gurion, leader of the dominant party in Israel, the founding father of the State of Israel and its first Prime-Minister. The other is Meir Yaari, leader and chief ideologue of *Hashomer Hatzair* youth movement, *Hakibbutz Haartzi* movement and the main opposition party *Mapam*. *Mapam* was a Zionist left-wing party with a pro-Soviet orientation. In early 1953, one of the party leaders was accused by the Czech judicial authorities of being an American spy. His trial caused an internal crisis within *Mapam* which was torn between its Zionist beliefs and its pro-Soviet loyalty. The trial also intensified the struggle, known as the "Sneh Affair", between the party's leadership and its left-wing flank which was supported by the younger rank and file which remained pro-Soviet. Ben-Gurion chose this critical moment to accuse *Mapam* of pro-Stalinist leanings. As this research proves / demonstrates, Ben-Gurion's main purpose was to weaken the the leftist hold over the idealistic section of young Israelis. Since the end of the War of Independence he had sought an agent to fulfill his etatist ideology. He failed to convince the kibbutz movement [as a whole] to become a national agent for the absorption of the mass immigration, to transform *Mapai* from a political party to an executive institution, and to transform the Zionist youth

movements into obedient servants of the State. He endeavored to establish to establish a state youth organization, but in spite of mass meetings there were no results / no positive response and he eventually turned to the IDF as the tool for creating an Israeli nationhood which would reflect its sovereignty. Ben-Gurion failed to transform the pre-State organizations into governmental instruments and to promote a national revolution to create a new Jewish society.

Like Ben-Gurion, Meir Yaari also failed in this. Ever since the Twenties, he had sought to establish a synthesis of maximalist Zionism, kibbutz settlement and international revolutionary Socialist orientation. He fought Ben-Gurion in order to preserve this synthetic / complex ideology and with the defeat of *Mapam's* left-wing he believed that he had succeeded in his efforts. In 1956, with the anti-Israel stance of the USSR and the disclosures of the Twentieth CP Congress, the ideological edifice collapsed following the disillusionment of the younger generation. Yaari, fearing that an abolition of one limb of the synthesis would cause the dissolution of all the ideological structure, tried to prevent it but failed in his attempt. He lost his supreme ideological status. Both founding fathers, Ben-Gurion and Yaari lost their battles to mould / shape the future generations because of their attachments to past ideas and their policies to transform their political partners into obedient tools.

Zvi Loker

Proto-Zionism and Messianism

This paper is based upon a letter of Moses Hess, addressed to the Hungarian Rabbi Joseph Natonek, dated 7 August 1862. The missive contains a detailed reply to the Rabbi's appreciative comments on Hess' book *Rome and Jerusalem* published in German[y] earlier that year.

The author of this paper analyzes the attitudes of Natonek and of Hess regarding Messianism, avering that both of them shared a common faith in the messianic ideal which, in their belief, was attainable through an initial human action and achievable only in the Holy Land itself. He [the author] also underlines their interest in Natural Science as a means toward universal advancement.

To illuminate Natonek's position, the author evokes the latter's journey to Constantinople in 1867, where he pleaded with Foud Pasha and Ali Pasha, Prime Minister and Foreign Minister respectively, in favor of a Jewish Homeland in Palestine. Rabbi Natonek presented them with a Memorandum, composed by himself, originally in German and rendered into French by a local Jewish banker. The Turkish statesmen asserted that they would consider

those ideas upon the return of the Sultan Abdul Azziz (who was abroad at the time). When he returned the Cretan crisis occupied the Turkish rulers almost exclusively, while Natonek fell ill and had to abandon his mission. In an appendix to this paper is the enthusiastic reaction of Rabbi Yehuda Alcalay of Semlin, (nowadays Zemun), on learning about Natonek's activity in Turkey, as published in the Hebrew weekly *Hamaggid* which appeared in Thorn, Prussia, on 17 July 1867.

Zaki Shalom

A Missed Opportunity?

Israeli-Egyptian Negotiations Prior to The Six Day War

Documentation recently exposed might testify to the possibility that nearly a year before the outbreak of the Six Day War (June 1967) Israel and Egypt were close to reaching a political accommodation. Had this occurred, the Six-Day War would most probably, have been averted. Taking advantage of covert contacts with Israel, Egypt suggested that high-ranking Israeli officials - Vice Defense Minister, Zvi Dinstein and the Head of the Israeli Intelligence Agency (the Mossad), Meir Amit - would come to Egypt to conduct negotiations on unresolved issues between the two states. Among others, the Israelis were about to meet First Vice President and Deputy Supreme Commander of the Armed Forces of Egypt Abd-al Hakim Amer. If successfully concluded, the negotiations might have led to an agreement or tacit understanding between the states concerning a kind of non-belligerency status. Following intensive deliberations, Israel decided to turn down the Egyptian proposal. Meir Amit, who enthusiastically supported a positive Israeli response to Egypt, thought that this decision was wrong, and that Israel might be missing an historic opportunity to bring about a major turning point in its relations with Egypt, and most probably - with the entire Arab world. In this volume the author presents a protocol of a meeting that Amit convened at his home to discuss Israel's options to improve its relations with Egypt. The participants came from various backgrounds: academia, politics and journalism. It seems that the meeting was meant to raise arguments that would convince the Israeli Government to reconsider its previous decision. We now know, the efforts were fruitless.