### **ZIONISM**

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

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 tha 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.

### 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

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#### Yossi Goldstein

### Ussishkin and the Uganda Conflict - Between Ideology and Politics

The conflict which developed around Herzl's East Africa Settlement plan, or the "Uganda Affair", as it was called by the groups who took part in the debate, was a controversial subject from the moment it was introduced at the Sixth Zionist Congress (August, 1903). The present article describes and analyzes the progress of the opposition to Herzl, and its leader, Menahem Ussishkin, during the affair. Ussishkin's motives were a direct outcome of his belief that Zionism must be fulfilled by any means possible, but only in Eretz Israel (Palestine) and that no deviation from this path was acceptable. However, there were other motives involved in this conflict which were associated with power struggles within the WZO, between the Zionists from Russia, the "easterners" (Ost-Juden), represented by Ussishkin, and the "western" Zionists, represented by Herzl, as well as with power struggles within the Zionist movement in Russia, which during the affair was divided between Herzl's supporters, headed by Yasinovski and Mandelstamm, and his opponents, headed by Ussishkin. These power struggles made the debate surrounding the affair even more extreme and led to an inevitable split between the opposing sides. The affair ended only after the tragic death of Herzl, when the WZO accepted Ussishkin's course.

### Zeev Goldberg Mendele Mokher Seforim and the Zionist Idea

Mendele Mokher Seforim was a central and influential figure in Jewish intellectual society in Russia at the turn of the century. The present article attempts to clarify the nature of his relationship with Zionism and to examine the importance of the Zionist rejection of Yiddish among the issues he considered when he decided how to relate to this movement. Mendele was not predisposed toward Zionism, mainly because he felt that the idea was unrealistic and would be very difficult to accomplish. He was not capable of changing his Haskalah (enlightenment) mentality and continued to believe in it as the remedy for the ills of the Jewish people. Mendele objected to Ahad Ha'Am's ideas of "the spiritual center" and maintained that, in any case, the spiritually inclined Jewish people ought to be more concerned with material matters. He also criticized the Zionist activists' disdain for religion. As an author who wrote in Yiddish because he believed that enlightenment could only be spread among the people by means of the language they understood, he viewed the Zionist rejection of that

language as a serious error of judgment and a failure to understand the Jewish reality in Eastern Europe. Mendele held steadfastly to his views on the Haskalah until his death in 1917 and was almost entirely uninfluenced by the various political trends that were capturing the imagination of the Jewish public at that time.

#### Shlomo Carmi

The Issue of "What Preceded What" and "What Caused What" in the Revival of the Hebrew Language

The revival of the Hebrew language is a complex and multi-faceted process. It involved cultural, social, political, pedagogical, psychological and economic/technical factors and conditions. The study of these factors (which led to the revival of the Hebrew language) has been inadequate for several reasons. The basic problem has been the lack of a conceptual framework and a suitable historic perspective which can be seen in the absence of a clear distinction between different types of factors and conditions, the tendency to dichotomize, etc. For example, the question of whether the revival was the product of one person's endeavors or a miracle from heaven and whether it was a guided process, initiated and planned in advance, or an anonymous and incidental one, are key issues which have not yet been dealt with clearly in the existing literature and certainly require additional research and study.

The present study is primarily research of an historic nature, and therefore it clarifies, among other issues, various factors, aspects and dimensions of this process according to criterian of what preceded what and what was of primary or secondary importance, from both the chronological and causal point of view: did the idea of reviving the Hebrew Language in everyday speech precede the idea of the revival of the Jewish settlement in Palestine or did these events occur in reverse order? Did they affect each other and if so, how? Which social/cultural/political movement (Zionism) supported and maintained it, etc.

Even though no ironclad principles have been found, the author attempts to discuss and point out the dilemmas, the differences of opinion, and the various viewpoints, as they were expressed by the people who played important roles in the revival of the Hebrew language, literature and culture at the end of the previous century and in the first decades of the twentieth.

### Shalom Ratzabi

Rabbi Shalom Dov Baer Schneersohn - The Dilemma of

### Anti-Zionism and Messianic Tension (Monograph on an Idea)

Rabbi Shalom Dov Baer Schneersohn, the head of the Habad Hassidic movement during the years 1894-1920, was one of the most influential authors of ultra-orthodox anti-Zionist ideology. The prevailing assumption has been that his conflict with Zionism should be conceived, first and foremost, as based on the passive perception of the Messiah which typified orthodox Judaism in modern times. In contrast, the main idea of the present monograph is that the origins of and motivation behind his conflict with Zionism was the messianic tension which characterized his philosophy and public activity, as well as his retreat from religious radicalism. In other words: Schneersohn's conflict with Zionism, and with the Haskalah (enlightenment), developed in reaction to the serious social, economic and cultural changes experienced by Russian Jewry in the last decades of Czarist rule, and the philosophical-religious processes which accompanied them. Thus the efforts of the Hassidic movement in the nineteenth century, and mainly in its last decade, to adapt to the new circumstances focused primarily on moving the center of attention from modern trends to conservative ones.

### Yossi Ben-Artzi

The "Moshav Hapoalim" and its Importance in the History of the Yishuv

The "Moshav Hapoalim" was a type of settlement attempted for a relatively short period by workers during the Second Aliyah, which has almost completely been forgotten. It has been almost totally omitted from the historiography of the Yishuv and up to now almost no thorough study has been specifically devoted to this subject. Nevertheless, this type of settlement constitues an important interim stage in the evolution from Moshava to Moshav Ovdim, which became the dominant type of Jewish settlement in Palestine. The first Moshav Hapoalim settlements, established in 1907 (Beer Ya'akov) and in 1908 (Ein Ganim), sought to combine labor, jobs as hired workers in the citrus orchards of the Moshavot ("conquering labor") and the formation of permanent settlements ("conquering the land"). They wanted to manage the settlements along the lines of the labor principles espoused by the Second Aliyah: personal obligation, mutual responsibility, Jewish labor, the use of the Hebrew language, etc. The early success of these settlements led to the establishment of a second wave of Moshav Hapoalim settlements in Nahalat Yehuda and Kfar Mallal (Ein Hai) in 1913, but at the same time conflicts concerning the contradictory objectives of hired labor and self-employment began to surface. As a consequence of the criticism leveled against the Moshav Hapoalim system, the Moshav Ovdim concept was born and the Moshav Hapoalim settlements themselves were turned into either Moshava or Moshav Ovdim settlements. The present article discusses the significance of the Moshav Hapoalim as an important evolutionary link in the history of Jewish settlement.

### Meir Margalit

The Establishment of "Halchud" and the Response of the Yishuv to the Reorganization of "Brit Shalom"

Toward the end of 1942 several former members of Brit Shalom began to reorganize themselves under the assumption that world war II would soon be over and that, as a consequence of the anticipated British victory, the question of Palestine would be on the international agenda. The former members of Brit Shalom, augmented by a distinguished group of immigrants from Germany, academics and philosophers, met under the leadership of Y.L. Magnes and Martin Buber and set up a new movement called "HaIchud", which believed in the idea of binationalism and the equal division of administrative power in Palestine.

The establishment of the new movement aroused a wave of protest and angry reactions which were totally out of proportion to the scope of the event, the size of the new movement, and its political importance. It seemed that the Halchud movement had touched a raw nerve in the Yishuv, which felt threatened by the very existence of the new group. The present article surveys the reaction of the public and the Yishuv establishment to the founding of Halchud and the reasons why this ideological/dissident movement was perceived as a threat to the Zionist birthright and the Yishuv leadership.

### Hannah Shlomi

The History of "Halchud", the Organization of Democratic Zionists in Poland, in the First Year of its Existence

The article focuses on a period of one year only, August 1944-August 1945. It describes the formation of a Zionist organization, which apparently predated other Jewish organizational efforts among the Holocaust survivors in Poland immediately after its liberation from German occupation. The group's ideological leader, Dr. Reuven Feldshuh, believed that, in view of the destruction which the Jewish

people had just undergone, there sould be no more political parties in the Zionist movement. The organization called itself "HaIchud". After the other parties in the Zionist movement had reestablished themselves according to their pre-war and wartime practices, this organization continued to maintain itself as HaIchud - a democratic Zionist organization in Poland. It was comprised mainly of adults with a General Zionist background and of young people from Hanoar Hazioni and Akiva. The article describes the various types of activities in which the organization was engaged, such as groups for adults, "youth kibbutzim" for the homeless young people, operations within the Bricha and the beginnings of their connections with emissaries from Palestine, etc. It also discusses the general atmosphere of anti-Semitism which existed in Poland, the unbridled competition among the Zionist parties, and, in retrospect, the amazing intensity of the lives of the survivors at that time.

#### **Aaron Golan**

### The 1948 War and The Transformation of Abandoned Rural Arab Areas the Landscape

Catastrophes, including those originating in war, result in large-scale, drastic transformation of human landscape. The termination of the British Mandatory rule in Palestine was followed by a war between Jewish and Arab communities. The war brought about the establishment of the State of Israel by the victorious Jewish side, and resulted in a calamity to most of the Arabs who were forced to leave their homes in the areas included within the borders of the Jewish state. The abandoned Arab areas were repopulated and redistributed among the Jews. The wartime and post-war political and strategic interests of the State of Israel and the cultural and ideological differences between Jews and Arabs resulted in a drastic landscape transformation of the formerly Arab rural areas in the newly born Jewish state.

### Baruch Rosen and Aviv Rosen The Origins of Aeronautical Research in Israel

The existence of Israel's aeronautic capability is extremely important economically and militarily, but it required independent aeronautic research. This research began with a collection of original scientific papers published in Hebrew in 1923. Through this collection a lasting professional association with the Zionist movement, and later with the State of Israel, was formed with the leading aeronautic scientists who compiled it. The most important among them was T. von Karman.

Another well-known sceientist who contributed to this collection was Z. Brodsky, a leader in the Zionist movement and a patron of the Hebrew University. In 1949, at the encouragement of Ben-Gurion, S. Goldstein, a student of Brodsky, began to conduct aeronautical research at the Technion in Haifa. Although it did not progress at a steady pace, ongoing interest and work in aeronautics has contributed to Israel's achievements in this area.

#### Shalom Zachi

Sharett's Resignation from the Government (June 1956) - Political, Security, Party and Personal Perspectives

The relationship between David Ben-Gurion and Moshe Sharett is certainly one of the most fascinating issues in the study of the national leadership of the State of Israel, in both the pre-state and post-state periods. Over the years, when both of them served in key national leadership positions, their relationship experienced many vicissitudes. With respect to certain issues, this was expressed in shared opinions which led to fruitful and close cooperation between them. At the same time, however, it was also embodied in conflicts on political, security and personality-oriented issues. In the final analysis, these conflicts led to the forced resignation of Sharett from the government in June 1956 and to the tragic and ongoing schism between them.

Sharett's resignation from the government was undoubtedly a turning point in the administration of the Israeli government, in the development of the Mapai party, in the relations between Ben-Gurion and Sharett, and to a great extent, in Israel's status in the international arena and in its relations with the Arab world. In retrospect it is difficult to determine what "really" motivated Ben-Gurion to precipitate Sharett's resignation from the government. The most commonly accepted opinion is that this action was intended to give Ben-Gurion the freedom to carry out the Sinai Campaign. According to the present author, it is doubtful whether a rational examination could prove this claim.

### Anita Shapira

The Holocaust and World War II as Components of Yishuv Indecision until 1948

The events which occurred between 1945 and 1949 had an important impact on the formation of Israeli identity. During these years the drama of the struggle for Palestine reached its peak, as the first battle between the Jews and the British and the second between the Jews and the Arabs occurred. It was during those years that the War of Independence took place, and consequently, "in blood and fire and pillars of smoke" the Jewish state was born. The basic myths of the "birth of a nation" were formed in those years and remained valid for a generation after that. The image of the "Tzabar" (native-born Israeli) as the mythological Israeli, the "silver platter", the soldier who presents the state to the people as a present (on a "silver platter"), had a very prominent place in the evolving Israeli identity. It was simultaneously a source of inspiration, a model to emulate and a symbol. The article also deals with issues such as the importance of the Holocaust in the development of Israeli identity in the early years of the State and the importance of World War II in the consciousness of that generation.